UNION COLLEGE LIBRARY
5 0702 00002237 6
13-BIX-263

WORKS BY PROFESSOR PEAKE.

T. C. AND E. C. JACK, LTD.

HEBREWS, in *The Century Bible.* Price 3s. 6d. net.

JOB, in *The Century Bible.* 3s. 6d. net.

JEREMIAH AND LAMENTATIONS, in *The Century Bible.* 2 vols. 3s. 6d. net each.

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL. (Out of print.) Greatly enlarged edition in preparation.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON.

A GUIDE TO BIBLICAL STUDY. 3s. 6d. net.

COLOSSIANS, in the *Expositor's Greek Testament.* Vol. iii. Price of the volume, 28s.

THE CHRISTIAN RACE. (Out of print.)

ELECTION AND SERVICE. (Out of print.)

FADED MYTHS. (Out of print.)

HEROES AND MARTYRS OF FAITH. Cheap edition, in *The Expositor's Library.* 2s. 6d. net.

THE BIBLE: ITS ORIGIN, ITS SIGNIFICANCE, AND ITS ABIDING WORTH. Sixth Edition, in *The Expositor's Library.* 2s. 6d. net.

DUCKWORTH AND CO.

CHRISTIANITY: ITS NATURE AND ITS TRUTH. Tenth Edition. 2s. 6d. net. Brotherhood Edition. 2s. 6d. net.

A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT. 2s. 6d. net.

THE PRIMITIVE METHODIST BOOKROOM.

THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. 2s. 6d.

JAMES CLARKE AND CO.

REFORM IN SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHING. 1s. 6d. net.

GEORGE ALLEN AND UNWIN, LTD.

PRISONERS OF HOPE. 1s. 6d. net.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS.

THE QUINTESSENCE OF PAULINISM. 1s. net.

GERMAN THEOLOGY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, in *Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, second series. Price of the volume, 3s. 6d. net.

THE PRESENT MOVEMENT OF BIBLICAL SCIENCE, in *Inaugural Lectures Delivered by Members of the Faculty of Theology.* Edited by A. S. Peake. Price of the volume, 2s. 6d. net.

PEAKE'S
COMMENTARY
ON THE BIBLE

A COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE

EDITED BY

ARTHUR S. PEAKE, M.A., D.D.

RYLANDS PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER; PROFESSOR IN HARTLEY COLLEGE, MANCHESTER; SOMETIME FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

WITH THE ASSISTANCE FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT OF

A. J. GRIEVE, M.A., D.D.

PRINCIPAL OF THE CONGREGATIONAL HALL EDINBURGH

INTRODUCTION BY

MELANCTHON WOOLSEY STRYKER, D.D., LL.D.

FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF HAMILTON COLLEGE; AUTHOR OF "ENGLISH BIBLE VERSIONS AND ORIGINS," ETC.

THOMAS NELSON & SONS

381-385 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

T. C. & E. C. JACK, LTD.

LONDON

COPYRIGHT, 1920,
by
THOMAS NELSON & SONS
NEW YORK

220.7
P357

INTRODUCTION

THIS important commentary is a careful and candid attempt to set forth the present results of intensive modern Biblical study.

With minute paragraphic analysis, each of the sixty-six sundry portions of our "divine library" is here considered by independent, reverent and constructive scholars, all of them specialists of large repute and all agreeing to seek fact and to forward a truer ultimate regard for the literary basis and cumulative appeal of the book of books.

Some forty essays, dealing with particular questions of salient and fundamental importance, make a various and acute effort to effect a sympathetic comprehension of scriptures which to us merge in one culminating result. These help to furnish a massive digest and compendium of that history which through eras of process led on to the consummation in which the "Hope of Israel" became the hope of the world.

What this composite book actually is concerns every thoughtful man. No respectful consideration of its total claim can be too urgent or too keen. All conjecture and inference aside, we are on firm ground when we discern, all along, the impulses of men alive with the purpose to describe the continuity of God's working with an elect people, and to advance the sense of His deepening approach, through this people, to all the sons of man. In diverse portions the perpetual message was given and put to record. Numberless unknown hands wrought sincerely to preserve and to continue the great tradition of Israel. Amazingly various mental traits, laboring in as various ways, were fused into a unity whose efficiency is providentially immortal. Whatever the woof, the warp of the great story is of God.

The Bible has survived many theories as to the world and as to itself. It is enough that we should take it as it is,—its continuous precept being the reconciliation of man to the Creator and Possessor of all souls. It is co-ordinate with the origin and purpose of the Christian Church. The first words of Genesis are a chant of the dawn,—a poem of Creation, putting God before all, "in whom all things consist," and leading up to Man, as the sphere and subject of His crowning work. Slowly indeed grew the recognition of Him who by man revealed Himself for man. With Abraham begins all that we can call history. The story of Israel is a great motion picture, with so intense a claim because in that little corner of the world the seed was sown that grew toward a consummation to which faith in a Faithful Creator turns to find His supreme manifestation.

The collection of writings which we call the Old Testament records the processes wherein the apprehension of God was developed and confirmed. Between Egypt and Assyria and Rome, Israel survived them all in its age-long contribution and influence. The scrutiny of this august and singular story cannot be too precise. The books must tell their own story; for they are our sources. Long before Herodotus, the devoted scribes were collating and editing and preserving the monumental tale. The tendency, the convergency, of such a composite record could not be fully discerned by them. But they searched after a significance they could not then understand and we believe their pens were restrained and guided by a wisdom not their own. Being human, they were not infallible: but they were heedful and were honest. Much of this transcript outline of the strange, eventful history has doubtless been irrecover-

13049

ably lost: but what we retain is treasurable indeed, and just so far as we can we are to disentangle and wind the precious skein.

We honor these ancient writings not by imposing upon them any particularistic theory of their transcript or their transmission; but by a jealous study which begs no question and which ever seeks the true axis of interpretation. Only thus can we refuse to jeopard our conviction that the best record fallible man could make of such an "increasing purpose" and its human answer was a part of the ineffable program of God. Candor must turn to the great chronicle with all the discernment it can attain, and so with every just test discern the august tendency which underlies the vocal page. Every science of interpretation must be respected.

If there be discrepancies, or anachronisms, or composition of sources, or "tendency" editing, or uncertain dates, or diverse methods; none the less the whole urge of the books is unitary and convincing. The breadth of the story is its power. Scribal misunderstandings, or composite authorship, cannot baulk the appreciation of the great integral and divine leadership, nor foil our gratitude to those who felt about in the twilight with glimpses of the hope which prisoned, even while it grew and brightened toward the life and immortality that, far away, were to be "brought to light through the gospel"!

Marvellous is the fidelity of this biography of Israel. The lapses of reverend men—Abraham, Jacob, David—are unfalteringly told, the bitter annals of the flagrant idolatries and rebellions of the chosen people, the martyrdoms of the just, the caprices, the penalties, the humiliations.

A great value of this commentary, wisely used, will be its emphasis upon what is known as "Introduction,"—that is, the explanation of each book as a whole, the questions of time, occasion, authorship and purpose. Too much have we held the Bible as a mass, *en bloc,* and made it but a repertoire of detachable texts and maxims. But the serious reader does not deal with verses and chapters: but with individual books in their entirety. Who wrote what, and when and why? are indispensable queries to those who would intelligently press these ripe clusters. Sortilege is a bad corollary of casual and piecemeal approach to a book so dishonored by superficial attention.

To recover the absolute chronological order of the sundry books in either Testament is not now possible. They are arranged in topical classes. But this commentary assists us toward a valuable dating, which greatly aids us to discern environment and progress. Each part has a time record which bears upon its nexus and its pertinency. Heeding this, we escape the obsession of a mere amanuensis notion and the writings palpitate with the personality of living men who were "moved by the Holy Spirit." This perception is indispensable.

The persistent and prefatory movement of the elder scriptures, the primitive stages of development, the sifting and array of sources,—about these and many such like points of understanding there has sprung up a vast literature. Much of this has important reference here.

Under such study as this volume offers many remote and difficult things are much illuminated. These limited lines cannot purport to summarize where so much is valuable. The writer is helped by the studies of the temple services and the institutions of Israel, the sacred persons and places and seasons, the family and home, trade and arms, the suffused ethical impulse of the prophets as over against liturgy and priesthood, the triumph of a pure monotheism and the ever-crescent apprehension of Israel's calling. The article on Prophecy is great.

Samuel, acolyte and prime minister; Nathan, Elijah, Micaiah; what men were these, refusing all the smooth things of convention and time-serving! Jeremiah, devoted and broken-hearted, as his people followed their evil kings headlong to ruin; the heart tragedy of Hosea; the sensitive, glowing, difficult door of Ezekiel; the rapture of the dual Isaiah;—here are we helped to draw clear to the prophetic period, full as it was of the passion of an intense present. These mighty tones of rebuke and of hope utter the very consciousness and conscience of this separated race, avatar at once of judgment and of glory.

Peculiarly acute is the analysis of that great drama—Job, whose twin problems are the ethics of the Rights of God and the Inexplicable Sufferings of Good Men. Most keen perhaps is the critique upon that selection of Hebrew lyrics which we call the Psalms. These beloved songs of Israel, in so many different keys, are many of them, or most, assigned to periods far later than venerable tradition had hitherto said, some even to centuries nearing the Christian era. Many dates must be unascertainable. Assuredly such as we have can be but a selection and remainder from many, many, more like musical devotions. In this analysis critics cannot be infallible, nor do they claim to be: but whatever is now lost the remainders are invaluable. The intrinsic evidence must be followed. Blended with an intense nationalism, with a pungent historical sense and a profound recognition of the wonders of His world, with its uplifting analogies, are such a yearning toward God and tender confidence in His care and guidance, such a bold commitment to His loving will, as have made these chorales of faith a deathless satisfaction to piety and have given them a universal leadership in liturgy. If any view and survey of these must be changed, still their value endures. They lead up to the *Magnificat* and the *In Excelsis*. They are part of the historical approach to Him whose Gospel contradicts some of their fierce maledictions. For He who was the Rock of Israel is now the Rock of Ages.

The value of this book of comment and explanation lies in a less vague appreciation of how God's revelation through Israel advanced to the crisis of the Cross. Minor questions of text and time retire before such a view of the divine process. Outlook widens thereby and insight deepens. The spiritual posterity of Israel discerns in the apostles of the first century the succession of that great prophetic line whose leaders were hated, mocked, destroyed, counted as traitors: but whose testimonies to their own times survive for the admonition of all after ages.

This interpretation is positive and coherent, and under it the canon gains new authority. Under the pressure of God's constant Spirit the separate items of Hebrew lore become an evolutionary unit and link with the blessed writings, which under the first flush of conviction and consecration stamp with apostolicity the twenty-seven parts of the New Covenant and weld them as the complement of the elder record. In this connection let us remember Westcott's "Christus Consummator," and Matheson's "Spiritual Development of the Apostle Paul," speaking also most gratefully of Edersheim's "Life of Christ." (E. was a Hebrew believer and minute scholar in all that connected that present with its past.) Nor can we forget our debt to that great exegete, H. A. W. Meyer.

In the New Testament also we must distinguish authors and dates. If we are to understand the diversity of Amos and Malachi, we are equally to reckon the variety of Peter and John. Such distinction the book before us helps us to attain. James is not Luke, nor is Jude, Paul. Each "spake as he saw." Exact order is not attainable, but we may be sure that Mark's was the first written gospel, that John's gospel was the latest book of the New Testa-

ment, and that the epistles were prior to all else. Vastly helpful, herein, are the analytical commentaries upon the letter-treatises of the Apostle Paul, independent studies all of them, but matched in one purpose and purport. Fine is the discussion of the anonymous letter to the Hebrews. Clear and translucent is the essay upon "The Life and Teachings of Jesus."

In this Divine Man we come to the climax. The story of this Messiah pervades every paragraph of the hallowed writings of the first century. A. D. dates the whole hope of man. With calm, eternal eyes, He faced the exciting scenes of His ministry. Firm and gentle, He did not evade the certain issue of His interpretation of God. He purposed the consummation and with no evasion advanced to the inevitable cross. Under that mock trial, He deliberately laid down His life, even for those who thus attempted to be rid of Him! There He draws all men unto Him. The Great Kinsman gave Himself as the final Lamb. So he transfigured death and the ascendant Dawn banishes the clouds it beautified. We re-read the Old Testament and revise our estimate of it in the light of the New. *"But I say"* both fulfilled and reversed its antecedents. God's self-discovery to man, in its crescendo, resolves into complete harmony many a discord of its earlier progressions. The troubled minors go by in the diapasoned cadence. Such are the wonders of Almighty Love,—"a spectacle to the Universe"!

> "Edgewise, bladewise, half-wise, whole-wise; 'tis done;
> Good morrow, Lord Sun"!

This commentary enables us to see that the revelation once adolescent steadily advanced, as grows a lithograph. The Messiah is at once the blossom and the correction of Israel. What they had complicated, He simplified. What they had antiquated He modernized. He gleams against the background of convention and tradition. Still must He correct many a false assumption of our fallible philosophy. Still He hears the bitter cry of this tragic and barbaric world. Only His Spirit can alleviate its pangs and reverse "the handwriting that was against us"!

Who studies this commentary, whose suggestions are thus but faintly reflected, must be grateful for the devout scholarship which makes possible a much widened view of the records which Divine Mercy has provided for the confirmation of intelligent faith.

M. W. Stryker.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS.

Author.	Subject.
ADDIS, the late Rev. William E., M.A., formerly Professor of Old Testament Criticism in Manchester College, Oxford.	PSALMS.
ADENEY, the Rev. Walter F., M.A., D.D., formerly Principal of Lancashire Independent College, Manchester.	PHILIPPIANS.
ANDREWS, the Rev. Herbert T., B.A., D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in New and Hackney Colleges, University of London.	APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE; DANIEL; 1 and 2 THESSALONIANS; REVELATION.
BARTLET, the Rev. James Vernon, M.A., D.D., Professor of Church History in Mansfield College, Oxford.	THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS.
BEDALE, the late Rev. C. L., M.A., Professor in Didsbury College, and Special Lecturer in Assyriology in the University of Manchester.	THE NATIONS CONTEMPORARY WITH ISRAEL.
BENNETT, the Rev. William Henry, M.A., Litt.D., D.D., Principal of Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, sometime Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.	1 and 2 SAMUEL.
BISSEKER, the Rev. Harry, M.A., Professor in Richmond College.	THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.
BOX, the Rev. George H., M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in King's College, London; Hon. Canon of St. Albans.	HOSEA.
BROOK, the Rev. R., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford.	2 PETER; JUDE.
BROOKE, the Rev. Alan E., D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge and Canon of Ely.	JOHN.
CANNEY, Maurice A., Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature in the University of Manchester.	AMOS.
CARPENTER, the Rev. J. Estlin, M.A., D.Litt., formerly Principal of Manchester College, Oxford.	INTRODUCTION TO THE PENTATEUCH.
COOKE, the Rev. George A., M.A., D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; sometime Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.	THE LANGUAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.
DAVIES, the Rev. T. Witton, B.A., Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Semitic Languages, University College of North Wales, Bangor.	DEUTERONOMY.
DAVISON, the Rev. William T., M.A., D.D., Principal of Richmond College.	HEBREW WISDOM.
DUFF, the Rev. Archibald, M.A., LL.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Theology in the United College, Bradford.	ESTHER; LAMENTATIONS.

Author.	Subject.
EMMET, the Rev. C. W., M.A., Vicar of West Hendred.	THE APOSTOLIC AGE AND THE LIFE OF PAUL.
FINDLAY, the Rev. George G., D.D., Professor in New Testament Exegesis and Classics at Headingley College.	ROMANS.
FOAKES-JACKSON, the Rev. Frederick J., M.A., D.D., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, Briggs Professor of Christian Institutions in Union Theological Seminary, New York.	THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT; 1 and 2 KINGS.
FRANKS, the Rev. Robert S., M.A., B.Litt., Principal of Western College, Bristol.	JOB.
GORDON, the Rev. Alexander R., D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Hebrew in M'Gill University and of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis in the Presbyterian College, Montreal.	NAHUM; HABAKKUK; ZEPHANIAH.
GRIEVE, the Rev. Alexander J., M.A., D.D., Principal and Professor of Systematic Theology in the Scottish Congregational Theological Hall, Edinburgh.	ECCLESIASTES; MALACHI; THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT; MATTHEW; LUKE; THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.
GWATKIN, the late Rev. Henry Melville, M.A., D.D., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge, Fellow of Emmanuel College.	JEWISH HISTORY FROM THE MACCABEES TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.
HARFORD, the Rev. George, M.A., Hon. Canon of Liverpool.	EXODUS.
HAVERFIELD, Francis John, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford.	THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST CENTURY.
HOLMES, the Rev. Samuel, M.A., formerly Lecturer in Theology, Jesus College, Oxford.	JOSHUA.
HOOKE, the Rev. Samuel Henry, M.A., B.D., Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in Victoria College, Toronto.	PROVERBS.
HUDSON, William Henry, Staff Lecturer in English Literature to the Extension Board of London University; formerly Professor of English Literature, Stanford University, California, and Professorial Lecturer in the University of California.	THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE.
HUMPHRIES, the Rev. Albert Lewis, M.A., Professor of New Testament Greek and Exegesis and of Systematic Theology in Hartley Primitive Methodist College, Manchester.	1 JOHN; 2 JOHN; 3 JOHN.
JONES, the Rev. E. Griffith, B.A., D.D., Principal of the United College, Bradford.	THE BIBLE: ITS MEANING AND AIM.
JORDAN, the Rev. W. G., D.D., Professor in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada.	THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL; THE SONG OF SONGS.
JOYCE, the Rev. G. C., D.D., Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter.	OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.
KENNEDY, the Rev. Archibald R. S., M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Edinburgh.	WEIGHTS, MEASURES, MONEY, AND TIME.
KENNEDY, the Rev. H. A. A., M.A., D.D., D.Sc., Professor of New Testament Language, Literature, and Theology, New College, Edinburgh.	THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.
KENNETT, the Rev. Robert Hatch, M.A., D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge, Fellow of Queen's College, and Canon of Ely.	HAGGAI; ZECHARIAH.

Author.	Subject.
LOFTHOUSE, the Rev. William Frederick, M.A., Professor in Old Testament Language and Literature and in Philosophy at Handsworth College.	LEVITICUS.
M'FADYEN, the Rev. John Edgar, D.D., Professor of Old Testament Language, Literature, and Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow.	EZEKIEL.
MACKINTOSH, the Rev. Robert, M.A., D.D., Professor of Christian Ethics, Apologetics, and Sociology in Lancashire Independent College, and Lecturer in the University of Manchester.	GALATIANS.
M'NEILE, the Rev. A. H., D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.	THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL.
MARTIN, the Rev. G. Currie, M.A., B.D., Lecturer in connexion with National Council of Adult Schools, late Professor of New Testament Theology and Patristics in the United College, Bradford, and in Lancashire Independent College.	1 PETER.
MASTERMAN, E. W. Gurney, M.D., F.R.C.S., F.R.G.S., D.P.H.	THE HOLY LAND.
MENZIES, the late Rev. Allan, D.D., Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism, St. Mary's College, University of St. Andrews.	ACTS.
MOFFATT, the Rev. James, M.A., D.D., D.Litt., Professor of Church History in the United Free Church College, Glasgow.	THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE.
MONTEFIORE, Claude G., M.A.	CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RELIGION.
MOULTON, the late Rev. James Hope, D.Litt., D.D., D.C.L., D.Theol., Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology in the University of Manchester, New Testament Professor in Didsbury College.	THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT; JAMES.
MOULTON, the Rev. Wilfrid J., M.A., B.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in Headingley College.	THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL.
MURRAY, George Gilbert Aimé, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford.	PAGAN RELIGION AT THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY.
MURRAY, the Rev. John Owen Farquhar, M.A., D.D., Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, sometime Fellow of Emmanuel College, Hon. Canon of Ely.	THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT; THE TEXT AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.
OESTERLEY, the Rev. W. O. E., M.A., D.D., Vicar of St. Alban's, Bedford Park, London.	1 and 2 CHRONICLES; EZRA-NEHEMIAH.
PEAKE, A. S., M.A., D.D., Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester, and Professor in Hartley Primitive Methodist College, sometime Fellow of Merton College, Oxford.	THE DEVELOPMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE; THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT; GENESIS; THE POETICAL AND WISDOM LITERATURE; THE PROPHETIC LITERATURE; ISAIAH I–XXXIX; JONAH; ORGANISATION, CHURCH MEETINGS, DISCIPLINE, SOCIAL AND ETHICAL PROBLEMS; THE PAULINE EPISTLES; 1 CORINTHIANS, GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Author.	Subject.
RAWLINSON, the Rev. A. E. J., M.A., Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford, late Tutor of Keble College.	EPHESIANS; COLOSSIANS; PHILEMON.
ROBINSON, the Rev. H. Wheeler, M.A., Professor in Rawdon College.	JEREMIAH; OBADIAH; MICAH.
SCOTT, the Rev. C. Anderson, M.A., D.D., Professor of the Language, Literature, and Theology of the New Testament in Westminster College, Cambridge.	2 CORINTHIANS.
SCOTT, the Rev. E. F., D.D., Professor of New Testament Literature in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada.	HEBREWS.
SKINNER, the Rev. John, M.A., D.D., Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge.	CANON AND TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.
STRAHAN, the Rev. James, M.A., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Biblical Criticism in the Magee Presbyterian College, Londonderry.	JUDGES; RUTH.
STREETER, the Rev. Burnett H., M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Queen's College, Oxford, Canon of Hereford.	THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.
WADE, the Rev. George Woosung, M.A., D.D., Professor of Latin and Senior Tutor of St. David's College, Lampeter.	NUMBERS.
WARDLE, the Rev. William Lansdell, M.A., B.D., Professor of Hebrew and English in Hartley Primitive Methodist College, Manchester.	ISAIAH XL–LXVI; JOEL.
WHITEHOUSE, the late Rev. Owen C., M.A., D.D., Professor in Cheshunt College, Cambridge.	THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL.
WOOD, Herbert G., M.A., Warden of Woodbrooke Settlement, sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge.	THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS; MARK.

PREFACE

THE present work is designed to put before the reader in a simple form, without technicalities, the generally accepted results of Biblical Criticism, Interpretation, History, and Theology. It is not intended to be homiletic or devotional, but to convey with precision, and yet in a popular and interesting way, the meaning of the original writers, and reconstruct the conditions in which they worked and of which they wrote. It will thus, while not explicitly devotional or practical, provide that accurate interpretation of the text through which alone the sound basis for devotional use and practical application can be laid. It has been the desire of the promoters that it should be abreast of the present position of scholarship, and yet succeed in making the Scriptures live for its readers with something of the same significance and power that they possessed for those to whom they were originally addressed. While it is intended in the first instance for the layman, and should prove specially helpful to day and Sunday school teachers, to lay preachers, to leaders of men's societies, brotherhoods, and adult Bible classes, and to Christian workers generally, it should also be of considerable use to clergymen and ministers, and in particular to theological students.

The problem of the Editor was to use the space at his disposal to the best advantage. It was necessary to explain the text, but also to provide a knowledge of the background, to sketch the social and political conditions, to trace the historical and religious development, to reconstruct the environment, to arrange the writings in their chronological order. A series of articles was accordingly planned, so that the exposition of the text might be relieved, but also that the general information essential to serious study of the Bible should be provided. Three general articles deal with the nature and significance of Scripture, the literary characteristics of the Bible, and the Holy Land. The remaining articles are so arranged that first the languages, the collection of the books into a sacred canon, the restoration of the text, the historical development of the literature are described. From these we pass to history, not only of Israel or of the Church, but of the world in which they were placed. From history we proceed to religion and religious institutions, and then to social institutions and chronology. Articles are also prefixed to groups of books. Taken together, quite apart from the Commentary, the articles form a fairly complete Companion to the Bible; taken with the Commentary, they provide a background for the more detailed study of the text.

The Commentary is based on the text (including, of course, the marginal renderings) of the Revised Version. The style of exposition naturally varies to some extent with the type of text to be explained. As a general principle, contributors were asked to take the paragraph rather than the verse as the unit, so that each section might be expounded as

a connected whole rather than treated in a series of detached and snippety notes. But while the exegesis of details was to be worked into the continuous exposition, it was recognised that in many instances separate notes would need to be added.

The contributors were, it need hardly be said, left free to express their own views and treat the sections of the work for which they were responsible in their own way, within the limits imposed by the general plan of the series. But the editorial work has been both heavy and responsible. In addition to the planning of the work, the distribution of space, and the securing of contributors, the articles and commentaries were read in manuscript and at every stage of the proofs, and in several instances the Editor carried on a considerable correspondence with the authors on matters that called for reconsideration, or were occasioned by indifference to the limitations of time and space. He has devoted much time to cross-referencing the volume, and to the preparation of the Index, which he hopes will add greatly to the usefulness of the work. He has also made numerous additions to the work of other contributors. This has been due in some measure to the necessity for co-ordination. In many cases a note would be equally appropriate in several places, and contributors working independently may not unnaturally assume that an explanation has been given somewhere in the volume and refrain from repetition. The Editor has to watch that it is not omitted altogether. Where practicable he has worked matter of this kind into his own contributions, but in other cases it has been necessary to insert it elsewhere. Other additions have been designed to put an alternative view before the reader, which it seemed undesirable to ignore, or to supply interesting information, or to give help to those whom it is an editor's special duty, as "occupying the place of the unlearned," to keep constantly in mind. No reflection on the contributors is implied by such additions, since they had to work within narrow limits of space and in ignorance of each other's contributions. Since it is one of the most necessary features of such a book that the reader should always know whose work he is reading, all editorial additions, whether by the Editor himself throughout the volume, or by Dr. Grieve in the New Testament part of it, are enclosed in square brackets and initialled. Editorial work on the bibliographies, which has sometimes been extensive in order to secure some uniformity of scale, has of course not been indicated, nor yet the addition of numerous references.

The apportionment of space has been an anxious matter. It has been determined partly by the nature of the matter, whether lucid or obscure, compact or diffuse; partly by the question whether it deals with a text that is but little studied or that is widely read.

On one or two points of detail it may be desirable to say a few words here, referring the reader for other matters to the explanations and suggestions which follow. In the Old Testament the order of the books given in the English Bible is retained. In the New Testament Mark is placed before Matthew, while Colossians and Philemon are taken with Ephesians. The former rearrangement needs no justification. Study of the Synoptic Gospels ought to begin with the earliest: the exposition of Matthew should be adjusted to that of Mark, rather than, as usually happens, Mark be constantly explained by reference to the comments on Matthew. By giving Mark the priority in treatment, which accords with its priority in time and its employment by the other Synoptists, the student is helped to grasp more firmly the earliest literary presentation of the ministry and personality of

Jesus now accessible to us, and to watch how this was moulded in the later sources. Nor does the combination of Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon call for any defence.

The prefix St. (or S.) has been omitted throughout in accordance with the Editor's strongly expressed wish. On this he may quote from a communication he made to the contributors: "Where one of the great difficulties with which teachers of the Bible have to contend is the sense of unreality that invests so much of the Biblical history, the use of reverential epithets tends to interpose a veil between the modern reader and faces already too dim. The vivid sense of actual history, the realisation that apostles and evangelists were men of flesh and blood like our own, which it is a main purpose of the Commentary to give, is likely to be somewhat blunted by bringing into our interpretation of the record the attitude of a later age."

In his editorial work on the New Testament section of the volume the Editor has had the assistance of Dr. Grieve. He, too, has worked through the contributions in manuscript and in proof, and done much of the cross-referencing; he has made many suggestions; and cordial thanks are due to him for his skill, his energy, and his loyal co-operation.

The ranks of the contributors have been thinned by death. Professor Driver had undertaken the commentaries on Micah and Obadiah. That his death should have deprived the volume of these contributions, and of the distinction his inclusion in the list of writers would have conferred, is to be deeply regretted; but it would be ungracious to dwell on our special loss, when we remember in how many ways his all-too-early departure has impoverished us. Professor Wheeler Robinson has kindly supplied the commentaries Dr. Driver was unable to write. We have also lost Dr. Whitehouse, Mr. Addis, Professor J. H. Moulton, Professor Gwatkin, Professor Menzies, and Professor Bedale—a grievous loss to scholarship in every case. Each had sent in his contribution and seen proofs. The Editor's thanks are due to Miss Lilian Whitehouse for the great pains she spent on her father's proofs, and to Rev. William Edie for the similar service he rendered to those of Dr. Menzies. Professor Bedale's proofs had been finally passed for press before his death; for the rest the Editor assumed responsibility. He has also to thank his dear friend and colleague, Professor W. L. Wardle, for generously reading the proofs of all his contributions, for checking a specially difficult set of references in a commentary by another writer, and for help in checking the Index. Nor can he forget the constant interest and cordial co-operation of the publishers during this period of unprecedented stress. Above all, his gratitude is due to his secretary and friend, Miss Elsie Cann, who has laboured with unfailing devotion to bring the enterprise to a successful issue. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the service she has so freely and fully rendered during more than fourteen years of happy and harmonious co-operation, and especially through the trying and exacting labours of the past six years, during which, next to his professional duties, the preparation of this work has been his main occupation.

It was hoped when the task was undertaken in 1913 that the volume would be ready for publication in 1917. The Editor's work was hampered first by the severe and prolonged illness of his secretary in 1914 and later, and then by his own breakdown, which came near to proving irreparable, in 1915. As the war went on, the difficulties of printing were greatly aggravated; and this inevitably postponed the preparation and checking of

the Index, which has proved a colossal task. No one regrets the delay in publication more than the publishers and the Editor, but it has been unavoidable. In several cases it has been impossible for contributors to take account of recently published literature, since their commentaries or articles had already been set up in page; but mention of it has frequently been inserted in the bibliographies. It is most regrettable that so notable a work as Sir James Frazer's *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* did not appear till the whole volume had been long passed for press. In taking leave of the task which has so long absorbed his attention, the Editor thanks all the contributors, to whose share in it its reputation and usefulness will be so largely due, for the invariable and generous kindness with which they have treated him, and trusts that in the amplest measure their common aim will be attained.

May 1919.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

		PAGE
THE BIBLE: ITS MEANING AND AIM	E. GRIFFITH JONES	1
THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE	W. H. HUDSON	18
THE HOLY LAND	E. W. G. MASTERMAN	26
THE LANGUAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	G. A. COOKE	34
CANON AND TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	J. SKINNER	37
THE DEVELOPMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE	THE EDITOR	44
THE NATIONS CONTEMPORARY WITH ISRAEL	C. L. BEDALE	50
THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL	A. H. M'NEILE	63
THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL	W. G. JORDAN	81
THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL	O. C. WHITEHOUSE	98
THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL	W. J. MOULTON	108
WEIGHTS, MEASURES, MONEY, AND TIME	A. R. S. KENNEDY	115
THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	THE EDITOR	119
INTRODUCTION TO THE PENTATEUCH	J. E. CARPENTER	121
GENESIS	THE EDITOR	133
EXODUS	G. HARFORD	168
LEVITICUS	W. F. LOFTHOUSE	196
NUMBERS	G. W. WADE	213
DEUTERONOMY	T. WITTON DAVIES	231
THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON	244
JOSHUA	S. HOLMES	248
JUDGES	J. STRAHAN	256
RUTH	J. STRAHAN	271
1 AND 2 SAMUEL	W. H. BENNETT	273
1 AND 2 KINGS	F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON	294
1 AND 2 CHRONICLES	W. O. E. OESTERLEY	314
EZRA-NEHEMIAH	W. O. E. OESTERLEY	323
ESTHER	A. DUFF	336
THE POETICAL AND WISDOM LITERATURE	THE EDITOR	341
HEBREW WISDOM	W. T. DAVISON	343
JOB	R. S. FRANKS	346
PSALMS	W. E. ADDIS	366
PROVERBS	S. H. HOOKE	397
ECCLESIASTES	A. J. GRIEVE	411
THE SONG OF SONGS	W. G. JORDAN	418
THE PROPHETIC LITERATURE	THE EDITOR	424

		PAGE
OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY	G. C. JOYCE	426
APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE	H. T. ANDREWS	431
ISAIAH I–XXXIX	THE EDITOR	436
ISAIAH XL–LXVI	W. L. WARDLE	460
JEREMIAH	H. WHEELER ROBINSON	474
LAMENTATIONS	A. DUFF	496
EZEKIEL	J. E. M'FADYEN	501
DANIEL	H. T. ANDREWS	522
HOSEA	G. H. BOX	534
JOEL	W. L. WARDLE	544
AMOS	M. A. CANNEY	547
OBADIAH	H. WHEELER ROBINSON	555
JONAH	THE EDITOR	556
MICAH	H. WHEELER ROBINSON	559
NAHUM	A. R. GORDON	564
HABAKKUK	A. R. GORDON	566
ZEPHANIAH	A. R. GORDON	569
HAGGAI	R. H. KENNETT	572
ZECHARIAH	R. H. KENNETT	575
MALACHI	A. J. GRIEVE	585
THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	J. H. MOULTON	591
THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	J. O. F. MURRAY	594
THE TEXT AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	J. O. F. MURRAY	598
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE	J. MOFFATT	602
JEWISH HISTORY FROM THE MACCABEES TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM	H. M. GWATKIN	607
THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST CENTURY	F. J. HAVERFIELD	612
CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RELIGION	C. G. MONTEFIORE	618
PAGAN RELIGION AT THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY	G. G. A. MURRAY	627
THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS	J. V. BARTLET	636
ORGANISATION, CHURCH MEETINGS, DISCIPLINE, SOCIAL AND ETHICAL PROBLEMS	THE EDITOR	645
THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	A. J. GRIEVE	652
THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS	H. G. WOOD	659
THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM	B. H. STREETER	672
MARK	H. G. WOOD	681
MATTHEW	A. J. GRIEVE	700
LUKE	A. J. GRIEVE	724
JOHN	A. E. BROOKE	743
THE APOSTOLIC AGE AND THE LIFE OF PAUL	C. W. EMMET	766
ACTS	A. MENZIES	776

		PAGE
THE PAULINE THEOLOGY	H. A. A. KENNEDY.	805
THE PAULINE EPISTLES	THE EDITOR	814
ROMANS	G. G. FINDLAY	817
1 CORINTHIANS	THE EDITOR	832
2 CORINTHIANS	C. A. SCOTT	849
GALATIANS	R. MACKINTOSH	657
EPHESIANS, COLOSSIANS, AND PHILEMON	A. E. J. RAWLINSON	862
PHILIPPIANS	W. F. ADENEY	872
1 AND 2 THESSALONIANS	H. T. ANDREWS	876
THE PASTORAL EPISTLES	H. BISSEKER	881
HEBREWS	E. F. SCOTT	889
THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES	A. J. GRIEVE	901
JAMES	J. H. MOULTON	903
1 PETER	G. CURRIE MARTIN	908
2 PETER	R. BROOK	913
1 JOHN	A. L. HUMPHRIES	916
2 JOHN	A. L. HUMPHRIES	921
3 JOHN	A. L. HUMPHRIES	922
JUDE	R. BROOK	923
REVELATION	H. T. ANDREWS	926
GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES	THE EDITOR	945

ABBREVIATIONS	xx
INDEX	947
MAPS	*at end*

EXPLANATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

IT is assumed that those who study this volume will use with it the Revised Version. Care should be taken to secure an edition in which the marginal renderings are included, since these are frequently to be preferred and constant reference is made to them in the Commentary. The Revised Version has been chosen since, whatever its merits or defects in other respects may be, it is undeniably much more accurate in the main than the Authorised Version, and therefore much better fitted for the student's purpose.

The work presupposes the modern critical view of the Bible. Those who are unfamiliar with it are recommended to read the first article in the volume for a summary statement of it. Other articles furnish more detailed information on special branches of the subject.

Those who wish to make a thorough study of the volume would do well to work through the articles prefixed to the Old Testament portion before taking up the Old Testament commentaries, and similarly with the New Testament. They would thus gain that knowledge of background and atmosphere which would give far fuller meaning to the study of the different books. And those who are working on particular books would find it helpful to read the articles or sections of articles relevant to them.

In accordance with the principle that the paragraph rather than the verse is the unit of exposition, the explanation of an individual verse must in many cases be sought in the exposition of the paragraph in which it occurs, not in the detached notes that follow, though further information or discussion may be found in these. Owing to the great difficulties which the text often presents, and the limitations of space, it has been impossible to explain everything; in these cases larger works must be consulted. But great labour has been spent on the cross-referencing, and students are earnestly recommended to avail themselves of the further information to which they are thus directed. Reference is given either to the page or else to the book, chapter, and verse in the note on which the information is to be found. In the latter case an asterisk follows the chapter and verse reference: thus Jer. 8$_2$* means, "See the note on the second verse of the eighth chapter of Jeremiah." The usual notation for chapter and verse is, as will be seen from this example, a large Arabic numeral for the chapter, a small Arabic numeral for the verse. When clarendon type is used the notation is large Roman numerals for the chapter, large Arabic numerals for the verse (**VIII. 2**). In the references printed at the top of the page, that on the left-hand page indicates the point at which the page begins, that on the right-hand page the point where it ends.

To save space numerous abbreviations have been employed. A list of these, with explanations, is given on page xx.

Immense labour has been spent on the Index, in the hope that students will be able, not merely to turn up references quickly, but to collect the information on any particular subject which is scattered through the volume. The greatest pains have been taken by the Editor and his secretary, with the help of Professor Wardle, to secure accuracy by checking of the references in detail; but in such a multitude of figures they fear that some errors may have escaped detection.

Much attention has also been devoted to the preparation of the bibliographies. These include foreign as well as English books, since the needs of theological students have been kept in mind, and it is hoped that their teachers may find the lists convenient for reference in lectures. In the case of the commentaries, the bibliographies are classified as follows: (*a*) Commentaries in English on the English text; (*b*) Commentaries in English on the original text; (*c*) Foreign commentaries (where these have been translated into English an asterisk has been prefixed to the author's name); (*d*) Expository or devotional works. Editions are indicated by the addition of a small Arabic numeral at the right-hand top corner: thus Robertson Smith, RS^2, means the second edition of Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*. Clarendon type means that a book is specially recommended.

No rigid uniformity has been enforced in the spelling of proper names, since the Editor felt it desirable to leave contributors as free as possible in this matter. Thus side by side with the more correct form Nebuchadrezzar, the more popular form Nebuchadnezzar has been retained, as in the Revised Version. The same principle has been observed in transliteration from Hebrew.

ABBREVIATIONS

The Books of the Bible are referred to as follows:

Old Testament.—Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Jos., Jg., Ru., 1 S., 2 S., 1 K., 2 K., 1 Ch., 2 Ch., Ezr., Neh., Est., Job, Ps., Pr., Ec., Ca., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Jl., Am., Ob., Jon., Mi., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.

Apocrypha.—1 Esd., 2 Esd., Tob., Judith, Ad. Est., Wisd., Ecclus., Bar., Song of the Three Children, Sus., Bel, Man., 1 Mac., 2 Mac.

New Testament.—Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Ac., Rom., 1 Cor., 2 Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., 1 Th., 2 Th., 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Tit., Phm., Heb., Jas., 1 P., 2 P., 1 Jn., 2 Jn., 3 Jn., Jude, Rev.

ad loc	on the passage.
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers.
Aram.	Aramaic.
Assy.	Assyrian.
AV	Authorised Version.
Bab.	Babylonian.
BDB	Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon.*
c.	about.
CB	*The Cambridge Bible.*
Cent.B.	*The Century Bible.*
cf.	compare.
CGT	*Cambridge Greek Testament.*
ch.	chapter.
CH	Code of Hammurabi.
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review.*
DAC	*Dictionary of the Apostolic Church.*
DB	Dictionary of the Bible.
DCG	*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.*
EB	*Encyclopædia Britannica.*
EBi	*Encyclopædia Biblica.*
e.g.	for example.
EGT	*Expositor's Greek Testament.*
ERE	*Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.*
ET	*The Expository Times.*
E.tr.	English translation.
Eus.	Eusebius of Cæsarea.
EV	English Version.
Ex.B	*Expositor's Bible.*
Exp.	*The Expositor.*
f.	And following verse, chapter, or page.
ff.	And following verses, chapters, or pp.
Gr.	Greek.
HC	*Hand-commentar zum N.T.*
HDB	Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible.*
Heb.	Hebrew.
Hex.	Hexateuch.
HK	*Handkommentar zum A.T.*
HNT	Lietzmann, *Handbuch zum N.T.*
HSDB.	Hastings' *One Volume Dictionary of the Bible.*
ICC	*International Critical Commentary.*
IH	*International Handbooks to the N.T.*
INT	Introduction to the New Testament.
Inter.	*The Interpreter.*
IOT	Introduction to the Old Testament.
JTh.S	*Journal of Theological Studies.*
KEH	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch.*
KHC	*Kurzes Handcommentar.*
KHS	*Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes.*
lit.	literal, literally.
LXX.	The Septuagint.
Mey.	Meyer, *Kommentar über das N.T.*
mg.	margin.
MT	Massoretic Text.
NT	New Testament.
NTT	New Testament Theology.
OT	Old Testament.
OTJC	*The O.T. in the Jewish Church.*
OTT	Old Testament Theology.

PC . .	*Pulpit Commentary.*
p., pp. .	page, pages.
PSBA . .	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.*
R. . .	Redactor or editor.
RS . .	*The Religion of the Semites.*
RTP . .	*Review of Theology and Philosophy.*
RV . .	Revised Version.
RVm . .	Revised Version margin.
Sam. . .	Samaritan.
SAT . .	*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments.*
SBOT (Eng.)	*The Sacred Books of the Old Testament,* English Translation (The Polychrome Bible).
SBOT (Heb.)	*The Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (Hebrew Text).
SDB . .	Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible.*
SNT . .	J. Weiss, *Die Schriften des N.T.*
Sp. . .	*Speaker's Commentary.*
Syr. . .	Syriac Version.
TR . .	Textus Receptus.
v., *vv.*, .	verse, verses.
VSS . .	Versions.
Vulg. . .	Vulgate.
West.C .	*Westminster Commentaries.*
WH . .	Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in Greek.*
WNT . .	*Westminster New Testament.*
ZK . .	Zahn, *Commentar zum Neuen Testament.*
ZNTW .	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.*

The usual symbols for documents, J, E, JE, D, P, H, in the Hexateuch, Q in the Synoptists, are employed. See for an explanation of these the articles on The Pentateuch and The Synoptic Problem.

Divisions of verses are indicated by the addition to the number of *a* and *b*. Thus 16*b* means the second half of verse 16. Occasionally *c* and *d* may also be used.

CORRIGENDA.

Page and Column.	Line.	
290*b*	52-54	*For* "will be due to confusion with Abigail, wife of Nahash, and perhaps also," *substitute* "may perhaps be partly due."
523*b*	43	*For* "the man and the he-goat," *substitute* "the ram and the he-goat."

The following corrections should also be made:—306*b*, "5" for "$_5$" in last line but one from bottom; 352*a*, line 1, "man's life"; 383f, in page headings, "Psalms LXI. 2*b*"; 509*a*, line 23, Ex. B; 524*a*, line 13, Onias III.; 677*a*, transpose "Concerning Offences" and "Lost Sheep" under both Luke's Order and Matthew's Order.

COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE

THE BIBLE: ITS MEANING AND AIM

By Principal E. GRIFFITH-JONES

"If thou art merry, here are airs,
If melancholy, here are prayers;
If studious, here are those things writ
Which may deserve thy ablest wit;
If hungry, here is food divine;
If thirsty, nectar, heavenly wine.
. . . . . .
Read then, but first thyself prepare
To read with zeal and mark with care;
And when thou read'st what here is writ,
Let thy best practice second it;
So twice each precept writ should be,
First in the Book, and then in thee."

If Carlyle's dictum be true, that "of all things which men do make here below, by far the most momentous, wonderful, and worthy are the things called books," we may say with confidence that the greatest of human achievements is the Bible, which, in virtue of its pre-eminence, has come to be called *the* Book. It was written thousands of years ago by men belonging to an alien land and civilisation, many of them anonymous, and none of them scholars in the modern sense of the term; yet is its message still vital, its words full of glow and power. There was no collusion between its writers, whose lives stretch over a period of a thousand years, but there is a unity of purpose running through its multifarious contents which no reverent reader fails to grasp. It is a compendium of the literature of a little people, obscure in origin, limited in outlook, often questionable in morals, but charged with a mission and message for humanity at large whose significance has deepened with the lapse of ages, and whose influence is still the profoundest and most far-reaching in the whole world. It is circulated more widely, read more eagerly to-day than ever; and it is no exaggeration to say that the ultimate destiny of the race will be vitally affected by its attitude to the Bible in the ages to come. Without affirming for a moment that this Book makes other books superfluous, we can say that this is the Book which could be least spared of all that have challenged the intellect, subdued the heart, and inspired the will of mankind to high thinking and noble doing. It is the *vade mecum* of pilgrim man on his journey through time into eternity. Therefore it is a book to be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested by all who desire to live a true life, and who are lovers of their kind.

I

What is the source of this unique influence? The secret is manifold, but there is one all-controlling characteristic that may be put into a sentence. Implicitly or explicitly it always and everywhere deals with the soul of man in its relations with the Living God. It registers on the one side the progressive outreach of the soul in the various stages and moods of its search for God; and on the other, it unfolds the gradual self-manifestation of God in His revealing and redeeming power on behalf of Man. The Bible is a record of the process by which formless matter, energised and vitalised, became the organism of the redeemed soul, filled with all the fullness of Christ. If any man desires to know his own heart in all its possibilities of glory and shame, if he desires to know God in all the grandeur of His nature and the far-reaching grasp of His love, let him read and master this book. And if he will then bring together into the unity of his own life what he here learns of himself, and what he learns of God, it will make him "wise unto salvation."

Let us consider in a little more detail this twofold aspect of the Bible. *It reveals man to himself as a seeker after God.* We have in this book a wonderful variety of literature—myth and legend, history and fiction, poetry and drama, idyll and allegory, record and prophecy. Its gallery of portraits comprises king and beggar, wise man and fool, rich and poor, saint and villain, oppressor and slave, hero and wastrel, dreamer and doer, each revealing (sometimes in a single phrase) his distinctive quality, and unfolding his destiny according to his kind. The philosopher is here, wrestling with the dark problems of existence, sometimes lost in perplexity, sometimes radiant with vision; the poet is here, weaving into sentences of simple but matchless beauty the longings, discoveries, aspirations of the soul as he grasps the "flying vesture" of God; the prophet is here, gazing at the passing glory of the Most High, or brooding in sorrow over the pathos of man's blindness and sin; the historian is here, unfolding the significance of past events, and pointing the moral of the achievements or failures of older times for his own day. We have pictures of family life in its homely relations—the birth of little children, the love of youth and maiden, the sorrows and joys of married life, the tragedy of broken hearts, the happiness of renewed relations, the sadness of the inevitable end. Often too we come on the shock of battle, the agony of defeat, the shout of victory, and we see empires pass in pomp or shame across the stage, now rising into power, now fading into nothingness. There is no typical experience of human life that is not somewhere mirrored in these living pages; virtues and vices are chronicled with firm, impartial touch; the sweetness of life, and its unutterable bitterness, find their full expression.

Studying the Bible is thus only another way of studying life itself, and always in its spiritual relations. This crowded assemblage of figures, when their varied impressions are blended into one composite picture, reveal the human soul in its littleness and grandeur, its sin and saintliness, its depths of shame, its heights of possibility. He must be a dull reader who, having mastered the Bible, fails to see *himself* somewhere in it—as he is, and as he ought to be.

This, however, is but the lesser half of the message

of the Bible. *Its central figure is not man, but God.* Open it where we will, we always find ourselves in the Holy Presence. It is the story of an unfolding vision, of a gradually completed movement of the Divine self-manifestation. The structure of the Bible as it has come down to us masks the gradual character of that process. The most primitive portions of its literature are embedded in a mass of later editorial matter, and the true chronological order of its parts has only comparatively recently been disentangled from a bewildering multiplicity of documents. It has taken over a century of laborious research on the part of an army of devoted scholars to recover the historical perspective of this revelation, but the task is now almost complete. This discovery has thrown a wonderful light on the slow but steady method by which God manifested His character in the events of Hebrew history, and through its outstanding personalities. The later editors may have used the annals of their race uncritically, and here and there may have mistaken legend for history, and myth for fact; but what is evident at each step is that their one interest was to review the past story of the world in the light of God's providential sovereignty in nature, and of His redeeming grace in His dealings with mankind, and more especially with His "chosen people." We do not go to the Bible for science, for in science we deal with secondary causes only, and here these have no place; and we do not go to it for history in the ordinary sense of the word, since history deals with events in their purely human aspects. Nature in the Bible is always viewed as God's handiwork, the fruit of His immediate creative power, the scene of His personal activity, the means whereby He brings His providential ends to pass. Man is His child, the object of His peculiar care, to whom He has entrusted a special function of lordship over the world, and from whom He has great expectations. But man has sinned and gone astray from his true path. Even with the chosen race He has again and again been disappointed; nevertheless, He has used it as His special channel for the revelation of His nature, for the progressive unfolding of His redemptive purpose; even its failures and sins have but furnished Him with fresh opportunities for the manifestation of His power and grace. It is characteristic of the OT writers that they never fail to use the dark background of human depravity to throw up the ever-brightening picture of the Divine perfections, and especially to illustrate God's unfailing faithfulness. When we cross the threshold of the NT, we are in a different environment, and are planted more securely on the authentic rock of history; but the same commanding interest is still with us. We are ever dealing with the redeeming God; but "all the light of sacred story" is here concentrated in a single Personality, in whom dwells the "fullness of the Godhead bodily," and from whom the old redeeming energies now radiate out to all the world. First we have four vivid portraits of Jesus Christ, Son of God, Son of Man, in which the very aroma of His personal presence still lingers. We catch a glimpse of Him in His gentle youth, silently preparing for His great mission; we see Him in the fullness of His manhood entering on His public vocation as Prophet, Healer, Wonder-worker; we watch Him teaching His heavenly ethic, preaching the gospel of the Kingdom, training the Twelve, healing the sick, helping the poor, opening the door of hope to the outcast and the lost; the lights and shadows of the picture grow more vivid as His life moves to its inevitable and tragic climax; we stand beside the Cross and hear His bitter cry as He gives up the ghost; we share in the glory of the resurrection morning. Then we witness the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost; the birth of the Christian Church; the rapid spread of the Gospel message in far-scattered communities throughout the Roman Empire. Finally in a collection of apostolic letters, the cosmic significance of the Incarnation is unfolded, and the sure triumph of God's redemptive purpose is foreshadowed. So the agelong process is complete, and the Gospel of the grace of God is launched on its historic career.

II

These are the fundamental aspects of the Bible, stated broadly and without qualification. It brings man near to God; it brings God home to man. And this it does whatever theory we may have of its origin, its nature, its method of appeal.

The Bible, however, needs to be understood in all these directions if it is to do its perfect work with us. And it is not an easy book to understand. If its appeal to the heart is simple, its challenge to the intellect is complex. From whatever side we approach it, we are met by bristling problems. *How to understand the Bible* has been a perennial question for devout minds. Probably more earnest study has been given to this matter, and more intellectual effort has been expended upon it, than on any other that has ever been presented to the attention of civilised man. The history of Biblical interpretation is in a very real sense the history of the human mind itself since the Bible was written. And to-day we are passing through a profound revolution in our attitude towards this wonderful Book. Modern scholarship has attacked its problems from a fresh standpoint, has discovered new facts as to its origin, its composition, its authorship, its gradual growth from the first nucleus to the completed volume, and has set its contents in a new perspective. The Bible of the twentieth century is a new book, needing a new treatment, and a new attitude of mind in order rightly to value its message.

If we would understand how all this has come about, we must link it with a profound change in man's conception of the universe. The birth of what is called the "modern mind" is really the birth of a new method of approaching reality. In ancient and mediæval times, the method of inquiry was *a priori*. By this is meant that men endeavoured to harmonise facts with certain preconceived categories of thought, which ruled them with unconscious but rigorous tyranny, and with which all fresh knowledge must somehow be made to harmonise. Facts which refused to bend to this process were either rejected or else forced somehow into the general scheme of thought. This was true of philosophy and science, and pre-eminently of theology. Those who ventured to question current assumptions, and to formulate fresh schemes more in harmony with newly-discovered facts, were hardly dealt with, and if they persisted, were treated as heretics and outcasts, and were imprisoned, tortured, even slain without pity. Gradually, however, this rigorous uniformity of belief in all realms of knowledge broke down under the obstinate and ever-increasing pressure of a new method of inquiry—the *a posteriori*. By this is meant the rejection of preconceived ideas, and the study of facts in and for themselves as a preliminary to formulating their laws—to deduce theories from an examination of facts, and not bend facts to suit accepted theories. This is a simple thing to say; but it involved nothing less than

a fundamental change in every department of thought. In the first place, it put the inquirer into a new relation to reality; it made him Nature's pupil, not her master; it changed prejudice into teachableness, and opened a new and fascinating vista of inquiry in every direction. In the second place, man began to understand the world better, and his control over the forces and processes of Nature began to extend in a magical way. The method, in a word, was justified by its results, and to-day no sound thinker doubts that the pathway to truth and power lies in this direction. Consequently the method has been applied all round, and modern science stands forth as a monument of the enterprise, receptivity, and patience of the human mind. No theorising till we have the facts to theorise about; and as fresh facts pour into view, a rigorous re-examination and rebuilding of existing theories in the light of these facts—such is the modern way of thinking. It has encountered many difficulties and pitfalls; it has often been led into blind alleys and has had to retrace its steps; it is constantly revising its conclusions, and making fresh ventures, which do not always prove fruitful; but the principle has now become axiomatic, as the only legitimate and sure method of extending the bounds of knowledge. Modern Biblical Science is the result of applying this instrument of inquiry to the facts of the Bible. It is based on the *a posteriori* as distinguished from the old *a priori* method of dealing with it. In no department of thought has the new method had to fight so hard for foothold; in none has the old been so obstinately defended; in none have the issues been so momentous, or the victory more complete.

We must not be hard on the tenacity and even obstinacy of those who felt themselves called upon to fight against the modern view of the Bible. If their judgment was at fault, their motives were of the highest. Religion is the most precious possession of man; it finds him in the elemental, changeless region of his being; and anything that endangers its interests must at all costs be resisted and overcome. Now, just because religion appeals to the permanent elements in man's nature, it is difficult to avoid identifying it with the special forms in which it is embodied. Consequently, when we are called to give up any of our religious conceptions, we are prone to believe that religion itself is in danger. Thus, however open-minded and liberal we may be in other matters, we are all apt to become conservatives in religion. A creed, once formulated, tends to become fossilised, and to entrench itself behind a rampart of sacred affections and time-honoured traditions. Progress in religious thought is slow and painful. It is no wonder that this has been specially the case with men's thoughts about the Bible—the most precious volume in the religious literature of the race. But, if the progress of Biblical Science has been slow, it has been inevitable. The very love of truth which the Bible has been the chief means of propagating, has made it impossible to hold back the movement; once fairly begun, it could not but come to its own at last.

III

Let us consider in the first place the change that has become necessary in our ideas of the *inspiration* of the Bible, of the *revelation* contained in it, and of its supreme *authority*.

1. For many centuries, almost indeed from the most primitive times, the Bible was held by nearly all Christian thinkers to be inspired in form as well as in substance. This idea was inherited from the Rabbis, who held a similar theory concerning the Old Testament. There seems to be a tendency in all religions possessing a sacred literature to ascribe the origin of that literature to inspiration, *i.e.* to the "inbreathing" or influence of the Divine Spirit. The Vedas, the teachings of Zoroaster and of some Buddhists, the Koran, are all believed by their votaries to have proceeded from a Divine source. The Brahmins even believe that the Vedas existed from all eternity. There must be some inherent reason for ideas so widespread. It has been suggested (doubtless with some truth) that they are the result of *a priori* theories as to what a Divinely-inspired book must have been. We prefer to believe that the reason is fundamentally religious rather than intellectual, and to find in all theories of inspiration an instinctive tribute to the quality of the writings themselves. It was felt that what proved to be so inspiring must have been Divinely inspired. To what extent, and in what way, would be formulated later by reflection. The slow and tentative manner in which the Canon of both the OT and the NT was formed favours this view. As regards our Bible, at any rate (whatever be the case with other sacred books), the various parts found their way into recognition by a process of selection and exclusion which took centuries to complete—a fact which suggests a law of survival very similar to that discovered by Darwin in the organic world. No infallible test was applicable, but those writings were finally included which were found in experience to bear the authentic marks of inspiration. (See pp. 39f.)

It is not the *fact* of inspiration, however, that is in dispute, but its *character* and *method*. How far, for instance, are we to attribute inspiration to the *form* as well as the substance of Scripture? Christian thinkers have not been agreed on this point. Some have boldly affirmed the "mechanical" or "dictation" theory of verbal inspiration, which means that every word in the Bible represents the mind of God as perfectly as though He had written it Himself, the actual author being not so much the "pen-man" as the "pen" of the Holy Spirit. This idea is really self-contradictory, for there can be no question of inspiration if the writer is the mere mechanical instrument of Divinity. It is also quite incompatible with the facts presented by the Bible itself. The various books, and many portions of certain books, are written in a style so varied and characteristic as to suggest irresistibly the personal idiosyncrasies of different writers. No one, *e.g.*, can fail to recognise the very different style of Chronicles from that of Kings, or to distinguish the peculiar note of Jeremiah from that of Amos. Scholars have been able to detect four main currents of writing in the Pentateuch, and the hands of several editors or redactors. Further, in no part of Scripture is this claim to verbal inspiration made. "The authors, instead of being passive recipients of information and ideas and feelings, represent themselves as active, deliberating, laborious, intensely interested." In many cases they base their own version of events on previous (now lost) writings. Luke claims to have made a careful and critical use of his sources, very much after the manner of the scientific historians of to-day. As has been aptly pointed out, "When St. Paul in 2 Cor. 11^{17} says, 'That which I speak I speak not after the Lord, but as in foolishness, in the confidence of boasting,' it is intelligible to say that an inspired man is speaking; it is not intelligible to say that it is God speaking." This theory again is incompatible with the way in

which the NT writers quote from the OT. Out of 275 quotations it has been found that there are only 53 in which the Hebrew, the Septuagint (or Greek version of the OT) and the NT writers verbally agree; there are 99 in which the NT quotation differs from both (which also differ from one another), and 76 in which the correct Septuagint rendering has been *wrongly altered*. This is quite incompatible with the position that all the words of Scripture are equally inspired; for can we believe that the Holy Spirit would misquote Himself? But there is a more conclusive argument still against such a theory; for we have no final and unquestionable text of Holy Scripture to which we can turn as the original version. The original manuscripts have long since perished. Our existing MSS differ greatly, in various complicated ways, and while we are practically certain of the sense of most passages, we often cannot be sure which of several or many variants is nearest the original in its exact wording. In view of these unquestionable facts, it is futile to affirm any longer the verbally-inspired character of the Bible, and those who would "save their faces" by suggesting this of the lost original text are doing small honour to the Holy Spirit, for if it was worth while working a miracle to produce such a text, why was not a miracle wrought to preserve it from corruption?

The *dynamical* theory of inspiration transfers the problem from the form of the Bible as literature to the personalities of the writers. It suggests in the first place that they were selected in virtue of possessing certain qualities which made them apt subjects for inspiration, and secondly that their human powers were dominated and safeguarded by Divine influence from error in the fulfilment of their function. Such imperfections and errors in Scripture as could not be denied were thus of human origin; the subject-matter only was Divine. This theory escapes many of the difficulties of the previous one, but in its crude forms it lands us in hopeless psychological problems. How are we to conceive of the method by which a writer was ensured of infallibility in one sentence while the next was manifestly erroneous? In doubtful cases, how are we to distinguish the one stage from the other? And what was the precise relation between the Divine Spirit and the human in such a process? There is, however, an element of truth in this view. There are diversities of gifts among good men in spiritual as well as intellectual functions, and be the inspiration where it may, it must be held to have some relation to the personality of its medium. And it is easy to recognise that some of the Biblical writers are habitually nearer the centre of spiritual reality than others, more sensitive to the influence of the Divine Spirit, and better fitted for the expression of religious truth. Also it is quite in analogy with other facts to believe that a real vision of God may be compatible with imperfect knowledge of facts and events, and that a true point of view may co-exist with much intellectual error and confusion. The artist may not be a good historian; the seer may be a poor logician. And it is quite consistent to hold that a man may be truly inspired though he may be fallible in the way he delivers himself of his message. When it is said, "Men spake from God, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," we are not bound to believe that the ordinary laws of thought and limitations of personality were suspended during the process. The truth may have taken on the colour of the speaker's temperament and individuality, and so be more or less distorted in expression, without losing its Divine quality. With these qualifications it is in accordance with the facts to speak of the writers of Scripture as "inspired men." The Holy Spirit did not fail of His purpose because His instruments of revelation were fallible though supremely gifted souls. They were what may be called religious geniuses, who co-operated actively in the spiritual function for which they were chosen. As Professor Peake puts it, "This is not to minimise the Divine element in the creation of Scripture. On the contrary, it enhances it. Just as the Spirit of God was at work in the history of Israel, preparing a fruitful soil for revelation, so too He was active in the creation of the efficient medium through which He imparted the revelation itself." (*The Bible: Its Origin, Its Significance, and Its Abiding Worth*, p. 395f.)

IV

Revelation and inspiration are co-ordinate terms. The former denotes the unfolding knowledge of God's nature and saving purpose; the latter, the means and methods by which that knowledge has been achieved. "The *action of God* on the nature of man we may call 'inspiration'; its *result*, the perfected and purified consciousness of self and the world, and God, is 'revelation'" (Garvie). As regards the Bible, the deposit of spiritual truth which it contains, constitutes its revelation; the characteristic spiritual quality of the writers and, secondarily, of the literature through which this has come to us, we call their inspiration.

The old view of revelation was that it was to be found in the substance of Scripture throughout its course without distinction or difference. Theologically this made the Bible a storehouse of texts and passages, any one of which could be quoted with equal appropriateness in the upbuilding of doctrine. In a book of such varied contents and of so many diverse points of view, it was thus possible by a careful selection of proof-texts to formulate any number of diverse and incompatible theological constructions, especially when the literary context and historical setting of the books whence these texts were drawn were ignored, as was generally the case. Calvinist and Arminian, Trinitarian and Socinian, Swedenborgian and Latter-day Saint, Universalist and Particularist, drew their credal systems from the same source; they each and all claimed scriptural authority for the result; and there was no objective standard or norm of interpretation which could be appealed to in settling their rival claims to acceptance. The breaking up of the Protestant world into the innumerable sects and systems of thought which characterised the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries was mainly due to this conception of the Bible as throughout a homogeneous and equally authoritative body of truth concerning God, Man, and the World, the interpretation of which must be left to individual judgment.

Religiously, while this theory of revelation helped to place the Bible on a pedestal of sanctity and authority over human life which had its beneficent side, it had other baleful results. Fortunately the NT so clearly showed that the OT system of religious ordinances was superseded by the later and more spiritual developments of revelation that a certain limit was put at the outset to the binding character of OT regulations. But in other directions the "hard" view of Scripture made for rigidity of conduct and character, and exercised a painful tyranny over weak consciences. It turned customs of ancient times into rules for modern everyday life to which they were manifestly inappropriate. The Puritan Sunday was

really a substitution of the rigid Jewish Sabbath (and that a travesty) for the free spiritual conception of the Lord's Day. The words of Scripture were used as oracles for the determination of moral problems and difficult situations. Verses chosen in a haphazard way were dealt with as magical formulæ settling problems of conduct. The very Gospel of Jesus was superstitiously made into a textbook from which to read the dark future. When a bishop had to be elected in the sixth century, church officials almost always consulted the Psalter (!) first, on behalf of the man to be elected. Bible verses written on parchment were attached to easy chairs in order to keep away evil spirits; little Gospels were hung round the necks of babies to ward off impending evil. And even in modern times the rightful reverence felt for the Bible by devout souls has often been travestied by this tendency to resort to it as a storehouse of magical charms. More terrible still was the abuse of Scripture in its references to *witchcraft*. Religious persecution has scarcely a darker page than the treatment meted out to wizards and witches in mediæval times—mainly on the "authority" of Scripture. Not only were those suspected of practising the Black Art tortured, but no limit was placed on the amount or kind of torture to which the unhappy victims were subjected, as was done in the case of heretics. The false confessions made by these victims under the stress of unbearable agony gave a factitious colour to the accusation, and gradually built up a system of superstition on this subject from which the religious world has only recently emerged. Scarcely less sorrowful has been the attempted justification for slavery drawn from the patriarchal and later custom in Biblical times, and more especially from Noah's curse on Canaan (Gen. 9$_{25}$*). It was forgotten that slavery among the Hebrews was a very different and far more humane institution than in any adjoining nation, or even in modern times; and that Christian ministers should have been found in the Southern States of America during the Civil War who justified the horrible custom on Biblical grounds, is one of the saddest results in history of a perverted theory of Scripture.

The mechanical theory of revelation has had still other unfortunate and mischievous results. One of these is the use of the Bible as a "book of puzzles" as regards future events. Periodicals are still published which occasionally draw up apocalyptic programmes where the fate of modern nations and of the race is foreshadowed with a confidence rivalled only by their futility. It is one of the marvels of religious psychology that this practice has survived so many refutations, but it is happily clear that its day is nearly done. We can no longer believe that the vivid pictures of future destiny in the apocalyptic literature of the Bible have any reference to the Europe of the twentieth century, or can serve as a guide in foretelling the development of events in the centuries to come. How many fears and terrors in mediæval and later times would have been spared the soul of man, if the key to this literature had been discovered earlier!

Perhaps, however, it is in the inhibiting influence exercised by this conception of revelation on the progress of scientific thought that its most practical effect is seen. Take the science of history. So long as the literal, matter-of-fact interpretation of Scripture was universally held, it was impossible for Christian thinkers to approach extra-Biblical records of the past with anything like independence of judgment. For mediæval thinkers history began in heaven when the Holy Trinity conceived the idea of creation, and ended in heaven with the Last Judgment. The stages of this history are given in the Bible from Genesis on, the whole account being accepted as literally true. Round this vertebral column were entwined all kinds of apocryphal legends and mythical embellishments guaranteed by the Church as valid history, which no one was permitted to question on pain of torture and excommunication. Associated with this mass of superstitious nonsense was a crude cosmology equally authoritative and futile. The universe was an edifice of three floors—the heaven above, a compact dome in which the stars were fixed, while the planets moved in their own sphere; higher was the region where the Holy Trinity dwelt, surrounded and adored by a countless multitude of angels whose business it was to keep heaven and earth in constant communication; below was the earth itself, a large round plane, "the centre of which was Jerusalem, where, in the same place, Adam was buried and Christ was crucified, so that the blood of the Saviour dropped into the skull of Adam"; below the earth was the great dark dungeon called hell, the home of the devil and his angels, who competed with the angels for the soul of man, and where the various types of departed sinners worked out their eternal destiny in varying depths of woe.

Such was the grotesque view of history and cosmology based on the scriptural account of heaven, earth, and man, which for a thousand years formed the working background of men's thoughts of the universe, and which for centuries resisted attack. It is not till a period within living memory that this artificial but obstinate scheme of things finally broke down under the impact of advancing science. The path of knowledge, like the path of faith, has been marked with the graves of martyrs, and by bloody footprints of suffering and sorrow. The first blow came from the Copernican astronomy, which dethroned the earth from her central position among the heavenly bodies; the second from geology, which superseded the Mosaic programme of the creation of the world in six days, and substituted eras of unimaginable length in the formation of the earth's crust for the legendary week of Gen. 1; the third from the theory of evolution, which filled the vast ranges of space and time thus suddenly thrown open with a perspective of developing life, whose evolution is still far from its goal. The emancipation is now fairly complete; but unfortunately, the triumph of science has for the time impaired the authority of Scripture not only as a textbook of astronomy or physics, but in its own proper domain as a fountain of religious knowledge and of spiritual inspiration.

There is one other result of the plenary theory which must not pass without brief notice. We refer to the science of interpretation. If every part of Scripture contains Divine truth, each part must have some definite value for religion as such. How, then, are we to deal with those portions which are hard to differentiate from the ordinary annals of other nations, with their trivial personal details and (in some cases) their doubtful morality? What value for spiritual life can we find in the minute liturgical and ceremonial details of the Tabernacle and its services? What of the obscure passages in many of the prophets, especially the apocalyptic sections? What of the erotic references in the Song of Songs? What of the genealogies in the Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah? In order to win abiding spiritual sustenance from these portions, the allegorical method of interpretation had to be employed. In addition to the plain, literal

meaning of Scripture there was also the mystical or spiritual meaning, and it was the work of the commentator to discover and unfold this for the edification of the devout reader. That there is a mystical side to the Bible—especially in some parts—we must all allow. It is also true that the laws of the moral and spiritual life may be legitimately illustrated or deduced in many subtle ways from the most trivial events. The allegorical interpreter, however, was not satisfied with such sober methods, but allowed his religious imagination to carry him away into the wildest extravagances. In doing so, he followed a custom deeply embedded in Greek and Hebrew literature. Allegory has been called "the safety-valve for Greek, Jew, and Christian." There is an indigenous tendency in the human mind which recognises by a natural intuition the analogy between the material and spiritual orders; and this tendency (in the absence of historical criticism) was for the literalist the only way to avoid an awkward situation. Homer, for instance (the "Bible of the Greek"), was from the time of Anaxagoras treated allegorically. The actions of the Greek gods and goddesses typified the movements of natural forces; "the story of Ares and Aphrodite and Hephæstus is a story of iron subdued by fire, and restored to its original hardness by Poseidon, that is, by water"; or else they were the movements of mental powers and moral virtues (*cf.* the legend of Odysseus and the Sirens, etc.). (See Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 62, 64.) Again the Palestinian Jews allegorised the OT, finding a hidden meaning in sentences and even letters, especially for homiletic purposes; while the Alexandrian Jews, being in close touch with the Platonic school of thought, did the same by their sacred books, in order to prove that they were neither impious nor barbarous, and that Moses was the teacher or anticipator of Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics. "The Hellenistic thinkers desired to be Greek philosophers without ceasing to be Jewish religionists." The representative Hellenist was the Alexandrian Philo, who reduced allegory to a system; and in his eager desire to extract a higher meaning from the most trivial details of the OT, the narrative was at times quite lost sight of. We find traces of this method even in Paul's writings, who was well versed in Rabbinical methods, as in his treatment of the legend of Hagar (Gal. 4 24ff.), in his use of the Israelitish wanderings (1 Cor. 10 1–11), and in his view of the spiritual import of marriage (Eph. 5 22–33; *cf.* also 1 Cor. 9 9f., 2 Cor. 3 13ff., etc.). There is a further development of this method in Hebrews, which deals with Judaism as the shadow of Christianity. The writer is fond of pointing out analogies and contrasts between the invisible, archetypal, imperishable world, and the visible, perishable world of sense (*cf.* his elaborate allegory of Melchizedek, which reminds us of Philo's treatment of Melchizedek as an allegory of the Logos). There was, therefore, abundant literary and religious precedent for the use of the allegorical method by Christian writers, supreme among whom was Origen of Alexandria. This method of handling Scripture was continued into later ages, and its close relation to literalist views of revelation is seen in the extravagancies of pietist writers down to our own time. The method has certain advantages in educing spiritual truth from very unpromising material, and as a "methodological device" is perhaps occasionally justifiable for practical homiletic purposes; but as a serious business it is profoundly vicious, since it is based on an unreality, and is, in the last resort, a mere intellectual subterfuge, and at best an indulgence of the religious imagination. Its worst feature is that it breeds carelessness of the real meaning of Scripture and a habit of intellectual indolence. In an age of critical thought most students will hold it to be little short of a pious insincerity; it is time it should be recognised to have had its day, and treated as a hindrance to the discovery and exposition of Scriptural truth.

V

It would be misleading and sorely unjust, however, to ignore the fact that these obsolete views of inspiration and revelation in earlier ages did not hinder the positive teaching of Scripture from being grasped and appreciated. Till the wind of the critical movement began to trouble the quiet waters of faith, they were the only possible theories for those who valued the Word of God as Divinely given for the salvation of man. The plenary idea of inspiration did good service for the Church in many ways. In the first place, it ensured that the Bible should be valued at its infinite worth. During the ages before printing, and when every copy had to be made by hand, it guaranteed that the utmost care should be exercised to reproduce the original accurately, that the very letters should be written lovingly and beautifully, and that no conscious addition should be made to the text, or anything left out through carelessness or inattention. The contents and form of the book being equally priceless, no material but the best available was used in its reproduction, and every care was taken for its preservation, thus ensuring long life for the MSS. Later on, reverence for the Book was shown in the exquisite script and illumination which characterised the mediæval copies. To this end Charlemagne, above all anxious to secure a really good, trustworthy text of the Bible, made a regulation that no unskilled or unscholarly person should be employed as a copyist, for, as he said, "it needs not only piety, but grammar—and good grammar—to understand what you are copying"; and he collected a college of scholars, at the head of whom he placed Alcuin, a monk from England, to do this sacred work. It is this reverence for the very letter of Scripture which accounts for the fact that though there are thousands of various readings in the MSS., the text of the Bible has been better preserved for us than that of any other ancient book. The same sentiment ensured that great care should be shown in the translation of the Bible into other tongues. The finest scholarship and the most loving solicitude have been shown in this work throughout the ages, down to the present day. The result is that this Book—so eminently translatable because of its concrete character, and its vivid though limited vocabulary—has been aptly rendered into most of the languages in which it has appeared, and has generally become the standard and norm of literary style. Again, for the same reason, there is probably no book that has been so widely read, and pondered, and commented on as the Bible. The most gifted intellects of all ages have expended their insight and skill in discovering its meaning, and in applying its message to every human need. Because devout scholars have been convinced that it is able to make men "wise unto salvation," they have grudged neither time nor effort searching its height and depth, its length and breadth, for light on the path of duty, for direction in the perplexities and temptations and sorrows of life. Since its various parts were collected into a single volume, there is no literature, with the exception possibly of the Chinese classics, that has commanded a tithe of

the conscientious study and loving exposition received by the Bible.

But all this was only a means to a greater end. The vast expenditure of effort in copying, translating, expounding, and annotating the Book that has been going on throughout the centuries had a practical purpose. It was to enable men to appropriate for themselves the content of the revelation contained in it. Mistaken as we believe earlier ages to have been in their identification of the form with the substance, the Bible did its work, and still does it, in the hearts of its readers. There is that in it which he who runs may read, and which is equally within the reach of wise and simple if they but have the teachable mind and the open heart. Indeed the great triumphs of this Book in saving men from their sins, instructing and building up the Church of Christ, elevating thought, purifying morals, inspiring reforms, and initiating movements for the betterment of the world, were won while these now outworn theories of its nature were practically universal. The modern scholar and the critic over-estimate their function if they think that it has been reserved for them to discover the essential message of the Bible. They have wrought a priceless benefit for the future of religion in that they have brought Biblical Science into line with the rest of human knowledge, and made it possible for the educated mind to read it with more accuracy and understanding, unburdened with the *impedimenta* of superstitious ideas; but they have done no more than this. The religious value of the Bible depends on its validity, its broad, spiritual appeal, its extraordinary power of reaching and transforming the soul of man. When our function as critics is done, we must still go to Scripture for its own authentic Word, and that can be grasped and won only if we combine the insight and judgment of the scholar with the heart of a little child. The destructive work of criticism is necessary and good: it is now its task to build a positive view of the Bible which shall do for the coming generations what the older view, in spite of its imperfection and error, did for the generations gone by.

VI

We pass on to consider the *authority of the Bible.* What changes have been necessitated in this respect by the new view of its inspiration and of the nature of revelation?

It has always been perplexing and difficult to define the relation between religion and authority. There is an instinctive craving in the human soul for a standard of belief and conduct which shall be accepted as infallible. To stigmatise this as a superstition or an infirmity is to pass an undiscriminating judgment on a universal tendency. What marks man everywhere in all his strivings after spiritual peace and assurance must be a valid instinct in itself, however many the abuses associated with its workings. If the essence of religion lies in obedience, the question inevitably rises—obedience to what or whom? Surely only to that which has a *right* to such obedience; and perfect unquestioning obedience can properly be given only to what has an *absolute* right to it. Till we attain the conviction that we have found this "goal of heart's desire," there will be doubt in our allegiance, and uncertainty in our conduct. The longing for a valid criterion of truth, and a final standard of right, has thus been among the most passionate of all man's religious impulses. It has also been one of the most difficult to satisfy—so difficult, indeed, that most men have either given up the quest as impossible, or have attempted to satisfy it along secondary and derivative lines.

Now when pushed to its ultimate conclusion there can be but one clear and self-evident answer to the question—what is the ultimate seat of authority in religion? *That authority can be found only in the revealed will of God.* He alone who created us and sustains us, and who has "made us for Himself," has the right to our entire and unquestioning obedience. The very word "authority" (like "religion") implies a personal relation, and this relation can only be that between God and the soul. The real problem begins at this point. How may we reach the conviction that we have arrived at a sound knowledge of the will of God? "Show us the Father," said Philip, "and it sufficeth us." But how are we to know Him?

The *mystic* claims to reach this knowledge of God by means of the "inner light." He repudiates all appeal to external authority; because it is *external,* it can have no real bearing on conscience, which must and can only be illumined from within. Without disparaging the priceless services rendered to religion by the mystics, and allowing that they are right in claiming the possibility of an immediate vision of the Divine, their method, uncorrected by any independent standard, is too subjective in character, too vague in its results, to satisfy the needs of the average soul. The most fruitful mystics have been those nurtured in an atmosphere of objective religion which has corrected their indefiniteness of statement, and their tendency to substitute a morbid introspection for sound teaching and healthy activity. Nor do the mystics always agree in their readings of the will of God; some are nobly sane and practical in thought, others full of extravagance and mistiness—who shall judge between them? Clearly, while mysticism is one way of coming into fruitful touch with the Divine realities, it is not the only way, nor is it a sure way.

The ecclesiastic affirms the *Church* to be the only authoritative channel of the revelation we seek, Divinely appointed, Divinely safeguarded from error. We are not disloyal to the Church if we point out her failure as an infallible source of Divine knowledge. Her boasted infallibility has been historically proved to be a broken reed; she has never really spoken at any one time with clear consentient voice, nor have her utterances been consistent with one another in different ages. She has the advantage over mysticism in that she expresses the collective consciousness of believers, but the decrees of her councils have been too often the result of compromises between warring parties to be free from aberration and inconsistency. Her claim as regards the Bible—that it is her child and not her standard, and therefore that she alone has the right to teach and interpret it to the devout believer—is unsound in point of fact. The Church did not create the Bible, any more than the Bible the Church; they were both derived from a common source—the experience of those who came into personal contact with Jesus Christ, and felt the inspiration of His saving personality and work. The Gospels are the memorials of His life and teaching which took shape within the early Church, but were not created by it; the epistles are the literary deposit of the experience of those who were filled with the power of His Holy Spirit, and who, living under the quickening influence of His grace, founded the Church. This reciprocal relation between Church and Bible thus invalidates the claim of the Church to superiority over the Bible

as the ultimate revelation of God, and the authentic interpreter of His will. They are co-ordinates.

What then of the Bible Itself?—The Protestant, having repudiated the infallible authority of the Church, fell back on the Book as the ultimate standard of religious truth. Round this idea clustered a formidable set of affirmations regarding its inerrancy, and its perfect consistency with itself. For centuries it was possible to hold this theory with sincerity and confidence, though the wit of theologian and apologist was taxed to the utmost in dealing with many problems of internal consistency and harmony. The rise of historical and linguistic criticism has, however, finally destroyed these claims. This, of course, does not mean that it is devoid of authority for the discovery and exposition of the Divine Mind and Will. It still remains an incontrovertible because experimental truth, that out of the Bible a Divine Voice speaks, and, when the authentic accent of that voice comes home to us, we cannot for a moment doubt that we are face to face with the ultimate authority over the human soul. This, however, is quite other than affirming the infallible authority of the Bible as a written revelation. The Book, like the Church and the mystic inner voice, points to someone beyond itself.

Let us pursue this point a little further. It is to be noted that while many theologians and spiritually-minded believers have laid stress on the authority of the Bible as such, and even on its inerrancy and infallibility, the writers of the Book, and of its various portions, never make this claim for themselves. True, we come here and there on such phrases as "Thus saith the Lord," but these always refer to individual utterances which the speaker was persuaded had come to him directly from God Himself, and never to the Book as a whole, nor to particular books included in the Canon. Indeed, as Dr. Dale, in his little book on *Protestantism: Its Ultimate Principle*, points out, the universal experience of devout Christians sustains the statement that in reading even the NT "the idea of the authority of the Book *as* a book is hardly ever thought of. The book—explain it how we may—vanishes. The truth read there shines in its own light. I forget Matthew, and Mark, and Luke, and John. I see Christ face to face; I hear His voice; I am filled with wonder and joy. I forget St. Paul, and am thrilled with gratitude for the infinite mercy which justifies me freely for Christ's sake, and for His sake grants me the free gift of eternal life. I forget St. James, and think only of the authority of the Divine Law. I forget St. John in the vision of the Divine Love. The infallibility of the Council, or of the Pope, recurs to me constantly when I am considering their definitions of truth; it comes between me and the truth itself. Whether the writers of the New Testament are infallible or not is a question which rarely occurs to me. Somehow when they tell me a truth, I come to know it for myself; the truth is mine and not merely theirs. Practically the Bible does not come between me and God" (pp. 41, 42).

May we not carry this line of thought a little further still? There are those who claim that the value of the Bible lies in the fact that it contains the revelation of the Son of God, who is Himself the ultimate authority for Christian believers. And this, properly understood, is a profound truth. To know Jesus Christ in His saving mission and work is to know God. "He that hath seen me," He is reported to have said, "hath seen the Father." It is the testimony of the Christian consciousness in all ages, that to find Jesus is to find God. Beyond Him we cannot go in our search for the Eternal, who in Him has spoken His will as in no one else. This claim for the ultimate character of the Divine revelation in Jesus Christ is, however, sometimes affirmed in a way difficult any longer to substantiate. Jesus—whatever more He may have been—was a Jew of the first century; born of a particular lineage; brought up under certain social and intellectual conditions very different from our own; bearing marks of the peculiar culture and outlook on life that belonged to His age and His environment. He was one who knew little, if anything, of Greek philosophy, of Roman law, and nothing of the vast accumulation of knowledge which has been garnered and systematised since His day. Furthermore, the records of His life and teaching are such that while derived for the most part from eyewitnesses of His earthly presence and ministry, they can scarcely be described as contemporaneous. His words as they have come to us bear as a whole the unmistakable stamp of His personality. Still, it is impossible to prove in particular instances that we have His *ipsissima verba*, for (so far as we know) He Himself wrote no word of His discourses, which were essentially oral in character, and must have passed through many repetitions and translations from Aramaic into Greek before they took the condensed form in which we possess them; indeed, we have more than one variant in the Synoptists themselves of some of His most characteristic sayings, and they cannot all be literally accurate, especially when we remember that we have them in their Greek and not their original Aramaic form. All this clearly proves, in the first place, that the authority of Jesus in religion must be more carefully defined than by our forefathers. We cannot claim infallibility for Him on questions of history, such as the authorship of OT books, or on the problems of science. In these directions He must be quite frankly considered to have accepted the current notions of His time. He did not come to set the world right on these matters, but to reveal the saving purpose of God for humanity, and to fulfil His work for the redemption of the world by what He taught, and wrought, and suffered, and achieved in His victory over sin and death. But when we go to Him for light on the nature of God, on His fatherly relations to us, on His attitude regarding sin and forgiveness, on His redeeming grace, on the ideal life He would have us lead, and on His willingness to help us in our utter spiritual need, we discover in Jesus a revelation of saving power which finds its corroboration to-day, as in all ages since the days of His flesh, in the triumphant experience of believing men and women. Secondly, the conditions under which the gospel has come down to us leave us free to exercise a sane judgment on the applicability of many of His maxims to our own times. Their literal application—even if we are persuaded that we have them in their original form—is often impossible to-day. Some of his characteristic precepts were special injunctions to particular persons under circumstances that have no parallel in our own experience. If we would truly obey Jesus we must therefore interpret these sayings broadly, disentangling the inner principle from the outward form, and applying them to our own case under the guidance of the general sense of His teaching as a whole. He would be the last to wish His people to be perpetually bound by mere literalism; "My words," He said, "they are spirit and they are life." This leaves us a large liberty of action while we are bound by the heartiest loyalty to Himself and His Gospel. When thus followed, the general spirit of His teaching is found to result in the same experience of redemption and peace and joy in

the Holy Ghost as was the case with His first disciples and with the saints of all subsequent ages; and the question of authority, while impossible to express in abstract terms, is solved in practice without in any way interfering with the freedom of the spirit, and the sacred responsibilities of personality.

THE OLD TESTAMENT

VII

Having thus defined in a general way the changed modern attitude to the religious literature comprised in the Bible, we can investigate its permanent value for faith with open and unembarrassed minds. Before we deal with its specific contents from this point of view, two or three general remarks are needful, bearing with special significance on the character of the OT literature.

In the first place, *we must once and for all set aside the pre-critical view of the Bible as an isolated and complete book.* Before the dawn of criticism, scholars and commentators dealt with it as though it were the pure result of an immediate and unrelated revelation. It was like Melchizedek, "without father and without mother," owing nothing to any previous literature, and having no affinity with the sacred books of other nations. We now know that, however unique it may be in its contents and method, it was the deposit of a complex series of religious movements, dating from very ancient times. It is no longer possible to trace its indebtedness to all the specific sources; but it is certain that the religious life and faith of which it is the exponent was a stream that drew its waters from a vast watershed of spiritual history and experience. We can follow some of its tributaries far back into previous ages. The laws attributed to Moses, for instance, if they were not derived directly from the Code of Hammurabi (pp. 51, 130), have so much in common with it that the two codes must at least have been largely derived from some common source. The stories of the Creation and the Flood have unmistakable resemblances to myths and traditions in other early faiths. In the later books, clear traces are visible of the influence of Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, and perhaps Zoroastrian ideas. The comparative study of ancient religions, and especially the discoveries of archæologists in the East, constantly throw fresh light on the origins of Biblical thought and literature. This does not in the least subtract from, but rather adds lustre to, the unique independence and strength of its contents; if the material is partly the same, the outlook, spirit, and handling of this material is stamped with an individuality and a loftiness all its own. We cannot measure the incomparable value of the Bible till we collate it with the previous or contemporary religious literature of the various nations with whom Israel came into successive contact during its chequered, but Divinely ordered history.

Secondly, *the Bible as we have it is a very much edited body of literature,* and the various editors have treated their earlier sources with considerable freedom; nor have they always been very skilful in their treatment. In the Hexateuch (Genesis to Joshua, pp. 121–132) we can trace four main sources of narrative and laws woven by the later editors into a complex and by no means homogeneous whole, and much more ancient materials were probably used in the composition of each of these. Scholars have been able to disentangle these narratives and laws into their various threads, and to lay them side by side, so that the special viewpoints and purposes of the writers stand out clearly—sometimes indeed in vivid contrast. We can thus see that there are two accounts of creation (Gen. 1₁–2₄*a*, and 2₄*b*–2₅); two closely-interwoven versions of the Flood-story, and several twin-narratives of patriarchal and monarchic times. Not a few of the prophetic writings under the names of single authors are now held to be of composite origin; the speeches of Elihu in the Book of Job are probably by a different author from that of the rest of the book; the Proverbs assigned to Solomon are a collection drawn from many sources, as are the Psalms attributed to David, etc. (for fuller details see the Commentary). By analysing the various books into their constituent elements, many contradictions and inconsistencies are accounted for, and much light is thrown on the literary methods and religious interests of Biblical writers.

Thirdly, *the Canonical Old Testament is the survival of a much larger body of literature,* most of which is now probably irretrievably lost, though certain portions of earlier works are incorporated in our Biblical books. The literature of most peoples began with poetry, which was originally composed for oral recitation, and afterwards put into writing. We have many such fragments in the historical books, *e.g.* the song of Miriam (Exod. 15₂₀f.), of Deborah the prophetess (Jg. 5), of Lamech (Gen. 4₂₃), and many others (Nu. 21₂₇–₃₀, Jos. 10₁₂f., 1 S. 21₁₁, 2 S. 1₁₉–₂₇, 3₃₃f., etc.); most of these are songs of triumph over fallen enemies, or threnodies over fallen friends, battle songs, or pæans of victory, denunciations of enemies or of faithless friends; but here and there we have the genuine religious note in the expression of hearty allegiance to Yahweh as Israel's God (Nu. 21₁₄, Jg. 5₂f.,₉,₁₁,₁₃, 1 S. 18₁₇,₂₅,₂₈). These outbursts of poetry bear the marks of genuineness and spontaneity, and the fact that they are embedded in the narrative in so obvious a manner bears witness to the historicity of the events to which they refer, though, of course, they do not guarantee the details of the stories as we have them. Some of these quotations are from an ancient collection of (probably) warlike songs called the "book of Jashar" (the upright) which dated from a period a little later than that of David (*cf.* 2 S. 1₁₇–₂₇), but of which nothing further is known (p. 45). How far the historical books from Judges to Nehemiah use up earlier literary sources it is not always possible to determine in detail, but it is likely that by the time of David "a prose style must have been developed alongside of the poetry" (Sanday), as is seen in the excellent account of David's court and family in 2 S. 9–20, which reads like authentic history compiled from first-hand materials. The two streams of narrative running through 1 S. also suggest the existence of contemporary documents used by later writers engaged in tracing the history of Israel to its origins, and embodying still earlier traditions. It was the custom of many early historians to incorporate fragments of previous writings *verbatim et literatim* without acknowledgment, piecing these together without much art, often making no effort to test their trustworthiness, and occasionally embellishing them with additional details of their own, as is seen in the two books of Chronicles, which contain highly coloured duplicates of earlier narratives in Samuel and Kings. The last-mentioned instance gives us valuable material for noting how special religious interests affected the mind of many of the writers in dealing with earlier materials, and how fully they felt justified in modifying the narratives for their own purposes.

VIII

Bearing these considerations in mind, we are in a better position to handle the question of the historical and religious value of the OT.

This problem becomes insistent in view of the loss of belief in the infallibility of the OT Scriptures as a medium of revelation, and the consequent shifting of emphasis from the records to the facts that lie behind them. As we have no means of getting at the facts except through the record, does not the new view of the Bible land us in a state of uncertainty from which there is no escape?

1. The answer to this question must be frankly, "Yes, as regards many of the details." It may be freely allowed, indeed, that in reading the OT we are not dealing with history at all in the modern sense of the term, but with a certain treatment of history which has a profound spiritual value. These ancient books were written long before the science of history as we know it was born. The writers were divided by a great gulf even from the ancient classical historians; how much more from the scientific historians of to-day! The aim of the modern historian is to reproduce as accurately as possible the significant events of the past; to give true and unvarnished pictures of the great personalities who swayed the destinies of nations; to describe the struggles, manners, customs, laws, institutions, forms of government, economic conditions of successive ages; to trace the line of causation from one salient historical situation to another; and to connect the story of one nation to another in an organic way. The OT lacks nearly all these notes of careful and authentic history. To summarise Dr. Peake's frank and able treatment of this question—we may say that the OT narratives are often meagre when we most desire to find them full, and full of detail where we should expect them to be meagre. The story of long periods is sometimes summarised in a few words, or left totally blank, while the biographies of individuals are given with almost irritating minuteness. It is still an open question who the Pharaoh of the Oppression was; when the Exodus took place; how long was the period of the Judges; what took place during the long years of the Exile, and during the seventy years between the "return" and the rebuilding of the Temple; and why the history of Israel appears to come to an end 400 years before the coming of Jesus. During the latter period "we have the training of the people by the discipline of the completed Law; the transformation of prophecy into apocalypse; the downfall of Persia; the conquests of Alexander, which changed the face of the world; the subtle penetration of Jewish life by the Greek spirit; the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to root out the Jewish religion; the Maccabæan rising and all that followed it; the creation of the Judaism into which Jesus came" (*The Bible: Its Origin, Its Significance, and Its Abiding Worth*, p. 299). The OT as history errs also by redundance as well as defect. The early narratives of Genesis are given with a vivid and particular detail which suggests contemporary sources, and yet it is no longer possible to accept much of their substance as historical at all. Myth and legend are related as though they were actual occurrences; the accounts given of the patriarchs, in spite of their vivid characterisation, are difficult to accept in detail, and while we may claim to be on the firm ground of history when we come to the Exodus, and the creation of the nation by Moses on a religious basis, we cannot insist on many particular statements, and the laws attributed to Moses bear sure marks of being for the most part later than his time. There are many uncertainties and discrepancies also in the later narratives, into which we have here no space to enter.

2. If, however, we can no longer insist on regarding the OT as a book of history in the strict sense of the word, it is a splendid mine of literary material for the reconstruction of history. It enables us to put the salient features of the story of the Jewish nation into more or less clear perspective, to follow its development from stage to stage, to trace the growth of its religion from its crude beginnings to its splendid climax; and if to the books of the OT we add those of the Apocrypha and the apocalyptic literature, we gain a sufficiently clear idea of the historical sequence of events from Moses to Christ for all practical purposes. If we thus use the Bible as material for a scientific history as we should any other ancient documents, we finally regain with one hand what we seem to have lost from the other. Instead of a verbally-inspired volume of oracles to be accepted as it stands, we find looming out of these rich but tangled records the story of a race firmly based on the bed-rock of history, and fulfilling a function in the life of mankind as unique as it is imperishable. It is a race with a genius for religion on the one side, and used by God for the gradual unfolding of His nature and saving purpose for mankind on the other, which finds its consummation in the coming of His Son Jesus Christ, towards whom all its lines converge as in a bright and glowing focus, and from which it radiates down the ages to all nations and lands.

3. What gives the writers of the OT their true significance is not their power of accurate narration, but *the supreme religious interest* which they have in the past story of their nation. Taking the standpoint of the latest editors who handled the complex literary sources that had come down to them in divers portions from previous ages, what do we see? We are looking back in vision on the story of a people whose *differentia* among the races around them was a unique capacity for God, from whom they often tried to escape, but from whom escape was impossible, because He held them as in the hollow of His hand and would not let them go; and these people He trained especially for the purpose of revealing Himself to them, and through them to the world. It was a people which produced many outstanding personalities, and which passed through terrible experiences of war and pestilence, famine and captivity. Lawgivers, judges, kings, poets, prophets—it mattered not what these great men were; all were used, whether willingly or unwillingly, for the furtherance of God's purpose, and the gradual unfolding of His will. The very lapses of the people into the idolatries and cults of surrounding nations were somehow made ministrant to the same great end. The process was slow and painful; it had many periods of pause and apparent retrogression; but during the millennium of the corporate history of the Israelitish people there was an ever-clarifying vision of God's holy nature, an ever-firmer grasp of His providential care and grace, an ever-brightening forecast of a great consummation towards which He was bringing them. They were often faithless to their spiritual function, and sometimes fiercely resisted the discipline to which they were subjected in the pursuance of the Divine purpose. This, however, only brings into greater prominence the Divine factor in the process, and shows that the history of Israel cannot be summed up as the result of purely "resident forces,"

or the mere action and reaction of a race on its own environment. The story throughout bears witness to the operation of a supernatural influence acting continuously for long ages on the temperament and character of a nation—the unfolding of an authentic revelation of God in His saving activities, leading to a still more wonderful revelation to come.

IX

One feature of ethnic religions as a whole is the strange chasm they present as existing between religion and morality. Religion stood for a certain relationship between the Divine and the human, sometimes conceived of personally (as in the tribal religions), sometimes pantheistically (as in some of the Eastern religions), sometimes dualistically (as in the Zoroastrian and Gnostic cults); but religion as the Science of Conduct viewed in its Divine aspects was not to be found anywhere. Ethical relationships were viewed as existing only among men, and with these religion had nothing to do. Even in Grecian and Roman times, the gods were often conceived of as monsters of lust, oppression, cunning, and self-indulgence. It is noteworthy that the lofty ethical systems of Aristotle and Seneca were developed from the side of philosophy, not of theology, and did not emerge till a period of scepticism as to the real existence of the gods. It was reserved for the Hebrews alone to develop a religion which evolved into fullness of content and authority in ever-deepening association with an evolution of social ethic unparalleled in loftiness and beauty, so that in the end faith and conduct became identified. The OT is largely a record of a critical stage in this ethico-religious discipline through which the people of Israel passed.

1. The nucleus of this ethical movement is to be found in the covenant-relationship which existed between Yahweh and His people. The exclusiveness and reciprocity of this relationship were the central features of Hebraism; and faithfulness on both sides was its ethical aspect. Yahweh from the beginning was a God who kept His word; who never failed those who put their trust in Him, and never forgot to punish those who, once His, forsook Him for strange gods. In the first four books of the Pentateuch we have references to repeated covenants between God and man—the racial covenant with Noah, the family covenant with Abraham, the sacerdotal covenant with Levi; and in Deuteronomy we have three such covenants referred to—that with the fathers (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob), that at Horeb, when the Decalogue was given, and that on the plains of Moab, which is the main subject of Deuteronomy itself. This last-mentioned covenant particularly emphasizes the faithfulness and immutability of God; it holds binding though Israel be scattered among the nations, for God will not forget His people. Throughout, the ethical character of these covenants is acknowledged, but this element grows richer with the lapse of time and the religious development of the nation.

2. The ethical movement in Israel was greatly enriched by the prophetic teaching. Though it is only in Jeremiah and Ezekiel (prophets under the influence of Deuteronomy) that references to special covenants are made, the prophets build their message on the fact of a general covenant-relation between Yahweh and Israel; He is their God, and they are His people, a relation formed by His act in redeeming them from Egypt (Hos. 12$_9$, Am. 3$_2$). This covenant is always ethical in character. What is required by the prophets is to "seek good," *i.e.* civil and moral righteousness, and the service of Yahweh alone. But the distinctive message of the prophets goes deeper than this. As Professor A. B. Davidson says, the prophet is "an interpreter of events on their spiritual side." "Prophecy arises out of history, keeps pace with it, and interprets it." Events are not mere occurrences—there is a moral meaning in them; God's will can be discovered through them, and that will is always a moral will. Especially is the prophet filled with a vision of ideals, not as hanging vaguely in the air, but as implicit in history, and sure of fulfilment in the future. This predictive element is the fallible side of prophecy, but it contains a Divine truth, for though the prophet may be mistaken as to times and seasons, the moral connexion of events and their sure issues in the future are safe and valid intuitions. Here we have the root distinction between true and false prophets; the latter are mere soothsayers and predictors, the former grasp the moral meaning of events. Hence ritual has no place in the prophetic message; that element belongs to another plane of thought. Again, the prophets deal with social relations from their ethical side as duties owing to God as well as our neighbour. It is in the holiness and righteousness of God that we find the ultimate sanction of right social conduct. And further, there is in the prophets a constantly growing emphasis on the individual aspect of conduct. This does not appear explicitly till the scattering of the nation as such prepares the way, though it is implicit in the earlier prophets. This is in one direction the high-water mark of the prophetic message, since it inaugurates the conception of clear individual responsibility to God, and lays the foundations of a type of personal character on which afterwards the distinctively Christian ideal is built. And just as the nationalism of the earlier pre-exilic prophets implied individual responsibility, so the individualism of the later prophets had a national aspect, since it was through good, faithful men alone that the nation could ever revive into strength. In both cases God appears equally as the Holy Being to whom men owe their duty, and who will faithfully reward or punish them according to their deeds. Finally His ethical demands take a higher quality and forcefulness of appeal through the revelation given of Yahweh in the later prophets as *a God of grace*. Some writers who hold that Yahweh was originally the tribal god of the Kenites find the first germinal idea of grace in the fact that He was not originally the tribal or local God of Israel, but that He took up this homeless tribe in its enslaved condition and made it His own through goodwill and pity. This idea is further developed by Hosea, who represents Yahweh as continuing to love and befriend Israel in spite of faithlessness because of His loving nature. In the "Suffering Servant" passages in Is. 40–55, the highest revelation of the Divine grace in the OT is seen in His action in identifying Himself through His Servant with the suffering, scattered people, and bearing their sins and sorrows on His own heart. Here we have the prophetic equivalent or forecast of the Gospel doctrine of Atonement through the Cross.

3. We must turn to the sacrificial and ritual observances in the Law for another contribution of the OT religion to the education of the moral sense. The various types of sacrifice—the Burnt Offering, the Sin Offering, the Guilt Offering—all had an ethical significance, standing as they did for the fact of repentance on the part of the worshipper, and for forgiveness on the side of God. The Day of Atonement was a cere-

monial expressly emphasizing God's holiness. In later times there was an increasing peril of losing this aspect of the sacrificial system, which tended to harden into formality, and to obscure the supreme value of moral conduct in its votaries (*cf.* our Lord's denunciation of the Pharisees who "tithed mint and anise and cummin" and forgot the "weightier matters of the law"). This, however, was the abuse of a higher function intended for better ends.

The result of all these educative elements in the discipline of Israel was to develop a religious and ethical conception of life which stands alone among ancient faiths in its emphasis on moral character in closest relationship with spiritual worship. The critical movement which broke down the old view of the Bible as an infallible text-book of religion has only helped to bring more clearly into view the historical factors which helped to make Israel the medium of this incomparable benefit for mankind. And it has removed one supreme difficulty contained in the elder view, which forced readers of the OT to believe that many of the earlier customs and acts of the nation were Divinely commanded. We are now able to recognise here only a crude stage of ethical development (in vivid contrast, however, to the still lower moral standards of surrounding nations), which was afterwards superseded as the process of revelation became more and more ethicised, and the refining conscience of the nation was able to bear its higher teachings. God made Himself known to this people as they were capable of receiving the message; the light was tempered to the vision; not till in the fullness of time Christ came and brought the perfect revelation of the Fatherhood do we arrive at the teaching which superseded all the earlier standards and gave us a law of conduct applicable to all times and peoples, and which has even yet been nowhere fully realised.

X

We pass to another valuable contribution made by the OT to the spiritual life in *its conception of God's relation to Nature as the theatre of human life and destiny.* Criticism has been an invaluable help in realising this in its fullness.

We no longer go to the Bible for the science of Nature. In those early times there was no such thing as science in the modern sense of the term. As already suggested, science deals with secondary causes and effects; it treats exclusively of what philosophers call the phenomenal or factual relations of things. On the other hand, the Bible has no interest in the mere sequence of natural cause and effect. It views man and Nature in only one, *i.e.* the religious aspect, which deals with men and things in their relation to the great First Cause—the holy and efficient will of God. When once this fact is realised in all its bearings we are emancipated from the unhappy dilemma on the horns of which our forefathers were impaled for nearly two thousand years. Believing that every reference throughout the Bible to the phenomena of Nature must be taken as infallibly true just as it stood, they were forced to the position either that any advance to a clearer knowledge of the science of Nature must be set aside as fiction, or that the Bible was in many places unscientific and untrue. We now perceive that the naïve beliefs of Biblical writers about natural phenomena were incidental and non-essential to their true message, and have no claim on our faith. We are thus left free to inquire into the significance of their view of Nature from the religious standpoint, and this we find, in most of its bearings, to be true for all time.

1. Take the account given to us of the Creation story in Genesis. Even within living memory this was the subject of the fiercest controversies between scientists and theologians. It was taken for granted on both sides that we had here a literal account of the making of the universe in six days of twenty-four hours each, that the various stages of creation must be accepted as authoritative in the order given, and that the slightest proved inaccuracy would totally invalidate the trustworthiness of the whole. We have travelled away so rapidly from such a position to-day that it is hard to enter into the mind of either side in the controversy, or to excuse their temper. The first chapter of Genesis is now recognised by all reputable thinkers to be neither science nor history; it is a Hymn of Creation, which takes this form in order to carry home to the reader the central truth of the dependence of the universe for its existence, its order, and its maintenance on God, the Creative Spirit, who made all things well, and who created man to be His vicegerent and servant at the head of the earthly order. To quote the words of the late Professor Elmslie: "The idea of the arrangement followed is on the face of it (not chronological) but literary and logical. It is chosen for its comprehensiveness, its all-inclusive completeness. To declare of every part and atom of Nature, that it is the making of God, the author passes in procession the great elements or spheres which the human mind everywhere conceives as making up the world, and pronounces them one by one God's creation. Then he makes an inventory of their entire furniture and content, and asserts that all these are likewise the work of God. For his purpose—which is to declare the universal creatorship of God and the uniform creature-hood of Nature—the order is unsurpassed and unsurpassable. With a masterly survey which marks everything and omits nothing, he sweeps the whole category of created existence, collects the scattered leaves into six congruous groups, encloses each in a compact and uniform binding, and then on the back of the numbered and uniform and ordered volumes stamps the great title and declaration that they are one and all, every jot, tittle, shred, and fragment, the works of their Almighty Author, and of none beside." Viewed scientifically, this picture of the universe is out of its true perspective, and the order of the development of things is here and there inaccurate—how in that far-away age could it be otherwise?—but for its purpose, these features are irrelevant. The true value of this Creation-Psalm is seen best when we compare it with similar fragments of creation-literature among surrounding nations, and note its unapproached spiritual suggestiveness and beauty. More than this. To quote words elsewhere used by the writer: "We have but to compare this Hymn with modern religio-philosophical attempts to enter into the higher aspects of the universe to find it springing into lofty and unmistakable antithesis. Agnosticism pales its ineffectual fires before the still radiance of this wonderful Hymn; Positivism sinks into shamed silence in the presence of its exultant refrain, 'Behold, it was very good.' It is the world's morning chant of the goodness and beauty of the Creator's activity in the making of all that was, and is, and is to come; and to the world's evening in the dim future it will continue to voice the highest and devoutest mood of humanity in looking at the earthly home in which it dwells, and works, and aspires." (*The Ascent Through Christ*, pp. 90f.)

2. The attitude of all OT writers is throughout consistent with the position taken up in this wonderful account of creation. Nature is everywhere dependent on God; He is Lord of all. The Bible is an open-air book; it is redolent of wind and rain, storm and sunshine, blossom and fruit, for it was written by men who delighted in the works of God and who never forgot the Creator in His works, but viewed everything in the light of His orderly power and providential care and lovingkindness. (Abundant quotations and references might be given, but space forbids.) Suffice it to say that no reader of the Hebrew Scriptures can familiarise himself with them without coming to consider Nature habitually in a worshipping mood, and finding spiritual suggestions in the order and stability of the world, in the procession of the seasons, in seed-time and harvest, in the springing corn and the falling rain. The writers, moreover, are skilful in the figurative use of natural phenomena as emblems of spiritual realities. If, in Emerson's phrase, "language is one of the uses which Nature subserves to man," and if "Nature is the symbol of spirit," the Bible overflows with classical passages in which this process is carried to its finest limits of expression, especially in the Psalms, in Job, and in some of the prophetic writings. We see there how true it is that "the laws of moral nature answer to those of matter as face to face." Indeed, with this book in our hands we find the universe becoming transparent, and the light of higher laws than its own shining through it. We owe it chiefly to the Hebrew mind that this view of Nature has become the common possession of all devout souls.

3. There is one aspect of the Biblical view of Nature which we have more or less outgrown. We are everywhere taught in it to believe that God uses special operations of Nature as elements in the moral discipline of man—a belief which has persisted down to quite modern times. Storm, famine, pestilence, floods, and drought are frequently referred to as used for the punishment of races and nations for evil customs or for forgetfulness of God. The Flood was His method of destroying all but a fragment of mankind at a period of unexampled wickedness (Gen. 6f.). The plagues of Egypt (frogs, lice, flies, murrain, boils, hail, locusts, etc.) were used to compel Pharaoh to permit the Israelites to return to Canaan (Exod. 8f.). A volcanic outburst destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah for flagrant immorality (Gen. 1924); an earthquake swallowed the families of Dathan and Abiram for sedition (Nu. 1631); David's numbering of Israel was punished by a pestilence that slew 70,000 men (2 S. 24 15; *cf.* Lev. 2625, Nu. 1412, Jer. 1412, Ezek. 512, Mt. 247, Lk. 2111). So completely were the Hebrews saturated with the notion that all physical calamities had a moral significance, that nothing untoward could happen without its being associated with some sin or delinquency on the part of mankind. Even in NT times the disciples feel constrained to ask whether a certain man's blindness from birth was due to the fault of his parents or his own (Jn. 92). This belief, which we can no longer hold, and which was specifically discounted by our Lord on two occasions (*cf.* Jn. 93 and Lk. 134), we must now relegate to the region of those beneficent illusions which have played so large a part in the education of the human race. None the less it is but the exaggeration of a profound truth, for man does hold moral relations with Nature, and she has always exercised a profound influence on his spiritual development and destiny, both in her beneficent and orderly processes, and in those occasional calamities with which she visits him.

XI

The crowning contribution of the OT to religion however, remains to be indicated, *i.e.* its interpretation of the history of the Hebrew people as the medium of God's revelation of His nature and purpose. This is to be found, not so much in any direct references to the fact, as in the instinctive attitude of the writers, and the general impression of the whole. In the only book where the compiler is consciously reviewing a certain period of history in the interests of a theory (1 and 2 Ch.) the bias is so evident and the exaggeration so glaring as compared with the more direct and veracious account of the same events in earlier books (Samuel and Kings) that they are among the least valuable portions of the OT for spiritual purposes. But of the literature as a whole we may say that it is governed by one general and quite unconscious but commanding motive. *Everywhere in these glowing pages we meet the living God in His revealing and redeeming agency.* The fact that the Bible contains many layers of literary deposit, most of which can be at least approximately dated, enables us broadly at least to follow the course of this revealing process from start to finish. The fact that the later editors quite honestly project their own religious outlook back to quite primitive times does not hinder us from disentangling the various stages from each other, and marking the steps by which the tribal deity Yahweh is finally manifested as the God of the whole earth and Saviour of those who put their trust in Him. Viewed from a purely human standpoint, the Bible is an intensely interesting book. Its pages teem with living, moving figures, all absorbed in their personal concerns, and working out their destinies with little idea for the most part that they are links in a chain of a great spiritual movement, *dramatis personæ* in a Divine epic, whose protagonist is God Himself, and who are all being used for His own beneficent ends. It is this spiritual interest which binds these varied and complex writings into an organic whole, and justifies the OT (in spite of its fragmentary character) being considered as one Book.

If the OT thus interprets the past history of Israel in the light of a commanding and creative idea, it looks forward still more intensely into the future. From its earliest to its latest pages it is illumined by a mighty Hope. It is a prophetic book in the best sense of the term because it places the climax of history in a Day of the Lord which was to come, in the appearing of a Deliverer who would inaugurate a Heavenly era, in a Kingdom of God which would transform the world into a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. There is a "shadow Christ" in the OT whose dim and changeful features meet us in unexpected places, and grow clearer as the centuries go by; a greater than Abraham, or Moses, or any of the prophets, who would one day crystallise the aspirations of the nation, and bring about a consummation that would make all the sorrows, disappointments, and tragedies of the past well worth undergoing. The Seed of the Woman who would crush the head of the serpent, the nation which was to spring from the loins of Abraham and become as the sand of the seashore, the Root of Jesse, the suffering Servant of the Lord—these were the nuclei or nodal points of a longing or dream or anticipation in the heart of Israel which was its most distinctive and unconquerable mood, and which no delay or disappointment could quench for long. This forward look of the OT makes it the most dramatic of books, especially when we remember that

the Hope to which it so passionately clings was never realised till long after its last pages were written (as well as the apocryphal and most of the apocalyptic literature linking it with the NT), and which was realised at last in a form as unexpected as it was complete. God fulfils Himself in many ways, but seldom in the way we have laid down for Him. It was at once the tragedy and glory of the OT that it quickened in its readers an expectancy which it failed to satisfy. And yet unconsciously all its lines converged upon Him who was the true realisation of the Hope of Israel, so that when His work was complete, He could rebuke His sorrowing disciples with their blindness in failing to see that it was He of whom "Moses and the prophets had spoken"—the Hero of the new covenant which was to fulfil and supersede the old—*the One who was to come, Deliverer and Saviour of the World.*

THE NEW TESTAMENT

XII

We have dwelt at some length on the spiritual aspects of the OT which make it as significant as ever to-day, in spite or rather with the help of the critical movement, because it is about the OT that the average man is chiefly troubled. It will not be necessary to spend so much space by way of general introduction to the NT, whose religious significance is less affected, though, as a matter of fact, criticism has been as busy and in some directions as revolutionary in its treatment of its various books and contents. The NT which criticism has given back to us is a different book in many ways from what it was in the hands of (say) our Puritan forefathers. It has been roughly handled by many of the critics; the dates of its documents, their authorship, their genuineness and authenticity, their reliableness as history, their value as teaching, have been discussed from almost every possible point of view; and many of the problems raised are still largely unsettled. The main results, however, stand out fairly clearly.

Christianity is a historical religion, *i.e.* it is based on the validity and spiritual significance of a series of facts without which it could never have arisen at all, and with the discredit of which it would speedily and finally lose its influence. Some of these facts lie, as we have seen, in the historical career of the people of Israel, whose literary deposit is found in the OT and apocryphal books; the main fact indeed is Israel itself. Greatly as criticism has altered our conception of the character of this literature, it has only emphasized the crucial importance for humanity of the religious movement of which this remarkable people was the channel. Yet, important as are the facts of the OT, they are of little account for us to-day in comparison with the facts of the NT, which are the fountain head of the Christian faith. How stands it to-day with these and with their record?

The importance of this problem is seen more clearly when we realise how entirely our religion stands or falls with faith in the person of the historical Jesus. Those writers who have recently been attempting to distinguish between the "historical Jesus" and the "Eternal Christ," with a view to show that faith in the latter would survive the loss of the former, are really assuming a philosophical as opposed to a historical basis for the faith, and have the testimony of all past ages against them. Whatever kind of Christianity might survive a supposed proof that Jesus never lived, or that He is separable from the religion associated with His name, it would not be the Christianity that has been influencing men so profoundly for nineteen centuries. We know nothing of any Eternal Christ, or Christ-Principle except as the spirit of Jesus working out its influence in history and in the hearts of men; and what "God hath joined, let no man put asunder." It is therefore with justifiable solicitude that we approach the question, how far we can depend on the gospel stories for reliable knowledge of the Person, teaching, and work of Jesus Christ.

Leaving the dates of the particular books in question for individual treatment in the body of this Commentary, we will here restrict ourselves to certain broad facts, the relevance of which is not affected by such differences of judgment as exist among NT critics.

XIII

As regards the Synoptics (*i.e.* the gospels according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke) we have already hinted at some of the difficulties which make a literalistic interpretation of their contents no longer possible. Even in the case of Mark, which in all probability contains the earliest account of the events of our Lord's life, and which was probably written before A.D. 70, we are still separated from these by nearly a generation of time—an interval which would permit of a considerable amount of transformation and confusion as regards the details. Furthermore, we are looking at the personality of Jesus through the eyes of men who had passed through a unique experience of His spiritual influence upon their lives, and it is difficult not to feel that this experience must have affected their attitude towards the bare facts, and more or less transfigured them in their memory. There are, however, certain considerations which modify this impression.

1. The time in which Jesus lived was by no means the illiterate age which some of the earlier critics imagined it to be. Deissmann (*Light from the Ancient East*) has shown that the art of writing was widely practised in that age by many ordinary people, who kept diaries, and were in the habit of jotting down noteworthy sayings and events that had come under their notice. There is nothing improbable, therefore, in the suggestion that many characteristic deeds and sayings of Jesus were committed to writing at the time, or very soon afterwards, by those who had seen and heard Him, and that some of them were afterwards collected by devoted men, thus furnishing the nucleus of the recollections afterwards embodied in the gospels.

2. It is generally admitted that the writer of the second gospel was the travelling companion of Paul and the "interpreter" of Peter, who knew the facts at first hand. Some critics hold that Mark contains an earlier document, thus bringing us even nearer to the events.

3. Mt. and Lk. are not only based on Mk. (or an earlier writing used by Mk.) but on a collection of Sayings of Jesus known by scholars as Q (from the German *Quelle*, source). This was in all probability in existence in A.D. 50. And there were other written sources such as Lk. mentions in his opening words. Thus even if we cannot date Mt. and Lk. earlier than A.D. 85–100, there are literary materials embodied in them which date from a period when contemporaries of Jesus were still alive (see art. "Synoptic Problem," pp. 672–678).

4. We must, however, not exaggerate the value of

such sources, as though they placed us indubitably in possession of accurate and literal transcripts of His words and an exact record of His deeds. There is still a gap between the events and the records, during which the memorabilia of Jesus (apart from possibly contemporaneous fragments) were passed from mouth to mouth in oral fashion, after the manner of the times. And while it is legitimate to lay strong emphasis on the remarkable character of the events, the unique impression of the personality of the Master, His vivid and characteristic way of speaking (so splendidly adapted to an oral method of transmission) and the tenacity of memory among people drilled, as were all Jews from infancy, to habits of accurate verbal memory, we are still far from having any proof that we have the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, or any guarantee that the events of His life are related with absolute accuracy in the gospels. In the case of sayings and discourses contained both in Mt. and Lk. there are often considerable verbal differences, even when the general sense is the same (*cf.* for instance, the "Sermon on the Mount" in Mt. 5–7 and Lk. 620–49, etc.; also the saying concerning divorce of which we have three versions—Mt. 531f., Mk. 101rf., Lk. 1618—and some others). In certain cases we have two versions of similar sayings in one and the same gospel, without being literally identical (*cf.* Mt. 530 and 188). In some very important passages it is impossible to harmonise the various versions. This is particularly true of the stories of the Virgin Birth and of the Resurrection. As regards the Birth stories in Mt. and Lk., we find ourselves in doubt on many points, and there is reason to believe that a reverent imagination has been at work on traditional material. The various accounts of the Resurrection, while perfectly concordant and emphatic as to the fact of the empty grave, are very discrepant as to the place, the occasion, and the nature of the post-resurrection appearance of Jesus, where different traditions seem to have been followed without any attempt to reduce them to a harmonious whole. In Mk. 16 we have no definite appearances at all, except in an appendix (169–20) which is almost universally held to be no part of the original gospel, which is indeed clearly a summary by a later editor of appearances given in the other gospels. In Mt. we are led to infer that these appearances took place in Galilee; in Lk. they seem to have taken place in Jerusalem; according to Jn., they occurred in both; while in Ac. again they are in Jerusalem, where the disciples are commanded to remain till they "receive power from on high" (referring probably to the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost). Once more it is impossible fully to harmonise all these accounts with the list given by Paul in 1 Cor. 15 5–8, which he must have collected from a much earlier and well-informed source. In view of all these facts it is no longer possible to insist on the literal accuracy of the gospel narratives; but concerning the Fact behind the narratives—the authentic Personality of Jesus Christ—there is concordant and emphatic testimony.

XIV

Are we, then, reduced to any serious uncertainty as to the historical reality of the Central Person in the gospel narratives, and to confess that all we have of Him is a mass of traditional and unreliable recollections? Have we nothing to say to the theorists who assert boldly that the Jesus of the gospels is an Ideal Figure evolved out of a mass of heterogeneous material drawn from the flotsam of other faiths, and personified in the corporate imagination of the Early Church?

On the contrary, the very fact that we can trace so many of the threads of tradition, each independent of the other, some of which date back to within a few years of the alleged events, which are all woven into the rich gospel picture of Jesus, is in itself a sufficient disproof of this wild and foolish theory—surely the most incoherent and incredible ever invented by a group of irresponsible sciolists! Granted the uncertainty of many of the details; granted that each of the Synoptic writers was consciously or unconsciously controlled in his selection of his material and his way of handling it by a certain theoretic bias; granted that something must be conceded to those critics who would lessen the miraculous element in the gospels; even then more than enough remains of the authentic picture of Jesus to enable us to recognise Him for what He was, to feel the very aroma of His presence distilling from these living and artless pages, to realise the quality of His personality, to drink in the spirit of His teaching and influence. The Jesus of criticism is a more credible figure than the Jesus of traditional faith, because we are released from the bondage of the letter, and thrown back on the intuitions of the Spirit. It is possible to part with some of the details of the gospel narratives and feel none the less secure of the central fact which gave those gospels their existence, which created the Christian Church, and which has been a renewing power in the lives of the countless millions of believers in all ages. Nor are we in any way forced to concede all that the extreme critics claim. Much of their attitude of dubiety is due not to the pressure of the evidence or to the lack of evidence, but to naturalistic preconceptions which force them to minimise the evidence itself, and to magnify the discrepancies in the narratives; and those whose philosophy is of a more adequate kind are free to form more positive conclusions.

Nor is this all. It is well to point out that the Christian Church was not created by the simple story of Jesus, but by the activity of the Risen One energising through His Spirit in the hearts of His people, bringing into its true significance for faith His earthly life, teaching, death, and resurrection, and transforming His influence from a moving and fragrant memory into an inward and renewing power. The existence of an earthly Jesus, however potent His life, and quickening His teaching, and exquisitely beautiful the ideal He revealed in His Person, would never have produced such results as are seen in history, and which have continued to this day. It is that same Jesus, who died and rose again, and who from the Unseen has been in fellowship with His people throughout the ages since. So thoroughly was this realised in the generation which followed His appearance in the flesh, that the greatest Christian of the time—Paul—seems to have realised but faintly the influence of His earthly life, being completely possessed by the immediate fellowship and power of His Spirit. This conviction of the continued nearness and grace of the Risen Christ has never died out of the Church, because it has never been lost from the experience of believers. It has not been granted to all Christians to realise it with equal vividness, but it is the normal experience of those who hold the Christian religion in its integrity; without it, indeed, it is impossible to account for the persistence, the joy, and the victory of faith throughout the ages. And while it is not legitimate to plead (as is sometimes done) that this distinctive experience of Christians proves the literal accuracy of the gospel

story in all its details, it is still right to say that the two aspects of the case mutually support and supplement each other. The Jesus of history gives us an objective content and standard for faith; the Christ of experience gives us the spiritual quickening and atmosphere of faith. Without the history, faith would lose itself in a vague mysticism, a formless subjectivity; without the mystic presence, we should know only a Jesus according to the flesh, who might fill us with admiration and with longing for better things, but who could not save us from our sins and bring us to newness of life. In the Fourth Gospel these two aspects of the Redeemer's activity are brought together into an idealised but valid picture; and while we depend less on it than on the Synoptics for the exact historical facts and words of Jesus (though there are solid additional facts and many authentic sayings of His given us in Jn.) it brings home to us with far greater emphasis the spiritual significance for faith, and the immanent power for living, of the Person of our Lord in His redeeming activity.

XV

We pass on to a brief characterisation of the remaining portions of the NT writings.

If in the OT we see the lines of revelation gradually converging to a point of expectancy realised afterwards in a Person; in the later books of the NT we see the radiation of the power of this life through a community into the world at large. Luke gives us in Ac. a substantially historical account of the birth of the community, and of its first activities in the world. The book divides itself into two parts, the first a digest of earlier records and traditions from an unknown source, dealing with the origins of the Christian Church and of its extension in various directions; the second a personal narrative of Paul's missionary journeys by a companion who was manifestly a competent observer and vivid retailer of the facts. This writer is identical with the author of Lk., as is shown by the preface to both books and by innumerable peculiarities of style and diction. The earlier chapters contain material which some critics consider to be the oldest written portions of the NT, and though the speeches of Peter and others are probably condensed and edited versions of the speaker's words, there is every reason to believe that they are substantially accurate, and faithfully represent in form and substance the first preaching of the Gospel. In spite of a few discrepancies between some of the later portions (*e.g.* the account of the apostolic council in Ac. 15) and certain allusions in Paul's epistles to the same events, the impression made by his personality in both sources is the same. When both are studied, Paul stands out before us with a vividness second only to the figure of Jesus in the gospels, in a portrait of self-evidencing truth and power. And to know Jesus and Paul is to be put in possession of the central personalities through whose influence historical Christianity took its rise. The creative force comes from Jesus; the main conditioning channel is found in Paul. For whether he literally knew Jesus in the flesh or not, it is certain that he entered more deeply into the spiritual significance of His life and work than any of the men who came into daily contact with Him during His earthly ministry.

It is from this point of view that we see the transcendent importance for the Christian faith, both historical and experimental, of the Pauline epistles. They present us with the incipient phase of the second stage in the redeeming work of Christ—when the limitations of His flesh were removed, when from the unseen world into which He was taken He began to energise through His Spirit in the life of individual believers, and of the corporate Church. Hitherto He had been *with* His followers in bodily presence; henceforth He was to be *in* them, a quickening spirit. It was Paul's function to be able to give more or less adequate expression, in words of living power, to the operation of this spirit in the heart of a man supremely sensitive to this heavenly influence, and delicately responsive to its touch. He is, however, not the only member of the gifted company who were possessed by the new faith, to formulate their experience in written form. In 1 P. we have another version of the same experience, from one who had known Jesus intimately according to the flesh, and who entered deeply into the power of the risen life (2 P. stands in a different category). We have still another version in the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which we see the same influence at work from a different angle; and still others in the brief but richly-laden epistles of John, and in the epistles of Jude and James. The last in the order of books in the NT—the Revelation of John—stands by itself as an instance of the copious apocalyptic literature of the time, but lifted above all its compeers through the profound experience of the exalted Christ which breathes through its lurid imagery and exalted rhapsody. These books are clearly stamped with the individuality of their writers, which is in no wise obscured by the common experience which marks them all as men possessed by the Spirit of Jesus. They have survived the abundant literary deposits of the earliest ages of Christianity because they bear the fresh and original stamp of that unique Presence on their pages; and they speak to us to-day with an emphasis that never fails, with an inspiration that is still unspent, of an experience repeated in each generation of believing men and women. The traditional theory of the authorship and date of some of them is no longer generally accepted, but no criticism can interfere with the function which they are qualified to fulfil in the lives of those who would know Jesus in the power of the Spirit and realise in their lives the energies of His redeeming grace.

The aim of this article is to put the reader of the following commentary into that attitude of mind and heart which will best enable him to benefit by its presentation of the Bible from the modern standpoint. There are many other aspects of the great Book of absorbing interest and far-reaching importance that might be touched on if space permitted—such as its influence on literature, on art, on science, on legislation, on social and political reform, on home life, in all the languages and lands into which it has been translated, and in which it is read. These, however, are secondary aspects of its function in the world; the primary is ever its potency as a fountain of spiritual inspiration, of religious renewal. As regards this it still stands alone in literature; and when once the unavoidable disturbance occasioned by the critical movement has died down, and men's vision has been adjusted to the new perspectives into which the Book has been arranged, we can confidently prophesy that in the future, as in the past, its revelation of God to man, of man to himself as the subject of a Divine redemption flowing from the Person and Cross of Christ, will continue to shine forth with an undimmed and ever-growing lustre.

Literature.—Peake, A. S., *The Bible, its Origin, Significance, and Abiding Worth; A Guide to Biblical Study.* Dods, M., *The Bible, its Origin and Nature.* Boyd Carpenter, *Introduction to the Study of Holy*

Scripture. Bruce, A. B., *The Chief End of Revelation.* Smith, G. A., *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the OT.* M'Fadyen, J. E., *OT Criticism and the Christian Church.* Kent, C. F., *The Origin and Permanent Value of the OT.* Briggs, C. A., *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture.* Carpenter, J. E., *The Bible in the Nineteenth Century.* Ryle, H. E., *On Holy Scripture and Criticism.* Moulton, R. G., *The Modern Reader's Bible; The Literary Study of the Bible.* Swete, H. B., *Cambridge Biblical Essays* (esp. ch. 16). Arnold, M., *Literature and Dogma; God and the Bible.* Farrar, F. W., *The Bible, its Meaning and Supremacy.* Wood, Jos., *What the Bible is and what it is not.* Hicks, E. S., *The Bible Literature in the Light of Modern Knowledge.* McLachlan, H., *The New Testament and Modern Knowledge.* Driver and Kirkpatrick, *The Higher Criticism.* Art. "Bible" in EB, ERE, etc. Von Dobschütz, E., *The Influence of the Bible on Civilisation.* Stoddart, Jane T., *The OT in Life and Literature; The NT in Life and Literature.* Gamble, J., *The Spiritual Sequence of the Bible.* Cheyne, T. K., *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism.* Cohu, J. R., *The OT in the Light of Modern Research.* Jordan, W. G., *Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought.* Blakiston, *The Bible of To-day.* Selbie, W. B., *The Nature and Message of the Bible.*

THE BIBLE AS LITERATURE

By Professor W. H. HUDSON

Preoccupation with theological considerations has too long prevented the English reader from appreciating the immense importance of the Bible from the purely literary side. Yet the Bible is a great body of literature of value to the student for three reasons. (1) Because of its intrinsic interest. Except for the literature of Greece and the derivative literature of Rome, the Bible contains the finest literature which has survived from ancient times. Its contents are, of course, extremely unequal. Much of it as literature is indifferent or poor. But its high levels are very high indeed. Job, for example, is one of the world's outstanding masterpieces; the Song of Deborah, though the text is unfortunately imperfect, ranks among the grandest of triumphal odes; among the Psalms are to be found some of the greatest of all religious lyrics; while many passages in the Prophets are unsurpassed for nobility of thought combined with sublimity of expression. At its best Hebrew literature is matched only by Greek among the literatures of antiquity. (2) Because it is the literature of a unique race. Another unique race, the Greeks, were endowed beyond all other early peoples with the intellectual and æsthetic consciousness. The Hebrews, beyond all other early peoples, were endowed with the spiritual consciousness. For this reason (3) the Bible is one of the two foundation literatures of the modern western world. We are all familiar with the two streams of influence which have combined in our culture, and which, in Matthew Arnold's phraseology, we call Hellenism and Hebraism: Hellenism representing the intellectual and æsthetic, Hebraism the religious and moral sides of such culture. Historically, the sources of these are to be found, the one in the literature and art of Greece, the other in the literature of the Hebrews. The place of Hebrew literature in world-literature is thus apparent. "The Bible has been an active force in English literature for over 1200 years" (A. S. Cook). An argument often used to justify the "classics" in education is that acquaintance with them is essential to the understanding of English literature. This argument will apply equally to the study of the Bible. Hebrew literature has indeed had practically no influence on the form and technique of our literature, though since the authorised translation, it has been a moulding force in the style of many writers. But it has exerted a profound influence over its matter and spirit. One illustration will suffice to show the importance of the Bible from this point of view. *Paradise Lost* is unquestionably the greatest poem in our language. Now it is rightly said that we cannot really understand *Paradise Lost* without some knowledge of the Greek and Latin epics on which it was structurally founded and of the classic learning upon which it continually draws. But neither can we understand it without an intimate knowledge of the Bible, to which its direct indebtedness is at least as great.

In considering here some aspects of the Bible as literature, we shall deal mainly with OT as the more important of its two divisions on the purely literary side.

Stress must, to begin with, be laid upon the fact that OT is not a book, but a collection of books. It is a library of what remains of the literature of the ancient Hebrew people. It is important to remember that it contains only what remains of that literature. It is certainly not a complete collection of Hebrew writings. The Hebrews were a poetical race; and we may, therefore, take it for granted that whatever interested them deeply in social and domestic life, in times of peace and war, would find expression in various forms of verse. They must, like other early peoples, have had their war songs, national songs, ballads of the great deeds of popular heroes; songs of spring, harvest, the vintage; marriage songs, dirges for the dead. Many traces of this miscellaneous poetry are, in fact, to be found in OT. We know, for instance, that poetry was made to minister to idleness and luxury (Am. 65) and even to the most ignoble pleasures (Is. 2315). Reference is also made to two anthologies, of which otherwise nothing is known—the Book of the Wars of the Lord (Nu. 2114) and the Book of Jashar (Jos. 1013, 2 S. 118); and we may safely assume that other such collections existed of folk-songs and sagas of the Hebrew people. With speculations about this lost literature we have indeed no immediate concern. But it is essential to bear in mind that the selections which now represent Hebrew literature were made by men who cared nothing about purely literary values, but had the religious welfare of the nation entirely at heart. What has been preserved, therefore, was preserved either on account of its religious and national significance, or because of its association (real or imaginary) with certain great names. To this latter circumstance we owe the survival of sundry pieces of literature which otherwise would certainly have disappeared; such as the lament of David for Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1), which is not a religious poem at all, but simply a very fine personal elegy; the Song of Songs, a collection of love lyrics, which luckily got the name of Solomon, and was presently allegorised; and Ecclesiastes, which is strikingly out of harmony with the general spirit of Hebrew literature, and also owes its place in the Canon—a place which it has kept with difficulty (pp. 38f.)—to its traditional ascription to the much-experienced king.

Taking this surviving literature as it stands, we are, of course, impressed by its general unity of aim and spirit; its component parts broadly resemble one another in so many ways in which they differ from all other literatures. This is precisely what we should expect, since OT is a body of national literature. But what do we mean by a national literature? The present writer has elsewhere answered this question:

"A nation's literature is not a miscellaneous collection of books which happen to have been written in the same tongue, or within a given geographical area. It is the progressive revelation, age by age, of such nation's mind and character. An individual writer may vary very greatly from the national type. . . . But his genius will still partake of the characteristic spirit of his race, and in any number of representative writers at any given time that spirit will be felt as a well-defined quality pervading them all. We talk of the Greek spirit and the Hebrew spirit. By this we do not, of course, suggest that all Greeks thought and felt in the same way, that all Hebrews thought and felt in the same way. We simply mean that, when all differences as between man and man have been cancelled, there remains in each case a clearly recognised substratum of racial character, a certain broad element common to all Greeks as Greeks and to all Hebrews as Hebrews" (*Introduction to the Study of Literature*, p. 40). Two points brought out in this passage have to be emphasized. As a national literature, Hebrew literature is the expression of fundamental and permanent racial qualities; and since its production extended over a long period of time, it contains a progressive revelation of the Hebrew mind and character. This latter consideration will serve to remind us that, studied historically, Hebrew literature enables us to follow the development of Hebrew ideas; as, *e.g.* the evolution of the idea of God out of the crude conceptions preserved in early legends into the fine ethical monotheism of the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries. This historic aspect of Hebrew literature is, however, too large a subject to be dealt with here. The reader will be able to study it for himself with the help provided by other articles in this volume. We must confine our attention to the broad interest of Hebrew literature as the expression of the mind and character of the Hebrew people.

This is not indeed the place to attempt any detailed analysis of their racial psychology, but a few of their most salient qualities may be indicated. (1) The Hebrews were an Oriental people, and, like all Oriental peoples, they were hot-blooded, passionate, and intense. What they felt, they felt strongly. They were often swept away by their emotions. Their confidence and their despair alike went to extremes. They were capable of the deepest piety, love, and zeal. But they were capable too of deep malevolence, and, like Shylock, they were good haters. Recognition of this is important in our study of Hebrew poetry in particular, in which moods and passions are expressed with an unrestraint and vehemence which were perfectly natural to the writers, but which to us, of a different blood and training, often seem violent and extravagant. (2) Immense pride of race was another fundamental characteristic. The Hebrew has been called a magnificent egotist. But his was not personal, but racial egotism. One of his dominant thoughts was that he belonged to the Chosen People, and the past and future of his nation were a consuming passion with him. This racial pride was intimately bound up with (3) his devotion to Yahweh. He had an abiding sense of the living God. That God for him was no abstraction but a concrete reality. We think of his conception of God as anthropomorphic, and so it was. But the essential thing to remember is not the philosophic limitation of the Hebrew's thought but his profound realisation of God as personal ruler and judge.

Yet while Hebrew literature has the unity of its racial qualities, it has also great diversity. As the most casual examination shows, OT is composed of books written at different times, in different circumstances, in different forms, and by writers of very different aims and spirit. Though our ordinary way of treating the Bible as one and indivisible makes it difficult for us to realise this diversity, full appreciation of it is a preliminary condition to the study of OT as literature. And this brings us to another fact, of significance from our present point of view. Though every great body of national literature has its distinctive features, yet in a broad way all literatures have much in common, because they are born of the same human impulses and deal (with marked variations of selection and emphasis, of course) with subjects of interest to men everywhere and at all times. Hence, as we should expect, OT presents many of the familiar types of literary expression which we may compare with the same types in other literatures; as, *e.g.* narrative literature in the forms of history, biography, and story; lyrical poetry, chiefly of a religious kind; didactic literature (Pr.); the literature of reflection and speculation (Ec., Job); the literature of oratory (orations of Moses); the literature of exhortation and appeal (Prophets); and, in addition, a vast body of writing dealing with legislation, ritual, and ceremonial, which does not come under the head of general literature any more, let us say, than Blackstone's *Commentaries*. Of these types one only stands out as in any way exceptional, and that is prophetic literature, which we are apt to think of as entirely Biblical, and which is indeed, from the literary side, the distinctive product of Hebrew genius, as satire was of Roman genius. Yet even prophetic literature is not without its modern counterparts. This is apparent when we remember that prophecy is not to be narrowly confused with prediction, which was indeed but a small and by no means essential element in it. Prophecy was really the utterance of God's will through the mouth of one inspired for the purpose, the prophet being the spokesman of the Lord (Ex. 7^1, *cf.* Am. 3^7). The function of the prophets, broadly viewed, was spiritual leadership—the proclamation of the higher spiritual realities to a generation blind and deaf to them. What is peculiar in prophetic literature is that it presents itself as the medium of a direct Divine message. ("Thus saith the Lord"; "The word of the Lord came unto Zephaniah," etc.) But, apart from this, we may find many close analogies to prophetic literature not only in the sermon of the modern Church, but also in the more general literature of denunciation and appeal. In this large sense the race of the prophets has never been extinct. Carlyle, for example, is often described as a Hebrew prophet born into the nineteenth century, and the phrase, far from being merely rhetorical, points to an essential kinship between our great modern preacher of righteousness and such a man as, *e.g.* Hosea. Like the Hebrew prophets, too, Carlyle dealt freely with social, economic, and political, no less than with religious and moral questions. It will help us greatly to humanise the prophets and to bring their message and its meaning home to us, if we think of them in this way. An interesting detail may be added. There has always been and always will be a certain inevitable antagonism between men of the highly spiritual and mystical type (like the prophets and Carlyle) and men of the scientific and rationalistic type. We recall in illustration Carlyle's attacks upon Mill, Darwin, and the scientific spirit generally. It is much to the point, then, to remember that such conflict already existed in ancient Israel; for the prophets were markedly unfavourable to the Wise Men—the "Humanists"—of

Israel; the representatives, so far as it existed, of the rationalistic spirit (Is. 29¹⁴, Jer. 8⁹, 9²³).

But OT literature shows the limitations as well as the positive qualities of the Hebrew genius. With all their great gifts, the Hebrews were singularly lacking in disinterested intellectual curiosity—in the love of knowledge for its own sake. Hence philosophy as we understand it, and as it was understood by the Greeks, had no existence among them: their nearest approach to philosophic literature being in the "Wisdom" books. A more serious gap is left by the absence of drama, perhaps the greatest of all literary forms, at any rate the form in which some of the world's greatest work has been done, in both ancient and modern times. The genius of the Hebrew was essentially subjective, not creative. Hence there is nothing in OT literature to compare with Sophocles or Shakespeare. Such dramatic power as the Hebrews possessed must be sought in other directions: in narrative, in passages in the prophets (see later), and especially in Job. The last-named is indeed often regarded as fundamentally a drama. But even here religious speculation takes the place of plot interest, while the characterisation is slight; the friends of Job not being sharply individualised, and a marked lack of consistency existing between the Job of the Prologue and the Job of the Colloquies.

A few of the principal types of OT literature may now be considered. We will begin with narrative.

We need not be surprised that so much of OT (roughly, one half) consists of narrative. All early peoples, as soon as they come to national self-consciousness, begin to collect chronicles of their wars, of important events in their history, of the doings of their great historic and legendary heroes. Now with the early Hebrews national self-consciousness was very strong, and naturally, therefore, they offer no exception to the general rule. Hence the large amount of history and—since all early history is written largely with an eye to the "great man"—of biography in their literature. All early peoples, moreover, love a story, and the love of a story has always been especially strong in the East, the great home of the story-teller. As an early Oriental people, the Hebrews were again no exception to the general rule. Hence the prominence of the story in their literature. Much of their story literature (often with difficulty distinguished from biography) is embedded in their historical writings; for Israel's historians, like other early historians, were accustomed to connect important events with the names of their national heroes. Thus, *e.g.* we have the tribal tales which became attached to the names of the patriarchs—the Abraham cycle (Gen. 12–24); the Isaac cycle (Gen. 21–24); the Jacob cycle (Gen. 27–33, 47), etc.; heroic legends, like that of Samson; and stories more or less closely bound up with their historical context, such as the story of Balaam (Nu. 22–24); of Gideon (Jg. 6–8); of Jephthah and his daughter (Jg. 11). But such narrative literature is also represented by three regular story-books, "rare survivors of a larger literature of this kind" (Moore)—Esther, Ruth, and Jonah. To these have to be added Judith and Tobit among the Apocrypha.

Dealing first with history, we have to notice a form of this kind of narrative writing which, strictly speaking, cannot be classed as literature at all—in the chronicles which were meant merely for record and the preservation of noteworthy events. Such official annals were habitually as brief and bald as those kept for the same purpose in the monasteries of the Middle Ages. Two secretaries are mentioned among the officials of Solomon's court (1 K. 4³), whose duty was in part that of chroniclers. Such official records were, however, useful as sources for later writers (1 K. 11⁴¹, 14²⁹, 2 K. 20²⁰). For an illustration of this kind of chronicle writing we may turn to 1 Ch. 1–9, which contains a series of genealogies beginning with patriarchal times, notices respecting the families, history, and military strength of the several tribes, and a list of the principal families residing in Jerusalem after the Exile. Similarly we have a list of the families which returned to Jerusalem in Neh. 7, and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and other settlements, and of priests and Levites, in 11 and 12. Such lists were of great interest at the time, especially those which enabled the inhabitants of different localities to trace their pedigrees back to remote days. But mere records like these, of course, have no title to be treated as literary art.

An important stage in the evolution of real history out of such dry annalistic materials is marked by Kings, which, though regular narrative, is still relatively formal and brief. This is brought out by comparison with Samuel. Kings covers nearly 400 years; Samuel in about the same space little more than a single lifetime.

The fully developed history of the Hebrews can be studied to great advantage in Samuel; as, *e.g.*, in the whole story of David. Judged simply as narrative—as we should judge Herodotus—this is an excellent, and in places even brilliant, example of early literary art. Rapid, vivid, engrossing, at times it rises to real dramatic power in the handling of a critical situation, while its characterisation (as, *e.g.*, in Absalom and Adonijah) is given in bold, clear outlines. Even Herodotus, the father of history, never wrote anything better. Yet, like Herodotus, and unlike our modern historians, this Hebrew writer keeps throughout to a plain, direct, and simple style of composition. His facts are set down, his story is told in a way to exhibit their meaning, but there is little elaboration of detail or psychological analysis. An interesting comparison is naturally suggested here, which will help to show the difference between ancient and modern methods in dealing with the same theme: Browning's long and intricate *Saul*, with all its subtleties of interpretation and exhaustive dissection of mental states, is built up on the slender foundations furnished by 1 S. 16¹⁴–²³.

It will be noted that in Hebrew history the common practice is adopted of blending dialogue with narrative, to the great gain of the whole; for dialogue always adds life to the characters and realism to the story. Good examples are provided by the interview between David and Saul, before the former goes out to fight Goliath (1 S. 17³²–³⁹), and the verbal passage of arms between the two champions before the combat (43–48). Such interchange of defiance closely resembles similar preludes to single combats between representative champions of many times and countries (*cf. e.g.*, Arnold's *Sohrab and Rustum*). Also, like the historians of Greece and Rome, the Hebrew writers put speeches into the mouths of their chief characters on important occasions. Thus we have the orations of Moses (Dt. 5–26, 27f., 29², 31⁷); the valedictions of Moses (Dt. 33), of Jacob (Gen. 49²–²⁷), of Joshua (Jos. 23), of Samuel (1 S. 12); Samuel's sermons (1 S. 8, 12); Nathan's address to David (2 S. 7); Ahijah's warnings (1 K. 11, 14); the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple (1 K. 8¹²). Innumerable further examples of such speeches will be found in Ch., Ezr., and Neh. And, as with the Greek and Roman historians, such intercalated speeches are often composed or edited from the point of view of the writer and his time, and are, in fact, designed as

commentaries upon the historical narrative. Thus Solomon's prayer is the expression of ideas which did not take shape in Israel till three hundred years after Solomon's death. Under this same head we may include some of the cases in which God is introduced as actually talking with men. Many of these are, of course, only older legends preserved by later writers; but the device is also used by the historian to bring out and emphasize the Divine meaning which he wishes his narrative to convey: as, *e.g.*, in the account of the covenant of God with Abraham (Gen. 17), and of the commission to Moses (Ex. 6$_2$–13)

This carries us from the methods to the purposes of Hebrew history. In general terms it may be said that nearly all Hebrew history was written with a didactic intention and with a direct relation to national religion or institutions. Sometimes it is used as a sort of framework for the Mosaic legislation, as in Numbers and Deuteronomy. Sometimes it is employed to explain the institutions of Israel by connecting them with great events or persons. Thus the institution of the Sabbath is explained (Gen. 2$_3$, Ex. 20$_{11}$); the establishment of the Passover (Ex. 12); the foundation of the Mosaic law in the Decalogue (Ex. 19$_3$ff., Dt. 5$_2$ff.). This is a very common practice with early peoples. Æschylus, for example, in his *Libation Bearers*, assigns a Divine origin to the great court of the Areopagus, by exhibiting its foundation by Pallas Athene for the trial of Orestes.

But the most important thing to remember is, that the great underlying purpose of Hebrew history is to provide a religious philosophy teaching by examples. The larger part of Hebrew history is indeed written expressly to illustrate and enforce the truths enunciated by Hosea in the eighth century and Jeremiah in the seventh. The central thought of this philosophy was, that so long as God's people remained faithful to their covenant with Him, all was well with them; but that whenever they were faithless to that covenant and forsook Him for false gods, then God sent evil upon them as a punishment for their sin. The numerous calamities of Israel were thus interpreted as the direct consequences of national apostacy and wrongdoing (*cf.* Hosea's oracle, 2$_2$–23, and Jer. 2). Judges and Kings are written as a running commentary upon this doctrine, and examination will show how the writers dwell upon every incident which will serve to support their thesis. The didactic purpose is indeed the determining factor in their work; it is evident that they think a great deal more of the religious lesson of a given incident than of the incident itself. Thus in 2 K. 17, the fall of Samaria is very briefly described (1–6), but a long moral gloss is appended (7–41). In Chronicles this reading of history becomes harder and narrower, and in such cases as Asa and the gout and Uzziah and the leprosy it is individualised. This reminds us that the root idea of the Hebrew philosophy of history had by this time become also the root idea of Hebrew personal ethics. For the Hebrew thinker, God was good, and must, therefore, govern the world in the interests of the good man. When widening observation and experience shook the confidence of the Hebrew in this simple syllogism, a good deal of disturbance in thought followed, and the sceptical note found its way into Hebrew literature. This may be seen in some of the Psalms, especially the "Asaph" Psalms (*e.g.* 73), in Ecclesiastes, and in Job, which was indeed written to challenge this narrow and overfacile orthodox view.

Of course this philosophy of history was made possible only by the intense feeling of the Hebrews regarding the reality of God and His law, and by the fact that, tracing everything directly to Him, they entirely ignored all secondary causes and effects. Yet substantially the same philosophy appears, under a somewhat different phraseology, in recent literature in the writings of Carlyle: evidence of the profound influence of OT upon one of the greatest moral writers of modern times.

For reasons stated, it is very difficult for the student of Hebrew literature to detach biography from the historical narrative in which it is embedded. For the Hebrew writer, the personal element in fact furnished the backbone of his subject. "Remove from the historical books the biographies of Samuel, Saul, David, Solomon, Jeroboam, Ahab, Elijah, Elisha, Jehu, Hezekiah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Nehemiah, and Ezra, and little besides bare statistics and the record of three or four important events in the history of the people remains" (Kent, *Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives*, p. 5). The biographies, however, so branch out into history and get entangled with it that most of them might be fittingly entitled (in the formula often used by modern writers) "The Life and Times of" So-and-So. We have an excellent example in "The Life and Times of Samuel" (1 S. 1–12, 16, 28). The stories of Elijah (1 K. 17–19, 2 K. 1, 2) may be treated as together forming a biography of one of the most striking and picturesque figures in OT, and this again is bound up with history. Nehemiah is in part composed of what to-day we should describe as Personal Memoirs.

With regard to the manner and style of these historical and biographical narratives, it is evident that we must distinguish broadly between the earlier narratives and those of the later priestly writers. We are often able to compare the two in parallel accounts of the same events, as, *e.g.*, the two records of the creation in Gen. 1$_1$–2$_4a$ and 2$_4b$–25. The latter of these is the earlier prophetic narrative, and analysis will show that it is concrete, homely, realistic; the former is the later priestly version, and in comparison is abstract, formal, solemn, stately. Such are the general differences between the two classes of writing throughout, as again, *e.g.*, in the two accounts of the promise to Abraham (of which that in Gen. 18 is the early prophetic, that in 17 the later priestly). Almost all the earlier stories represent, of course, the more primitive stages of thought, but in these we have the finest examples of early narrative—rapid, naive, vivid. The account of the appearance of Yahweh to Abraham may be cited as an admirable illustration. Nothing could be simpler, and at the same time nothing could be more picturesque, than the description of the patriarch sitting at his tent door in the heat of the day; of the appearance of the three strangers whom he hastens forward to greet; of the hospitality which he extends towards them. It is the perfection of absolute simplicity in story-telling; the thing is done with a few broad strokes and without the slightest elaboration of detail; but it is so done that its appeal to the imagination is irresistible. It is the same kind of picturesque simplicity that so often delights us in Homer; as in the famous scene in the 9th *Iliad*, in which Achilles and Patroklos entertain the heralds from Agamemnon.

The story of Rebecca at the well, of Jacob and Esau, of Jephthah, of Samson, of David and Saul, of Elisha, of Naaman, of Gehazi, may be mentioned as further illustrations of this earlier type of narrative, for though some of these are, of course, much more highly elaborated than others, they all belong to the same general class. As examples of the priestly style, with its

bare and unimaginative handling of its materials, its greater solemnity, and its marked tendency towards abstraction, we may cite God's covenant with Noah (read side by side, the two flood stories will be found to disclose all the differences in style of which I have spoken); Abraham's purchase of a family burying-place (Gen. 23); and the commission to Moses in Ex. 6 (which should be compared with the variant account in 3f.).

The student is advised to make a careful analysis of one of the greater OT narratives, such as the wonderful story of Joseph, and he will find that the literary characteristics of Hebrew narrative are those of early narrative art in general. Plainness, directness, and simplicity are the outstanding features. There is no unnecessary elaboration of the materials, yet in really great scenes (like the recognition scene between Joseph and his brothers) the dramatic power exhibited is of a very high and fine quality. The characters are portrayed in bold and broad outlines, and generally through what they say and do; minute psychological analysis (such as we get in modern fiction) being conspicuously absent, as in all early narrative writing. And, as in all early narrative writing, there is little description; the setting and background of an action may be suggested, but there is no introduction of scenery for its own sake, and none of the landscape-painting and the local colouring which are so prominent in modern literary art.

The great value of this early kind of story-telling as a permanent school of taste should be clearly understood. Our own literature is commonly marked by immense complexity; our taste has grown sophisticated, and we are in danger of losing all appreciation of simplicity. This is one of Tolstoi's main contentions in his *What is Art?* Taking the story of Joseph as an example, he insists that here we have all the fundamentals of a story, and that as a story it is all the better because it is not encumbered by those masses of detail—of description, analysis, commentary—which, he argues, destroy instead of helping the effect of modern narratives. He points out that we have no description of Joseph's home, of his tunic, or of the person or toilette of Potiphar's wife; and he maintains that the absence of these things is an advantage, since nothing unimportant is interposed between the really human elements in the drama and the reader's imagination and sympathies. And then he contrasts modern fiction, in which we have to disengage the really human elements from the mass of non-essential accessories with which they are burdened. We are not bound, of course, to accept Tolstoi's chief contention that our modern art is all wrong, and that this early kind of art is alone right. Such a view would be reactionary, and would condemn some of the greatest things in modern literature, including Tolstoi's own masterpiece, *Anna Karénina*. But to keep our taste unspoilt the discipline of the older and simpler kinds of art is indispensable. For this reason, the modern reader is often advised, very judiciously, to turn back from time to time to his *Iliad* and his *Odyssey*. But, after all, he is not obliged to go to Homer. He will find ample material for his purpose in the story literature of OT.

We pass on to Hebrew narrative literature, as represented in those OT story-books which survive out of a much larger literature of the same kind, and which "suffice to give us a notion of the popular reading of the Jews in the last centuries before the Christian era" (Moore, 134f.). These books are dealt with in detail in the commentaries on them, and one of them—Jonah—need not detain us here. Confining our attention to the purely literary aspects of the other two, we have specially to note that while Ruth and Esther are both marked by those common characteristics which, as we have seen, distinguish early story-telling from modern, yet the differences between them are such as to make them extremely interesting for comparative study. That they differ in matter and spirit is, of course, obvious; the one is a pastoral idyl, the other a brilliant romance of court intrigue; the one is filled with the tenderest humanity, the other overflows with the most ferocious spirit of national hatred and bigotry. But what concerns the literary student more than this is, that whether or not actually the later of the two in date, Esther represents a much later stage in the evolution of story-writing as an art. It is indeed by far the most advanced example of narrative to be found in OT. Contrast its opening with that of Ruth, and the highly-developed character of its technique will at once be apparent. In Ruth all the preliminary matter is put into a short paragraph, and the method is the old, simple, direct method of the child's story—"Once upon a time there was a man named so-and-so"—and so on. In Esther the introduction is long, elaborate, and skilful. There is a full description (and the amplification of the descriptive element should be noted) of the great feast given by Ahasuerus, which is clearly designed to bring out, as it does bring out most vividly, the power and magnificence of the king and the Oriental splendour of his court. Such difference in handling will be found throughout. In Ruth, again, the character-drawing is quite broad and simple. In Esther—as notably in the finely contrasted studies of Haman and Mordecai—there is much of the subtlety of modern work. In Ruth the story moves forward with an artlessness which, for the reader of to-day, is one of its chief charms; the scene of the gleaning and the incident of Ruth lying at Boaz's feet being described without effort on the writer's part, and left to make their own impression. (The reader may compare Victor Hugo's expansion of the latter incident in his *Booz Endormi*.) In Esther, a complicated plot is managed with consummate skill and an extraordinary sense of dramatic values. Evident throughout, this is especially so in the account of Haman's downfall. There is dramatic irony as fine as any to be found in Greek tragedy in the interview between Haman and the king after the king's sleepless night, while the hanging of Haman on the very gallows which he had prepared for his enemy is a tremendously effective stroke.

Before leaving narrative, we must note the curious fact that surviving Hebrew literature furnishes no example of the epic, or long tale in verse. We call this curious because in most literatures the epic is the first form of extended narrative composition; and it is the more curious because the epic existed in Babylonian literature, to which the Hebrews were much indebted. But though we have no true epic in OT, we have what R. G. Moulton has called the "mixed epic," in which the narrative proper is in prose, but which, in places when the emotional element becomes strong, rises into verse. The great example of this is the story of Balaam (Nu. 22–24). Such combination of prose and verse is rare in modern non-dramatic literature, but it is to be found in mediæval "cante-fables," and in the exquisite thirteenth century French story, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, while William Morris adopted it with a measure of success in his romance, *The House of the Wolfings*.

We turn next to Hebrew poetry. As a rule, when poetry has to be studied in translation, questions of

form can hardly be considered with profit. It happens, however, that there is one fundamental feature of Hebrew versification which can be preserved in translation and therefore concerns the English reader. It is that known as parallelism, or the symmetry or balance between clause and clause, in thought or expression, or in both. For the student of the Bible as literature, this is a most important subject.

The three principal varieties of parallelism are :

(1) Synonymous (the most common of all), in which the second line reinforces the first by repeating the thought in a somewhat different expression, or rounds it off by the introduction of a parallel idea :

" In Judah is God known,
His name is great in Israel."

" Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,
And thou, Moon, upon the valley of Aijalon."

(2) Antithetic (the opposite of synonymous), in which the second line completes the first by introducing a statement in contrast with it :

" For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous,
But the way of the wicked shall perish."

Gnomic sayings fall naturally in such antithetic form ; hence this type of parallelism abounds in Pr. (especially ch. 10–15).

(3) Constructive, in which the two lines or clauses are not related by repetition or contrast, but one completes the other in various more subtle ways :

(*a*) By introducing a comparison :

" Better is a dinner of herbs where love is,
Than a stalled ox and hatred therewith."

(*b*) Or an illustration or emblem (this subdivision is sometimes called emblematic parallelism) :

" A word fitly spoken
Is like apples of gold in baskets of silver."

In this case the emblem may come first :

" As cold waters to a thirsty soul,
So is good news from a far country."

(*c*) Or the second line may provide the reason, or consequence, or motive of the statement contained in the first :

" Bow down thine ear, O Lord, and answer me,
For I am poor and in misery."

" Answer not a fool according to his folly,
Lest thou also be like unto him."

A fourth and much rarer kind of parallelism must be added to these—the climactic or ascending. In this the first line by itself is incomplete, while the second line catches up its unfinished idea and completes it :

" The floods have lifted up, O Lord,
The floods have lifted up their voice."

" For lo, thine enemies, O Lord,
For lo, thine enemies shall perish."

This kind of parallelism is generally found only in the most elevated poetry, in which it is exceedingly effective.

It should be noted that the æsthetic effect produced by parallelism, with its response of line to line, is not unlike that of modern rime ; indeed, Renan has called parallelism " the rime of thought."

In the foregoing illustrations couplets only have been used. But parallelism may extend through larger groups of lines which, by analogy with modern systems of verse, we may call stanzas. We therefore find triplets and quatrains variously arranged according to the relations of the lines one to another. Thus, *e.g.*, we may have a synonymous triplet :

" That walketh not in the counsel of the wicked,
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful : "

or a triplet in which the first two lines are synonymous, and together form an emblematic parallelism with the third :

" As one that taketh off a garment in cold weather,
And as vinegar upon nitre,
So is he that singeth songs with a heavy heart."

Or the second line may be united with the first by constructive parallelism, and the third to the second by synonymous parallelism :

" Arise, O Lord, save me, O my God,
For thou hast smitten all my enemies upon the cheek bone,
Thou hast broken the teeth of the wicked."

And so on, and so on, through innumerable combinations. In the same way the quatrain may exhibit various kinds of construction. The four lines may be resolved by analysis into two closely-connected couplets :

" If I whet my glittering sword,
And my hand take hold on judgment,
I will render vengeance to mine adversaries,
And will recompense them that hate me."

Or we may have alternate parallelism, like the alternate rimes of an English quatrain (*abab*) :

" Except the Lord build the house
They labour in vain that build it ;
Except the Lord keep the city
The watchman waketh but in vain."

Or an inverted quatrain, like the stanza of *In Memoriam* (*abba*) :

" Have mercy upon me, O God,
According to thy loving kindness ;
According to the multitude of thy tender mercies
Blot out my transgression."

The foregoing must suffice as a brief introduction to a large subject, into the intricacies of which limitations of space forbid us here to enter. The student of the Bible as literature should, however, pursue it further for himself, for he will find that a thorough grasp of the principles of parallelism will greatly increase his enjoyment of Hebrew poetry on the æsthetic side.

Poems are made up of such groups of lines in various parallelistic relations. Sometimes a poem may be completely regular in structure, *i.e.* composed of a succession of similar groups ; like Ps. 114, which is made up of uniform synonymous couplets. Sometimes, it may be fairly regular though not completely so (Ps. 29). Sometimes, as in Ps. 1, it may be quite irregular in formation. But Driver points out that the finest and most perfect specimens of Hebrew poetry are, as a rule, those in which the parallelism is most regular : synonymous distiches and quatrains being varied by occasional triplets (Job 28, 31, 38, 39 ; Ps. 18, 29, 104 ; Pr. 812ff.). It should be added that the line between prose and verse was far less hard and formal in Hebrew than in modern literatures, and the transition from one to the other was, therefore, easy and natural. We have noted this in the case of the

" mixed epic." So the narrative writers in general habitually adopted the parallelistic structure of verse for oracles, benedictions, farewells, and even orations.

In general quality Hebrew poetry exhibits to the full those racial characteristics of which we have already spoken. It is the poetry of a hot-blooded, Eastern people, who gave themselves up entirely to the emotion of the moment, and poured forth their feelings in songs of contrition, supplication, hope, despair, sorrow, doubt, faith, devotion, passionate love of God, ferocious hatred of their enemies. Hence their frequent extravagance of expression; as when in his excitement the poet describes the mountains as skipping like rams and the hills like the young of a flock. Oriental intensity of expression will be noted in another way in various places in the love poetry of the Song of Songs. The English reader must be careful to keep these features in mind, for recognition of them is essential to a proper understanding of Hebrew poetry as literature.

The various poetic books of OT are dealt with in separate commentaries to which the reader is referred for details. There is one matter of general interest, however, which may properly be considered here—the treatment of nature in Hebrew poetry (pp. 12f., 369). The Hebrews were an agricultural and pastoral people; their occupations brought them into constant contact with the changing phenomena of the seasons; it was inevitable, therefore, that images and motives from nature should be prominent in their poetry. Now there are two questions which have to be put in regard to any body of nature-poetry: first, how does the poet see and describe nature?—faithfully and concretely, like Wordsworth and Tennyson? or conventionally and at second hand, like Pope? And then, how does he feel about nature? what emotional response does it awaken in him? These questions are easy to answer in respect of Hebrew poetry. It is a simple, direct, and faithful rendering of what the poet has actually seen; and the emotion which the contemplation of nature elicits is almost always a religious emotion. There is in Hebrew literature no poetry of nature for its own sake, such as we find so often in modern literature. Nature is always related to man on the one side and to God on the other. On the human side, the thought is often of the fertility of the earth and its utility to man (very characteristic of an agricultural and pastoral people); though this is habitually conceived as a manifestation of the goodness and bounty of God (Ps. 65$_{9-13}$). On the religious side, the central idea is the entire and immediate dependence of all things upon God, who created and sustains them. There is no thought of nature apart from God, and, of course, no thought of nature in antagonism to God, such as we find in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. Moreover, God is outside nature, never within it; the conception of Divine Immanence, which Wordsworth so often expresses (*e.g. Lines above Tintern Abbey*) being wholly foreign to Hebrew religious ideas. Nature for the Hebrew poet was thus never a living thing, still less a spiritual thing; no Hebrew poet could have written with Wordsworth that " Nature never did betray the heart that loved her." Thus Hebrew nature-poetry provides one more illustration of the comprehensive anthropomorphic theism of the Hebrew, for whom everything began with God and ended with Him. All these qualities—the fine fidelity, the human reference, and the religious interpretation—may be studied, *e.g.*, in the magnificent song of creation, Ps. 104. It is important to remember that this is a poetical rendering and amplification of the account of the creation given by the priestly writer in Gen. 1. But whereas the priestly writer regarded the work of creation as finished, the poet, with finer instinct, treats it as an eternal process, symbolised as it were by the everlasting succession of the seasons.

Didactic literature next demands our attention. This includes those very interesting " Wisdom " books which, with their observations and reflections on life and their rules for its proper guidance, constitute, as has been said, the nearest approach in Hebrew literature to what we call philosophy. These books are fully analysed in separate commentaries, and it is with their general literary characteristics only that we are now concerned. One of these in particular has to be emphasized—their comparative formlessness. The Hebrews had little power of sustained or coherent thought, and little sense of that orderly arrangement of ideas which Greek and modern writers have led us to expect in the literature of reflection. Hence, with the exception of Job (which, as compared with other surviving Hebrew literature, is remarkably systematic), these " Wisdom " books are scarcely more than miscellanies. Proverbs is largely composed of isolated sayings and epigrams, and even the more extended passages have slight order or interconnexion. (Comparison will show that the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus exhibits a marked development in this respect; the materials are sometimes grouped according to subjects, and there is more sequence and elaboration of thought.) In Ecclesiastes we have a congeries of detached reflections, observations, impressions, anecdotes, not unified into a body of doctrine, and not always even harmonised. Yet within these books we can recognise the rudimentary form, or crude beginnings, of an important literary type—the essay. The evolution of the essay can be seen in Proverbs, where, from time to time, we come upon clusters of aphorisms dealing with the same topic (*e.g.* 26$_{3-12,13-16,17-26}$), and—a stage in advance of these—passages concerned with some particular theme (*e.g.* out of many, 4$_{1-9}$, 10$_{-19,20-27}$, 6$_{6-11}$). Literary evolution is still more apparent in Ecclesiastes, which breaks up under analysis into five essays (Moulton), though miscellaneous sayings are interspersed: 1$_{12-2}$, 3$_{-4}$8, 5$_{10-6}$12, 7$_{23-9}$16, 11$_{7-12}$7. Of the suggestion in Job of another literary form—the drama—I have already spoken.

Finally, in our survey of OT literature, we come to the literature of prophecy. The place and significance of prophecy and its relation to history and theology lie outside the scope of this article (pp. 69–78, 85–93, 426–430). Again we have to consider literary characteristics only, and even of these it is difficult to speak in brief, because prophetic literature is marked by extreme complexity of composition. While its essential feature is that the prophet writes in a state of ecstasy and as the Divinely commissioned interpreter of God's will (note passages in which such commission is set forth, *e.g.* Ezek. 2–3$_4$), his utterances assume many forms. Sometimes it is Yahweh Himself who speaks (Hos. 11$_{1-4}$). More often the prophet delivers the message in his own person. His discourse often takes the shape of direct exhortation and appeal, and may thus be likened (as I have suggested) to the modern sermon. Often he indulges in denunciation of the wickedness either of his own people or of other nations, and then we may roughly compare his work with the Philippics of Demosthenes and Cicero and the satires of Latin and later writers. Occasionally we have regular dramatic dialogues (Is. 63$_{1-6}$, Jer. 14–17, Mi. 6f., Hab. 1f.). A strongly dramatic element is often introduced in other ways (Is. 40$_{3}$ff., 49, 53, etc.). Events are frequently

described in vivid pictures (Is. 52ff., Jer. 510–19). Personal and historical narratives are sometimes incorporated with prophecy (Jer. 26–29, 34–43; Am. 7 10–17, Hag.). Abundant use is made of parable (Jer. 1312–14, 24; Is. 51–7; Ezek. 241–14), and of allegory and symbolism (Ezek. 4, 5, 15–17, 19, 23, 27, 31, Hos. 1–22, 3; Zech. 114–14). Visions are, of course, innumerable (Is. 6, 41, 43; Ezek. 14–28, 322–27, 37, Am. 7–9, Zech. 1–6, etc.), and among these it is scarcely necessary to say we include the beautiful pictures of the peace and blessing of the coming Messianic reign, which are too frequent and familiar to call for more specific remark. The purely poetic element is also very strong in many of the prophets, notably in Isaiah, one of Israel's greatest poets, and a master of the "grand style," and in Nahum. Attention must, therefore, be paid to such poetic qualities as use of nature, imagery, vividness, picturesqueness, and force and beauty of diction. At times lyric poems are introduced, *e.g.*, the thanksgiving songs for Israel's deliverance in Is. 14, 25f.; and the noble ode in Hab. 3. The prophets were, of course, patriots and statesmen; they were primarily interested in the things of their own day, and often they dealt in a very practical way with very practical questions. But the supreme quality of Hebrew prophetic literature—the quality which gives it its distinctive place—is its intense spirituality. More than any other body of literature in the world, it brings life to the test of ultimate values, and suffuses the mundane and temporal with the influences of the unseen and eternal.

To complete this short survey of the literature of the Bible something must be said about the literary aspects of NT. (A fuller discussion will be found in the article on "The Development of the New Testament Literature.")

The essential thing here is to realise the difference between those portions of NT which in literary character are hardly to be distinguished from OT, and those which reveal the influx of a new culture and new ideas of composition.

Under the former head we have, it is evident, to place the Synoptic Gospels. We pass to these from the analogous parts of OT without being conscious of any radical change in literary atmosphere: the resemblances are fundamental, the differences few and superficial. In everything appertaining to method and style, indeed, the writers of these gospels clearly belong to the OT school. Their narrative adheres to the same general type; it is marked by the same plainness, directness, and simplicity, the same avoidance of amplification and digressive detail: as we may see by turning to such fine examples as the story of the death of John the Baptist (Mk. 617–29), and the account of the shepherds watching their flocks by night (Lk. 28–20). Their interspersed dialogues and speeches are likewise fashioned on OT models. Even the discourses of Jesus, though they are so stamped with the speaker's personality as to seem entirely new and unique, have in respect of literary form nothing original about them; for His aphorisms, His prophetic sayings, His parables, were all, as vehicles of expression, familiar to His Jewish hearers from their own Scriptures. In reading the first three gospels, therefore, the literary student is throughout impressed by the fact that he is still dealing with OT modes of thought and style. To this OT tradition in NT also belongs Revelation, a late outgrowth from that Jewish apocalyptic literature which, in turn, had evolved out of prophecy.

When, however, we pass from these works to the remaining divisions of NT, we are made aware in different ways that we are emerging into a fresh world—a world already touched by far-reaching western influences. We feel this, for example, in many places in Acts, and particularly in the second part, which forms a fragmentary biography of Paul. Here much of the narrative suggests the touch of self-conscious and deliberate art—the art of the Greek rather than of the Hebrew writer; as in the account of what happened at Melita (281–6); while Paul's speeches are obviously written or edited by one familiar with the technique of Greek oratory. In the fourth gospel, again, Greek influences are powerfully at work, not in theology only, but in substance and manner as well; the least critical reader must perceive this at once, on observing the contrast between the long, sustained, and argumentative discourses of Jesus given by John, and the brief and simple addresses of the Master recorded by the synoptists. But it is most of all the epistles, and especially those of Paul, with their complexity of thought and expression, their subtlety of logic, their rhetorical skill, and the masterly quality of their style, which announce unmistakably that we have now left behind us the mental habits and limitations of OT writers. Beside these examples of brilliant reasoning and literary art, the "Wisdom" books of OT seem, as has been well said, remote and primitive. "When we pass from Proverbs and Job to St. John and Romans and Hebrews, we have passed from the world of Solomon to the world of Socrates" (Gardiner, p. 185).

Literature.—S. R. Driver, *Intro. to the Lit. of OT*; R. G. Moulton, *The Literary Study of the Bible*; J. H. Gardiner, *The Bible as English Literature*; G. F. Moore, *The Lit. of OT*; C. F. Kent, *The Student's OT*; E. G. King, *Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews*; E. Kautzsch, *Die Poesie u. die poet. Bücher des Alt. Test.*; K. Budde, *Hebrew Poetry* (HDB); Gunkel, *Die israelitische Literatur* in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart: Die orientalischen Literaturen*. Much attention is given to this in *Die Schriften des Alt. Test.*

THE HOLY LAND[1]

By Dr. E. W. G. MASTERMAN

The land which the Divine purpose selected as the home of the Hebrew race has had, through its situation and physical conditions, no little bearing upon their mental and spiritual development. Indeed, it is impossible to understand the Hebrew people apart from their environment or to appreciate their literature—saturated as it is with local imagery—without some knowledge of the land of its origin. Even the Master Himself was, during His earthly ministry, necessarily influenced by physical, geographical, and climatic conditions which it is important to realise if we would understand His life.

Names.—The section of Southern Syria which was the scene of the greater part of the OT and NT is conveniently described as "The Holy Land" since it is difficult to get any modern geographical expression which covers the whole of it satisfactorily. The oldest name in the OT is the **land of Canaan** (Gen. 125 163, 178, 371, etc.), which occurs in the form Kinahki in Egyptian monuments of *c.* 1800 B.C. and in the Tell el-Amarna Correspondence (*c.* 1400 B.C.). Originally this name, which means "low land," was applied to the maritime plain, but later it denoted—as it does in the OT—the whole land west of Jordan. The **land of Amuri** or of the **Amorites** (p. 53)—a name which, though probably far older, occurs in Assyrian and Egyptian writings of *c.* 1200 B.C.—is applied especially to the mountain regions. Originally it appears to have designated the mountain region of the whole of Syria, but later it is especially used of the Lebanon and southwards, the "land of the Hatti" or Hittites being used for the more northern parts.

We read in Egyptian monuments (*c.* 1100 B.C.) of the arrival of the Purusati (Philistines) and other allied tribes, who settled on the coast and south-western plains, at much the same time as the Hebrews were beginning to occupy the mountains to the east (p. 56). This district consequently received the name of *'ereṣ Pelištîm* or **land of the Philistines,** or in poetry Peleseth or **Philistia** (Ex. 1514, Is. 1429,31). The Greeks at a later age applied the name Syria Palæstina to this region, and the Romans, still later, divided all Southern Syria into **Palestina** Prima, Secunda, and Tertia. Thus the name, which originally, like Canaan, applied to the coast-lands, came gradually to be the most used name for the whole land.

The name **Syria**—a shortened form of Assyria—is never used in the OT for the land of the Hebrews, but always for the rival kingdom whose centre was at Damascus. In the time of the Greek predominance it came into use, as it is employed to-day, as the name of the whole western borderland of the Mediterranean, and in the NT it is used several times in that sense (Mt. 424, Lk. 22, Ac. 1523,41, 1818, 213, Gal. 121).

Brief mention only can be made here of the commonest designations given to the land of the Bible. The term **land of Israel** is used twenty-two times in the OT and twice in the NT. Yahweh is represented in many passages as speaking of "my land" (Is. 1425, Jer. 27, 1618, Jl. 16, 32, etc.). Allied terms are "a land which Yahweh thy God careth for" (Dt. 1112), "the land of my people" (Is. 3213), "my heritage" (Jer. 27), "the land of your habitations" (Nu. 152), "the land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee" (Dt. 1714, 189, 261). Epithets used as descriptive of the land are many—"a land flowing with milk and honey" (Jos. 56), "Beulah," *i.e.* "married" (Is. 624), "delightsome" (Mal. 312), "pleasant" (Jer. 319), "plentiful" (Jer. 27), "glorious" (Dan. 1116,41).

Physical Geography.—The great mass of the rocks, of which the mountains of Palestine and Syria are built, were laid down at a period when this whole region, between Sinai in the south and Mount Taurus in the north, was submerged. The primitive (Archæan) rocks underlying these sedimentary rocks are nowhere exposed, and the oldest strata, which appear only near the south-east corner of the Dead Sea, consist of a conglomerate built largely of fragments of granite. Above the Archæan rocks are successively layers of Nubian sandstone, which appear to the east of the Dead Sea, then strata of limestone of the carboniferous age, containing ammonites and echinoderms, and above these chalk strata of the upper cretaceous age. The different layers of limestone rocks are distinguished by varying degrees of hardness, in some cases by the presence of fossils or bands of flint, and, in some parts, by their being impregnated with phosphates or bitumen, the latter producing the "fire stone" or "Nebi Mûsa" stone.

The vast mass of sedimentary rocks, many hundreds of feet thick, was gradually raised during the Miocene period, in great folds running north and south. In consequence of the enormous pressure to which the strata were subject during this process, many of them became twisted in a remarkable way, and "faults" appeared. A fault is a deep crack at the point of greatest pressure, and such a crack usually leads to shifting of the strata, the layers on one side being elevated in some cases hundreds of feet higher than on the other. Such a fault—running for a distance of 350 miles—has produced the Jordan Valley with its extension north and south. As a consequence of this, the strata on the east side of the crack have been projected upwards, so that here the deeper layers, *e.g.* Nubian sandstone, appear, while on the west the deepest layers appearing on the surface are limestones.

The great "fault" or rift was evidently at one time filled in its deeper parts by a great mass of water—to a level of 150 feet above the Mediterranean Sea—as far north as Hermon and also far south of the present Dead Sea. The cause of this great accumulation of

[1] In this article the names of places mentioned in the Bible are printed in clarendon type.

water was the copious rainfall of the first ice age. It was during this, and subsequent similar periods, that the deep valleys were made by denudation of the limestone rocks by vast torrents. The enormous quantities of diluvial material were carried eastward, producing firstly gravelly and then finer marly deposits at the bottom of the great central lake, and westward to form the present maritime plain, where they overlay Tertian deposits laid down when once the sea washed the foot of the limestone hills.

The gradual onset of climatic conditions similar to those of the present age led to the slow drying up of the great central lake, exposing as dry land the greater part of the lake bottom and leaving the three lakes. The Dead Sea, which has no outlet, is intensely salt because its waters contain the greater part of the salts which were once dissolved in the vastly greater volume of the original lake.

In various parts of the land, notably in Galilee and in the district south and south-east of Hermon, there are volcanic rocks due to large outflows of lava, and extinct volcanoes occur in considerable numbers. Although hot sulphurous springs exist in various parts of the Jordan Valley, and earthquakes are by no means uncommon, it is improbable that any active volcanic disturbance has occurred since Man appeared on this planet. It is probable that the physical and climatic conditions of the land were, from the earliest existence of Man, practically identical with those of to-day.

General Physical Features.—The geological processes just described have produced very definite divisions of the land. Running north and south through the midst, we have the Ghōr or Jordan Valley with its swift-running river, its three lakes, and—in consequence of its great depth below sea level—its tropical climate and fauna. On either side of this are parallel mountain ranges rising abruptly from the central valley, but descending gradually westwards to the sea, and still more gradually eastwards to the desert. The mountains, in Palestine proper, scarcely reach 4000 feet above the Mediterranean, but east of the Jordan they are in places nearly 6000 feet, and Hermon, on the northern border, is over 9000 feet high. Thus from the summit of snow-clad Hermon to the sweltering Dead Sea shore (nearly 1300 feet below sea level) we have a difference of nearly 10,300 feet. Yet, in spite of the startling contrast due to differences of elevation, one of the facts most striking to visitors from the West is the *general uniformity of the land*. For one thing, with the exception of the volcanic districts, the limestone strata—here horizontal, there acutely tilted or twisted, or full of flinty nodules—are everywhere in evidence. Mountains made of such rocks are usually rounded and somewhat commonplace, and even the highest points can be reached on horseback. Then the *climate*, in its broad features, is the same everywhere. A short, wet winter with torrential rains is followed by a dry summer season with perhaps no drop of rain for five, or even six months. The heavy rains tend to clear the hillsides of soil—unless this is prevented by human agency—and the hot, dry summer soon withers the spring's glorious promise of verdure. Miles of country in the later summer produce nothing but a few scanty, prickly weeds. The scarcity of timber—greatly increased under Turkish misrule—is marked all over the land. Springs are usually small and infrequent, and not a few become intermittent, or dry up altogether, after the summer drought. Common to the whole land are the *characteristic winds* also—the rain-bearing south-west or west winds, the cooling north-west wind, which so greatly mitigates the heat of midsummer evenings and nights, and the dry and parching south-east wind (the Sirocco) from the desert, which spoils so much of the otherwise pleasant weather in spring and autumn.

From countless points all over the land *wonderful prospects* are to be seen, views of natural beauty, with ever-changing atmospheric effects, but extraordinarily interesting and romantic to the student of history. For the size of the land the prospects, though harmonious, are wonderfully varied—mountain and plain, lake and ocean, tropical scenery in the Jordan Valley and Alpine plants upon the slopes of Hermon—all confined within an area so small that nearly two-thirds of its length can be seen from one onlook. The *smallness* of the land is striking when it is realised that from "Dan to Beersheba" is less than 130 miles in a straight line, and from the sea to the desert, in the land's widest part is less than 100 miles. Enough of *beauty* still remains to enable us to imagine what it must have been when a swarming and industrious population cultivated it to its fullest degree and all its hills were clothed in forests, orchards, or vineyards.

Extent and Natural Divisions of the Land.—The broad, natural divisions of Palestine run north and south. To the west lies the Mediterranean Sea, to the east the desert; between these two the strip of fertile land consists of two mountain ranges and two plains. Near the sea is the maritime plain; running east of this, and making up with it "Western Palestine," is the great mountain backbone which springs from the Lebanon and loses itself far south in the desert of Sinai. East of this is the deep rift of the Ghōr, which holds the river Jordan and its attendant lakes, while still further east there is a rapid rise to those fertile and historic plateaux which made up Eastern Palestine. This has been graphically portrayed by several writers thus:

Sea	The Maritime Plain	The Central Range	The Ghōr (Jordan Valley)	The Eastern Range	Th Desert

The westward boundary has not always been a very secure one, for over these seas have come successively Phœnicians, Philistines, Greeks, and Romans, and in more modern times Crusaders and other Europeans. The desert to the east has proved a securer protection, but only when the frontier has been held in some force, for ever and again the wandering Bedouin—like the Midianites of old—have swarmed over the land and eaten up the crops of the more settled inhabitants. The most serious invasion of the land in the Christian era also came from the East, when the followers of Mohammed burst over the land and wrested it from the Byzantines.

Southwards the land passes from ever increasingly parched mountain ranges to an utter desert plateau where scarcely an Arab and a camel can exist.

Northwards no sharp line divides Palestine proper from Syria—Damascus and its rich oasis has never been a part of the "land of Israel," nor has Lebanon. To-day an artificial frontier is made, for purposes of the Palestine Exploration Fund Survey, at Tyre and a line eastwards from that city, but a more natural division is the river Litâny where it passes in its course from east to west through an extraordinarily deep

gorge. This line prolonged to Banias at the foot of Hermon, though an arbitrary one, is probably as satisfactory as any that can be found.

Within these bounds lies a land unique, a unit, though broken into many parts. Less beautiful than the Lebanon and Phœnicia, less fruitful than Egypt and ancient Mesopotamia, smaller than all these, wasted and maimed as it is, it yet attracts the thoughts of a vastly greater number of mankind than all these other lands combined.

Regional Geography.—I. *Western Palestine.* (*a*) *The maritime plain,* which stretches between the mountain and the sea almost all along the coast, varies much in width—from one to five miles or so in Northern Palestine to as much as twenty-five miles in the south. Between Akka and Tyre the mountains of Galilee terminate in precipitous headlands running out into the sea, so that the old coast highroad had to negotiate a steep and difficult route known as the "Ladder of Tyre." North of this we have the Plain of Tyre and then successively Sidon, Sarepta, Beirût, and other Phœnician cities of ancient days, each upon its own narrow strip of coast-plain.

South of the Ladder of Tyre the maritime plain soon expands into the wide and well-watered **Plain of Akka,** traversed by the two rivers, the Nahr Namein, the Belus, and the Nahr el Mukatta, the Kishon. The Bay of Akka (or Acre) lies between the city of that name—the **Accho** of Jg. 131 and the **Ptolemais** of Ac. 217—on the north and the western extremity of Mount Carmel, which here falls abruptly seawards, but is separated from the sea by a narrow plain. Nestling to the north of the western end of Carmel is Haifa, a modern town which is coming into increasing importance as the terminus of the Hejaz Railway and the owner of the one natural harbour for modern ships on all the coast of Palestine. South of Carmel the *coast* presents no safe anchorage for present-day needs, but at several points, where some rocky reef or some slight indentation of the coast occurs, Phœnician sailors or their successors in Greek, Roman, or later times established themselves and made harbours suited to their small sailing boats. We have thus from north to south—Athlît, the Castellum Peregrinorum of the Crusaders, Tantûrah, the Phœnician Dor, el Kaiserîeh or **Caesarea,** the capital of Roman Palestine, Jaffa once **Japho** and **Joppa,** Askalân, the successor of the Philistine and Crusading **Ascalon,** and Ghuzzeh, now three miles inland but nevertheless the successor of Philistine, Greek, and Byzantine **Gaza.** All the ancient harbour works are ruined, and the harbours themselves are now largely silted up. From Jaffa southwards, the sea-board is hidden from the neighbouring plain by an ever-broadening line of sand dunes which merge towards the south into the sandy desert between Gaza and Egypt. The plain itself from Carmel southwards to the desert contains some of the most fertile land in Palestine. The alluvial soil carried down from the mountains is constantly being renewed by fresh deposits from the hills, assisted in some parts by floods in the rainy season. It is extensively, but by no means fully, cultivated. The part to the north of Jaffa is usually known as the **Plain of Sharon** (Is. 339, 351, 6510), and parts of this were once a forest. It is traversed by several small streams, of which the most important are the Nahr ez Zerka or Crocodile River towards the north, and the Nahr el Awaj, the Crooked River, which rises at Kefr Saba, the site of the ancient **Antipatris** (Ac. 2331*), and reaches the sea just north of Jaffa. Inland from Jaffa on the railway to Jerusalem are Ludd, the **Lydda** of Ac. 932, and Ramleh, both important places in the midst of splendid groves of olives and fruit-trees, while still further west, upon the actual foot hills, is Tell el Jezēreh, the recently excavated site of ancient **Gezer** (Jg. 129*, 1 K. 915f.*). On the great Egyptian highroad from Jaffa to Gaza lie successively, Yebneh, the ancient Jabniel or **Jamnia** (Jos. 1511), ten miles further south Esdūd, once **Ashdod,** and still another ten miles further south, Askalān upon the coast itself. Far on the eastern edge of the plain, nearly as far south as Gaza, is Tell el Hesy, the site of **Lachish** (2 K. 1814f., 198, Jer. 347), which has been partially excavated. Between Jaffa and Gaza in the north and Gaza and Lachish in the south lies the great rolling plain of Philistia, on which rich harvests of wheat and barley are gathered annually. The remaining two great Philistine cities, **Gath,** possibly at Tell es Sāfi, and **Ekron,** possibly at edh Dhenebbeh, are not with any certainty identified.

(*b*) *The great mountain backbone* of Western Palestine is naturally divided into five parts. In the north, beyond Palestine proper, is the Lebanon; then comes Galilee, separated by the Litāny from the preceding and from Samaria by the wide plain of Esdraelon; beyond these, each with its own characteristics, we have Samaria, Judæa, and the Negeb.

(1) The **Lebanon** extends for about 100 miles north and south parallel with the Syrian coast. In the north it is divided from the Nusairîyeh mountains by the Nahr el Kebîr or Eleutheros River; in the south from Galilee by the Nahr Litāny, probably the Leontes of classical writers. To the west the narrow strip of the Phœnician plain divides it from the sea, and to the east it is separated from the Anti-Lebanon by the plain el Bukaa or Cælesyria, up the centre of which the Orontes flows northward. Within these limits mountain points rise at several places to considerable heights, especially in the north. Makmal is 10,207 feet, Sannin, near Beirut, 8895 feet, and Baruk, further south, about 7000 feet high. Snow lies on many of the higher summits until late in the summer. The whole region is full of fountains and streams, some of which traverse the most romantic gorges. The superiority of this district over Palestine in this respect is partly due to the snowy summits and partly to the presence here of a great stratum of water-gathering Nubian sandstone (1300 to 1600 feet thick), on which Coniferæ flourish exceedingly. The lower mountain slopes are highly cultivated in places, but the **forests of cedars** which once crowned the heights are to-day represented only by a few small and scattered groves. The people of the Lebanon are as much separated in government and in social life from those of Palestine as they were in ancient times.

(2) *Galilee,* the "ring" or "region" (*cf.* "Galilee of the nations," Is. 91), was originally a special limited district around **Kedesh** (Jos. 207, 2132). It is divided by Josephus into three parts: (1) Upper Galilee, (2) Lower Galilee, and (3) the Jordan Valley. The division is a good one though somewhat artificial, but as (3) will be treated under the section dealing with "the Jordan Valley" as a whole, it will be convenient to treat the Plain of Esdraelon as the third division instead.

Upper Galilee consists of a series of high-lying plateaux of considerable fertility, scored at their edges by deep, irregular valleys. Safed, the chief town, stands a little to the south-east of the centre; some six miles to the west the summit of Jebel Jermak, the highest point in Palestine, rises to a height of

3934 feet. The plateau ends abruptly to the south in a well-defined range of hills running east and west, of which the highest points are the *Jebulet el Arus*, 3500 feet high. The whole range descends abruptly about 2000 feet to the lower hill-country of Lower Galilee.

In this lofty mountain region there are relatively many springs and fairly abundant winter rains. The dryness of the later summer months is largely compensated by the abundant dews—the dew of Hermon (Ps. 133$_3$)—which is a result of the moisture-laden south-west winds being suddenly cooled by contact with Hermon. In several places, notably at the plain of el Jish (Gischala) there are outcrops of volcanic rock.

This highland region does not appear to have been completely subdued by Israel, though partially settled by Naphthali and Asher. The invasion of Benhadad (1 K. 15$_{20}$) fell heavily on this district, as did that of Tiglathpileser the Assyrian (2 K. 15$_{29}$). Most of the captured places named were in Upper Galilee. Down to NT times this land was the home of a mixed and largely pagan race. The extremely mixed character of the inhabitants is a marked feature to-day. The most famous sites are Kedes, the ancient **Kadesh-Naphthali** (Jos. 20$_7$, 21$_{32}$, Jg. 4$_{9f.}$*), one of the "cities of refuge," and Khurbet Harrāweh, a lofty hill dominating the upper Jordan plain which marks the site of ancient **Hazor** (Jg. 4$_2$, etc.).

Lower Galilee is bounded on the north by the steep mountain ridge just described; on the south the natural boundary is Esdraelon, but at times the plain was counted, as was Carmel, to Galilee itself. To the west Lower Galilee slopes gently down to the plain of Akka, which politically belonged to it in Roman times when Ptolemais was the port of the province. On the east the province not only extended to the Jordan but actually beyond it. Most references to Galilee are to Lower Galilee, and this, almost exclusively so far as we can gather, was the scene of the earthly ministry of our Lord in the north.

It is a region of no great height; the loftiest point is only 1800 feet above sea level. The hills are disposed in parallel ranges running east and west, with wide, fertile valleys between. Some of these plains have no proper drainage, and tend to become waterlogged at the end of the winter rains. It is a rich and fertile land, which under better political conditions ought to be, what it once was, productive of vast quantities of olives, vines, and fruit, as well as timber. It is dotted thick with villages, and even more with ruins, marking historic sites. **Nazareth** is situated in a sheltered hollow; the hills which surround it overlook the plain of Esdraelon. It was in Roman times off any main road and yet within easy reach of two. Four miles north-west, over hill slopes now thick with brushwood and sweet-smelling herbs, lies Suffūrieh, once Sepphoris, the Roman capital of the district in NT times. Another six miles northward, across the plain of Buttauf (the Asochis of Josephus) is Khurbet[1] Kānā, almost certainly the **Cana of Galilee** of Jn. 2$_{1-11}$, 4$_{46}$, which a late and unreliable tradition has located at Kefr Kenna. Three miles N.W. of Kānā, up a picturesque gorge, is Khurbet Jefāt, the site of Jotapata, famous in Josephus for its siege. A little further west is the village of Kabul (**Cabul**), a name preserving the tradition of 1 K. 9$_{13}$. Where the hills of Galilee terminate to the south-west, opposite the lofty eastern end of Carmel, is Harithēyeh, almost certainly the "**Harosheth of the Gentiles**" famous in the history of Sisera (Jg. 4$_2$*).

[1] Khurbet=ruin.

West of Galilee, rising abruptly from the plain of Esdraelon, but really an offshoot of the mountains of Galilee, is Jebel et Tōr, the **Tabor** of OT times, sacred doubtless then as it is now, but an impossible site, in spite of ecclesiastical tradition, for the Transfiguration, since it was in NT times a thickly inhabited, semi-fortified site.

The modern carriage road from Nazareth lies some miles to the north of Tabor and runs to Tiberias, the only surviving town of importance on the lake to-day. Tiberias was avoided in NT times by faithful Jews as godless, pagan, and defiled, but by the irony of history became later a seat of the Sanhedrin, and to-day is one of the four holy cities of Jewry. The footsteps of Jesus must have taken Him by roads further north, probably by Kānā and the plain of the Buttauf to **Gennesaret.** Here, along the north side of the lake, lay the Jewish cities of **Magdala**—now the squalid village of Mejdel—and **Capernaum,** now the ruins of Tell Hūm. Among the black, volcanic hill-slopes, two miles north of Tell Hūm, is Kerāzeh, a black and shapeless ruin of the once fine city **Chorazin.** Across the Jordan on the inland edge of an alluvial plain (but counted in NT times as of Galilee) is a hill known as et Tell; here once stood **Bethsaida,** "the house of fishing," called by the Romans Bethsaida Julias. Among the famous roads which crossed Galilee, none are more celebrated than the "**Way of the Sea**" (Is. 9$_1$). This probably came up from the south *via* Beisān, skirted the western shore of the lake, crossed Gennesaret, passed at least the territory or outskirts of Capernaum, then turned successively north and north-east, crossed the Jordan below Lake Hūleh, and so ran on to Damascus.

The *Plain of Esdraelon* or Megiddo, called to-day Merj el Amīr, is a wide expanse of alluvial soil of great depth and fertility. In the spring it is a vast stretch of green from end to end. Like the Jordan Valley, the existence of this plain is due to a fault running east and west. It is not well supplied with water, but the region of the sources of the sluggish Nahr el Mukattam—the **Kishon**—is often waterlogged after heavy rains. Although this stream winds across the plain all the way from the watershead to its exit between Carmel and the south-western corner of the hills of Galilee, it is only at this narrow valley, and that too only after very heavy rain, that the Kishon can ever be dangerous to cross (Jg. 5$_{21}$). Such a plain, in a land so mountainous, must always have been on a line of traffic; to-day the railway runs across it, as of old one of the most famous roads from Mesopotamia to Egypt traversed it diagonally from the eastern side of Tabor to the great pass which begins at Megiddo.

The Plain of Esdraelon is triangular in shape, one angle being at the narrow pass where the Kishon has forced its way between the mountains of Galilee and the ridge of Carmel; the second angle is near Tabor, and the third near Jenīn. The mountains of Nazareth—15 miles—bound it on the north; on the south the northern edge of the mountains of Samaria from Jenīn, past Megiddo to Carmel—20 miles—make the longest side of the triangle; while on the east a more broken line of 15 miles runs from Jenīn to Tabor, passing successively the **Mountains of Gilboa,** 1648 feet, Jebel Dahi, also called "Little Hermon," 1690 feet, and Mount Tabor itself, 1843 feet high. Between Gilboa and Jebel Dahi the long valley of Jezreel runs from between Zerin (**Jezreel**) in the south, and Solam (**Shunem,** 2 K. 4$_{8}$*) in the north, and with a rapid descent to Beisān, the ancient **Bethshean** (Jg. 1$_{27}$*), where it merges

in the Jordan Valley. This is a very historic valley. Here occurred Gideon's victory over the unorganised multitudes of the Midianites, and Ain Jalūd is pointed out as the **Spring of Harod** where Gideon tested his warriors (Jg. 7₁*). In this valley too was Saul's last battle with the Philistines (1 S. 31). On the northern slope of Jebel Dahi is **Endor,** where he consulted the witch the night before the battle, on the mountains of Gilboa to the south he was slain, and on the gates of Bethshean—now Beisân, a railway station on the railway to Damascus—his and his sons' bodies were exposed. Again, less than two centuries later, Jehoram in Jezreel saw Jehu the son of Nimshi driving furiously up this valley as Yahweh's chosen instrument of vengeance upon his father's family; before Jezreel, close to Naboth's vineyard, Jehoram fell while his companion, Ahaziah, fled southward to Jenīn; by **Ibleam,** now Tell Belameh, he was wounded, and then all along the southern edge of the plain, a dying man, his chariot bore him to Megiddo where he died (2 K. 9).

At the foot of the northern slopes of Jebel Dahi, opposite Tabor, is Nein, the **Nain** of Lk. 7₁₁–₁₅.

(3) *Samaria* lies between the plain of Esdraelon on the north and the higher, wilder, mountain region of Judæa to the south—the exact line of frontier varied much at different periods—and between the maritime plain to the west and the Jordan to the east. The term **Mount Ephraim,** originally given to the territory immediately north of Benjamin (Jos. 17₁₅, 19₅₀, etc.) is in other passages of OT (*cf.* Jer. 31₆) applied to this whole district. This region is characterised by its openness (as contrasted with Judæa), especially towards the east, where the easily fordable Jordan gave no protection, and there is little or no wilderness. The great roads from Syria to the coast as well as the great highroads between Mesopotamia and Egypt traversed parts of this territory. **Megiddo,** whose site is marked by the great Tell Mutasellim (which has been recently excavated), was the guard city of the famous pass by which this highway traversed the hills between Esdraelon and Sharon. Here Thothmes III obtained a great victory over the people of the land, and here long afterwards Josiah, trying to intercept Pharaoh Necho on his way to fight the Assyrians, met his death at the hand of the Egyptian king (2 K. 23₂₉, 2 Ch. 35₂₂, Zech. 12₁₁). Some seven miles south-east of Tell Mutasellim is the recently excavated Taanak, the **Taanach** of Jg. 5₁₉.

The fertility of Samaria is marked: this is largely due to the soft character of its rocks, which readily crumble under the weather, producing gently rounded hills and many open plains. Samaria has a higher proportion of cultivable land and far more springs than Judæa. This openness to foreign influence and more luxurious living tended to produce a people more worldly and pagan than Judæa.

Carmel—which geographically belongs to Samaria, though not always politically—is a district of special fertility, and apparently specially prone to nature-worship. The term Mount Carmel is usually applied to the lofty ridge running from Tell Keimūn—probably **Jokneam** (Jos. 12₂₂, etc.)—to the western end at the sea, but it is more correct to recognise as Carmel also a triangular area of hills extending as far south as the Crocodile River. It is a region specially suited—as its name implies—to vineyards, and what may be done with it under skilled agriculture is shown at Zammarîn, where the Jewish colonists have one of their most prosperous settlements. The most striking spot in Carmel is the most westerly point of the ridge, called el Mahrakah, "the place of burning," 1687 feet high, which is the probable site of **Elijah's Contest** with the prophets of Baal (1 K. 18₁₉*). The local conditions correspond extraordinarily with the narrative. It is a remarkable spot apart from this, as the prospect extends far over Galilee and Samaria. It is not improbable that Elijah had his dwelling in this neighbourhood.

The centre of Samaria is Nāblūs—a corruption of Neapolis, the "new city"—which lies between Ebal and Gerizim and is the successor of **Shechem** (1 K. 12₁). The ancient city was probably at Khurbet Belâta, a mile further east, at the entrance to the valley. This fertile and well-watered valley between these lofty mountains is a most important pass between the coast and the East Jordan lands. Jebel Sulēmīyeh or **Ebal,** 3032 feet high, faces south, and in consequence, because it is much baked by the summer sun, its verdure is scanty—hence perhaps the idea of its being "cursed." Jebel et Tōr, **Gerizim,** which faces north, is full of springs and greenness—hence it was "blessed." Between these two the assembled tribes recited the law (Jos. 8₃₀–₃₅). On Mount Gerizim stood the temple of the Samaritans, once a rival in splendour to Zion, and there the survivors of this once great community, now numbering under 200, annually celebrate the Passover. At the eastern foot of Gerizim is **"Jacob's Well,"** possibly the original well, but almost certainly the site of the conversation of Jesus with the Samaritan woman (Jn. 4₅–₃₀). Across the valley on the south-eastern slopes of Ebal is "Ain Askar," the possible site of **Sychar.**

From Nāblūs, ancient roads radiate in various directions. One, running south, is the ancient high-road to Bethel, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Beersheba, familiar to the patriarchs. An equally ancient one runs NNE. past Tallūza—the probable site of **Tirzah,** the ancient capital (1 K. 16₈)—and Tubaz, the **Thebez** of Jg. 9₅₀, to Beisân, the Bethshean of the OT and the Scythopolis of the period of the NT, the largest of the cities of the Decapolis.

From Nāblūs an easy road, traversed to-day by carriages, runs about 6½ miles NWW. to Sebāstieh. Here on a lofty, isolated hill inhabited to-day at its eastern end by some rapacious fellahīn, lay the great city of **Samaria.** The excavations recently conducted here have revealed the foundations of the great palace of Omri and of Ahab, but the most extensive and magnificent remains belong to the reconstruction of the city by Herod the Great, who gave it the new name Sebaste (Greek for Augusta) in honour of Augustus Cæsar. The situation of the city of Samaria was magnificent, surrounded by rich corn-fields, and encircled by hills. From the recently excavated remains of the great western gate—probably standing on the site of a gate of Ahab's time—it is possible to reconstruct in imagination the whole story of the flight of the Syrians (2 K. 7).

Close to the great north road, some eleven miles north of Sebāstieh, is Tell Dōtān—the **Dothan** of Gen. 37₁₇ and 2 K. 6₁₃. To-day the great flocks of sheep and goats from near, and the long strings of camels travelling from afar, gather here to drink at the copious spring: these and the many empty cisterns around, all vividly recall the story of Joseph.

(4) **Judæa.**—The region south of Samaria is a well-defined, geographical entity of a special character which has had a marked influence on the Jews and on the Bible. The first point is its sharply-defined isolation: although very close to some of the greatest ancient highways to distant lands it was actually not on one of them. The district is bounded upon three

of its sides by natural frontiers difficult to pass. The eastern boundary was theoretically the Jordan and the Dead Sea, but within this there was a more efficient line of defence in the strip of waterless wilderness—the **Wilderness of Judæa**—which is interposed between the Dead Sea and the habitable area. On the south lay the Negeb—suited only to nomads—and south of that again an uninhabitable desert. Westward, the frontier was protected by the steep descent of the mountains, pierced at only three places by passes of importance, viz. (1) In the north, the **Valley of Aijalon** and pass of the Bethhorons (1 K. 9$17^*$), the scene of many a historic battle (Jos. 10$12$, 1 S. 14$31$, 2 S. 5$25$, 1 Ch. 14$16$). (2) The pass up which the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway runs. This traverses the fruitful Valley of Sorek, and then up the Wady Ismaîn to the **Valley of Rephaim** (2 S. 5$18$). (3) The third pass commences up the famous Valley of Elah and reaches the Judæan plateau at Bethsur—some five miles north of Hebron. Up this pass the Syrian general Lysias marched to the defeat of Judas Maccabæus (1 Mac. 6$28f.$). Although the mountain wall presented a formidable barrier to an enemy, the western frontier was further protected by the existence of the Shephelah or "lowland," which in the days of primitive warfare formed a country most suitable for border raids.

The northern frontier was the weak spot, and was never defined with much certainty. Geographically there are several valleys which would make a suitable natural frontier, but practically the border ran, regardless of natural features, across the central plateau in an ill-defined line between the Valley of **Michmash** in the east, and that of Ajalon in the west. **Bethel** and **Ai** were on the north, and **Geba, Ramah,** and **Gibeon** fortified posts on the south of the frontier. On this side the inhabitants of Judæa could never lull themselves into a sense of security.

The territory within these boundaries consists, in the main, of a high tableland from 2000 to 3000 feet above sea level, and 35 miles long by 12 to 17 miles broad. It is characterised by its bareness and comparative sterility, yet with careful cultivation and the repair of terraces it might be much improved on its present condition. The district as a whole is but poorly supplied with springs, and "dew" is much scantier than in Galilee. The soil is in most places shallow, and bare rock strata are everywhere much in evidence; there are, however, areas of considerable fertility in many of the deeper valleys to the west. Many parts which are useless for agriculture afford good pasturage, and flocks of goats and sheep are plentiful everywhere. Hard at the very doors of many of the most inhabited regions lay the wilderness—the **Jeshimon** or "devastation" of the OT—a long strip several miles broad skirting the Dead Sea. It is a region where, for eight months in the year, no green blade of grass is visible and no spring nourishes a solitary tree. Dry, scorched, and crumbling hill sides and stony torrent beds, where scant rushes of water occur scarcely a dozen days in the year, make up the scenery. It is almost rainless, as the westerly breezes passing these downward slopes rapidly ascend and actually carry off, instead of depositing, moisture. The greatest of Judæa's sons lived within daily sight of this extraordinary region, which makes a profound impression on even the passing tourist. David fled from Saul into this land, Jeremiah at **Anathoth** and Amos at **Tekoah** were both born on the very edge of this awful desert, and its imagery colours their writings. It was here that John the Baptist began his mission, and Jesus Christ Himself not only was there in His forty days' trial, but as the desert creeps up almost to Bethany itself, His eyes must very frequently have scanned its hills and valleys.

The one wide outlook of Jerusalem is across this region, and Bethlehem, Etam, Tekoah, and Hebron were all near the borders of the wilderness.

Nevertheless it was in this isolated, barren, and rocky land of Judæa, with the wilderness ever in their sight, that the Hebrew race developed their natural genius—braced by the hardness of their lot to a deeper faith in their God. Here gave utterance prophet and seer: here too they survived, protected by their poverty and their mountain heights, 135 years after the Northern Kingdom fell: here after their exile they once again established themselves: and here through all their history they, to a remarkable extent, maintained the purity of their race from contamination by their idolatrous neighbours, whose homes were within sight of their territory on every side.

Hebron (Jg. 1$10^*$), the earlier centre of the monarchy, occupied in ancient times a hilltop in a sheltered and fruitful valley amid the actual highlands of Judah, in touch towards the south with the Negeb, the home of the pastoral patriarchs. A desire to occupy a point more central in his dominions doubtless influenced David to occupy the extraordinarily defensive site of **Jerusalem.** The city of the Jebusites, which David took, occupied a narrow ridge with the Kedron Valley on the east and the south, and the valley—afterwards called the Tyropœon—on the west. It was a position of natural strength, made doubtless almost impregnable by great walls. The copious spring—**Gihon**—which burst forth from under the city was even at that time reached from within the walls by a long and complicated system of tunnels. From the time of David onward the city commenced to expand, and by the time of the later kings of Judah, it covered an area probably as extensive as the existing old walled-in city, though the walls of those days ran a good deal further south than they do at present.

On the western side of the Judæan plateau there were a number of fortified posts, among the more important of which were the two **Bethorons,** guarding the pass, **Chepherah of Benjamin, Kiriath Jearim, Chesalon, Gibeah of Judah, Gedor** and **Bethsur.**

But it was in the lowland, the **Shephelah,** that the great contests took place, especially in the early days, when the Philistines were a real menace to the Hebrews. This lowland region is cut off from the highlands by a series of valleys running north and south. It is an area of rich verdure and freshness.

> "The valleys also are covered over with grain,
> They shout for joy, they also sing."—(Ps. 65$13$.)

This region too is remarkable for its caves—notably round Beit Jebrîn—which were doubtless much used as hiding-places in the old border warfare. Here was **Keilah** (1 S. 23) and **Adullam,** David's stronghold, and on its western border lay Gezer. The **Valley** of **Sorek** near the **Camp of Dan** is full of memories of Samson. **Bethshemesh,** now Ain Shems, **Timnath,** now Tibnah, and **Zorah,** now Surah—all within sight of each other—are connected with his memory. Here too, probably, was the battle with the Philistines when the Ark was captured, and later up this valley the milch kine came lowing, dragging back to Bethshemesh the Ark which had proved so fateful to the Philistines (1 S. 6). The **Vale of Elah** a little further south, near the neighbourhood of **Shocoh,** now Shuweikeh, is famous as the scene of the great doings of David and Goliath (1 S. 17). Still further south

lay the frontier fortress, **Mareshah,** the birthplace of Micah, now Tell Sandahannah, a site partially excavated, and near to it is Beit Jebrīn, which marks the site of the famous Greek city of Eleutheropolis.

(5) Lastly we have on the south the **Negeb,** meaning the "dry land," but translated in RV usually as **"the South"** (Gen. 129, 131,3, 201, 2462, etc.). This region is of great importance in connexion with the history of the patriarchs. It is "the steppe region which forms the transition of the true desert," the more southerly parts consists of rolling ridges running east and west for about 60 miles, beyond which is the utterly uninhabitable desert. Even the Negeb is unsuited to any settled habitation, and except during the Byzantine period—when it is possible that climatic conditions were better—the only inhabitants were always nomads. Of such were the patriarchs when they dwelt there with their flocks and herds. As in all life under such conditions good wells are, on account of their scarcity, of great value. They are a frequent subject of strife, and the digger of a good well has done a deed to make his name remembered to succeeding generations. **Beersheba** is to-day one of the few sites peopled—and that only recently—by settled inhabitants. Its ancient wells have been cleaned out, and the water, pumped up by engines, is supplied to all the houses.

Further south lie the famous springs, Ain Guderat and Ain Kedes, which belonged to the region of **Kadesh Barnea,** where the children of Israel spent nearly forty years. These springs made life possible—for nomads—but it must have been a hard one, and it can be well believed that the spoil of Canaan brought by the twelve spies must have seemed wonderful indeed. To tribes emerging from such an environment, Palestine was without doubt a land "flowing with milk and honey" (Nu. 1325–27).

II. *The Jordan Valley.*—The great rift between Western and Eastern Palestine commences geographically far to the north as the Valley el Bukaa, between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and it runs on as el Arabah far south of the Dead Sea, indeed it is continued on to the Gulf of Akaba. The part of the valley connected with Palestine is at once the deepest and the most varied. The **Jordan** "the descender" arises by three (important) heads. The longest and most direct is the river Hasbāny, which rises in a quiet pool NW. of Hasbaya, whence it runs, first through woody banks, and then in a deep cleft between Hermon and Jebel Dahar, a spur of Lebanon. The second and most remarkable source is that at Banias—once Panias, a sanctuary of Pan—where a full-grown river bursts, ice-cold, out of the foot of Hermon. In NT times **Cæsarea Philippi** stood here, and the association of Peter's confession, "Thou art the Christ" (Mt. 1616), with this spot makes it probable that the scene of the Transfiguration should be located on one of the neighbouring spurs of Hermon. The third source is at Tell el Kādi, the probable site of ancient **Dan** (though this may actually have been at Banias), the northern limit of the land of Palestine, where the water of the river Leddān bubbles up from the ground in a couple of pools. These three streams come together about 1½ miles to the south of this, in a plain 5 miles wide, but the new-made river soon loses itself in a great papyrus marsh. This again opens into a shallow triangular lake, Lake Hūleh, considered, without sufficient grounds, to be the **Waters of Merom** of Jos. 115–6. Lake Hūleh is some 7 feet above sea level, and from this the Jordan descends in less than 9 miles to the Lake of Galilee, 680 feet below sea level. The **Lake of Galilee** is 12½ miles long, and at its widest, 8 miles across. The tops of the steep hills to east and west are largely volcanic, and this, and the absence of trees, make them look bare and menacing when the spring verdure is gone. Along the north shores there are deltas—el Ghuweir (Gennesaret) and el Bataihah. These are regions of great fertility, and only require more extensive cultivation to produce wonderful results. When the oleanders on the lake-side are in bloom, the scenery is most beautiful. To the south of the lake the great plain—the ancient lake bottom—is 4 miles wide, and stretches, of varying breadth, all the way to the Dead Sea. Near the exit of the Jordan, at es-Semakh, the Halfa-Damascus Railway touches the lake. At both ends of the lake the river-mouths are fordable. The water of the lake is clear and fresh; it abounds in fish, but the fishing industry is but little developed. To-day there is but one squalid town, Tiberias, and three villages on the shores, but in NT times no less than eleven cities and towns flourished near the shores. Along the north shore were the Jewish cities of Magdala, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and a little inland, on the hills, Chorazin; to the east were the Greek cities, **Gergesa,** Gamala, Hippos, and Gadara. On the west side were Tarichеæ, Sinnabris, and Tiberias.

From this lake the Jordan plain descends 65 miles to the Dead Sea, 1290 feet below sea-level. The river has cut out for itself a deeper bed from 50 to 150 feet below the level of the old lake bottom. This is known as the Zor, and in the OT as the (lit. "pride") **swelling of Jordan** (Jer. 125, 4919, 5044). Here in this deeper channel the muddy river winds and twists for nearly 200 miles between rank and tangled tropical vegetation—once the haunt of lions and other dangerous beasts—and at certain seasons, when swollen by the melting snows of Hermon, the river overflows its banks in places over an area nearly a mile wide (Jos. 34). The important tributaries of the Jordan are the Yarmuk, the Hieromax of antiquity, and the Zerka or **Jabbok** (Gen. 3222*).

The Jordan is easily forded at many places, under normal conditions, but what made it so efficient a frontier was not merely the water, but the dangers of the route from man and beast, the scorching plain on either side, and the long descents by rocky mountain paths to reach its level.

Jericho originally nestled just below the western hills, and owed its importance to its position astride a splendid spring and to its guarding the ancient road from the valley into the heart of the hill country—the road down which Elijah and Elisha, together for the last time, descended.

The **Dead Sea,** 1290 feet below sea level, is some 48 miles long by 12 broad, and reaches a depth of 1300 feet. It lies between parallel, semi-precipitous, bare mountain ranges, which in many places, especially on the east side, fall sheer into the water. The only tributary stream, besides the Jordan, is the Mojib or **Arnon.** The northern three-fourths, where the sea is deep, is cut off from the shallow southern quarter (about 11 feet deep) by a peculiar peninsula, el Lisān, "the tongue." In this southern bay the water is so saturated with salt that it crystallises out on the bottom of the sea. On the average the water contains 25 per cent. of mineral salts, about five times that of the ocean. Although no life can exist in such water, small fish and lower forms of life inhabit the shallows and pools along the shore where brackish springs dilute the water. Bird life is abundant at many spots on the shore. There are submarine de-

posits of asphalt, as large masses have at times floated to the surface, and probably petroleum also occurs in places. Possibly the tradition of the catastrophe to the "cities of the plain"—the site of which is not known—originated in some conflagration of petroleum in this region (p. 152).

III. The district *East of the Jordan*, known in OT as Abarim or "(those on) the other side," is richer and more varied than that to the west. To the north of Palestine proper, north-east of Hermon, is the Ghutah or plain of **Damascus**, a great oasis of watered gardens and orchards, irrigated by the Barada or **Abana** and the Awaj or **Pharpar**, rivers which finally lose themselves in marshy lakes to the east of the city. The real East-Jordan land is divided into four parts by the deep channels of the three rivers, the Yarmuk, the Zerka, and the Mojib. All the land north of the Yarmuk and south of the Hermon and the Damascus plain receive in the OT the general name of **Bashan** (Nu. 2133–35*); in the NT time it formed a large part of the **tetrarchy of Philip**, though much was denominated by the Nabatæan Arab king. To-day it is politically included under the general name of the Hauran. This region is by no means homogeneous and is divided by physical differences. Bordering the Upper Jordan Valley on the east side lies the black plateau of the Jaulan with its double row of extinct volcanoes. In NT times it was known as Gaulanitis, while in the OT the city **Golan**, one of the "cities of refuge" which has given rise to the later name was situated here. Running east of the Jaulan is the "hollow" plain of the *Hauran* proper, a district lying lower than its neighbours, consisting of a vast wheat-growing expanse of extraordinary fertility. The southern part also has the local modern name of en Nukra. This whole district in the NT days was called Auranitis and in the OT **Hauran** (Ezek. 4716, 18)—the ancient name has thus remarkably survived. The very extensive ruins of towns, built of black basalt blocks, not infrequently covered with Greek inscriptions, shows that in the early Christian centuries this district was thickly inhabited. East again of the Hauran is the Leja, a great area of lava, some 20 feet high and 24 miles long by 20 miles wide. It is a wild region, in which the most intricate paths through the natural cracks in the lava lead to Druze villages hidden away out of reach of the Turks. The Greek writers, contemporary with the NT, called this and a similar outflow of lava to the north of it a Trachon, and the district **Trachonitis**. South of the Leja we have the Jebel Hauran (also called the Jebel Druz because it is the stronghold of the Druzes) a group of extinct volcanoes rising in places to nearly 6000 feet. This is Mount Asalmos of the Greek writers and perhaps "**Mount Bashan**" of the OT. Between the Yarmuk and the Zerka or Jabbok is the fertile, once well-wooded, district of Jebel Ajlūn. Here were many of the great cities of the **Decapolis**—Gadara, Pella, Dion, Gerasa, Abila, and Kapitolias. The remaining members of this league of Greek free cities were mostly, so far as they have been identified, in the near neighbourhood. Hippos was only just across the Yarmuk near Gadara, Philadelphia (once **Ramoth Ammon**, now Ammān) on the higher reaches of the Jabbok on the south. Kanatha, the most easterly member of the league, was at the foot of the Jebel Hauran, and Scythopolis, the most westerly, was alone west of the Jordan. Parts of this Jebel Ajlūn district in NT times were included in **Peræa.** In the OT this district is the northern "**Half Gilead**" or "rest of Gilead" (Dt. 313, Jos. 125). The district between the Zerka and the Mojib or Arnon is known as the Belka, and is administered from Nablûs; it consists of rolling downs, a pastoral country. In the NT it formed the main part of Peræa: it was a Jewish district, in contrast with Samaria to its west and Decapolis to the north. Jews often traversed this land between Galilee and Judæa to avoid hostile Samaria (*cf.* Mk. 101). In the OT this forms the southern "**Half Gilead**" (Dt. 318, Jos. 124)—the two half-Gileads making "**the Land of Gilead**" (Nu. 321, 29, Jos. 175,6), and **Mount Gilead** (Gen. 3121,25). It is also designated the **Mishor** or "plain country." The region south of the Mojib, which is to-day under the Governor of Kerak (the ancient **Kir of Moab**), was in OT times the main part of the **kingdom of Moab**, although this region at times extended north of the Mojib (Arnon) even to **Madeba.** The country is, as we should expect from the OT, a great pasture-land for sheep and goats (*cf.* 2 K. 34).

In the NT this land was part of the territory of the Nabatæans, as was all the district further south and much of that to the east of the districts mentioned above. The centre of their kingdom was at Petra, and their influence was wide. Damascus fell into their hands in 87 B.C. Their whole land was known as **Arabia**; it is to some part of this territory that Paul refers when he writes (Gal. 117), "I went away into Arabia."

Literature.—G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land;* C. F. Kent, *Biblical Geography and History;* E. Huntington, *Palestine and its Transformation;* Socin, revised by Benzinger (1912), *Baedeker's Palestine and Syria;* Palestine Exploration Fund's *Survey of Western Palestine, Survey of Eastern Palestine, Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1914; special articles in HDB, HSDB, DCG, EB, EBi; G. A. Smith, *Atlas to the Historical Geography of the Holy Land*; Guthe, *Bibel-Atlas.*

THE LANGUAGES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By Professor G. A. COOKE

1. The name Hebrew.—By far the greater part of the OT was written in Hebrew, the rest is in Aramaic (below). The name *Hebrew* comes from the Gr. *Ἑβραῖος*, in Lat. Hebraeus, which represents the Aram. *'ebhrāyā*=Heb. *'ibhrī*. In the OT, however, *'ibhrī* is not the name of the language, but of the people who spoke it, and is used by foreigners (*e.g.* Gen. 39¹⁴; Ex. 1¹⁶; 1 S. 4⁶,⁹, 14¹¹) and by Israelites to distinguish themselves from foreigners (*e.g.* Ex. 2¹¹, 3¹⁸; Dt. 15¹²; Jon. 1⁹). The OT name for the language is *Jewish* (2 K. 18²⁶,²⁸; Neh. 13²⁴), just as the later literature describes the Israelites as *the Jews* (Hag., Neh., Est.). The Gr. term *ἑβραϊστί* is first used for the old Heb. tongue in the Prologue to Ecclus., *c.* 130 B.C., and this is the sense which it has in Rev. 9¹¹; elsewhere in the NT it means, not Hebrew, but Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine at the time (Jn. 5², 19¹³,¹⁷; perhap also 19²⁰, Rev. 16¹⁶). It is not quite certain whether *ἡ Ἑβραὶς φωνή* in 4 Mac. 12⁷, 16¹⁵, and *ἡ Ἑβραὶς διάλεκτος* in Ac. 21⁴⁰, 22², 26¹⁴, refer to the old Hebrew or to the Aramaic of popular speech; but the context in Ac. 21⁴⁰ makes it probable that the former is intended. Like the NT, Josephus means by *Hebrew* both the classical language and the Aramaic dialect of his time.

2. Origin of Hebrew.—In form the name *'ibhrī* is an adjective used as a gentilic noun, derived from *'abhar*=" pass," " cross," " traverse "; hence *'ibhrī*= " one who crosses," " one from the other side." And so, no doubt, native tradition understood the word: Abram and his family were called *Hebrews* because they had come *from the other side* of the Euphrates (*cf.* Jos. 24²f.,¹⁴f.), or of the Jordan, if the name arose in Canaan; hence LXX in Gen. 14¹³ renders " Abram the crosser " (*ὁ περάτης*, Aquila *ὁ περαίτης*, " the man from beyond "). But there is evidence which points to a different explanation. In J's genealogy (Gen. 10²¹,²⁴,²⁵–³⁰) *all* the Semitic races are derived from Eber, a name which ought properly to belong to the ancestor of the Hebrews, *i.e.* of only *one* of the Semitic, races. Perhaps, then, there was a time when " Hebrews " included many more families than the Israelites; the root *'abhar* does not necessarily mean *to cross* (a river), it has also the sense of *to traverse* (Nu. 20¹⁹f.; Ezek. 5¹⁴, 33²⁸, 39¹⁴, etc.); moreover, there must be more than an accidental resemblance between the Hebrews and the Ḥabiru (p. 55), mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna letters (*c.* 1400 B.C.) as nomad hordes who were threatening the settled population of Canaan. So it is possible that *Hebrews* was at first the name of a group of tribes who invaded Canaan in the fifteenth century B.C., and that in time the name was applied to the Israelites as the survivors of these immigrants from the desert. According to Heb. tradition the ancestors of the race were closely connected with the Aramæans (see Gen. 11²⁸–³⁰ J, 22²⁴ JE, 24⁴ ff. J, 25²⁰ P, 28⁵ P, 29¹ E, 12,¹⁴ J, 31²⁰,²⁴ E; Dt. 26⁵), probably not with the settled Aramæans of Harran in N.W. Mesopotamia, but with the nomad Aramæans of the Syrian desert, who had not crossed the Euphrates. When the Hebrews arrived in Canaan they readily adopted the language of the country, which differed but slightly (it may be conjectured) from their own mother-tongue. But however we interpret the tradition, Canaan was the native home of Heb., and the Canaanite language its immediate parent. The earliest evidence for this indigenous language comes from the Tell el-Amarna tablets, which are written in Babylonian and addressed to the Egyptian Pharaoh by officials living in Canaan (p. 55). Occasionally words are explained by their equivalents in a language which is almost identical with Heb.; again, words and forms occur when the writer could not remember the correct Bab., and so used his native Canaanite. Then in the OT itself we have the evidence of Canaanite names of persons and places—*e.g.* Melchizedek, Kirjath-sepher; the names of the primitive inhabitants of the land given in Gen. 36²off. have forms which are akin to Heb. (*e.g.* Shobal, Dishon, Zibeon, Alvan, Manahath, Ithran, etc.); and in Heb. we find *négeb* (lit. " dryness ") used for the *South*, the waterless hill-country S. of Judah; *yām*= " sea " used for the *West*; while in Is. 19¹⁸ the language is called *the lip of Canaan*. From the Moabite Stone (*c.* 850 B.C.) we learn that the Moabites spoke practically the same tongue as the Israelites, and no doubt the other neighbouring peoples did the same, with differences of pronunciation. Lastly, there is the evidence of the Phœnician inscriptions. These are almost all later than the sixth century B.C.; most of them belong to the fourth century and later, by which time the language had undergone considerable decay. But the material which has survived proves that the resemblance between Heb. and Phœn. is exceedingly close, and leads to the conclusion that both were independent offshoots of a common stock, which must have been no other than the ancient Canaanite.

3. Place of Hebrew among the Semitic Languages.—These may be grouped as follows: A. North-Semitic, including (1) Babylonian and Assyrian; (2) Aramaic, in numerous dialects; (3) Canaanite, Hebrew, Moabite, Phœnician. B. South-Semitic, including (1) Arabic; (2) Ethiopic; (3) Sabæan, the language of a settled and civilized race in S.W. Arabia, known from inscriptions. All these languages have certain features in common *e.g.* the word-stems or roots are composed of three consonants, though it may be inferred that there was a stage, before the historical period, at which two consonants formed the root, and that a third consonant was added later to develop the root-meaning in various directions; the consonants rather than the vowels form the staple of the linguistic structure;

the noun may be taken as the basis upon which the verb was formed by the addition of pronominal fragments before or after to express verbal action; the verb has two tenses, used in a peculiar way; the noun has two genders, masc. and fem., and its various relations are expressed by case-endings (Arab.) or by other expedients (Heb., Aram., etc.); the oblique cases of the possessive pronoun, and the pronominal object of the verb, are expressed by suffixes added to the noun or to the inflected form of the verb; except in proper names these languages do not lend themselves to the formation of compounds; there is great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations, though in Arab. and Syr. this does not hold good to the same extent as in Heb.; there are few adverbs. Among these languages, Arab. comes nearer to the original Semitic than any other, owing, no doubt, to the monotony and isolation of life in the desert; yet there are features in which Heb., and even Aram., is more ancient than Arabic. The connexion between Heb. and Aram. is particularly close, and appears in the earliest Aram. known to us, that of the inscriptions from Zenjirli and Nērab in N. Syria (early eighth century and seventh century B.C.), and of the inscription of Zakkur, king of Hamath in Central Syria (eighth century B.C.); thus the Arab. aspirated dentals *th*, *dh*, *ẓ* are represented by the Heb. and Ass. equivalents *sh*, *z*, *ṣ*, and not by the usual Aram. sounds *t*, *d*, *ṭ*; at the same time the Arab. *d* (*ḍad*) = Heb. *ṣ* (*ṣādē*) = Aram. *'ayin* finds its equivalent in *q*, as sometimes elsewhere in Aramaic. The language of these early Aram. inscriptions is therefore remarkably like that of the OT.

4. Characteristics of Hebrew.—In syntax Heb. belongs to a primitive stage of development; it has no elaborated system of expressing the subordination of sentences, it simply co-ordinates them by the conjunction "and"; the subtler connexions have to be supplied by thought. Imagination also plays a large part in the use of the tenses. The perfect and imperfect do not determine the date, but only the character of an action as complete or incomplete; the date must be learnt from the context. Both tenses, therefore, may refer to the past, present, and future. A prophet speaking of the future can use the perfect, because he regards the event as already completed (*e.g.* Is. 5^{13}, 9$^{1-6}$; Nu. 24^{17}; Am. 5^{2}); a poet can use the imperfect of a past act, because he pictures it as taking place under the eye (*e.g.* Ps. 18$^{1-20(21)}$; Ex. 15$^{5,12,14ff.}$). From this it will be seen that Heb. is better adapted for poetry than for the expression of systematic thought. When a writer attempts to deal with abstract ideas, like the author of Ecclesiastes, or to formulate a dogma, as Ezekiel does in ch. 18, he becomes obscure or laboured. Another characteristic of classical Heb. is the use of *waw conversive* or *consecutive* with the perfect to continue an imperfect, or with the imperfect to continue a perfect[1]; but in late books, such as Chronicles, this consecutive *waw* with the imperfect tends to be displaced by *weak waw* (an ordinary "and") with the perfect, and in post-Biblical Heb. this has become the regular usage. One more noteworthy feature of Heb. may be added here: it concerns the relation between the vowels and the tone or accent. In Heb. the original three short vowels *ă*, *i*, *ŭ* are lengthened under the tone, or in the open syllable immediately before the tone. In the old Heb. writing there was no indication of vowels; then later the consonants *hē*, *waw*, *yodh* were used as vowel letters, and finally vowel points were inserted to remove ambiguities and to make it clear how the words were to be pronounced. This last stage occurred between the Mishnah (*c.* 200 A.D.) and the rise of the Massoretic school (seventh and eighth centuries A.D.).

5. Historical.—Considering that the OT writings cover a period of some thousand years, the language presents on the surface a remarkable uniformity; but this is largely due to the labours of the schools and to the requirements of the synagogue. A great variety of style and diction appears in the different books, and a golden and silver age of literature can be distinguished. The dividing line may be drawn in the century after the Exile, in the time of Nehemiah (*c.* 450 B.C.). The finest specimens of Heb. prose are to be found in JE, the older narratives in Jg., 1 and 2 S., 1 and 2 K., and in Dt. For the purest and best compositions in poetry and rhythmical prose we go to the eighth century prophets and the ancient poems in the historical books. In Jer., parts of 2 K., Ezek., 2 Is., Hag., Zech. (both parts), a change begins to be felt, though it is not prominent, in the language; the style of P exhibits about the same signs of lateness as Ezek., Hag., Zech., but hardly more. The earlier documents in Ezr. and Neh. reveal a marked change, which becomes still more evident in Ch. (*c.* 300 B.C.). The Chronicler has a style of his own, which in uncouthness goes further than that of any other OT writer, while Ec. already makes use of idioms and forms which are characteristic of the new Hebrew of the Mishnah. The Heb. fragments of Ecclus., which have lately come to light, approach nearer to the classical standard than Ch., Est., Ec., Dan., and show that good Heb. was written and understood in the early part of the second century B.C. All these later books are more or less affected by the growing influence of Aram. Some books of the Apocrypha besides Ecclus. were originally composed in Heb., probably modelled upon that of the OT, but also partly in Aram., *e.g.* 1 Mac., Bar., 2 Esd. 3–14; and the same holds good of many of the Jewish Apocalypses, from *c.* 200 B.C. to 10 A.D., viz. Enoch, Jubilees, Ascension of Moses (? in Aram.), Test. of Twelve Patr., Pss. of Sol. These books, of which the originals are now lost, bridged over the interval between the later Heb. of the OT. and the new Heb. of the Mishnah.

6. Hebrew Supplanted by Aramaic.—Before the latest books of the OT. were written, Heb. had begun to give place to Aram. in popular speech, but it held its own as the language of religion and of the schools. Already the compiler of Ezr.–Neh., *i.e.* probably the Chronicler, *c.* 300 B.C., transcribes large portions from an Aram. work, and similarly the author of Dan. (*c.* 170 B.C.) uses both languages. By this time, the Maccabean period, although Heb. was read and understood, the Jews of Palestine had learnt to speak Aram. The "holy tongue" was cultivated only by the learned. What the Heb. language became in their hands is seen in the Mishnah, the traditional, oral law codified in both Talmuds, which reached its present official form *c.* 200 A.D.; and later still in the various independent Midrāshim.

7. The Massōrah.—The MSS. of the Heb. OT are all comparatively late, five or six centuries later than the great uncial MSS. of the NT. The oldest Heb. MS. with a date attached which can be accepted with confidence is the Codex Babylonicus at Petrograd, containing Is.–Mal., 916 A.D. Moreover, all Heb. MSS. belong to one recension or type, which was settled by the minute care of the scholars of the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., known as Massoretes, the

[1] Outside the OT. waw conv. with the impf. occurs in the Moabite Stone, and in the inscription of Zakkur mentioned above, fragment A, lines 11–15; in Phœnician waw conv. with the pf. occurs in the Marseilles and Carthaginian Tariffs (Cooke, *N.-Sem. Inscr.*, 42^{6,8,10,11}, 43^{4,5}.

guardians of *Massōrah, i.e. tradition,* who fixed the text, protected it by rules, and determined how it was to be read and interpreted. And before the Massoretic era great care must have been devoted to the text, for it was substantially the same in the second to fourth centuries, as quotations in the Talmud show; but in the preceding ages it underwent the usual vicissitudes, and to recover the earlier state of the text we must weigh the evidence of the Versions, which were all made long before the Massoretic period (pp. 40–42).

8. Hebrew Writing.—If we could discover the ancient MSS. of the OT, we should find that they were not written in the "square character" used in our present MSS. and printed editions. The Jews have preserved the recollection of a change made from the *Hebrew* character to the *Assyrian* (*i.e.* Syrian or Aram.), and they ascribed it to Ezra (Talm. B. *San.*, 21b). In reality the change was gradual, and not the work of one man or of one age. The Heb. character used by the OT writers was the old Semitic alphabet, found on the Moabite Stone, the Aram. and Phœn. inscriptions, and the Heb. inscriptions discovered at Siloam (*c.* 700 B.C.), at Samaria (written on fragments of pottery), at Gezer (? sixth century), and used on Heb. seals and coins. The process by which the ancient script was modified into the square character may be traced in the Aram. papyri and inscriptions; in its developed form it was adopted by the Jews along with the Aram. speech. When the transition took place we do not know for certain; it must have been before the Christian era (see Mt. 5^{18}). The Heb. MSS. which lay before the LXX translators, except probably the MSS. of the Pentateuch (translated third century B.C.), must have been written in an early form of the square character.

Aramaic is the name given in the OT itself to the language in which some parts of it are written, viz. Dan. 2^{4b}–7^{28}; Ezr. 4^{8}–6^{18}, 7^{12}–^{26}; two words in Gen. 31^{47}; and the gloss Jer. 10^{11}. Properly Aramaic is the name of the people who spoke it, *Aram* or Syrians. This branch of the Semitic stock inhabited Mesopotamia and N. Syria, in many tribes and settlements. Their language spread far and wide, from Mesopotamia to Egypt, from the mountains of Kurdistan to Cappadocia. It was used for commerce and diplomacy in the eighth century B.C., as we know from the Aram. inscriptions on weights and contracts from Nineveh, and from 2 K. 18^{26}; and long before 900 B.C. the Aram. speech and, perhaps, writing were widely spread all over Syria, and had taken the place of the Bab. cuneiform of five hundred years earlier (Tell el-Amarna tablets, *c.* 1400 B.C.). In Palestine, as we have seen, it supplanted Heb. in the end; hence nearly all the Semitic words quoted in the NT are Aram.

The dialects may be grouped under two heads: *Eastern Aram.*, including (1) Syriac, spoken at Edessa in N.W. Mesopotamia, (2) the dialect of the Bab. Talmud, (3) Mandaic; and *Western Aram.*, including (1) the dialect of N. and Central Syria, represented by the oldest Aram. inscriptions from the eighth century onwards; (2) Egyptian Aram., found chiefly on papyri from the fifth century onwards; the inscription from Tēma in N. Arabia, the inscriptions from Cappadocia and on coins of Tarsus reveal a dialect of the same type; (3) Biblical Aram.; (4) Nabataean; (5) Palmyrene; (6) the Aram. of Targums Onkelos on the Pent. and Jonathan on the Prophets; (7) Galilæan Aram., in the Jerusalem Talmud and certain Midrāshim—the dialect spoken by our Lord and the apostles; (8) Christian Palestinian Aram., in translations of the Gospels from *c.* the fifth century A.D.; (9) Samaritan; (10) the Aram. of the Targums on the Hagiographa, and the "Jerusalem" Targum on the Pentateuch. The Aram. of the OT is most closely related to the dialects spoken in and around Palestine, *i.e.* to nos. (2), (4), (5). It is a mistake to suppose that the Jews learnt Aram. in Babylon and brought it home with them; it was there already; they learnt it by intercourse with their neighbours in Palestine. The Aram. of Dan. is different from the dialect which was spoken in Babylonia at the period of Nebuchadnezzar.

Literature.—Hebrew. Grammars: (1) elementary, A. B. Davidson[19], (McFadyen); Wood and Lanchester; (2) advanced, Gesenius-Kautzsch[28] (tr. by Cowley); Driver, *Tenses in Heb.*[3]; A. B. Davidson, *Heb. Syntax;* Ewald, *Syntax of the Heb. Language;* Stade, *Lehrbuch der Heb. Grammatik;* König, *Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache,* 2 vols., and *Syntax.* Lexicons: *Heb. and Engl. Lexicon,* ed. by Brown, Driver, Briggs; Gesenius-Buhl, *Heb. und Aram. Wörterbuch*[16]; Kimhi, *Radicum Liber,* ed. by Biesenthal u. Lebrecht; *Ochlah W'ochlah* (a dictionary of the Massōrah), ed. by Fremsdorff. Concordances: B. Davidson, 1876; the concord. publ. at Warsaw, 1883; Mandelkern (the fullest concord. publ.); also a smaller edition; Noldius, *Concordantiae Particularum Ebr.-Chald.*, Jena edition, 1734.

Aramaic (Biblical).—Grammars: Kautzsch, *Gram. des Biblisch-Aramäischen;* Marti, *Gram. der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache.* Lexicons: Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*; and the Heb. Lexicons above.

Aramaic (Targums, Talmud, Midrash).—Grammars: Strack u. Siegfried, *Lehrb. der neuhebräischen Sprache;* Dalman, *Gram. des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch,* and *Die Worte Jesu;* Segal, *Mišnaic Hebrew;* Margolis, *Manual of the Aram. Language of the Babylonian Talmud;* Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica.* Lexicons: *Plenus Aruch,* ed. Kohut, 8 vols.; Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch* (above), and *Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch,* 4 vols.; Dalman, *Aram.-u. neuheb. Wörterbuch;* Marcus Jastrow, *Dict. of the Targ., the Talm. Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Lit.,* 2 vols.

Syriac.—Grammars: Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*[3]; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.;* Duval, *Traité de Gram. Syriaque.* Lexicons: Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus,* 2 vols.; J. Payne-Smith, *Syriac Dictionary.*

Arabic.—Grammars: (1) elementary, Thatcher, *Arab. Grammar;* (2) advanced, Wright, *Arab. Grammar*[3], 2 vols.; Vernier, *Grammaire Arabe,* 2 vols. Lexicons: Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* 8 parts; Kazimirski, *Dict. arabe-français,* 2 vols.; Wortabet, *Arab.-Engl. Dict.*

The Semitic Languages.—Wright, *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages;* Nöldeke, *Semitic Languages,* in EB[11], and *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft;* Lagarde, *Uebersicht über die . . . Bildung der Nomina;* Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*[2]; Zimmern, *Vergleichende Gram. der sem. Sprachen;* Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Gram. der sem. Sprachen,* 2 vols. (abbreviated and tr. into French, *Précis de Linguistique Sémitique*); Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik;* Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions.*

CANON AND TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By Principal JOHN SKINNER

I. FORMATION OF THE CANON.—The starting-point of all historical inquiry into the origin of the OT Canon is the grouping and enumeration of books which is found in all Hebrew MSS and Bibles, and represents the tradition of Palestinian Judaism. The Canon, as thus arranged, consists of 24 books, divided into 3 groups as follows. I. The Law: the 5 books of Moses. II. The Prophets: (*a*) the Former Prophets, Jos., Jg., S., K. (4 books); (*b*) the Latter Prophets, Is., Jer., Ezek., the Twelve (Minor) Prophets (4 books). III. The Hagiographa (*Kethubim* = "writings"): Ps., Pr., Job; the five *Megilloth* or Rolls (Ca., Ru., Lam., Ec., Est.); Dan., Ezr. (with Neh.), Ch. (11 books).[1] While tradition varies slightly as to the order of the books within the second and third divisions, the division itself is rigidly maintained: there is never any doubt to which part of the Canon a particular book belongs. In the Talmud the number 24 and the tripartite classification are so firmly established that "The Twenty-four," and "The Law, the Prophets, and the Writings" are standing designations for canonical Scripture. The number 24 does not occur earlier than the Apocalypse of Ezra (2 or 4 Esd.), written towards the close of the first Christian century. We read in 1437f. that Ezra, inspired by the Holy Ghost, dictated in 40 days the scriptures destroyed at the capture of Jerusalem in 94 volumes, the first 24 of which (the canonical books) he was to publish immediately, while the remaining 70 (the esoteric apocalyptic writings) were to be handed down secretly. This transparent fiction, which dominated Christian theology down to the Reformation, shows quite clearly that 24 was the recognised number of sacred books in the circles in which the writer of 4 Esd. moved. It is true that his younger contemporary Josephus gives the number as 22, dividing them into 5 of Moses, 13 of Prophets, and 4 of hymns to God and precepts for men.[2] But this statement, while it breaks absolutely with the traditional arrangement of the books, implies no disagreement as to the contents of the Canon; for it is practically certain that the number 22 is only an artificial modification of the original 24, suggested by the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet (Origen), and arrived at by attaching Ru. to Jg., and Lam. to Jer. The threefold division can be traced back to a much earlier date. The Greek translator of Ecclus. (*c.* 130 B.C.) alludes to it three times in his short Prologue; it is referred to in a work (*De vita contemplativa*) attributed to Philo (*c.* A.D. 50), and *possibly* also in Lk. 2444. It is to be noted, however, that in all three cases the designation of the Hagiographa is vague or partial, and not such as to imply that they formed a definite collection.

In this tripartite division, then, modern investigators find the key to the formation of the Canon. The entire absence of any logical principle of classification shows that it cannot have been the act of a single individual such as Ezra; and the theory (propounded by Elias Levita in the sixteenth century, and introduced into Protestant theology by the elder Buxtorf) that it was the work of the "Men of the Great Synagogue" is not only destitute of any solid basis in Jewish tradition, but has been shattered by the demonstration that no such body as the Great Synagogue (at least in the sense of a permanent ecclesiastical commission) ever existed. All the external evidence at our disposal, as well as the critical determination of the dates of certain books, points to the conclusion that the three divisions represent three successive stages of canonisation; the oldest canon having consisted of the Law alone, the second of the Law *plus* the Prophets, and the third of Law and Prophets *plus* the Hagiographa. In short, the grouping of the books is the result of a protracted historical process, which we shall now very briefly sketch with the help of such information as we possess.

1. The Law.—The Pentateuch is a composite production composed of several minor codes and documents, and did not reach its final form till after the return of the Jews from exile. Hence it is impossible to place its complete canonisation earlier than the fifth century B.C. How far the older strata of legislation and history possessed anything like canonical authority we cannot tell; but there are two historic events which have an important bearing on the question. One is the promulgation, in 621 B.C., of the Deuteronomic law (2 K. 22f.), and the other the publication (probably about 444 B.C.) of a Book of the Law brought by Ezra from Babylon (Neh. 8–10). In each case a Law Book was solemnly accepted by the people as the basis of a covenant with God, and therefore as having normative authority for religion and the conduct of life. It is still uncertain whether Ezra's Law Book was the entire Pentateuch or only that part of it which is known as the Priestly Code. If the former, then the canonisation of the Law may be definitely assigned to the date of Ezra's covenant; but if the latter, all we can say is that canonisation followed on the amalgamation of the Priestly Code with the older material of the Pentateuch, which had already been incorporated with the Law Book of 621. On any view the transactions of 621 and 444 are of fundamental significance as revealing the manner in which the idea of canonicity entered into the theology of Judaism. It springs from the conception of religion

1 This Jewish Canon is, as regards contents, identical with the thirty-nine books of the English OT, the difference in number being accounted for by the fact that in our version S., K., Ch., and Ezr.-Neh. are divided into two books each, and that each of the twelve Minor Prophets is counted as a separate volume.

2 Besides adding Ru. to Jg. and Lam. to Jer., Josephus seems to have reckoned Ch., Ezr., Dan., Job and Est. as historical and therefore prophetical works, leaving for his third division Ps., Pr., Ca., Ec.

as a covenant between God and Israel, and adds to this conception the idea of an inspired book in which the terms of the covenant are formulated. The second half of the conception was capable of being extended to other writings, as we shall see; but the notion of statutory prescription so dominated Jewish thought to the end that the Law, which was the oldest Canon, always remained the standard and type of canonicity, to which other scriptures might approximate, but to which they could never altogether attain. The lower limit for the canonisation of the Law is fixed by the adoption of the Jewish Pentateuch by the Samaritan community. The most probable date of this occurrence is about 330 B.C. A comparison of the Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuchs proves that the Law, very nearly in its present form, was before that time the recognised sacred book of Judaism; and the fact that no other books were taken over by the Samaritans shows unmistakably that at the time of separation the Law alone constituted the sacred Canon of the Jews.

2. The Prophets.—The nucleus of a second Canon, however, was already in existence when the first was formed. We have seen that in its ultimate form this second Canon was composed of two dissimilar parts: four historical books, and four books which are prophetic in the ordinary sense. Each of these divisions traces its literary ancestry to pre-exilic times. The former, indeed, appears to have been originally the later part of a great historical work, compiled during the Exile, from which, in the time of Ezra, the Pentateuch was detached and invested with canonical authority. The subsequent redaction which these books (Jos.–K.) underwent may have taken place at a comparatively early period; and so the "Former Prophets" may have existed very much as we now have them before the Samaritan schism in 330. The motive for their eventual canonisation, and the explanation of their position alongside of the prophetic writings, was no doubt the belief that they had been written by prophets, and therefore had the same Divine authority as the prophetic oracles themselves. Similarly, the great mass of the strictly prophetical literature was in the hands of the scribes of the fifth century. That these writings were immediately inspired by God was certainly the belief of the post-exilic Church (Zech. 15f., 712, 89). But inspiration was not yet equivalent to canonicity. Hence, while the work of collecting, arranging, and annotating the writings of the prophets was diligently prosecuted in the two and a half centuries that followed the canonisation of the Law, there was no attempt to treat them as a fixed collection; and prophecies as late as the third century have been admitted into our prophetic Canon. The decisive impulse towards the canonisation of this class of writings was doubtless the cessation of the living voice of prophecy in the Jewish community (Zech. 13 4–6, Ps. 749, 1 Mac. 446, 927, 1441). The earliest explicit allusion to the Prophets as a fixed corpus of writings is in the Prologue to the Greek Ben Sira (Ecclus.), already referred to (130 B.C.). But we can prove the existence of such a collection a little further back. The author of Dan. (*c.* 168 B.C.) speaks in 92 of "the Books" in a manner which shows that he had before him a definite body of writings, in which was included the Book of Jer. Moreover the exclusion of Dan. itself from the Prophets is sufficient proof that that part of the Canon was closed before it was written. Again, Jesus ben Sira, the author of the Hebrew Ecclus. (*c.* 200–180 B.C.), cites in chs. 46–49 from all the eight books of the prophetic Canon in the order in which they stand in our Hebrew Bibles. From these facts we may conclude with great certainty that the completion of the second division of the Canon dates from the end of the third or beginning of the second century B.C. The only prophetic book regarding which doubts are recorded in later times is Ezek., which is also the only one not quoted by Philo. But the Talmudic legend which professes to attest such doubts is, perhaps, to be considered rather as a vivid expression of the difficulty of harmonising Ezekiel's legislation with the Mosaic Law than as evidence of a serious challenge to the canonicity of the book.

3. The Hagiographa.—The third stratum of the Canon is composed of a heterogeneous group of writings whose canonical position was gradually established during the two centuries that followed the canonisation of the Prophets. Most of these were in existence at that time; but since they possessed neither the normative authority of the Law, nor the direct oracular inspiration of prophecy, they were not considered to have the same degree of sanctity as these other scriptures, or to form a closed collection. The Prologue to Ben Sira contains the first mention of this sub-canonical class of writings, but in terms which strongly suggest that its boundaries were still indefinite—"the others that followed upon them" (*i.e.* upon the Prophets), "the other ancestral books," "the rest of the books"—and which at any rate leave us in entire ignorance of its extent. We are equally in the dark as to the subsequent history of the collection, of the order in which different books were added to it, and of the time when it came to be regarded as closed against the admission of other writings. We know, indeed, that Philo (who never cites apocryphal works) quotes from all the *Kethubim* except Dan., Ec., Ca., Ru., Lam., Est., and NT writers from all except Est., Ca., Ec.; and hence we may conclude that at least all those cited by both were generally accepted as canonical in the first century of our era. We are, of course, not entitled to conclude from the silence of Philo or the NT that a particular book was uncanonical; but since we know that the canonicity of Ec., Ca., and Est. was disputed at a still later time (see below), the fact that precisely these books are cited neither by Philo nor in the NT may signify that their canonical position was not yet universally recognised. On the other hand, the evidence of 4 Esd. and Josephus (see above) shows that by the end of the first century A.D. the Canon in its present compass was firmly established, at least in the Pharisaic circles of Palestine.

Official Determination of the Canon.—It is all the more surprising that at this very time the canonicity of certain books was a subject of acute controversy in the Jewish schools, and that doubts on this point were not silenced till well into the second century. From the classical passage in the Mishnic tract *Yadaim* (3 5) we learn that as regards Ec. there was, about the time of Christ, a division between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, the former maintaining and the latter denying the canonicity of that book; and also that a view adverse to Ca. was held by individual Rabbis in the early part of the second century. This state of affairs is intelligible only on one supposition, viz. that the question of canonicity had not been decided by formal decree in any authoritative assembly. All that had been attained was an informal consensus of opinion in favour of the books finally reckoned as canonical; an opinion, however, from which any competent person might dissent if he saw reason. The only public decision of which we have information is that of a great Synod held at Jamnia some time near the end of the first century; and there the Canon was taken

for granted, except as regards Ca. and Ec., whose claims were disputed. It was decreed that both "defile the hands," *i.e.* are canonical. That this decision was not universally respected appears from the vehement language of R. Aqiba at a later time (died A.D. 135), who declared that Ca. is the most sacred of all the *Kethubim*, and that its canonicity had never been questioned in Israel, although he admitted there might have been some difference as to Ec. Nevertheless the matter was really settled by the Council of Jamnia, whose decision was accepted as final by the authorities of the Mishna (c. A.D. 200). The only other book about which serious doubt seems to have been entertained is Est., which was pronounced apocryphal by distinguished Rabbis of the second and third centuries. It does not appear either in the list of sacred books drawn up by Melito of Sardis (A.D. 170) on information derived from Jewish sources, or in certain forms of the Syrian Canon. All this, together with the silence of Philo and the NT, goes to show that though the book passed unchallenged at the Synod of Jamnia, its canonicity was widely questioned even among Jews. By the end of the second century, all scruples were practically overcome; and it is noteworthy that in the final result no book was rejected for which a place had once been claimed among the *Kethubim*.

The Apocrypha.—There was, however, a class of books which the Jews of Palestine had never thought of canonising, but whose canonicity was destined to become a controversial issue in the Christian Church. The source of this controversy lies in the fact that the LXX, which was the first Bible of the Christians, not only differs entirely from the Hebrew in the arrangement of the books, but contains a number of writings which are not in the Hebrew Canon at all. The number of such writings varies in different Greek MSS, and only a selection of them was received into the Vulgate, while a somewhat different selection is given in the Apocrypha of the English versions. Still, speaking broadly, it may be said that the books now called apocryphal represent the excess of the LXX over the Hebrew Canon; and the question arises whether there was a real divergence of opinion between the Palestinian and Alexandrian Jews as to the canonicity of these books. It has been supposed by some that the facts prove the existence of an Alexandrian Canon differing from that of Palestine; and by others that at one time (say before A.D. 70) the limits of canonicity were more widely drawn than was eventually allowed by the narrow doctrine of the Pharisaic schools. The question is not free from difficulty. When we find a typical Alexandrian like Philo combining a broad view of inspiration with a strict adherence in practice to the Canon of Palestine, and a disciple of the Pharisees like Josephus combining a free use of the Apocrypha with an assertion of the exclusive inspiration of the Palestinian Canon, we can hardly believe that the Alexandrian Jews maintained a theory of canonicity opposed to that of their brethren in Palestine. The truth appears to be that their use of religious literature was not regulated by any rigid notions of canonicity, that their laxity in this respect was reflected in the MSS of the LXX, and thus led eventually to the canonisation of certain extra-canonical books by the Christian Church. At the same time there was in Christendom a consciousness that these books were not on the same level of authority as those accepted by the Jews; and even in the Western Church this feeling, reinforced by the great influence of Jerome, persisted more or less till the Council of Trent, when it was decided that all the books contained in the Vulgate are in the full sense canonical. The Protestant churches fell back on the position of Jerome, that the books not included in the Hebrew Bible were to be classed as apocryphal, although in some cases their use was allowed "for example of life and instruction of manners."

The Jewish Notion of Canonicity.—This brings us to consider in the last place the ideas of canonicity which ruled the decisions of the Jewish authorities regarding the inspiration of particular books. The two expressions used to distinguish between canonical and uncanonical scriptures throw no light on this question, but are in themselves interesting. The first describes a canonical book as one that "defiles the hands," which means that it is such that contact with it requires a ceremonial washing of the hands before touching any other object; the *sacred* character of the Scriptures being thus emphasized. The other expression is the verb *ganaz* ("withdraw" or "conceal"), which was applied to the act of excluding a book from the Canon—an act, by the way, never (save in one late passage) reported as having been actually accomplished, but only as having been proposed and overruled. Since the participle *genuzim* agrees partially in sense with the Greek *apokrypha*, it is tempting to infer that the two terms are equivalent; and this appears to be substantially correct, although the Hebrew word actually used for the Apocrypha is not *genuzim* but *hizonim* ("outside" books). There is, at all events nothing to support the opinion of those scholars who hold that *ganaz* only means to withdraw a book from public reading without prejudice to its canonical character. But neither the one expression nor the other throws any light on the principles by which the scribes decided whether a book properly belonged to the sacred collection or not. These, as might be expected, were of a purely formal and external kind. The fundamental criterion of canonicity was *conformity to the Law*. No book was sacred which did not agree with the teaching of the Law, which was always regarded as having a fuller inspiration than other books, and as furnishing the standard by which they were to be tested. But a test like this was obviously capable of very arbitrary application; as we may see from the fact that it retained such a book as Ec., while excluding Ecclus. Accordingly we must find some other principle, more influential in practice; and we find it in the idea of a *time limit* to the succession of prophets inspired of God to write the record of revelation. This principle is distinctly enunciated by Josephus in his treatise against Apion; and although we have no account of its actual application to the case of any disputed book, we know that it was a prevalent view of the later Jews, and can trace its application in the result. According to this theory the period of revelation extended from Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes (Longimanus), who was identified with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Est., which was thus supposed to be the latest canonical writing. Only those books, therefore, were retained in the Canon which were believed to have been written before that date; while those which (like Ecclus.) were ostensibly of later authorship were, by that very fact, excluded. If we add as a third condition that a sacred book must be *written in Hebrew*, we have a set of rules which, though not quite exhaustive of the considerations urged for or against all contested books, nevertheless sufficiently account for the rigid and mechanical division established in Palestine between canonical and apocryphal writings.

It is manifest that a Canon deliberately constructed on these lines would have no valid authority for the Christian Church. We believe that the Jews were

wrong in their views of the date and authorship of the books of the OT, wrong in their doctrine of a time-limit to inspiration, and wrong in their exaggerated estimate of the Law as compared with the Prophets and the Psalms. But we must remember that, after all, scholastic definitions played a very insignificant part in the actual formation of the OT Canon. It was only in the case of a few disputed and comparatively unimportant books that the theories of the scribes had to be appealed to, and then only to deal with theoretical objections which were in every instance overruled. For the great mass of the OT Scriptures, the real sanction lies in the witness borne to their inspiration by the experience of devout minds in Israel, whose spiritual insight had discerned their unique value for the nourishment of the religious life of fellowship with God, and thus gradually gathered them into a collection of sacred writings. Our acceptance of the OT Canon rests on the conviction that the spiritual process which led to its formation was the result of a true revelation of God in the history of Israel, and of an insight into the meaning of that revelation in which we recognise the illumination of that Spirit which guides into all truth. And when we find that the books whose canonical position was established only by the methods of Pharisaic casuistry are precisely those whose religious value is least, and which are never quoted by our Lord or His disciples, the obvious lesson is that tho inspiration of an OT book is not guaranteed by its place in an arbitrarily defined Canon, but by its vital relation to the essence of the ancient dispensation, and the degree in which it commended itself to the reverence and piety of the community entrusted with the oracles of God.

II. THE TEXT.—The long and complicated history of the OT text may be conveniently divided into three main periods: I. From the time when the books were written to the final determination of the Canon in the second century. II. From that time to the flourishing age of the Jewish Massora (sixth to tenth century). III. From the Massoretic age to the present day. This represents the two most important junctures in the transmission of the text. In the second century the fixing of the Canon was accompanied by a revision of its text, and followed by a resolute and remarkably successful effort to establish this revised text as the standard recension of the Hebrew Bible. And the activity of the Massoretes marks the culmination of this sustained effort in the reduction of the entire MS tradition to a uniform type. To them also we owe the important innovation of the use of vocalic and accentual signs; and the astonishing similarity which now prevails in all editions and extant MSS of the Hebrew OT is very largely the result of their indefatigable labours.

The investigation of this history is the foundation of all scientific criticism of the OT text. The aim of textual criticism being to recover as nearly as possible the exact form in which a book left the hand of its author, it is obvious that the further back we can trace the text of any writing the nearer we shall be to the attainment of that object. It is true that in the case of OT books we never come within measurable distance of the original autographs; but still we are able, by the methods to be indicated in this article, to eliminate a great many sources of error which have affected MSS at different stages in the transmission of the text.

The materials for this investigation fall broadly into three classes: (1) MSS and editions of the Hebrew text itself: these, of course, have descended by successive transcriptions from the autograph copies of the various writings. But the existing Hebrew MSS are all of comparatively recent date; and besides, they present so little variation that from them alone we could hardly form any conclusions as to the previous development of the text. (2) MSS and editions of a large number of translations made at different times, either directly from the Hebrew (primary versions) or from some earlier translation ("daughter versions"). It will be readily understood that a version has critical value only in so far as it furnishes independent evidence of the existence of a characteristic form of text at the time when it was made. If (as is the case with the English versions) we have access to the original Hebrew on which they are known to have been based, we learn nothing from the version in question except the competence or otherwise of the translators. But in the case of the older versions, which originated long before any known MS was written, we do not know beforehand what their basis was, and can ascertain it only by the delicate process of retranslation into Hebrew. This operation, if it can be satisfactorily performed, will obviously give us the text of one or more Hebrew MSS contemporary with the date of translation; and by comparing this with our present Hebrew text we may obtain valuable light on the condition of the Hebrew text at a particular stage of its history. (3) Quotations and allusions by writers of known date, from which we can discover what readings were found in contemporary MSS of the Hebrew Bible or of the version which they used. Alongside of these we may place the mass of observations on the Hebrew text which constitute the staple of the Jewish Massora (see below).

From this very inadequate account of the apparatus and the essential processes of textual criticism as applied to the OT, we pass to an equally slight sketch of the leading results that can be established, following the threefold division given at the outset.

I. The first period may be characterised as the age of *divided text*. Here the chief witnesses are (*a*) the Samaritan Pentateuch, and (*b*) the LXX. (*a*) The former is a recension in the Hebrew language, but in Samaritan script, of the Pentateuch which the Samaritans borrowed from the Jews about 330 B.C., and which is now represented by MSS. dating from the twelfth century and downwards. That some intentional changes were introduced by the Samaritans is quite certain; but the basis of the text must be that of Jewish MSS of that early time. When we compare it with the present Hebrew text we find a very close similarity, but along with differences which cannot all be dismissed as errors on the side of the Sam. It contains readings which by their intrinsic superiority commend themselves as nearer the original than the MT; although in the majority of instances where the two diverge, the original text is best preserved in the Jewish recension; and in certain passages both are manifestly corrupt. We thus see that even so early as the fourth century B.C. the text of the Pentateuch had already undergone a certain amount of deterioration, and that the MSS. of the period did not present the uniformity which marks the later stages of transmission. (*b*) These conclusions are confirmed, but in a much more emphatic manner, for a somewhat later time, by the LXX, the Greek translation of the OT. Strictly speaking, the name LXX applies only to the translation of the Law, which was traditionally ascribed to seventy or seventy-two scholars working under the patronage of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria in the first half of the third century B.C. There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the tradition so far

as regards the place and date of the translation of the Pentateuch: the remaining books were translated at various unknown periods during the next century and a half. The recovery of the original Greek text of the LXX, and still more of the Hebrew that lies behind it, is amongst the most difficult processes of textual criticism; but enough is known to make it certain that the Hebrew MSS then in circulation presented a variety which is in striking contrast to the monotonous uniformity of the post-Massoretic age, and that the better (and therefore more original) text is sometimes that which is preserved in the Greek translation, but more frequently in that which is the parent of the present Hebrew text. We have thus, in the case of the Pentateuch, evidence of the existence of three recensions (represented respectively by the MT, the Sam., and the LXX) of the Hebrew in the fourth and third centuries, B.C.; and the relations of these three to one another is a problem of which a complete solution has not yet been worked out. In the other books we have proof always of two recensions (MT and LXX), sometimes of more; for in some cases the MSS of the LXX seem to combine different translations from the original Hebrew. But the natural conclusion is that the survival of only two or three types of text is an accident; and that if we could survey the whole MS. material of that remote age we should find a diversity which fully justifies the description of the period as a period of divided text. In explanation of the laxity of transcription which all this implies, we have to note in the first place, that the translation of many of the later books into Greek took place in all probability before they were received into the Canon, and therefore before they were guarded by official supervision against irresponsible changes of text. In the next place, that verbal inspiration or textual inviolability was not considered a note of canonicity till a later time, so that even a canonical book might be subjected to deliberate revision in detail. Thirdly, that canonisation, being merely a judgment as to the religious value or sacred character of a book, did not discriminate between one form of its text and another, so that the copy adopted for the standard recension might not present the best form of text as judged by critical principles. Lastly, while we may assume that from the first care was taken to preserve the text of a book once admitted to the Canon (and especially of the Law), we must recognise that no official censorship could secure perfect immunity from error on the part of copyists. The result is, as we might expect, that on the whole, the official recension from which our MT has descended was nearer the original than any that can be recovered from the versions (p. 125); yet it contained many defects, and can frequently be corrected and improved by the help of the variant readings attested by those versions. Towards the close of this period we find evidence of the increasing homogeneity of the Hebrew text in the Old Syriac version, called the Peshitta. The exact date at which it was made is not known, nor is it certain how far it was prepared under Christian and how far under Jewish auspices; but it seems clear that it was based on Hebrew MSS somewhat older than the standard text of the second century. At all events it is a version made directly from the Hebrew (although revised with the help of the LXX); and examination appears to show that its Hebrew basis, while not absolutely identical with the MT, nevertheless resembled it very closely. We may infer that the textual confusion of an earlier time was passing away through the disappearance of unofficial MSS., and that the solidarity which was stereotyped in the second century had practically been brought about by the sole survival of the authorised Palestinian recension.

II. The second period is introduced by the fixation of a standard text which has maintained itself with little variation till the present time. The principle of textual inviolability which was the necessary presupposition of the exegetical methods of the school of Hillel, and was already acknowledged in the time of Christ (Mt. 5^{18}), was now deliberately adopted and carried out to its practical consequences. The precise manner in which this was done will never be known; but there is no reasonable doubt that in the main it was the work of R. Aqiba (died A.D. 135) and his compeers in the early part of the century. Certain idiosyncrasies of the received text and one or two legends relating to the time go to show that the attempt was made to conform the text to a particular Codex or Archetype, which was known to be imperfect but which, for some reason, was regarded with peculiar veneration; but how far the existing text is a slavish reproduction of that single MS is a question still unsettled. The first piece of evidence for the authority of the new recension is the Greek version of Aquila (said to have been a pupil of Aqiba), an almost mechanically literal expression of the Hebrew which was meant to supersede the LXX in the use of Greek-speaking Jews. It has survived only in a few slight fragments and in citations by the Fathers and on the margins of MSS; but from these it is sufficiently clear that its Hebrew original was virtually our present MT. The nearly contemporary Greek versions of Theodotion and Symmachus may here be mentioned as less drastic efforts to mediate between the Hebrew verity and the popular but now discredited LXX. In the history of the LXX itself the early part of the period before us witnessed several eventful developments. A number of secondary versions in various dialects—chief among them the Old Latin, from about A.D. 200—appeared, from which we obtain valuable light on the condition of the contemporary Greek text. Before the third century that text was in such confusion that three scholars, Origen, Lucian, and Hesychius, were moved independently to produce critical recensions for the use of Christians; the most famous being the Hexapla of Origen, which was accepted in the time of Jerome as the standard edition of the LXX. The influence of these recensions, and particularly of the Hexapla, on the current LXX text has been all-pervading, and seriously complicates the problem of recovering the original text of the Greek translation. In the fourth century we come to the earliest direct witnesses to the OT text in the oldest MSS of the LXX, which, of course, tell us nothing of the Hebrew text of the time, but only reveal a stage in the history of the Greek version. For the Hebrew text we have the important Latin translation of the Vulgate, prepared by Jerome in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries. It was made directly from the Hebrew, and ultimately superseded the Old Latin in the Western Church. It represents a Hebrew original varying but little from the MT; and is of great use for determining the minor divergences which were found within the range of the standard recension about 250 years after its formation. From Jewish tradition we have for this period the evidence of the Targums—Aramaic translations of the OT for use in the synagogues—and the numerous citations in the Talmud and the Rabbinical literature generally. All these tell the same tale of a dominant standard text, with slight variations, which may partly go back to pre-Christian times. A comparison of the Rabbinical quotations with the Targums and the older

versions seems to show that ancient readings which have since been eliminated from the MS tradition were still in currency in influential MSS of the Talmudic age.

During all this time the scribes were gradually perfecting their organisation, and securing a firmer control of the traditional text. A few intentional but trivial manipulations of the consonantal text (*Tiqqune Sopherim*) with which they are credited must belong to a very early age, before the consonantal text had acquired the sanctity which caused its very mistakes to be respected. At a later time they contented themselves with indicating by critical marks (*puncta extraordinaria*, etc.) readings which were defective or doubtful; and still later with specifying the "reading" (*Qere*) to be followed in the synagogue, while the "written" text (*Kethib*) was left inviolate. Lists of these and many other peculiarities of the sacred text were accumulated and handed down by rote; strict ceremonial rules were imposed on the copyists of biblical MSS; standard codices were edited by which the correctness of any MS was to be tested; and everything that human ingenuity could suggest was done to bring about complete uniformity in the MS text. This culminated in the work of the Massoretic schools, which marks the transition to the final phase of the Hebrew text.

III. The word *Massora* (p. 36) meant at first simply "tradition" in general, but in technical usage it came to be restricted to that branch of tradition which concerned itself with maintaining the purity of the sacred text: the Massoretes were the successors of the Sopherim or scribes. The history of the movement is still in many points obscure; and it is impossible here to give any adequate account of its character. It flourished both in Babylonia and in Palestine (Tiberias) in the centuries that followed the completion of the Talmud; and its most noteworthy achievement was the gradual elaboration (during the seventh and following centuries) of a system of vowel notation, which was carried on simultaneously in these two centres of Jewish learning. The Babylonian schools seem to have been eclipsed by that of Tiberias; and accordingly the Tiberian punctuation so completely displaced the rival systems of Babylonia that until the important discoveries of MSS within the last eighty years all knowledge of the latter was lost in Europe. The two great luminaries of the school of Tiberias in the tenth century were Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, each of whom produced a standard codex of the OT, with vowels and accents on the Tiberian system, with minute differences in punctuation, but practically none in the consonantal text. The text followed in Western MSS and all printed editions is in the main that of Ben Asher, although several readings of his rival Ben Naphtali are incorporated in the received text. For the rest the Massora consists, as has been said, of an immense congeries of observations on peculiarities of the Hebrew text, the aim being to provide an apparatus by which the smallest deviation from the authoritative text could be avoided or instantly detected in the production of new copies. At first these lists and notices were committed to memory; but gradually the practice was introduced of writing them, partly on the margins (or between the lines) and at the end of codices, and partly in separate works.

It is only from the tenth century downwards that we are able to trace the Hebrew text in extant MSS. The oldest certainly dated MS is a Babylonian codex of the Latter Prophets now in St. Petersburg, which bears the date 916. There are one or two which may prove to be as much as a century older; and there are many bearing early dates the genuineness of whose epigraphs is strongly suspected: among them the first copy of the entire OT, which professes to be a transcript of the lost codex of Ben Asher, and to have been written A.D. 1008–10. The majority of the MSS. belong to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. The invention of printing in the fifteenth century was quickly taken advantage of by the Jews for the propagation of their scriptures, the first complete edition of the OT being published at Soncino in 1488. The earliest printed editions were largely based on MSS now lost; and their influence—notably that of the great Rabbinical Bible of Jacob ben Hayyim (1524–25) and the Complutensian Polyglott (1514–17)—has profoundly affected all subsequent editions, and has contributed materially to the uniformity of the present *textus receptus*.

It is evident from this imperfect sketch of the history of the text that no existing document or known recension can claim to represent the text of the OT in its original form. The alterations that have crept in during the course of transmission may be classed under two heads: inadvertent and intentional. (1) To the class of inadvertent changes belong (*a*) all errors of transcription, such as confusion of letters similar in form or (when written to dictation) in sound; accidental omission or transposition of consonants; repetition of a word or group of letters already written (dittography); longer omissions caused by the identical ending of two sentences (homoioteleuton) and the slipping of the scribe's eye from the one he had just copied to the other. (*b*) Errors of memory are sometimes responsible for the substitution of a synonym for the original expression (like "say" for "speak"), or the addition of a familiar phrase or epithet (as in "ark [of the covenant]"), or the alteration or amplification of the text in accordance with some well-known parallel passage. (*c*) Errors of understanding are seen chiefly in mistaken division of words and sentences, in misinterpretation of abbreviations, and in incorporation of marginal glosses in the text. In the last two classes of error, however, it is impossible to draw the line between unconscious and deliberate manipulation of the text. (2) Conscious alterations of the text naturally occurred most frequently in the early stages of transmission, and cannot always be distinguished from the processes of redaction in which many of the OT books had their origin; but that post-redactional additions and corrections are actually found in the text is shown in some cases by a comparison of the different versions and in other cases is probable from internal indications. A common form of expansion is the introduction of explanatory glosses giving the accepted interpretation of a difficult or ambiguous expression in the authentic text (see Is. 31*b*), or enhancing the accuracy of a prediction by a reference to its supposed fulfilment (Is. 7*8b*). Systematic correction of the text occurs most frequently under the influence of dogmatic or æsthetic tendencies (*cf.* the regular substitution in the books of Samuel of *bosheth*, "shame," for *Baal* in the names Ishbosheth, Mephibosheth, with the original names in Ch.); but occasionally under the impression that the traditional reading is wrong (thus in Gen. 2*2* "seventh" in the Heb. is deliberately changed to "sixth" in Sam., LXX, and Syr.). It may be noted that certain changes of this kind were introduced in the synagogue reading (*Qere*) while the written text was left untouched; and on the other hand that Jewish tradition preserved a knowledge of the fact that at an earlier period they were made in the consonantal

text (*Tiqqune Sopherim*, above). In the detection of both the above classes of alterations the versions often render important service. If two textual witnesses show a difference in the Hebrew original which can be naturally traced to any of the causes just enumerated the divergence is at once explained, and it will generally be clear on which side the mistake lies and which is the true reading. Or the mere omission in one text of a passage found in the other, but unnecessary in its context, may be a sufficient reason for doubting its genuineness. Again, interpolation may reasonably be suspected when a passage occurs in two texts but at different places (*e.g.* 1 S. 21–10 is inserted by the LXX in the middle of 128 of the Heb.): the probable explanation being that it originally stood in the margin of some MSS and was taken into the text at the wrong place. But the sources of error here mentioned may often lead on internal grounds to an emendation even where all textual witnesses support the doubtful reading.

In conclusion, the broad results of textual criticism as applied to the OT writings may be briefly summed up as follows: (1) It should be clearly understood that all witnesses to the text exhibit a fundamental agreement. An extreme case of divergence is the difference between the MT and the LXX in the Book of Jeremiah; but even here it is reckoned that the element common to the two recensions amounts to about seven-eighths of the whole. The normal relation of the LXX to the MT is such that in the majority of books the differences are mostly differences of detail, which leave the broad features of the text, the characteristics of the style, and the essential meaning of the writers almost unaffected. (2) Of all accessible forms of the text the MT is on the whole the most reliable, and the most faithful to what must have been the Hebrew original. That it often misrepresents the original, that it stands in need of criticism and correction, and that in innumerable instances it can be corrected by the help of the versions and especially of the LXX, are facts which cannot be too strongly emphasized. But it remains true that the MT has preserved better than any other the characteristics and phraseology of the original documents, and is the only secure foundation for a critical reconstruction of the OT text. (3) The MT, even when corrected by the help of the versions and all other external aids, frequently yields a text which cannot possibly be original. In a considerable number of passages which are unintelligible on account of textual corruption, the corruption is either shared by all the versions, or is replaced by something equally or more unintelligible. This means, of course, that the text contains defects which are of older standing than the date of any version. On these we have no sort of external check except in the few cases where a passage is repeated within the OT itself (parallel passages in S.–K. and Ch.; 2 S. 22 = Ps. 18; 2 K. 1813–2019 = Is. 36–39; Is. 22–5 = Mi. 41–5; etc.). To bridge the gulf that separates the original autographs from the oldest externally authenticated text we have, as a rule, no resource but the precarious method of conjectural emendation, which has undoubtedly a wider scope than is permissible in the case of the NT. But arbitrary and unmethodical conjecture is as little legitimate in OT as in NT criticism. Conjecture is not to be resorted to unless all available documentary evidence fails to yield a satisfactory result; and no emendation of this kind can command confidence unless it gives a reading from which the actual Hebrew, as well as the versional variants, can be derived in accordance with the ascertained tendencies to change and error to which editors and copyists were subject in ancient times.

Literature.—Ryle, *The Canon of the OT*; W. R. Smith, *The OT in the Jewish Church*[2]; Wildeboer, *The Origin of the Canon of the OT*; Buhl, *Canon and Text of the OT*; Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*; Weir, *A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the OT*; Geden, *Outlines of Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*; articles in EB, EBi., HDB, HSDB.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE

By THE EDITOR

This article provides a bare skeleton of the literary development, and should be supplemented at every point by the introductions to individual books and groups of books. A description of the various literary types in the OT is given in the article on "The Bible as Literature."

Here as elsewhere literature is the expression of life, and to understand it we must view it as the outcome of experience, both collective and individual. A history of Heb. literature cannot indeed be written, since materials are wanting. What is left to us in the OT is but the remains of a much larger literature now lost, it is to be feared, irretrievably (p. 18). Not larger only, but also much more varied; for reduced as it was by neglect and by the catastrophes through which the nation passed, it was restricted still further by the religious interest which guided the preservation of what still remains (p. 40).

The origins unhappily are lost in obscurity. Tradition credits Moses alike with the creation of the nation and the origination of its literature. To him belongs, it is true, the imperishable glory of creating a national consciousness which fused the emancipated Hebrew slaves into a people proudly aware of itself as the chosen of Yahweh. But the claim that he created not simply the nation and its religion, but also its earliest literature, is far more dubious. We can no longer regard him as the author of the Pentateuch (pp. 121–124). This rejection of an ancient tradition is due to no doubt whether Moses could write, but to the actual phenomena of the Pentateuch, which are irreconcilable with his authorship. Different scripts had long been practised, books and documents had long been familiar, and centuries before his time Hammurabi had promulgated his famous code (pp. 51, 130). Comparison reveals a close parallelism with the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20_{22}–23_{33}), which shows that Israel was profoundly indebted for its social law to earlier civilisation, as we knew that it was indebted for religious institutions. Moses therefore had material from which he might have drawn up legislation. Yet we cannot identify any composition of Moses in the Pentateuch. Probably both the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant incorporate Mosaic legislation. But we can feel no confidence that these principles and precepts received literary form in the wilderness. The Book of the Covenant, which with Ex. 34_{14-26} constitutes the earliest stratum of legislation, presupposes a people settled in Canaan and practising agriculture. Even the Decalogue in what would presumably be its original form—ten short commandments of the type still preserved in the first, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, without expansion or explanation—apparently contains post-Mosaic elements (p. 184). Such a snatch of song as Ex. 15_{1} may well go back to Moses, though the poem which follows is later than his time.

Analogy suggests that poetical utterances of this kind constituted the beginning of Heb. literature. Some of these may have had a still earlier origin, and referred to more ancient, perhaps prehistoric, peoples. The Song of Lamech, the curse on Canaan, the blessing of Shem and Japhet, may be earlier than Moses; the song of the well (Nu. 21_{17}f.), and possibly, though less probably, the sarcastic verses on Sihon (21_{27-30}), no later than his time. After the conquest we have similar utterances, such as Joshua's apostrophe to the sun and moon (Jos. 10_{12}f.). The stream begins to flow with greater fulness in the time of the Judges. The Song of Deborah (Jg. 5) is our finest example; but more poems of the type no doubt existed, for others also were wont to rehearse Yahweh's mighty acts. In its present form the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49*) is hardly earlier than the reign of David, but the tribal delineations in it seem in some instances to be older than the monarchy. To the same period belong the riddle of Samson (Jg. 14_{14}) and his boast over his triumph at Lehi (15_{16}). Our first specimen of another type meets us in the fable of Jotham (Jg. 9_{8-15}; *cf.* 2 K. 14$_{9}$). From the time of Saul we have the couplet which roused his jealousy over David's exploits (1 S. 18$_{7}$). The lament on Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1_{19-27}) and the elegy on Abner (3_{33}f.) are the only compositions of David to the authenticity of which no reasonable doubt attaches. Tradition assigns to him a large number of Pss. This question is dealt with elsewhere (pp. 367f.); here a few words must suffice. It is not unlikely that, with his fine poetical genius and his zeal for the service of Yahweh, David praised Him not on his harp only, but with his pen. But this carries us a very little way towards the position that any poems of his are preserved in the Psalter. The late date at which the book was compiled, the origin of even the earliest collections in it after the Exile; the composition of the great majority of Pss. in the Persian or Greek periods; the advanced stage of religious reflection which they represent, and their developed religious feeling, combine to make it improbable that more than a very few Davidic Pss. can have survived, and, indeed, to render the presence of any in our Psalter very questionable. Nor, admitting that some have been included, have we any reliable criteria for determining which these are.

With the reign of Solomon a new era opens in the development of Israel. Up to this time there had been all too little of that settled peace which should give culture its opportunity. The disintegration of the nation, its hard struggle to maintain its hold on Canaan, the wars with surrounding peoples, and above all with the Philistines, civil strife again and again renewed,

combined to keep the Hebrews physically fit but intellectually backward. David had given them rest from their enemies, and Solomon's reign was one of peace. The older forms of literature continued to be cultivated, but there were new and far-reaching developments. There is probably some basis for the tradition which ascribes many proverbs and songs to Solomon, and sayings concerning plants and animals. Possibly some of his aphorisms may be found in the Book of Proverbs (p. 397). The oracles of Balaam (Nu. 23f.) in their earliest form may belong to this period. We may plausibly assign to it also the collection of Heb. poetry known as the Book of Jashar, which seems to have contained Solomon's striking saying, recovered from the LXX (p. 298), at the dedication of the Temple, together with Jos. 10$_{12}$f. and 2 S. 1$_{19-27}$. A similar collection may have been "The Book of the Wars of Yahweh" (Nu. 21$_{14}$*), but we have no evidence as to its date.

Solomon's reign, however, is specially notable as that in which historical literature probably took its rise. Great historical events, stories as to popular heroes and thrilling exploits, circulated no doubt long before on the lips of the people. But their reduction to writing had probably not taken place up to this time. And when history began to be written, it was, we may surmise, the story of the immediate past. The story of David's court (2 S. 9–20, with 1 K. 1f.) exhibits such intimate knowledge of the circumstances that it is generally attributed to a contemporary—possibly, as Duhm suggests, Abiathar. This may have given the impulse to record the earlier history. The story of Samuel, Saul, and David, which we find in the most ancient strata of 1 S. 1–2 S. 8, was, it may be, the first to be written. The oldest records of the conquest and the Judges may have been next collected, and not so much later would come the Pentateuchal document J in its primitive form, written in Judah. The parallel document E was written in the Northern Kingdom probably before the middle of the eighth century. E includes the Book of the Covenant, and J the briefer legislation (Ex. 34$_{10-26}$). In the historical books we find a combination of story and of annals. As is natural, we scarcely meet with the latter before the reign of Solomon, though we have some examples from the reign of David. With the establishment of an Oriental despotism in Israel the court chronicler began to play a prominent part. Although the extracts from the State annals are much less fascinating than the popular stories, a more liberal use of them in our historical books would have supplied the historian with invaluable information. The leading sanctuaries no doubt also had their chroniclers, and we have important material from them as to events connected with the Temple. Fortunately the official did not stifle the popular element, and even the Book of Kings is redeemed from being a collection of official records by the prophetic and other stories, notably those of Elijah and Elisha.

So far as we know, Elijah and Elisha committed nothing to writing. Indeed we can hardly think of them as uttering sustained addresses; their recorded words are brief and weighty. But in the middle of the eighth century, when Assyria was about to intervene once more in the politics of Palestine, the era of the literary prophets opens. Within a brief period Amos and Hosea laboured in the Northern Kingdom, Isaiah and Micah in the Southern. Prophecy still remains primarily oral. It is by direct speech to them that the prophet seeks to influence his people. But if the prophet is silenced, as Amos, if met with incredulity, as Isaiah, he might commit to writing what he was not permitted to utter, or record for future vindication the word at present scouted by incredulity. Jeremiah had been preaching long years before his oracles were collected by himself and read to the public. Whatever may have been the impulse which led to the record being made, we have gained immeasurably by it; for it is in the prophetic writings more than anywhere else that we find the inmost secret of Israel's religion. Prophecy was, of course, largely influenced by the political situation. It is when some great work of Yahweh is on the eve of being accomplished that the sensitive instinct of the prophet divines and foretells the approaching judgment. Hence the great prophets of the eighth century begin their work when the Assyrian peril is about to reappear. But it would invert the true relation to suppose that they first became aware of the approaching storm and then cast about to find a reason. Rather they started from the conviction of Yahweh's righteousness and a consciousness of His people's sin, deduced from this that judgment was inevitable, and read the political situation in the light of this moral certainty. The Northern Kingdom fell, and the essential Israel was concentrated in Judah. Some precious fragments of the Northern literature survived the catastrophe, notably the Hexateuchal document E and the prophecies of Hosea, and no doubt several narratives in the historical books, especially the histories of Elijah and Elisha. With the death of Isaiah prophecy became dumb for a season. In the fanatical reaction which stained the reign of Manasseh the representatives of the higher religion were silenced, though fragments of prophecy (*e.g.* Mic. 6$_{1-8}$) may be preserved to us from that period. See further pp. 88f.

But though public utterance was suppressed and Jerusalem ran with the blood of the martyrs, while old heathen worships flourished and new cults were borrowed from the victorious Assyria, the prophetic party was not inactive. The teaching of the eighth-century prophets had been concerned in the main with social righteousness as the nation's best expression of loyalty to its God. But alongside of this, and certainly not without some sympathy from the prophets, there was a movement more priestly in origin for the reform of the cultus. These two tendencies combined to produce the Book of the Law found in the Temple by Hilkiah, which formed the basis of Josiah's Reformation. This is usually, and in all probability correctly, identified with the original Deuteronomy. This hardly included more than Dt. 5–26 with 28, and indeed not the whole of this. While it was the practical embodiment of the prophetic teaching in the preceding century, it developed the legislation which already existed in the Book of the Covenant. It secured the centralisation of the worship at Jerusalem and the suppression of the local sanctuaries, and thus created a problem, important for the history of the literature, as to the disposal of the priests at the disestablished sanctuaries. Its acceptance by the people at the instigation of Josiah made Judah a people of the Law as it had never been before. Its acceptance might also be regarded as the first step towards the formation of the OT Canon. Its doctrine of the correspondence between conduct and fortune accentuated the problem created by the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked, to the discussion of which some of the greatest Heb. literature is devoted. It profoundly influenced also the writing of history, giving the historians and historical editors a characteristic point of view. Its

literary influence is also very marked. There is a peculiar Deuteronomistic style, as well as point of view, and both of these are very noticeable in much of the later literature (see pp. 74f.; 89f.; 126–131).

But before the Law-book had been read prophecy had again found utterance. Nahum wrote his impassioned song of triumph over the approaching destruction of Nineveh shortly before the downfall of Assyria, *c.* 607 B.C. About twenty years before the collapse of the Assyrian Empire, the tidings that vast hordes of Scythians were on the march and drawing nearer and nearer, filled the minds of men with dread. Zephaniah was stimulated by their approach to announce that the Day of Yahweh was at hand. This conception, taken over from popular belief by Amos and his successors and transformed in the process, received from Zephaniah its most elaborate expression. In him we see the hints of an apocalyptic strain which, largely through Ezekiel's influence, was to become more and more prominent in prophecy (p. 432); though prophecy did not develop into apocalyptic in the full sense till the Book of Daniel. The coming of the Scythians was also the theme of Jeremiah's early prophecies, though when he collected and published his oracles, more than twenty years later, the Scythian danger had passed, and the foe from the north was identified with the Babylonians. His ministry continued till after the destruction of Jerusalem, embracing a period of more than forty years. His prophecies were collected in the fourth year of Jehoiakim; and when the king had burnt the roll, its contents were reproduced and many like words were added. We have authentic prophecies from the later period of his life, which were probably united with the earlier collection by his secretary, Baruch, to whom we presumably owe many of the biographical sections contained in our book. The relationship between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy presents an intricate problem. We may assume that Jeremiah had no hand in its composition, and his ministry began some years before its discovery. It would seem, then, that there could have been no direct influence on either side between his pre-Reformation prophecies and the Law-book. But we cannot guarantee that these prophecies are preserved for us in their original form, and have been unaffected by the Law-book, for they were not written down till some fifteen years after its publication. If from the first Jeremiah was out of sympathy with the reformers, and felt that the pen of its lying scribes had wrought falsely (Jer. 8*, p 474), then we could not anticipate that his writings would betray much trace of its influence. But if, as the present writer believes, he welcomed the book on its publication and advocated its reforms, though later he realised that the hurt of the people had been healed too lightly, he may well have been considerably influenced by it. It is of course unquestionable that our Book of Jeremiah exhibits a strong Deuteronomic colouring; but the book has been much glossed and expanded, and it is in these later additions that this colouring is most deeply marked. The place of the greatest of the prophets in the history of religion is among the highest, but his influence on the later canonical literature was less profound. His writings contain not only his addresses to the people, but the utterances of his intercourse with God. His experience of religion as intimate fellowship with a personal God was reflected in many of the Pss. He is not to be identified with the Servant of Yahweh, but the delineation of the Servant borrows some traits from his personality and career. He influenced Ezekiel, though perhaps less than is often supposed, and the two men are in truth very dissimilar (see pp. 72f.; 90).

The fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and the exile to Babylon had momentous consequences, not simply for religious and political life (pp. 90f.), but for the development of literature. The catastrophe was, of course, variously interpreted. Many considered themselves absolved from their allegiance to Yahweh, whose inability or unwillingness to save His people had been demonstrated by the fate which had overtaken them. But those to whom the future belonged, recognised that the prophetic interpretation of history and forecast of Judah's doom had been justified by the event. They did not believe, however, that punishment was Yahweh's last word to them. Judah would be brought back again to her own land, there to live in righteousness and in peace. It was therefore necessary to read aright the lessons of the past, to minister to the present and prepare for the future. No longer preoccupied with politics, they had a larger opportunity for literature, and this was utilised in various ways. First it was necessary to save as much as possible from the wreck. The legislation, the narrative and prophetic literature had to be collected, partly that what was intrinsically so precious should not be lost, partly that it might serve in the home or in the religious assemblies, for instruction, warning, and encouragement. During this period Judges, Samuel, and Kings probably assumed in large measure their present form, though at some points they exhibit evidence of later revision and expansion. The laws had to be codified, and the ritual, which could no longer be practised, to be put on record for future use. The standpoint from which much of the rewriting was undertaken was that of Dt., and the Books of Kings in particular show this influence in a very marked degree.

The leader, who more than any other man met the need of the time, passing judgment on Israel's apostate history and announcing its overthrow, changing his note to one of consolation when the blow had fallen, foretelling the blessed future and preparing for it, was Ezekiel (pp. 91, 131). Prophecy became in his hands the exposition of a systematic theology; it was more literary and less oratorical, more laboured and less spontaneous than the utterances of his predecessors. He also foreshadows the transformation of prophecy into apocalyptic. This is a development whose beginnings may be traced in Zephaniah, but in Ezekiel the signs of it are clearer and more abundant. The study of earlier prophecy, to combine its varied forecasts into a coherent scheme, was characteristic of apocalyptic. So was its conviction of the Divine transcendence, and its interpolation between God and man of angelic orders as instruments of His government. Similarly its assurance that God's intervention would be catastrophic when it came, rather than take the form of an evolution from the existing political situation. The anticipation was also found that the heathen would come to assail God's people in the Holy Land, and would be overthrown by a stroke of God without need for Israel to fight in self-defence. It need hardly be said that Ezekiel is a prophet rather than an apocalyptist, and that a wide gulf lies between his book and such works as Daniel and Enoch. But some of the features most characteristic of apocalyptic are present in his writings in a rudimentary form.

In another and more important respect Ezekiel exercised a great influence on the later development. The codification of the law would presumably have proceeded apart from him, as is shown by the compilation of the Holiness Code (pp. 129f.). But Ezekiel's

sketch of a religious constitution for the community on its return provided the bridge between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code. In particular his solution of the problem created by the disestablishment of the priesthood of the high places, directly prepared the way for the distinction between priests and Levites so characteristic of P. This constitutes one of the decisive proofs that P is later than Ezekiel (p. 129). He created the distinction between the priests and Levites which was then carried back in P to the time of Moses, and treated not as a degradation from the priesthood for apostasy, but as a distinction elevating Levi above the other tribes.

Another problem which was created by the miseries of the people which culminated in the Exile was that of the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked (pp. 92, 94). Touched upon by Jeremiah (12₁), it is explicitly discussed by Habakkuk; it is the subject of the fourth Servant Poem (Is. 52₁₃–53₁₂). Ezekiel had met the complaint of the people that the fathers had eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth were set on edge by roundly denying that this implied challenge of Yahweh's righteousness had any substance: each suffered for his own sin, there was neither vicarious penalty nor vicarious reward. It is the problem from which the author of Job starts, though it is a mistake to suppose that the author's main purpose was to discuss it or discover the solution. His interest is rather concentrated on the history of Job's soul, as, conscious of his own innocence, he seeks to adjust his relations with God. The problem is the theme of some of the Pss., notably Pss. 37, 49, 73. It is touched upon by several of the post-exilic prophets, it provides a basis for the pessimism of Ecclesiastes, and is the dark background for the apocalyptic hope of Daniel. It has been commonly supposed that our first literary expression of the problem is to be found in Habakkuk, and that he wrote in the reign of Jehoiakim, when the Chaldeans were entering upon their great career of conquest. But 1₅–₁₁ in its present text seems to presuppose a different situation from the rest of Hab. If. Accordingly the present writer prefers to consider that, while 1₅–₁₁ is pre-exilic, the main body of the prophecy is exilic, and may be dated about 560–550 (see *The Problem of Suffering in the OT*, pp. 151–171). (The author of the commentary agrees with this position, except that he assigns more to the pre-exilic prophecy.) Hab. 3 is a post-exilic Ps.

To the close of the Exile we should assign the great prophecy of the anonymous poet to whom we owe Is. 40–55 (pp. 91f.). The circumstances which it presupposes are wholly different from those of Isaiah's own time. The Jews are in exile, Jerusalem and the Temple are in ruins; Babylon, not Assyria, is the great oppressing empire; but her downfall is near, and the restoration of God's people to Palestine is at hand, for Cyrus has already begun his career of conquest, and Babylon will soon fall before him. It was natural that the work of the Second Isaiah should, in the earlier critical period, be regarded as extending over the whole of the last twenty-seven chapters (40–66), though suggestions that these chapters were not a unity were occasionally heard. Even then, however, there was little justification for the phrase "two Isaiahs" as representing the real critical view. For there are some related sections in Is. 1–39 which spring out of the same situation (13₁–14₂₃ and 21₁₀), and there were other sections (24–27 and 34f.) which were obviously much later than Isaiah's time. More recent criticism has detected a much larger body of non-Isaianic matter, though in the present writer's judgment it has tended to extreme views both with reference to the proportion of non-Isaianic matter in Is. 1–39 and the extensive interpolation it discovers in genuine Isaianic oracles. It must of course be recognised that, once the presence of a large non-Isaianic element in the book is conceded, the question of authorship and date of other sections ought not to be prejudiced in the traditional direction by their inclusion in a book which bears Isaiah's name. So far as 40–66 is concerned, Duhm's verdict that the work of the Second Isaiah does not extend beyond 55 has been very widely accepted. Opinion is more divided on two other questions. Duhm holds that the four so-called Servant of Yahweh Poems (Is. 40₁–4, 49₁–6, 50₄–9, 52₁₃–53₁₂) were written a good while later than the rest of 40–55. This view is also taken by several other scholars. To some extent it is complicated with questions as to the significance attached to the Servant. Those who hold that the Servant of Yahweh in the poems is an individual, naturally tend to regard the poems as not by the Second Isaiah, who uses the term "Servant" in a national and not an individual sense. Those who regard the Servant as meaning the same thing throughout, sometimes assert identity and sometimes difference of authorship. The present writer believes that the Servant stands throughout for the actual nation of Israel; but the nation is sometimes depicted as it actually was, sometimes as looked at from the ideal point of view in the light of its mission and function. He is less confident as to the authorship of the poems, but on the whole considers it probable that they were written by the Second Isaiah, and inserted by him in their present position. The other point about which there is still debate touches Is. 56–66. Duhm assigns the whole section, apart from interpolations, to a single author whom he calls the Trito-Isaiah. It is questionable, however, whether all can be attributed to the same hand. For the most part it apparently belongs to much the same period, the middle of the fifth century. But it is not easy to believe that the same writer worked on such different levels of literary excellence, and more probably we have to do with a plurality of authors. To the exilic period, and not to the first century B.C., as the author of the commentary in this volume supposes, the greater part of the Book of Lamentations probably belongs. Lam. 2, 4 appear to be early exilic, Lam. 1 and 5 late exilic, Lam. 3 post-exilic. None of it seems to be the work of Jeremiah himself. To the Exile we should also assign the review of Israel's history, in the light of prophetic theology which we find in the Song of Moses (Dt. 32).

According to the generally accepted chronology, the return of Jews from Babylon to Jerusalem took place by permission of Cyrus in 536. Sixteen years later, two prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, began their work. Of the former nothing need be said. He did a useful work, but pedestrian and commonplace in style, he ranks low in the scale of literary merit. The latter is the author of Zech. 1–8 the remaining chapters (9–14) being probably much later. Zechariah is interesting as exhibiting some of the apocalyptic features which characterise Ezekiel—enigmatic emblems, visions, angelic intermediaries, the anticipation of God's decisive intervention to effect Israel's deliverance. Malachi and Is. 56–66 (probably with the exception of 63₇–64₁₂) may be dated about the middle of the fifth century. The latter contains some very fine passages, notably 60–62 and the powerful though morally repulsive description of Yahweh's destruction of Edom in 63₁–6.

Meanwhile a more momentous work had been achieved by the author, or authors, of the Priestly Code, which is probably somewhat less extensive than the portion of the Pentateuch included under the symbol P. We have no precise knowledge as to its origin. Earlier collections of ritual laws had been made, such as the so-called Law of Holiness (pp. 129f.), which was subsequently incorporated in P. P was probably compiled after the return in 536, but some time before the mission of Ezra in 458. If closer dating is to be hazarded, 500–475 is as likely a period as any. It is a very singular document; some of its more exaggerated peculiarities may belong to its later sections, but if so they are only exaggerations of characteristic features. The words and phrases which occur with marked frequency form a long list, and a strange cast is given to the style by the frequency of peculiar formulæ of enumeration. Stereotyped formulæ are constantly repeated, statement after statement is cast in precisely the same mould. Genealogies are prominent, whole centuries being filled with nothing but names and dates. Minute dating, statistics, specifications for building have a fascination for the writer, but for the human element in the story he has little care. He expands into detail only when an institution or law, or something in which his point of view gives him a special interest, is connected with the story. He has no interest in stories for their own sake, he cares simply for the moral they point or the regulation whose origin they recount. J and E, on the contrary, take a frank interest in the human side of their stories, and care much less for the things which engross the mind of the priestly writer, whose instincts are those of an ecclesiastical lawyer. It was this law, which largely codified the earlier ritual practices, sometimes of immemorial antiquity, but which also contained new and far-reaching provisions, that was the basis of Ezra's reformation. Whether the Law read to the people on that occasion was the whole Pentateuch or merely the Priestly document is still disputed. But, even if it was only the latter, not many years can have elapsed before the documents were combined, and the Pentateuch, much as we have it, came into existence. (See further pp. 125f., 129–131.)

With the Reformation Judaism was born. The religion in its new development was stamped with an exclusiveness which did not pass unchallenged. To the literature of protest we should probably reckon the exquisite story of Ruth (p. 22) and the wonderful Book of Jonah. The former quotes against the harsh dissolution of marriages with foreign wives the case of Ruth, who, Moabitess though she was, displayed a filial piety of the most beautiful type, took Naomi's God, country, and people for her own, and won the admiration and love of Boaz, whose marriage with her was so blest by God that from it David and the royal house of Judah sprang. The latter is a parable in which Jonah stands for Israel. The author recalls his people to the mission assigned them by the Second Isaiah of carrying to the heathen the knowledge of the true God, pleads with them to abandon their impatient longing for the destruction of the Gentile world, affirms the readiness of heathenism to accept the truth, sets forth the boundless love and compassion of God. The story is told with remarkable skill, not a word is wasted, every phrase tells. It is a perfect example of the short story, and its art is nowhere more conspicuous than in its close (p. 558). The Book of Obadiah offers an unpleasant contrast.

On the Poetical and Wisdom Literature, which was in the main a product of the post-exilic period, reference may be made to what is said in the article devoted to it (pp. 341f.).

A few words may be added on the prophetic literature between Ezra and the Maccabees. We see in this period a still fuller development of the process by which prophecy was transformed into apocalyptic. Joel, Is. 24–27, 34f., Zech. 9–14, all in varying measure exhibit this feature. Joel is still commonly regarded as a unity, though recently various scholars have revived the attempts to analyse it. Is. 24–27 is one of the most striking examples of the later prophecy. It has a whole series of apocalyptic features, but, as Duhm has shown, it is by no means a unity. The worthiest occasion is the tremendous convulsion occasioned by the movement of Alexander the Great against Persia.

The Book of Daniel is our sole example in the OT of an apocalypse in the full sense of the term, corresponding to the Book of Revelation in the NT. The date of an apocalypse can often be fixed by observing the point at which history, masquerading as prediction, passes over into real prediction. The author, as a rule, publishes his work under the name of a much more ancient author. Accordingly the interval between the alleged and the actual time of production is past to the real, but future to the alleged, author. The author, while writing the history of this interval, has therefore to give it out as prediction. The prediction grows fuller and more precise as his own time is approached. But inasmuch as it has to be carried forward to the crisis, which lies in the real and not the pretended future, at the point of transition the language, hitherto so exact, becomes vague and the forecast mistaken. By this consideration the Book of Daniel may be fixed within the period 168–165 B.C. It is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. Perhaps the whole book was written in Aramaic originally, but the beginning and the end of it were translated into Hebrew to fit the book for inclusion in the OT Canon.

One notable feature in connexion with the prophetic literature remains to be mentioned. The writings of most of the earlier prophets have been expanded by later editors. Sometimes prophecies of disaster have been rounded off with happy endings, sometimes adjusted to new conditions, often annotated with glosses. Prophecies which circulated without a name have by accident or design been incorporated with the work of other authors.

Just as the publication of D led to a revision of the older historical narratives, so it was felt to be necessary to rewrite the sacred history on the theory that the completed Law was in operation, and to bring down the story to the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. This work was accomplished by the author to whom we owe Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. For the history of the kingdom he may have used an earlier revision of the older historical books made from a point of view similar to his own. The date of the chronicler's work was perhaps about 300 B.C. The main features of the revision are as follows. No attempt is made to relate the history in detail down to the time of David, the period is covered simply with genealogies. In other words, he shows no desire to supersede the canonical records of the earlier history that we find in the Hex., Jg., and 1 S. He omits the unedifying incidents in the reigns of David and Solomon, except the census taken by David, which he attributes to the impulse of Satan rather than of Yahweh. The history of the Northern Kingdom is practically ignored except where

the story of the Southern Kingdom made reference to it necessary, since he evidently regarded its revolt against the Davidic monarchy as cutting it off from the true Israel. Great interest is exhibited in the Temple, and especially in the musical services. The author was probably a Levite who belonged to the Temple choir. He constantly exhibits the working of a mechanical law of retribution, and in this interest frequently modifies the older narrative. He also exhibits a fondness for systematically high numbers. Chronicles has preserved some fragments of historical information which would otherwise have perished, but in the main its historical value is small. The latter portion of the Chronicler's work is of special value because it gives us the only information on the period which we have in the OT, but especially for the large extracts it has embodied from the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah and from State documents. The curious fact that in the Heb. Bible Chronicles follows Ezra and Nehemiah, and is thus the last book in the OT, is no doubt due to the fact that it attained canonical rank later. Ezra and Nehemiah were needed to complete the story, whereas the period covered by Chronicles was already represented by the older historical literature. (See pp. 75–77.)

Finally we have the Book of Esther (p. 22). This was probably written in the later Maccabean period, when the success of the Jews had enhanced their pride, and the wrongs they had suffered had embittered their resentment against the Gentiles, while the nobler enthusiasm of the great days of Judas had died down, and the secular had replaced the high religious tone. The story is characterised by so many improbabilities and inconsistencies that it can hardly be regarded as in any sense historical. The LXX contains many passages which are not found in the Heb. According to the practically unanimous verdict of scholars, these are later additions. This view is in all probability right, though the author of the commentary in this volume considers the LXX to be more original.

Literature.—See the bibliography on Biblical Introduction in the "General Bibliographies."

THE NATIONS CONTEMPORARY WITH ISRAEL

By Professor C. L. BEDALE

The attempt to fulfil the promise of the title will involve the survey of a wide area. From Palestine as the centre, the survey will take us eastward into Iran and westward to the island of Crete, and even into Macedonia; northward we shall penetrate into Asia Minor, and southward into the great peninsula of Arabia. Many peoples will be met with, some of Semitic, others of Indo-European stock, while of others, again, the racial origins cannot yet be determined. The names of nearly all of them occur in the OT; and while the study of their histories, so far as the results of exploration have made it possible, is full of interest for its own sake, it has for the student of the OT an additional attraction, since it has gradually become apparent that Israel was greatly affected, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly, by the peoples in the midst of whom she lived. It is no longer possible to think of Israel as an isolated nation. The country which she conquered had undergone a long preparation, as it were, for her occupation of it. For many centuries before Israel entered Palestine, influences from surrounding countries had been at work there; and after the "Conquest" Palestine still remained subject to external influences, though their character and direction changed according to political changes in the Nearer East. It is necessary, therefore, in order to understand the history of Israel, to have some knowledge of the most important developments in the history of her neighbours, and of their relations both with her and with one another.

We begin our survey with *Arabia*. The shape of this country may be best described as an irregular parallelogram, the four sides of which are formed by (1) the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, (2) the Indian Ocean, (3) the Red Sea, and (4) the countries of Palestine and Syria. Apart from numerous oases and a few more considerable fertile areas, the largest of which forms the southernmost corner of the country, Arabia as a whole consists either of desert or of steppe land. Neither is suitable for agriculture, but the latter serves for pasture, and was occupied from time immemorial by nomad tribes. The race to which these tribes belong is called "Semitic," a convenient term, of modern origin, formed from the name of Noah's eldest son. They lived a free but hard life. The character of the country was such that they were engaged in a constant struggle to obtain food. There was no permanent settlement in any one spot. The tribes moved about at will from one pasture-ground to another, the only restriction on their movements being provided by the unwritten rule that each must keep within the limits of the tract of country which in course of time had come to be recognised as its own special district. If, however, a tribe felt strong enough to invade the district of a neighbouring tribe, this rule was readily set aside. Of government, in the modern sense of the term, there was little. Written law was unknown, and justice was administered in accordance with the standard provided by tribal custom, and was enforced by the will of the community. But if a man were sufficiently powerful to defy with impunity the common will, he would do so. Each tribe had its chief and its leading men, who owed their position to a reputation for warlike prowess, or to the possession of wealth, or to both of these. Their authority was greatest in times of war, when success depended on the loyalty of all to the leaders, or on occasions of migration, when the scattered clans of a tribe were united under the direction of trusted guides. The real basis of the tribal organisation was the idea of "kinship," according to which the common blood was supposed to flow in the veins of every member of the kindred group. There were no degrees of kinship, but all members of the group were "brothers." To kill a man was to shed the blood, and so to imperil the life, of the group to which he belonged; hence the law of blood-revenge: "At the hand of man, even at the hand of every man's brother, will I require the life of man" (Gen. 9$_5$). It was a crude method, and led to many tribal feuds, but not otherwise in those days could the kindred group be maintained.

It will be convenient to divide the following record into six periods, distinguishing each by the name of the people by which Palestine, the standpoint of the present survey, was chiefly influenced and controlled—the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Chaldæan, the Persian, and the Greek.

I. The Babylonian Period.—The country of *Babylonia* is an alluvial plain formed by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, between the lower courses of which it lies. Its present area is considerably greater than it was five thousand years ago, for the bed of the Euphrates then lay some distance to the east of its present one, and the head of the Persian Gulf was about 130 miles higher than it is to-day. The fertility of the country depended mainly on the management of the vast volumes of water which, owing to the melting of the snows in the northern mountains, flowed in spring down the Tigris and Euphrates. If uncontrolled, the rivers overflowed their banks far and wide; and afterwards, when the level of the water had fallen, the blazing summer sun dried up the flooded land. If left to itself, then, the country had to endurealternations of flood and drought. Very early, however, the inhabitants devised the canal system, thereby drawing off the superfluous waters of the rivers when they were in flood, and providing for the irrigation of the land during the period of fierce summer heat. Under these conditions its fertility was amazing: of wheat, for instance.

two and even three crops, yielding often more than two hundredfold, were obtained annually.

At an early date a distinction arose between the northern and southern halves of the country, which came to be known as Akkad and Sumer respectively. There was also a racial difference between the inhabitants of the two divisions. In the south there lived a people called by historians *Sumerians*. Their physical characteristics, as portrayed on their monuments, show that they were racially distinct from the Semites; and their inscriptions are written in a non-Semitic language of the agglutinative type. They probably came into Babylonia from the east. In the north, in addition to the Sumerians, there was a considerable and constantly increasing Semitic element, derived from Arabia. It is, as yet, uncertain which race entered the country first, but there is no doubt that the foundations of Babylonian civilisation were laid by the Sumerians. One by one the different branches of that civilisation have been found to have a Sumerian origin; and the Sumerians were responsible for the introduction—and probably, also, the invention—of the "cuneiform script," the use of which was at one time so widespread in the Near East. Like the Egyptian hieroglyphics, this script had its origin in a system of picture writing, in which the thing or idea to be represented was drawn in rough outline on stone or other hard material. When the Sumerians entered Babylonia they found that, owing to the alluvial character of the country, such materials were not obtainable. There was, however, an abundance of fine clay, and this they formed into blocks of different sizes and shapes, making the necessary impressions on them by means of a stylus. The change of material caused a change in the forms of the signs, for in rapid writing on soft clay the marks made by the stylus were thicker and deeper at one end than at the other. Hence the straight lines which had originally formed the outlines of the pictures became "cuneiform" or "wedge-shaped." Of the signs which thus developed out of the old pictures, together with others of artificial formation, some represented complete ideas, others had one or more syllabic values, while very many of them served both purposes, but none represented single consonants. Thus there grew up an elaborate and complicated system of writing.

For several centuries after the date—shortly before 3000—at which our historical knowledge of Babylonia begins, the controlling influence, although its centre shifted from city to city, was in the hands of the Sumerians. In time, however, as the Semites received reinforcements from Arabia, a grim race-struggle developed, in which Semite and Sumerian were engaged in a contest for supremacy. The struggle was a long one, but towards the close of the third millennium B.C. a fresh influx of Semites into N. Babylonia definitely placed the Sumerians in a position of inferiority. The newcomers, known to the Babylonians as "Amurru" (OT "Amorites"), settled in various northern cities, but their chief centre was Babylon, whose importance rapidly developed until she became the capital of the whole of Babylonia. Now, too, was established by Sumu-abu (*c.* 2050) the famous Ist Dynasty of Babylon, the sixth member of which was Khammurabi, who is generally identified with the Amraphel of Gen. 14*. Khammurabi was Babylonia's greatest king. He was not only a very successful soldier, but attended to the internal organisation of his kingdom, and his letters show how careful he was for even the smallest details of administration. His chief claim to fame rests on his legal code. This was the result of a sifting and systematisation of laws, many of which were of Sumerian origin, and had long been in force in different parts of the land. The code is remarkably comprehensive, and contains regulations for the control and protection of all classes of the community, even including the slave. It is noteworthy that many of its regulations have parallels in the Pentateuchal legislation, which suggest that the latter was influenced, directly or indirectly, by the Babylonian code (Ex. 21I*). Khammurabi calls himself in an inscription "King of the West Land," from which it would appear that Syria and Palestine were within the Babylonian sphere of influence. It is impossible, as yet, to determine to what extent, and for how long, these regions were under the political supremacy of Babylonia, but there is no doubt that their civilisation owed much to the influence which she brought to bear, partly by means of her armies, and partly by means of merchants and others for whom the armies prepared the way. Thus the inhabitants of the "West Land" learned from the soldier how to fortify their cities more strongly; through the merchant they obtained Babylonian wares (*cf.* Jos. 7 21); while the scribe introduced the Babylonian language and script, which, from the discovery of numerous cuneiform tablets at Taanach and elsewhere, seem to have been regularly employed in Palestine, at least in official correspondence. Nor is this surprising when we know, from the Hittite archives of Boghaz-Keui (p. 53) and from the Tell el-Amarna letters (p. 55), how widespread the use of the cuneiform script became. Babylonian religious ideas, also, came westward through the medium of myths, some fragments of which have actually been found among the Amarna tablets. This last fact is important, for it suggests an explanation of the remarkable resemblance between certain of the early narratives of Genesis and the stories dealing with similar subjects (*e.g.* Creation and Deluge) which have been found in Babylonia. We may suppose that these stories had long been known to the Canaanites, and that the Hebrews, after their entry into Palestine, gradually adopted them, as they adopted many other elements of the Canaanitish civilisation. We must be careful, however, not to exaggerate the indebtedness of the Hebrews to Babylonia. This has been done by some, who have declared that Israel's religion, like her material culture, was borrowed, and, because there are many resemblances between the religious beliefs and practices of Babylonia and Israel, have assumed that Babylonia was its source. This assumption neglects many important differences between the religious ideas of the two peoples. It is true that the two sets of Creation and Deluge narratives agree in their general outlines, and that they reflect the same primitive scientific ideas; but it does not require a very careful reading to show that in spirit and in conception of the divine they are widely separated. Like the Hebrews, too, the Babylonians had their hymns, prayers, and penitential psalms, in which expression was given to ethical and religious conceptions so lofty that many of them would not be out of place even in the pages of the OT. Yet it is equally true that these compositions of Babylonian priests and poets are always polytheistic in tone, and imply beliefs in the power of demons and the efficacy of magic, which the most inspired teachers of Israel sternly condemn as unworthy of Yahweh and of His worshippers. Nor is there any evidence that the Babylonian priests ever grasped the great principle of "ethical monotheism," which is the very foundation of the teaching of Israel's historians, psalmists, and prophets, and the

acceptance of which enabled them to produce a religious literature unrivalled by that of any other people.

During the reigns of the later kings of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon there are signs of growing weakness. At last, in the reign of Samsu-ditana, the eleventh king of the line, an invasion of Hittites from Asia Minor resulted in the capture and sack of Babylon (*c.* 1754 B.C.). The Hittites soon retired, but their retirement did not mean freedom for Babylonia. For some time before the Hittite invasion, raiding bands of Kassites, who were Indo-Europeans by race, had been coming from the mountains east of the Tigris. At first they were held in check, but on the fall of Babylon they entered the country in greater numbers, and established themselves at Babylon (*c.* 1750). Thus began the Kassite Dynasty, which lasted for 576 years.

While the advent of the Kassites must at first have caused some disturbance, it does not appear to have brought about any considerable alteration in the internal condition of Babylonia. They gradually adopted the Babylonian culture, which was so much higher than their own; and the records of the period, which are, unfortunately, very scanty, indicate that while, on the whole, the Kassite kings were capable administrators, no one of them has to his credit any great achievement. But while the days of Babylonia's greatest power had gone by, she was still a strong kingdom, and, as is shown by specimens of the diplomatic correspondence of the Egyptian and Babylonian courts, which have been preserved in the Amarna Collection, she still had a share in the conduct of international affairs. In Palestine, however, her influence gradually declined, and her place there was taken by Egypt, to which country we must now turn our attention.

II. The Egyptian Period.—The country of *Egypt* occupies the NE. corner of Africa. Its native name was "Kîmet"—*i.e.* "The Black (Country)"—in allusion to the colour of the soil. The name "Egypt" comes from the Greek, and is of obscure origin. The shape of the country has been aptly likened to a fan, the handle being formed by the valley of the Nile, S. of Memphis, and the fan itself by the Nile Delta. It is a small country, for if the deserts on the E. and W. be left out of the calculation, its area is not much more than 13,000 square miles. Its most important physical feature is the river Nile. Not only did it constitute the chief highway for traffic, but its annual overflow, caused by the melting of snows and by the heavy spring rains, left a deposit of rich mud as the floods dried up. The more extensive the inundation, the greater the fertilisation. The Egyptians also assisted Nature as much as possible by a system of canals, dykes, and pumps; and agriculture, which normally afforded good returns, became the main occupation of the people. In the population of the country there were several distinct elements. The early inhabitants of Upper (*i.e.* South) Egypt, whose remains can be traced back to Neolithic times, seem to have entered the Nile Valley from the S. or SE., and to be connected racially with the Ethiopians. In Lower Egypt there appears to have been a mingling of two races. On the one hand, there were people of Semitic type, who came from Arabia and contributed the Semitic elements so noticeable in the Egyptian religion and language; on the other hand, there was an element of "Mediterranean" type, related to the ancient Cretans, which played an ever-increasing part in the development of Egyptian civilisation. These three elements were gradually welded together to form the Egyptian people.

It will be impossible to make more than passing allusions to Egyptian civilisation, but a few words may be said here about the script. Originally Egyptian writing was pictographic. Each sign stood for a complete word. In course of time certain signs, representing different sounds, came to be used in various combinations as syllables; and finally, signs denoting single consonants were employed. In all there were between six and seven hundred signs, but very many of them were not in regular use. In addition to the three classes of signs there were three types of script: the "hieroglyphic," which was always used for monumental inscriptions and never lost its pictorial character; the "hieratic," made up of such abbreviations of the hieroglyphic as were convenient for writing on papyrus; and the "demotic," or popular, in which the signs were still further abbreviated for ordinary use.

Corresponding to the difference of races, Egypt was for a long time divided into two kingdoms, the one in the north and the other in the south. For centuries these two kingdoms existed side by side; and it would seem that at first, owing, probably, to the presence of the "Mediterranean" element in the population, the superiority in civilisation lay with the northern kingdom. Gradually, however, the strength of the south grew until it was able to conquer the north. A united kingdom was formed, and the first of the thirty-one dynasties, into which the rulers of Egypt are divided, was established. The date of this event is uncertain: it cannot be placed much later than *c.* 3500 B.C., and it may be earlier.

The history of the centuries which elapsed between this date and the Hyksos invasion cannot be written here. We must pass over the period of the "Old Kingdom," comprising Dynasties I–VI (*c.* 3500 to *c.* 2500), pausing only to remind the reader that this was the age of the builders of the Pyramids—the royal tombs which command universal admiration, not merely for their size, but also for the proofs which their design and construction afford of the skill and accurate scientific knowledge of their builders. Nor can we stay to describe the "Middle Kingdom," which began, after several centuries of great unsettlement, when civil war was common and culture degenerated, with the rise of the XIth Dynasty, and during which, especially under the XIIth Dynasty (established *c.* 2000), Egypt was so prosperous that the era was often regarded in after days as a "golden age." Again, however, as at the close of the "Old Kingdom," a period of decline set in; the kings of the XIIIth and XIVth Dynasties are little more than names to us; and the confusion and obscurity of the time are increased by the sudden invasion of Egypt from the east by the "Hyksos," or "Shepherd Kings." These invaders established themselves in the Delta. There has been much speculation as to their race. It is probable that they were, in the main, Semites, with a considerable admixture of other racial elements. The date of the invasion is also doubtful, but it cannot have been much later than 1800.

At this point we must turn aside from our survey of the history of Egypt to give a brief account of the origins of a number of other peoples who had already made their appearance in the Near East, and who were destined to play parts of greater or less importance in the immediate or more remote future.

To the north of Babylonia lies the country of *Assyria*—so called from Asshur, the earliest Assyrian

centre and capital. The boundaries of the country were formed on the E. and N. by the mountains of Kurdistan and Armenia; on the S. and W. they cannot be strictly defined. The character of the country is entirely different from that of Babylonia. On the E. of the Tigris are numerous ranges of hills with well-watered valleys between; on the W. the supply of water is much poorer. This explains the fact that all the important cities of Assyria, with the exception of Asshur, were situated on the E. of the Tigris. As a whole, the fertility of Assyria was far below that of Babylonia.

The predominant element in the population was Semitic, and we may suppose that Assyria shared with Babylonia in the migration of Semites from Arabia which took place in the fourth millennium B.C. The Assyrian Semites, reinforced, no doubt, from time to time, by fresh arrivals of their kinsfolk from Arabia and Babylonia, gradually mingled with and absorbed the earlier population. The nation which resulted from the combination of these two elements, while speaking the same language as the Babylonians—with, of course, variations of dialect—yet differed from them in many respects. They were essentially a military people. By war they lived, and their military activities left them no time for the development of an independent culture. In architecture and sculpture they showed originality, but their religion and literature, together with other elements of culture, they borrowed from Babylonia. Their chief centre in earliest times was Asshur, originally a city-state which gradually extended its influence until it became the capital of the country. It is not unlikely that the various cities at first formed a confederacy, with Asshur at its head. Our knowledge of Assyrian history does not begin till towards the close of the third millennium B.C., when we hear of the priest-kings, Ushpia and Kikia, strengthening Asshur's defences, and building the Temple of Ashir, its god. According to tradition, the actual founder of the kingdom of Assyria was Belbani, a somewhat later ruler. Towards the end of the third millennium the Assyrian king, Ilu-shuma, came into conflict with Sumu-abu, the founder of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon. Whether Ilu-shuma's resistance was successful or not we cannot say. Probably Assyria was weakened, for we find her tributary to Babylon in the reign of Khammurabi (*c.* 1950). The fall of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon, however, made Assyria, at least for a time, independent.

In N. Mesopotamia, between the upper waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates, lay the country of *Mitanni*. As in the case of its more famous neighbours, its origins are unknown, and it does not come into the light of history until about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., when there reigned the first of a number of kings whose names have been preserved in the tablets of Boghaz-keui and Tell el-Amarna. There is little doubt that these royal names are of Aryan type, and some of the Mitannian gods were Aryan. It is not unlikely that these kings were the heads of an Aryan aristocracy which had established itself in Mitanni in the same way, and about the same time, as the Kassites, to whom they were probably akin, gained control of Babylonia. The bulk of the population may well have been of the same stock as the earliest inhabitants of Assyria, with the addition, perhaps, of a small Semitic element.

It was stated above that the fall of the Ist Dynasty of Babylon was, in large measure, due to an invasion of *Hittites* (*c.* 1754). This is the first appearance of the Hittites in history. Their origin and racial connexions are obscure. From the presence of mountain deities in their pantheon, and from certain characteristics of their dress, it has been inferred that their early home was in the mountains; but whether they were indigenous to Asia Minor, as some suppose, or whether they migrated thither from the east, cannot at present be determined. Their physical characteristics have long been familiar from their own and from Egyptian monuments; but in spite of numerous references to them in the OT, their history was almost a blank until the late Dr. Winckler discovered the royal archives at Boghaz-keui. From these it has been possible to reconstruct their history for a period of some two hundred years, during which they attained to the height of their power. The founder of the empire, and its greatest king, was Shubbiluliuma, who, about the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C., united a number of independent Hittite states under his rule. His capital, Khatti (Boghaz-keui) was situated E. of the Halys, in the Anatolian plateau. In civilisation the Hittites reached a high level. They owed much to Babylonia, though they were more than mere slavish imitators. Quite early they adopted the cuneiform script, and the Boghaz-keui archives are all written in cuneiform, the language employed being sometimes Hittite and sometimes Babylonian. Their own system of writing was pictographic, and they always used it for inscriptions on their monuments.

Another important country was that known to the Babylonians as *Amurru*. It is often mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions, and we have already seen that immigrants into Babylonia from Amurru founded the Ist Dynasty of Babylon (*c.* 2050). In the OT the name appears frequently in the form "Amorite," and to the Egyptians the district was known as the "Land of Amor." The Amorites were of Semitic stock, and it is probable that they formed one section—the Canaanites of Palestine being another—of a great migration of Semites from Arabia, which seems to have taken place about 2500. While the Canaanites settled in Palestine, the Amorites occupied the region to the N. of Palestine and to the E. of Lebanon. Here they established a number of independent states. We gather from the OT that branches of them also settled on the plateaux to the E., and in the hill country to the W., of Jordan. For a time Amurru became subject to Egypt, but afterwards went over to the side of the growing Hittite kingdom. Later still the country was occupied by the Aramæans, or Syrians.

To the W. of Amurru, along the narrow strip of land between Lebanon and the Mediterranean, the *Phœnicians* were situated. They were of Semitic stock, and of all the Semitic dialects theirs was the most closely related to the Hebrew. According to tradition, their original home was on the N. shore of the Persian Gulf. When they entered their new country is as yet unknown. They were certainly there *c.* 2000, and it is possible that they were the descendants of invaders who formed one of the earliest waves of the migration to which the Canaanites and Amorites belonged. If so, we must date the beginning of the nation about 2500. The chief centres of Phœnician life were a number of cities situated on the coast. Of these, Arvad was the oldest, but Tyre and Sidon early became the most important, now one, now the other, occupying the premier position. Most, if not all, of the cities formed small, independent kingdoms with a limited monarchy. The culture of the Phœnicians was largely borrowed. They had little originality, but were able to adapt and develop the inventions of

others. For certain of their productions, such as purple dye and metal working, they were very famous; but their reputation rests chiefly upon the commerce which brought them into relations with the nations on all sides, and by means of which they amassed vast wealth. They were noted, too, for their shipbuilding, and in navigation they were unsurpassed. They have often been credited with the invention of the alphabet, but this is unlikely. It is more probable that the alphabet originated in Crete, where the remains of a highly developed civilisation have been discovered (p. 56). We know that, after the Cretan power was broken, *c.* 1400, a people of Cretan origin settled in S. Phœnicia. They probably brought the alphabet with them, and the Phœnicians, having adopted it themselves, through their far-extended commerce passed it on to others. It is not surprising that a nation which was so greatly devoted to commercial pursuits should have shown comparatively little liking for war; and we find that they were generally ready to pay tribute in return for the privilege of carrying on their commerce undisturbed. If necessary, however, they could offer an obstinate resistance to their foes, and Tyre especially has to her credit the endurance of several long and stubborn sieges.

To return to Egypt: we saw above (p. 52) that the Hyksos established themselves, perhaps about 1800, in the eastern portion of the Delta, where they gradually extended their control over the whole of Egypt. The rule of the foreigners was hateful to the Egyptians, who did their best in after days to obliterate all traces of it. They succeeded so well that the period is the most obscure in Egyptian history. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, however, the strength of the Egyptians began to revive. The south was first delivered from Hyksos control, and then Aahmes, the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty (*c.* 1580), drove the foreigners from the country, and Egypt was united once more under a native king.

With the departure of the Hyksos a new spirit manifested itself in Egypt, and the period of the "First Empire" began. In the south the valuable province of Nubia was recovered by Amenophis I and Thothmes I, the second and third kings of the dynasty; and later kings both increased its extent and improved its organisation. Even more important were the results of a series of campaigns in Palestine and Syria. The Hyksos invasion, though it contributed nothing to Egyptian culture, had at least broken down for ever the barriers which separated Egypt from western Asia. Hitherto, apart from occasional military expeditions into Palestine, the intercourse between Egypt and other countries of the Near East had been of a commercial character. Now, however, circumstances combined to encourage the Egyptian kings to adopt a policy of aggression. On the one hand, the expulsion of the Hyksos had put fresh energy into the nation, a strong army had been created, and the use of the chariot had been learnt; while, on the other hand, as we saw above, the comparative weakness of Babylonia under the Kassites brought about a diminution of her influence in the west.

The first step towards the conquest of Palestine and Syria was taken by Thothmes I (*c.* 1539–1514), who made a successful raiding expedition as far as the Euphrates. These districts, however, though so easily overrun, were not yet conquered. Nor did the Egyptians immediately follow up their initial success, and it was not until the twenty-second year of Thothmes III (*c.* 1501–1447) that the Syrian campaigns were renewed. Meanwhile a strong confederacy of Syrian states had been formed, with the Prince of Kadesh, on the Orontes, at its head. Against this confederacy Thothmes III set out in 1479, advancing without difficulty until he came to where the Syrians were gathered, with their headquarters at Megiddo (pp. 29f.). Here a fierce battle took place, in which the Egyptians were victorious. Megiddo itself soon fell, and pushing into Phœnicia, Thothmes captured a number of other towns. The Egyptian mastery of Syria was, however, not complete as long as the northern part of the country was unsubdued. Thothmes, therefore, gradually prepared the way by a series of annual campaigns against Phœnicia, and then, marching rapidly north-eastward, he pursued a victorious course as far as Carchemish on the Euphrates, where a decisive defeat was inflicted on his enemies. The conquest of Syria was completed in a subsequent campaign by the subjugation of Kadesh, and Thothmes' authority over the regions W. of the Euphrates was generally recognised.

Thothmes paid great attention to the organisation of his newly-won province. From his Annals and from the Amarna letters we learn what methods he adopted. Very wisely he allowed the different states to be ruled by native princes; but, in order to secure a pro-Egyptian attitude, he took their sons to Egypt, where they both served as hostages for the good behaviour of their fathers, and were gradually filled with Egyptian ideals. But the native princes were not left entirely alone, even when they had been Egyptianised. Up and down the country were located bodies of Egyptian troops who were ready to put down any insurrection before it attained more than local influence. Moreover, the princes were kept under constant surveillance by Egyptian officials, whose business it was to see to the regular transmission of tribute, and to exercise any necessary oversight of the native governments. The empire which Thothmes III had won was retained by his successors—Amenhetep II (*c.* 1447–1421), who even crossed the Euphrates and secured the king of Mitanni as a subject-ally; Thothmes IV (*c.* 1421–1412); and Amenhetep III (*c.* 1412–1376). In the reign of the last-named, however, the power of Egypt began to decline, and her hold on Syria was relaxed. The cause of this decline is not far to seek. The growth of the empire had been accompanied by a great development of commerce, which, with the tribute drawn from the dependent states, brought much wealth into the country. With the growth of wealth there was a corresponding increase of luxury, and, in the period of almost unbroken peace which followed the reign of Thothmes III, seeds of decay were sowed which bore fruit in the days of Amenhetep IV, who came to the throne *c.* 1376. The reign of this king is made famous by a most astonishing religious reform and its consequences. The source of the reform was the king himself, who declared that all the gods worshipped by the Egyptians were non-existent, and that the only deity was the one who revealed himself through the "Aten," or sun-disc. Here we have monotheism of a very high order, for Amenhetep worshipped not the sun-disc itself, but the power behind it. The decree went forth that the worship of the "Aten" was now to be the "established" worship of the country. The king changed his name to Akhenaten, which means "the glorious sun-disc," and built a new capital, called Akhetaten, to be the centre of the promulgation of the new faith. The site of the new city is now occupied by the village of Tell el-Amarna. The consequences of this reform were felt throughout the empire. In Egypt itself it was

received with widespread indignation. Not only the priests of the old religion, but all other classes of society, regarded the change with hatred and alarm, and the loyalty of the people was strained to a degree which, during the latter part of the reign, reached breaking-point. Moreover, there was great unsettlement in Syria and Palestine, where forces had been gradually developing which threatened to involve Egypt in the loss of the province which Thothmes III had striven so hard to win. Egypt needed above all things a ruler of great energy and ability; but Amenhetep was so completely absorbed in his new religion that he had no time to give to the administration of his empire.

The chief cause of the trouble in Syria was the growth of the Hittite power under Shubbiluliuma. Circumstances here were favourable to an energetic leader. On the E. of the Euphrates was Mitanni, now a subjectally of Egypt. To the W. of Lebanon were the Phœnicians: they also were loyal to Egypt, for to be so was to their commercial interest. Between these two peoples were the Amorites, subject, at present, to Egypt, but ever ready to revolt should the opportunity offer. As long as Egypt was strong it was possible to keep the unruly elements in subjection; but when, during the latter part of Amenhetep III's reign, Egypt weakened, there was afforded to Shubbiluliuma a splendid opportunity of stirring up dissension and profiting thereby. Shubbiluliuma set about the realisation of his ambitions very craftily. He impelled the Amorites, under their leader Abdashirta, to attack the Phœnician states, and as the latter, in spite of their frenzied appeals, some of which have survived in the Amarna letters, received insufficient support from Egypt, they were forced, one by one, to renounce their allegiance to the Pharaoh. Meanwhile, Shubbiluliuma was at liberty to carry out his plans behind the screen which the Amorites afforded. Crossing the Euphrates, he plundered the northern portion of Mitanni, and then retired into N. Syria, where he subdued a number of states. This much he accomplished during the reign of Amenhetep III. In the meantime the Amorites had been preparing the way for him further south. Their leader was now Aziru, the son of Abdashirta. He had been very successful in his attacks on Phœnicia, and became for a time the ruler of an Amorite kingdom which, though nominally subject to Egypt, was practically independent. Shubbiluliuma now attacked and defeated Aziru, and thus gained control of the greater part of Syria and Phœnicia. Finally, he subdued Mitanni, which had been still further weakened by internal dissensions and by an Assyrian invasion. He also gained control of a large part of Asia Minor, and possibly campaigned as far westward as the Ægean. As yet, however, we have no detailed knowledge of his achievements in this direction. Shubbiluliuma was now the most powerful monarch in W. Asia. Assyria and Babylonia were independent, but they stood in awe of the great conqueror, and treated him with respect. Egypt had fallen into a condition of weakness. Not only had she lost Syria and Phœnicia, but Palestine had been invaded by Aramæan tribes, with whom certain of the Canaanite princes made common cause, though for some time, in spite of the anxious warnings of Abd-khiba, the governor of Jerusalem, they succeeded in deceiving Amenhetep IV with assurances of loyalty. When the Egyptian court at last awoke to a recognition of the true state of affairs and sent help, it was too late, and Palestine also was lost. Thus Egypt was deprived of the whole of the valuable province which Thothmes III had won and organised at so great a cost.

Much of our knowledge of the period covered by the reigns of Amenhetep III and IV is derived from the tablets of Boghaz-keui and of Tell el-Amarna. The latter, nearly three hundred in number, were discovered in A.D. 1887, and, like those from Boghaz-keui, are written in the Babylonian script and language. Some of them contain letters to the Pharaoh from the kings of neighbouring countries—Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni, Alashiya (Cyprus ?), and the Hittites; but most of them are reports or letters from native princes and Egyptian officials in Syria and Palestine.

Very interesting is the mention in some of these letters of certain Semitic tribes, who had invaded Palestine and caused great disturbance in the country. The name of one of the tribes or groups of tribes, Khabiri, is very similar to the name "Hebrew," and some authorities find in the allusions to them in these letters the counterpart of the Biblical account of the Hebrew invasion of Palestine. The question is, however, still under discussion (p. 34).

The invaders came from Arabia, like the Canaanites and Amorites before them, and formed part of what is generally known as the *Aramæan* migration, the beginning of which may be dated about the middle of the second millennium B.C. The tribes involved in this movement spread in different directions. Some of them settled on the borders of Assyria and Babylonia, where they often proved to be troublesome neighbours; while a large number of them gradually made their way into Syria, either absorbing or driving out their Amorite and Hittite predecessors, until the greater part of Syria was in their hands. They established a number of independent kingdoms, of which *Damascus* early became the wealthiest and most powerful. Like the Phœnicians, they developed into a great commercial people. The trade routes between the east and the west passed through their territory, and the Aramæan merchants, taking full advantage of their opportunity, accumulated great wealth. In the days of the Assyrian empire much of this wealth passed, in the form of tribute, into the treasuries of the Assyrian kings. Yet the Aramæans did not readily submit to the Assyrians. Unlike the Phœnicians, they were good soldiers, and resisted for a long time the attempts of a succession of Assyrian kings to subdue Syria. The kingdom of Israel found Damascus a very dangerous neighbour, and suffered many humiliations at her hands.

The reign of Amenhetep IV closed about 1362. He left Egypt in a chaotic condition, and stripped of much of her wealth; and to his successors there fell the task of attempting her restoration. Before any serious attempt could be made, however, to recover Palestine and Syria, it was necessary to set affairs at home in order. Little time was lost in abolishing Aten worship and restoring that of Amen; and under Horemheb, the last king of the dynasty, the reorganisation of the country was quickly carried out. No effort, however, was made to regain the lost provinces, and Shubbiluliuma actually secured a treaty confirming him in the possession of Syria.

On the death of Horemheb a new dynasty (the XIXth) began. With the second king, Seti I (*c.* 1320–1300), Egypt entered upon the task of establishing her "Second Empire," and there began a series of attempts to regain Palestine and Syria. Seti made a good beginning. Having recovered Palestine and a large part of Phœnicia in his first year, he marched in his fourth year into Syria, and defeated the Hittites

in the neighbourhood of Kadesh. Mursil, the son of Shubbiluliuma, was now king of the Hittites, and a treaty was made between him and Seti by which S. Syria was recognised as Egyptian territory. Thus Egypt regained a large, and that the most profitable, part of her lost provinces. Even more important was the restoration of her prestige. Seti's successor, Rameses II, resolved to try to break the power of the Hittites, who were still in possession of the greater part of the empire which Shubbiluliuma had won. Early in his reign, therefore, he invaded Syria, and the Hittites suffered a second defeat at Kadesh. The victory seems, however, to have been a costly affair for the Egyptians, for Rameses did not follow it up, nor did he gain from it any substantial political advantage. Mursil died, and his successor, Mutallu, was a vigorous king, who stirred up a revolt in Palestine so serious that Rameses had to reconquer the country. Rameses then pushed forward right into N. Syria, but without gaining any permanent results; and when Khattusil, Mursil's brother, came to the Hittite throne, Rameses readily agreed to the new king's overtures for peace (*c.* 1280). A treaty was drawn up, of which the hieroglyphic version has been preserved at Karnak and part of the cuneiform version among the tablets of Boghaz-keui. It is a long and carefully executed document, in which previous treaties are renewed, a defensive alliance concluded, and provision made for the extradition of fugitive subjects of either Power. The greater part of Syria remained under the control of the Hittites, while Egypt was confirmed in her possession of Phœnicia and Palestine. Owing, doubtless, to the exhaustion of the two empires, this treaty was followed by a long peace, and the peoples of Syria and Palestine enjoyed, for a period, freedom from the disturbance caused by the movements of the Egyptian and Hittite armies. Friendly relations were continued by Khattusil's successors, Dudkhalia and Arnuanta, the latter, who ascended the throne about 1225, being the last Hittite king whose name is known to us. Early in the next century the Hittite empire was broken up.

Rameses II died about 1234, and was succeeded by Meneptah. His reign was short and disturbed. On the west he had to meet an invasion of Libyans, who had already made an unsuccessful attack on Egypt in the reign of Rameses II, and were now making a second attempt to enter the Delta. This time they had the support of certain Mediterranean tribes, called by the Egyptians "Peoples of the Sea," about whom more will be said below; but they were again severely defeated and driven off. On the east he had to put down a rebellion in Palestine. The inscription which records the quelling of this rebellion is of special interest, because, among a number of Palestinian names, there appears the name "Ysiraal," which is usually identified with Israel. If the identification be accepted, it would seem that at least some of the Israelites were already in Palestine. We may also recall, in this connexion, the suggested identification of "Khabiri" and "Hebrews."

The death of Meneptah (*c.* 1225) was followed by a period of confusion which lasted till the time of Rameses III, the second king of the XXth Dynasty, who came to the throne about 1204. Rameses III reigned for about thirty-two years, and he effected a temporary restoration of the wealth of Egypt and a partial recovery of her power. During the earlier part of his reign he had to meet attacks from the west and from the north. The western attack was made in his fifth year by the Libyans and their allies, the Sea-peoples, but, as before, it was beaten back; the attack from the north was made some three years later. The invaders, who were again tribes of the Sea-peoples, advanced both by land—through Asia Minor and Syria—and by sea. In the course of their landward advance they helped to deal the final blow at the Hittite empire, which was already tottering, and did much damage in Syria. They seem to have marched as far as the border of Egypt. Rameses, however, defeated them both on sea and on land, and they retired northward.

These tribes formed part of a great movement of Mediterranean peoples which began about the end of the fifteenth century B.C. with the break-up of the power of *Crete*. This island was long the centre of a highly developed civilisation, the beginnings of which may be placed somewhere in the fourth millennium B.C. Unfortunately, the Cretan script, which, like those of Egypt and Babylonia, was of pictographic origin, has not yet been deciphered, and our knowledge of Cretan development is derived almost entirely from the remains of the different branches of their art which exploration has brought to light. While these remains teach us little about the political and religious history of Crete, they show that on the material side Cretan culture was equal, and in some respects superior, to that of Egypt or Mesopotamia. About 1400 Crete was invaded, her capital, Knossos, destroyed, and her power broken. This disaster was the chief cause of the disturbance of peoples which affected N. Africa, Asia Minor, and Syria.

The invasion which Rameses III repelled in his eighth year has a special interest for the student of the OT, because one of the tribes involved in it bore the name "Pulasati," which closely resembles the Hebrew "Pelishtim," or *Philistines*. It will be remembered that in Am. 9^7 the Philistines are said to have come from "Caphtor," which, if correctly identified with the Egyptian "Keftiu," probably denotes the island of Crete (*cf.* Jer. 47^4). In another group of passages (2 S. 8^{18}, 1 K. 1^{38}, &c.) mention is made of the bodyguard of Pelethites—a variant of Pelishtim—and Cherethites which was maintained by the early Hebrew kings; and with these passages should be compared others (Ezek. 25^{16}, Zeph. 2^5), in which the Cherethites are connected with Philistia. In 2 K. 11^{4,19}, again, we read of "Carites" (Carians) as forming part of the palace-guard. On further consideration it appears that all these names have connexions with lands to the W. of Palestine. The Carians occupied the SW. corner of Asia Minor; the Pelethites or Pelishtim were the descendants of the Pulasati, who, whatever their original home, came from Asia Minor into Syria; and the ancestors of the Cherethites came, in all probability, from Crete. We may assume, then, that the Philistines of the OT were a group of tribes, some of whom came from Asia Minor and others from Crete, and that the name of the leading tribe—the Pulasati—was in time employed to denote the whole group. They must have established themselves in the southern part of the maritime plain soon after the death of Rameses III (*c.* 1172), taking advantage of the weakness of the kings who succeeded him. In the choice of their new home they were doubly fortunate; for the fertility of Philistia is great, and, as the caravan routes between Egypt and the east passed through their territory, they had exceptional opportunities for commercial development.

Our knowledge of their culture is far from complete, but the old idea that they were barbarians has been dispelled for ever by the discovery of examples of their

workmanship on the sites of Gaza, Bethshemesh, and Gezer. From these it appears, indeed, that their artistic skill had to a certain extent degenerated during the period of their wanderings, but there is no doubt that the civilisation of Canaan benefited by their advent. It is not unlikely that the Philistines were the first to introduce iron into Palestine. If so, we may be sure that they would retain the monopoly of this valuable metal as long as possible (*cf.* 1 S. 13$^{19-23}$); and we can readily understand how, by employing it for their weapons, they were able to gain the mastery of their neighbours (pp. 257f.).

The latter part of Rameses III's reign was spent in peace, except for certain internal troubles; but the revival of Egypt's power during his reign was only temporary, and after his death, if not before, her hold on Palestine was entirely relaxed. The results of exploration show how great was the internal weakness of Egypt at this time. Many unhealthy influences had been introduced by the large number of foreigners who had entered the country; art and literature had deteriorated both in conception and in execution; and the power of the priests of Amen, whose wealth had been increasing ever since the time of Thothmes III, had become dangerously great. During the reigns of Rameses III's successors, who were weak kings, the priests became the real rulers of the country, and the authority of the kings of the XXIst Dynasty was limited to the Delta, with Tanis as their capital. Thus Egypt's " Second Empire " came to an end.

The influence of Egypt on Palestine, though far less than that of Babylonia, was considerable. It began long before the establishment of the empire in the sixteenth century, for the early Pharaohs encouraged commerce with foreign countries, and in their time many of the valuable products of Egypt must have been imported into Palestine. The worship of Egyptian deities, such as Amen, Osiris, Ptah, and Isis, was also introduced, especially into S. Palestine, where Egyptians seem to have settled as early as the time of the XIIth Dynasty (*c.* 2000). After Palestine became part of the empire, Egyptian influence must have become much greater, owing to the increase of diplomatic and commercial intercourse, and owing to the presence in the country of Egyptian governors and their suites. Thus Egypt contributed her share towards the preparation of Palestine for the advent of Israel. It is to be noted, however, that there is nothing of Egyptian origin in the OT corresponding to the Creation and Deluge stories, which, as we have seen, were probably derived from Babylonian sources.

III. The Assyrian Period.—Our knowledge of Assyrian history for some four centuries after the Kassite invasion of Babylonia is very scanty. At first, the only direction in which she could expand was northward: to the west and south the way of advance was barred by Mitanni and Babylonia. Eventually the power of Mitanni was broken by the Hittites; but Babylonia remained to the last a troublesome, and sometimes a dangerous, neighbour.

It was about the middle of the fourteenth century B.C. that Assyria entered on her career, the goal of which was the establishment of her supremacy over the greater part of Nearer Asia. In the prosecution of this object her armies campaigned in all directions, but there were two regions in particular over which the Assyrian kings strove to win, and to retain, supremacy. The one was Babylonia: she never forgot, nor allowed others to forget, her former greatness, the memory of which, together with the influence of her ancient civilisation and the religious authority of the priests of Babylon, counted for much in Assyria. The control of Babylonia, therefore, not only secured Assyria's southern frontier, but added greatly to the prestige of the kings who exercised it. The other region included Syria and Palestine: here were the wealthy Aramæan and Phœnician states, the two Hebrew kingdoms, and the important cities of Philistia, all of which the kings of Assyria found to be rich sources of tribute.

Four periods of expansion may be distinguished. With these there alternated an equal number of periods of weakness and shrinkage, from each of the first three of which Assyria revived to push her conquests further than ever before, while the fourth ended in her downfall.

The first period of expansion began *c.* 1350, and lasted for nearly a century. Several kings, notably Shalmaneser I (*c.* 1300–1275), taking advantage of Mitanni's overthrow, campaigned westward as far as the Euphrates, and brought the territory up to Carchemish within the Assyrian sphere of influence. Beyond the Euphrates, however, they did not go: the Hittites were, as yet, too strong. Babylonia, too, during the greater part of this period, was under Assyrian control; and, at last, Tukulti-Ninib I (*c.* 1275–1260) actually occupied the throne of Babylon, holding it till his death.

For about a century after Tukulti-Ninib's reign the history of Assyria is obscure. It was a time of great disturbance in the Nearer East. First there was the great movement of peoples which broke up the Hittite empire and brought the Philistines to Palestine; and a little later the Mushki (OT Meshech) came into Asia Minor from their home in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus. In the general unsettlement caused by these invasions Assyria lost her hold on W. and NW. Mesopotamia; Babylonia recovered her independence; and the authority of the kings of Asshur was confined within the natural limits of their kingdom.

We see the first clear signs of recovery in the reign of Ashur-resh-ishi (*c.* 1145–1120); and his son, Tiglath-pileser I (*c.* 1120–1100), one of Assyria's greatest kings, carried the revival to its highest point. He conquered N. Babylonia, drove the Mushki from Mesopotamia, and in his raiding and tribute-gathering expeditions penetrated westward across N. Syria to the Mediterranean, far into the mountainous regions on the north-west and north, and eastward to a point beyond the Lower Zab. He did not establish an " empire," but he made Assyrian influence felt beyond all previous limits. After Tiglath-pileser's death, however, Assyria again fell on evil days. Arabian tribes belonging to the " Aramæan migration " occupied much of her Mesopotamian territory, and also overran Babylonia.

We may note that the Hebrews now established their monarchy, and built up the kingdom of David (*c.* 1000–975) and Solomon (*c.* 975–937). Political conditions in W. Asia at this time were almost entirely favourable to their enterprise. Of their nearer neighbours, only the Philistines were really dangerous; Moab and Ammon were not strong enough to check their development, and the Aramæan states to the north were still occupied in securing their own positions. Moreover, on looking further afield, we see that there was no dominant power in the Nearer East at this time. The Hittite empire was broken for ever; and of the other three kingdoms—Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria—which at one time or another had gained the supremacy, none was at present strong enough to continue the raiding campaigns of former days.

Babylonia was not destined again to attain to the dignity of "empire" until the time of the "Chaldæan" dynasty (625–538); while Egypt, after a brief and partial revival in the latter part of the tenth century under Sheshenk I (OT Shishak, *c.* 947–925; *cf.* 1 K. 14$_{25}$*, p. 71), a successful Libyan soldier who established the XXIInd Dynasty, lapsed into inactivity till the second half of the eighth century B.C.

With Assyria, however, it was different. She had plenty of recuperative power, and shortly before 900 B.C. she entered upon her third period of expansion (*c.* 911–782), during which her armies campaigned further than ever before, especially westward, and she had to meet three new foes—the Chaldæans, the Medes, and Urartu. The kings of the period were Adad-nirari III (911–890), Tukulti-Ninib II (890–885), Ashur-natsir-pal III (885–860), Shalmaneser III (860–825), Shamshi-Adad VII (823–811), and Adad-nirari IV (811–782).

At the outset the two most serious barriers to Assyria's progress were Babylonia and the Aramæans of W. Mesopotamia. The resisting power of Babylonia had been increased by the advent of the *Chaldæans*. These people, like the Amorites, Aramæans, and others, were Semitic immigrants from Arabia, who had established themselves at the head of the Persian Gulf, and who from this time onwards were a constant source of annoyance to Assyria. Adad-nirari III made a good beginning against the southern kingdom by twice defeating her king; but it was not till the reign of Shalmaneser III that Assyria's suzerainty over Babylonia was definitely established (*c.* 852). The Aramæans were subdued by Tukulti-Ninib II and Ashur-natsir-pal III, and Shalmaneser III had little trouble with them.

Eastward, Ashur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser made many expeditions, partly against the tribes on Assyria's eastern frontier, but specially against the *Medes*. These people, who were of Aryan stock, lived formerly in the east of Iran, the vast plateau between the Tigris and the Indus. Some time before the ninth century B.C. they migrated into W. Iran, and there they settled, having at first no central government, but divided into numerous separate principalities. Ashur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser saw clearly the necessity of preventing the Medes from passing the Zagros range, and in this they succeeded; but they accomplished no permanent subjugation of this eastern foe. The same two kings had to deal with another danger which threatened from the north. Here, N. of Lake Van, the strong kingdom of Urartu had grown up, and was seeking to extend its influence over the tribes between Lake Urmia and the Euphrates. Ashur-natsir-pal and Shalmaneser kept these tribes in order by frequent raiding campaigns; and Shalmaneser, by several invasions of Urartu, checked her progress for a time. Like the Medes, however, Urartu was not permanently subdued, and later kings of Assyria found her to be a dangerous and stubborn enemy.

The first king of the period to lead his forces across the Euphrates was Ashur-natsir-pal, who in the tenth campaign of his reign marched through N. Syria to the Phœnician coast, receiving tribute from a number of Syrian and Phœnician princes. Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates frequently. His main object was to conquer S. Syria, and presumably Palestine also. In this, however, he did not succeed. His first three attempts, made in 854 (when the battle of Qarqar took place), 849, and 846, were checked by a confederacy of states, including Damascus, which was at the head, and Israel. When he made his fourth attempt (in 842), the confederates failed to rally together against him, and most of the local rulers, Jehu of Israel amongst them, sent him tribute. But Damascus, under Hazael, made a vigorous resistance, and neither then nor three years later did it yield to the Assyrian forces. While, however, he failed to subdue S. Syria, the N. Syrian states were at his mercy, and, together with the Phœnicians, provided plentiful tribute. He also subdued Que (Cilicia), Tabal, and Malatia, and thus gained for Assyria control of the important trade-route into Asia Minor.

The last four years of Shalmaneser's reign were darkened by a revolt led by one of his sons, and it was not till the third year of Shamshi-Adad VII that internal harmony was restored. This revolt weakened Assyria's authority over the surrounding districts, but Shamshi-Adad recovered most, if not the whole, of the lost ground everywhere except on the W. of the Euphrates. The next king, Adad-nirari IV, not only retained what his predecessor had won back, but also crossed the Euphrates and made Assyrian influence felt beyond the limits reached by Shalmaneser III, even as far as N. Philistia and Edom. Damascus he reduced to a condition of vassalage, and Babylonia became practically an Assyrian province. Adad-nirari's death marks the close of the third period of expansion. The six kings whose reigns we have surveyed were all strong and capable leaders, but their achievements must not be exaggerated. It is, indeed, most instructive to note how lacking in permanence was Assyria's hold on much of the territory overrun by her armies. Babylonia acknowledged the Assyrian supremacy only under compulsion; the tribes in the eastern mountains were restless, submitting only when armies were sent against them; Urartu had merely been checked for a time, and her growing power was one of the chief causes of the weakness into which Assyria now fell; while even westward there was, as yet, no permanent conquest of territory beyond the Euphrates, and many campaigns were required before the states of Syria and Palestine were completely crushed.

As at the close of the second period of Assyrian expansion, so now again, the Hebrews took advantage of their freedom from external pressure. They had been greatly weakened by the division of the kingdom, and by the mutual jealousies and hostilities which resulted from it. Moreover, Judah, and to some extent Israel, must have been impoverished by Sheshenk's raid. But more serious still, especially for the Northern Kingdom, though Judah did not entirely escape, had been the rise of the Aramæan state of Damascus. From the days of Baasha, for about one hundred years, wars between Damascus and Israel were frequent, with results generally adverse to the latter (2 K. 6$_{24}$–7$_{20}$, 13$_{7,22}$, 14$_{26}$f.). Now, however, the power of Damascus was broken, and under the contemporary kings Jeroboam II and Uzziah, Israel and Judah enjoyed remarkable prosperity. They were not, however, allowed to enjoy it long, for in 745 Assyria entered on her fourth period of expansion.

The period covers the reigns of six kings—Tiglath-pileser IV (745–727), Shalmaneser V (727–722), Sargon II (722–705), Sennacherib (705–681), Esarhaddon (681–668), and Ashur-bani-pal (668–626)—under whom Assyria's military activities were more intense and more widely extended than ever before. Tiglath-pileser IV was a successful soldier who gained the throne through a military revolution. The third king, Sargon II, was also a usurper, and Sennacherib, the fourth of the series, was murdered; but neither Sargon's usurpation nor Sennacherib's murder seems seriously to have affected Assyria's progress.

Tiglath-pileser reasserted Assyria's supremacy over Babylonia early in his reign, and for the greater part of the period she was ruled by the reigning king of Assyria or by his nominee. There were, however, intervals of varying duration during which the southern kingdom rebelled against Assyrian control. Part of the responsibility for these rebellions rests upon the native Babylonians, who hated the domination of Assyria. Sennacherib was so greatly exasperated by their behaviour that he carried the Assyrian policy of suppression to an extreme point by the destruction of Babylon. His son, Esar-haddon, sought to conciliate them by rebuilding the capital, and in other ways; but they revolted again (652) in the reign of Ashur-bani-pal, who had to besiege and capture Babylon before the revolt was crushed (648).

Probably the Babylonians would not have been so troublesome had it not been for the Chaldæans and Elamites. They repeatedly invaded Babylonia, and all the kings of the period, excepting, perhaps, Shalmaneser V, had more or less trouble with one or both of these persistent foes. During the first twelve years of Sargon II's reign, for instance, the Chaldæans were in possession of Babylonia; and from 700 to 689 Sennacherib was involved in a long struggle with them and their Elamite allies. More than once the country of the Chaldæans was devastated, and they themselves driven across the Tigris; but they were never permanently crushed, and on the death of Ashur-bani-pal (626) they regained control of Babylonia. The attacks of the Elamites began in the reign of Sargon, and persisted until they received a final blow at the hands of Ashur-bani-pal, who sacked their capital, Susa, and devastated their country (644). Their overthrow was not, however, wholly to the advantage of Assyria, for it involved the breaking down of a useful barrier against the Medes.

The last-named people the Assyrians were never wholly able to subdue. Tiglath-pileser, indeed, held them in check, and Sargon claims to have extended Assyrian supremacy as far eastward as the Caspian; but no complete or permanent control seems to have been established beyond the Zagros range. The eastern peril was increased at the beginning of Esar-haddon's reign by the arrival of the Gimirrai, barbarian hordes who for some time had been moving southwards through the passes of the Caucasus. North of Urartu the Gimirrai split into two parts, one of which travelled westward into Asia Minor, while the other moved south-eastward, and, uniting eventually with the Mannai and the Medes, threatened Assyria. Esar-haddon was able, partly by force and partly by diplomacy, to check the combination, and Ashur-bani-pal subdued the Mannai. The latter king also gained some successes against the Medes; but the establishment of their monarchy in the first half of the seventh century, by bringing the separate principalities under central control, added greatly to their strength, and put an end to Assyria's chance of subduing them.

On the north the power of Urartu had developed considerably during the period of Assyria's weakness, and under Sarduris III her influence had extended far beyond the natural limits of the country. Sarduris had even assumed the title of king of Syria. Tiglath-pileser lost no time in attacking this northern foe, and in the second year of his reign he drove the Urartians from N. Syria. By 738 he had reduced the N. Syrian states to submission, and in 735 he invaded Urartu and ravaged the country from end to end. By these campaigns he restored the authority of Assyria over the north, and as north-westward as Cilicia. Urartu, however, soon recovered. In the reign of Sargon she and the kingdom of Mushki fomented rebellion amongst the vassal states of Assyria in their neighbourhood, and it cost Sargon ten years of hard campaigning to reduce the two kingdoms and to restore Assyria's authority over her rebellious vassals. Apart from a disturbance in Cilicia caused by an invasion of Ionians, but quickly checked by Sennacherib's forces, and an inroad of Gimirrai from the north-west which Esar-haddon's generals beat back, this part of the empire seems to have remained fairly tranquil, at least until 640, when records cease.

We come finally to the west, the quarter in which Assyria made most progress, and where in her desire to secure complete control she at last overreached herself through the attempt to subdue Egypt.

The western operations began in 734, when the Syro-Ephraimitic coalition (2 K. 16$_5$) gave Tiglath-pileser an excuse for interfering with the states of S. Syria and Palestine. For Assyria the campaign was highly successful: Damascus, which had for so long been the leader in all anti-Assyrian movements, was captured, and many of her inhabitants were carried into captivity (732); Israel was stripped of the northern portion of her territory; and most, if not all, of the other western states, including Judah, where Ahaz was king, became tributary. In the reign of Shalmaneser V a further step was taken towards the reduction of the west. The occasion was provided by the renewed interference of Egypt in Palestine. About 728 Piankhi, a Nubian, had made himself master of Egypt and established the XXVth Dynasty. His son Shabaka (OT So, or, more correctly, Seve), who was his commander-in-chief, aimed at recovering Syria and Palestine for Egypt. Accordingly he encouraged the king of Tyre and Hoshea of Israel to revolt (2 K. 17$_4$). The revolt was quickly crushed. Tyre yielded at once, and though Samaria held out for two years, no help came from Egypt, and the fall of the city took place, shortly after the death of Shalmaneser, in 722. The southern half of the kingdom of Israel now became, like the northern half twelve years before, a part of the Assyrian empire. Early in Sargon's reign a number of western states rebelled again at Egypt's instigation; but he soon restored Assyrian authority by two victories—the first over the rebels at Qarqar, and the second, immediately afterwards, over the Egyptians under Shabaka at Raphia (*c.* 720). Sargon also sent successful expeditions against N. Arabia (715 B.C.) and against Ashdod (711; *cf.* Is. 20$_1$*). In 703, owing to the persuasions of the Chaldæan chieftain, Merodach-baladan (2 K. 20$_{12}$ff.), on the one hand, and of Egypt on the other, Phœnicia and Palestine were again in revolt. As soon as possible Sennacherib marched westward (701). He quickly subdued Phœnicia, and then, advancing southwards, defeated a confederate army at Eltekeh, and ravaged Judah, exacting a heavy tribute from Hezekiah. Esarhaddon secured afresh the submission of the western states by the capture of Sidon, which at the instigation of Tirhakah, king of Egypt, had withheld its tribute.

Now began the momentous operations against Egypt—momentous not so much for Egypt as for Assyria, since, by overstraining her resources, they contributed largely to her downfall. Yet it must be remembered that the Assyrian kings were naturally anxious to put an end to Egyptian machinations, which since the time of Shalmaneser IV had been mainly responsible for the disturbances in the western province of her empire.

Esarhaddon planned three campaigns against Egypt. The first (674) was a failure. The second, undertaken in 672, resulted in the establishment of Assyrian suzerainty, and its maintenance for about a year. The third campaign he did not complete, for he died on the march, but Ashur-bani-pal carried it to a successful issue. It was not, however, till 661 that all resistance was crushed, and that Egypt became an Assyrian province, in which position she remained for about ten years, with Psammetichus, an Egyptian prince, as viceroy. The subjugation of Egypt was followed by the siege and surrender of Tyre, and by the renewed submission of other western states. At this point in her history (*c.* 660) the empire of Assyria reached its widest limits, and the fact that Gyges of Lydia, being hard pressed by the Gimirrai, now appealed to Ashur-bani-pal for help, shows how great was the respect in which she was held by other nations.

Assyria was not destined, however, to occupy this proud position for very long. Ashur-bani-pal was her last great king—his two successors are little more than names to us—and it is significant that from about 640 records of his reign cease, probably because there were no achievements to record. The last period of decline, indeed, set in some time before Ashur-bani-pal's death.

It must be remembered that the Assyrian empire was founded by force, and, speaking generally, only force was employed to keep it together. The Assyrians never mastered the art of colonising, and they made little or no attempt to understand the peoples whom they subdued. Their usual method of dealing with conquered countries was to carry away a large part of the inhabitants into captivity. Tiglath-pileser I, indeed, speaks of making the peoples under his sway "of one tongue," and Ashur-natsir-pal III placed Assyrian colonists in certain conquered cities; while Tiglath-pileser IV devised the plan of filling the place of those whom he removed from one district with a batch of captives from another. This last method was certainly an improvement, in some respects, on those of previous kings. It diminished, though, as history shows, it by no means did away with, the possibility of rebellion; but it was fatal to the prosperity of regions already plundered by invading armies and burdened with tribute, and it caused a serious lowering of the level of culture in the conquered countries. There are signs that Esarhaddon and Ashur-bani-pal had more enlightened ideas, but they could not undo the harm wrought by their predecessors. The empire was already doomed, and as soon as the line of strong and capable kings came to an end it quickly fell to pieces.

The decline of Assyria began with the revolt of Egypt under Psammetichus, who now established the XXVIth Dynasty (*c.* 650). Ashur-bani-pal made no attempt to restore Assyria's authority, and the occurrence is not mentioned in his annals. Egypt now entered on a period of prosperity greater than she had enjoyed for many centuries.

The next loss suffered by Assyria was inflicted by the *Scythians*, a wild and barbarous people whose home was north of the Crimea, and who for some time had been moving southwards. The invasion of the Gimirrai, mentioned above, was caused by the pressure which they had exerted from the north, and *c.* 630 they themselves poured into W. Asia. One body of them swept through Syria and advanced as far as Ashkelon, where they were checked by Psammetichus, and after a long struggle were either destroyed or driven out of the country. Through this invasion Assyria lost control of Syria and Palestine.

These misfortunes befell Assyria before the end of the reign of Ashur-bani-pal. After his death (626) she soon lost Babylonia, for Nabopolassar proclaimed himself king in Babylon, and gradually gained control of the whole country. Thus the "Chaldæan," or "Neo-Babylonian" empire, of which more will be said below, was founded.

The final blow at Assyria was struck by the Medes, whose monarchy was established, as we have seen, in the first half of the seventh century. The first king of whom we have historical records is Phraortes (*c.* 647–626). He controlled not only the princes of Media, but also those of Persia, and made an unsuccessful invasion of Assyria. His son and successor, Cyaxares, renewed the attack shortly after his father's death, but was obliged to relinquish it owing to an invasion of Media by the Scythians. A third attempt was made *c.* 607-606, possibly with the assistance of the Scythians, and with the approval, if not with the active support, of Babylonia, and Nineveh was captured and destroyed. The satisfaction with which the peoples whom Assyria had so long and so cruelly oppressed welcomed her overthrow finds expression in the concluding words of Nahum's prophecy (3$_{19}$): "There is no assuaging of thy hurt; thy wound is grievous; all that hear the bruit of thee clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?"

IV. The Chaldæan Period.—The empire of Assyria was divided between the Medes and the Babylonians. The Medes took that part of it which lay to the E. and N. of the Tigris, together with N. Mesopotamia; and Cyaxares quickly extended his dominion southward over Elam and westward into Asia Minor as far as the river Halys, which was fixed by treaty as the boundary between the Median and Lydian empires.

The remainder of the Assyrian territory soon came into the possession of Babylonia under the Chaldæan dynasty. Unfortunately we know very little about the period. The royal inscriptions deal almost entirely with building operations, and the information which they give concerning the external relations of Babylonia is of the scantiest. When Nineveh fell, the Babylonian throne was still occupied by Nabopolassar. Of his military activities previous to 606 we know next to nothing, but when Assyria was overthrown he lost no time in securing control of Syria and Palestine. At the moment these regions were subject to Egypt, for in 608 Necho, the successor of Psammetichus, had defeated Josiah of Judah at Megiddo (2 K. 23$_{29}$), and, advancing unchecked as far as the Euphrates, had recovered Egypt's old provinces. His triumph was, however, short-lived. In 604 Nabopolassar sent a Babylonian army westward under the command of the Crown Prince, Nebuchadrezzar. The Egyptians were defeated at Carchemish and driven back to their own country; and Syria and Palestine were incorporated in the Neo-Babylonian empire, which included all the territory, except N. Mesopotamia, lying between the Tigris and the Mediterranean coast down to the border of Egypt.

To Nebuchadrezzar, who succeeded Nabopolassar (604), there fell the task of consolidating the position of Babylonia, for, although they had acknowledged her supremacy, there was still considerable unrest among the western states, and shortly after 600 Jehoiakim of Judah revolted. The siege and capture of Jerusalem and the deportation of a large number of her inhabitants (597) checked the rebellious ten-

dencies for a time. The spirit of unrest, however, was not yet crushed, and when, with the accession of Hophra (*c.* 589–565), Egypt made another attempt to regain control of Syria and Palestine, a fresh revolt broke out, in which Tyre, Sidon, and Judah were involved. In 588 Nebuchadrezzar marched westward. Halting with part of his army at Riblah on the Orontes, he sent the other part against Jerusalem. The city was besieged, and, after the Egyptians had made a vain attempt to relieve it, was captured in 586. Again a large number of Jews were carried into captivity, and the city itself was plundered and razed to the ground. The fall of Jerusalem was followed by the submission of Sidon; but Tyre did not yield till after a long siege, which is said to have lasted for thirteen years. With the exception of an obscure reference to a victory which he gained over the Egyptians in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, we know nothing of Nebuchadrezzar's later campaigns. There is no doubt, however, that owing to his military successes, and to the great attention which, as we learn from his inscriptions, he gave to the internal development of his country, the Neo-Babylonian empire was established on a firm basis.

Unfortunately, his successors were weak kings: the reigns of the first three extended over barely seven years altogether, while the fourth, Nabu-na'id (Nabonidus, 556–539), a native Babylonian, who was raised to the throne by the priestly party, was much more interested in the restoration of temples than in military and administrative affairs, the management of which he left to his son, Belshazzar (Dan. 5[1]*). In 539 Babylonia was invaded by the army of Cyrus, king of Persia; Belshazzar was defeated at Opis, and shortly afterwards the Persians entered Babylon without opposition. Thus the Chaldæan empire lost its independence.

V. The Persian Period.—The movement which resulted in the establishment of the Persian empire began in 553. In that year Cyrus, ruler of the Persian kingdom of Anshan in Elam, revolted against his overlord Astyages, the successor of Cyaxares, and, having defeated and dethroned him, made himself master of the Median empire. The defeat of Crœsus, king of Lydia, and the extension of Persian authority over Asia Minor soon followed. Some years were then spent in establishing his supremacy over Iran; and in 539 the conquest of Babylonia took place, whereby Syria and Palestine were brought under Persian control. Cambyses, the son and successor of Cyrus, added Egypt to the empire; and Darius I, having crushed the numerous insurrections which followed Cambyses' sudden death, besides strengthening his frontiers, extended his sway into Europe by the conquest of Thrace and Macedonia. Darius also took great pains with the organisation of the empire. He divided it into twenty satrapies or provinces, each of which was further subdivided, the governors of the subdivisions being responsible to the satrap, or governor of the satrapy, and the satrap, in his turn, to the king. Persian influence was extended and strengthened by means of colonies established at suitable points; taxation was systematised, each province being assessed at a certain amount; and a network of good roads, together with a regular system of posts, enabled the king to control the vast territory subject to his rule. In the reign of Darius the power of Persia reached its highest point, and though her empire lasted for a century and a half after his death, that event really marks the beginning of her decline.

The causes of the decline are not far to seek. In the first place, the kings who followed Darius I were, with the exception of Artaxerxes III (359–338), unequal to the task of ruling so vast an empire. Xerxes I (485–465), and still more Artaxerxes I (465–425) and Artaxerxes II (404–359), were weak monarchs, of ever-varying moods, and quite incapable of grasping the reins of government with a strong hand. Under their rule deterioration was inevitable. Another source of weakness was the general moral degeneration resulting from the great increase of wealth and luxury: intrigue, bribery, and corruption flourished; and revolts of the satraps became frequent, especially during the latter part of the period. Egypt, too, was ever ready to assert her independence; while the mountain tribes, both in the interior and on the outskirts of the empire, were constantly in a state of unrest. Most serious of all, however, was the failure against Greece. The conquests of Cyrus had broken down the barriers between East and West, and made a conflict between Greece and Persia inevitable. The struggle began in the reign of Darius I. In the early stages the advantage was with Persia, but the defeats which she suffered at Marathon (490), Salamis (480), Platæa (479), and on the Eurymedon (466) not only deprived her of her European territory and of the Greek cities in W. Asia Minor, but, what was more serious still, definitely checked her progress westward and reduced her to a stagnant condition. The Greeks, too, gained greater confidence in themselves as they found that the Persians were not invincible, while they gradually came to see that there was a field of conquest and expansion open to them in the East.

The fact that Judah was a part of the Persian empire naturally raises the question of the influence of Persia upon Hebrew life and thought. The territory of Judah formed one of the subdivisions of the satrapy called "Abar-Naharah"—*i.e.* "Beyond-the-River," the river being the Euphrates—and had its own governor. On the whole, the treatment of the Jews by the Persians seems to have been good, though it varied, no doubt, according to the character of the reigning king. Artaxerxes III, for instance, was a harsh ruler; but it must be remembered that one of Cyrus' earliest acts was to allow a large number of Jews to return to Judah, while the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah were carried out by permission of Artaxerxes I.

As far as material culture is concerned, there is no evidence that the Jews were at all in Persia's debt; but it has been held that their religion shows traces of her influence. Unfortunately, the available evidence does not justify a definite opinion. This much, however, is certain, that after the Exile the Jews held a number of ideas and doctrines which they did not hold in pre-exilic times. We find, for instance, at highly developed angelology, and we know that the Persians had a similar system; the conception of Satan, too, may have been affected by the Persian belief in Ahriman; and to Persian influence may be due the development of the doctrine of immortality wherein Jewish theology made its most important advance. The possibilities of borrowing are numerous, and though no single case can be regarded as certainly established, there is no *a priori* objection against any one of them. We may say, however, that if Judaism borrowed, she was not content to keep what she borrowed unchanged. She developed and improved it, and made it the vehicle of higher teaching.

The Persian power collapsed suddenly and unexpectedly. The reign of Artaxerxes III (359–338) had seen the empire restored to its full extent, and apparently re-established as firmly as ever; yet, seven years after Artaxerxes' death, Darius III, defeated

by Alexander, first at Issus (332) and then at Arbela (331), was a fugitive, and the control of the Persian empire passed to the Greeks.

VI. The Greek Period.—The movement which resulted in the overthrow of the Persian power was initiated by Philip, king of Macedonia (359–336), and was carried out by his son Alexander, surnamed the Great (336–323). The story of Alexander's campaigns, whereby he not only subdued the whole of the Persian empire, including Egypt, where he founded Alexandria, but extended his conquests as far as the Indus, and even beyond it into India, cannot be written here. We can only consider briefly the main consequences of his victories for Israel.

In 323 Alexander died, and his death was followed by the disintegration of his empire. When the period of confusion came to an end, the Jews found themselves between two kingdoms—that of the Ptolemies, with its centre in Egypt, and that of the Seleucids, with its centre in Syria. The founder of the former, Ptolemy I, afterwards named Soter, had been one of Alexander's ablest generals, and when the empire was partitioned in 323 he secured for himself the satrapy of Egypt, recognising that it was the most fertile and the most easily defended of all the provinces. In 305 he assumed the title of king, and the dynasty which he established ruled in Egypt for nearly three centuries. Outside Egypt proper he gained control of Cyrene, Cyprus, and parts of Caria and Lycia in Asia Minor; for a time also he had a footing in Greece, holding Corinth, Sicyon, and Megara. In 301, after three earlier attempts, he obtained possession of Palestine, which remained an Egyptian province till 198, when it passed into Seleucid hands. In 285 Ptolemy I abdicated in favour of his son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246), whose reign was on the whole a prosperous one, though he lost Cyrene and some of his possessions in Asia Minor. Ptolemy III Euergetes, however, recovered what his father had lost, and even pushed his conquests westward as far as Thrace, and eastward over Babylonia into Iran. The next king, Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–204), was thoroughly dissolute, and though in 217 his forces defeated the Seleucid king Antiochus III at Raphia, thereby postponing the loss of Palestine, yet with his reign, in the course of which Rome established her protectorate over Egypt, the decline of the kingdom set in. The history of the rest of the dynasty is a confused record of feuds, murders, and revolts, by which the political power of Egypt was undermined and her prosperity greatly diminished, until in 30 B.C. she became a province of the Roman empire.

The kingdom of the Seleucids was founded by Seleucus, another of Alexander's generals. Originally he was appointed satrap of Babylonia (321), but was deprived of his position in 316. He recovered it, however, in 312, and during the next thirty years he made himself master of the greater part of Alexander's empire, extending his authority over the eastern provinces as far as India, over Syria and parts of Asia Minor, and, shortly before his death in 281, over Thrace and Macedonia. Like Ptolemy, he assumed the title of king in 305, and founded the city of Antioch to be his seat of government. The task of maintaining the empire was beyond the power of the next four kings: there were revolts in the east, and Seleucid authority ceased to be acknowledged in Asia Minor and further west. A revival was brought about by Antiochus III the Great (223–187), who regained control of the eastern provinces, secured Palestine from Egypt (198), recovered the lost territory in Asia Minor, and even entered Greece. The revival was not sustained, however, for Antiochus' western campaigns brought him into conflict with Rome, and, owing to the serious defeats which were inflicted on him at Thermopylæ (191) and Magnesia (190), his empire was considerably reduced not only in the west but also in the east, so that at his death it consisted only of Syria and Palestine, Mesopotamia, Media, and Persis. After the undistinguished reign of Seleucus IV Philopator, the kingdom was seized by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (176–164), who is best known for his persecution of the Jews and his attempts to suppress the Jewish religion. He tried to conquer Egypt, but was prevented by the Romans; on the east, however, he was more successful, and it was while campaigning in Persis that he died in 164. The remainder of the history of the dynasty is not unlike that of the Ptolemies: for the most part the successors of Antiochus Epiphanes were weak kings, while the rise of rival claimants to the throne was a frequent cause of feuds. Thus, though the kingdom lasted for a century after Antiochus IV's death, it became ever smaller and weaker, until at last, in 63, Syria was made a Roman province.

But the coming of the Greeks had other than political consequences for Judaism. Hitherto Jews and Greeks had known little of one another; now they were brought into the closest contact. One after another on all sides of Judah there sprang up centres of Greek culture, by all of which, but especially by Antioch and Alexandria, the Jews were greatly influenced. Not only did they engage in trade with these cities, but, encouraged by both Ptolemies and Seleucids, who offered them rights of citizenship, and attracted by the greater freedom of Greek life, they went and lived in them. There they adopted Greek habits and customs, and even Greek names; they read Greek literature and studied Greek philosophy. Most important of all, they learnt the Greek language, employing it originally in trade and social intercourse, but afterwards for purposes of religion. Quite early they began to translate the OT into Greek—first the Pentateuch, which was completed by 250, and then gradually the remainder of the sacred books. Nor did Judah escape these influences, which were brought to bear on her partly through her commercial relations with the surrounding Greek cities, and partly through the Jews of the "Dispersion," who for religious and other reasons were constantly revisiting their native land; while in the capital itself a gymnasium was established in which Jewish youths engaged, after the Greek fashion, in physical and mental exercises. The complete hellenisation of Judaism, which must at one time have seemed likely, and which Antiochus Epiphanes especially did his utmost to bring about, was providentially checked by the Maccabean revolt (pp. 607f.); but we must never underestimate the importance of this period of intercourse between Jews and Greeks, for it was the last stage in the long process of preparation for the coming of Christianity.

Literature.—Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*; King, *Sumer and Akkad* and *The History of Babylon*; Goodspeed, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*; Johns, *Babylonia* and *Assyria*; Breasted, *History of Egypt*; King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*; Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*; Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique*; Holm, *History of Greece* (vols. iii. and iv.); Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*; Macalister, *The Philistines*; Myers, *The Dawn of History*; Hogarth, *The Ancient East*. Articles in EB[11], HDB, EBi.

THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL

By Dr. A. H. M'NEILE

1. The Dawn of Israelite History.—The Bᵉnê (Sons of) Israel were an offshoot from a primitive stock, a "Semitic" race, which is found, in the dawn of history, planted somewhere in the north of Arabia. At a very early date portions of this race began to move to various parts of Asia, and in course of time nations were formed which we know as the Babylonians, towards the southern end of the Euphrates; the Assyrians, further N. on the Tigris; and the Aramæans (or Syrians), in the district between the two rivers—*i.e.* Aram-naharaim (p. 155) or Mesopotamia. When this district became populated, Aramæans began to move westward, and established themselves along the trade routes as far as Damascus and Hamath. The Bᵉnê Israel emerged, according to tradition, from "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. 11₃₁, 15₇), which is generally but not universally identified with the ancient city Uru, in southern Babylonia, but they claimed kinship with the Aramæans (Dt. 26₅*), and their immigration no doubt formed part of the general Aramæan movement to the W. They were far from being a nation; they were a small band of nomads, whose *sheikh* bore traditionally the name Abram, and his journeyings represent the wanderings of the clan. The history, as pictured in the patriarchal narrative, is obscure, and will probably always remain to some extent conjectural. Tradition connected the settlements of the clan with ancient Canaanite sanctuaries—*e.g.* Shechem (Gen. 12₆, 33₁₈), Bethel (12₈, 13₃, 28₁₉, 35₁₅), Kiriath-arba or Hebron (13₁₈, 23₂, 35₂₇), Beersheba (21₃₁, 26₂₃). In some cases the narrative attempted to account for the names of the places, or for the fact that the Canaanite sanctuaries or objects of worship were appropriated to the worship of Yahweh, which gradually took place when the Israelites settled in the country after the Exodus. "Canaanite" is often a collective term for the various tribes and peoples who occupied Canaan. The settled population had reached some degree of civilisation: Phœnicians on the Mediterranean coast, who became the chief sea traders of the ancient world; Amorites and several other smaller tribes in the valleys and hills between the sea and the Jordan; and Moabites and Ammonites on the E. of the Jordan. There were also tribes which may be described as half-nomad, such as the Edomites, and some smaller clans who clung to the outskirts of cultivated land in the S. of Judah. And finally there were true nomads, such as the Midianites, Ishmaelites, and Amalekites, who roamed about in the Arabian desert and made raids on the cultivated regions.

The relations of Israel with some of these surrounding peoples are reflected in the stories of the patriarchs (p. 134). If Isaac represents Israel, or perhaps a southern portion of it, Ishmael is his "brother," the son of Hagar, banished to a fierce life in the desert. Jacob clearly stands for Israel as a whole, or its main stock, and his "brother" Esau—*i.e.* the Edomite tribe—is akin to him by blood, and at the same time his bitterest enemy. Jacob's unscrupulous cleverness, by which he "supplants" Esau from their very birth, is the element in their character which enabled the Israelites to retain their hold on cultivated lands, and to get the better of their less subtle and less civilised neighbours. Similarly Moab and Ammon were half-brothers, "sons" of Lot the nephew of Abram (Gen. 19₃₆–₃₈). And Abram begat other "sons" by Keturah, whose names, and those of their sons, are the names of districts and clans (25₁–₆). Finally, the "sons" of Jacob by two wives, Leah and Rachel, and two concubines, Bilhah and Zilpah, are the eponymous ancestors of tribal groups akin by blood, who composed the confederate Israelite nation as it was known in the centuries following the Exodus.

Some of these groups appear to have lived for a time in a half-nomad condition in the Negeb, or south country, the borderland between Judah and the desert of the Sinaitic peninsula (p. 32), until they were driven by scarcity of food to the borders of Egypt.

2. Israel in Egypt and the Exodus.—The narratives of Joseph in Egypt, his slavery and his rise to power, fascinating in picturesque detail and full of religious value and beauty, may be based upon historical facts, but are as yet unsupported by contemporary records known to us. From the broader, national point of view the important fact is that some Israelite clans were permitted, together with other desert tribes, to occupy the marshy pastures on the NE. of Egypt in the district or nome of Goshen (p. 63). The Pharaoh who allowed this was probably a descendant of the Semitic invaders of Egypt, the Hyksos or Shasu chiefs (pp. 52, 54), who would show himself favourable to the Israelites. But the change in the attitude of the "new king" (Ex. 1₈) towards them reflects the fact that the Hebrew dynasty was driven out, and the Egyptian eighteenth dynasty was established. Rameses II (p. 56), its most important member, was renowned, and took considerable care to make himself renowned, for his building operations, in which foreign conquered tribes and prisoners of war were employed in slave labour, among whom was a large number of the Israelites. His son and successor, Merneptah (p. 56), was probably the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Egypt was first terrified and then thrown into confusion by the "plagues," a series of disturbing occurrences which, in God's providence, gave an opportunity for the Israelites and a considerable number of other enslaved foreigners to escape. That the opportunity was successfully seized was due to the inspiring personality and leadership of Moses (p. 84). His origin is lost in obscurity, but his family was related by marriage with the Kenites, a Midianite clan. The Israelite records relate that he

married Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro, the priest of Midian. Tradition told of Moses' birth, and preservation as an infant by the daughter of Pharaoh, and traced his movements as a young man from Egypt to Midian, and from Midian to the sacred mountain, the abode of Yahweh, whom his family and the Kenites worshipped. Yahweh appeared to him in the burning bush, and entrusted to him the task of delivering His people.

The Israelites fled with him across the Goshen marshes into the Sinaitic peninsula. The crossing of the "Red Sea" (*yam sūph*, "sea," or "lake, of reeds") was probably the crossing of the southern end of a lake a few miles NW. of what is now called the Red Sea (Ex. 13 17–20*). A wind laid bare a wide stretch of shore, and when an Egyptian force pursued the fugitives, their chariot wheels stuck fast in the wet soil, and the water returned upon them when the wind shifted.

Writers differ as to the route taken by the Israelites. Some think that they moved southward to the mountainous range of (the modern) Sinai, and then along the eastern arm of the Red Sea, now known as the Gulf of Akaba, to its northernmost point at Ezion-geber. Others, including the writer of this article, think that the evidence points to the route still taken by Mecca pilgrims, nearly due E. to Ezion-geber, and that thence they moved NW. to the region of Kadesh (-Barnea), to Mt. Sinai, or southward along the E. side of the Gulf of Akaba to Mt. Horeb (Ex. 31*). The traditions differ, and certainty is impossible.

The Books of Ex. and Nu. contain several incidents related to have occurred in the course of the journeyings. In a few cases duplicates of the same narrative have been incorporated by the compiler both before and after the giving of the Law at the sacred mountain. Historically these incidents are without importance, though from the religious point of view—which was that of the narrators—they are of great value as illustrating Yahweh's loving care of His people, and His punishments inflicted for their frequent acts of rebellion and disobedience.

3. Moses and the Law.—The event which was of central importance in Israelite history was itself religious. Realising its importance, tradition surrounded it with terrifying phenomena, such as would be suggested by a thunderstorm and a volcanic eruption—a fitting framework to a Theophany. Moses had led the mixed band of loosely connected tribes and clans to the mountain abode of Yahweh, whom his family and the Kenites worshipped. And into that worship Moses admitted them as a body, thereby uniting them by the strongest of bonds. Into this religious confederacy were drawn not only the fugitives from Egypt, but probably also some tribes who had not been in Egypt, whom they found settled in the neighbourhood of Kadesh. He caused them all to enter into a solemn covenant to worship Yahweh and no other deity. And the covenant was sealed by a sacrificial feast (Ex. 24–8), celebrated jointly by Jethro and the elders of Israel. (The earliest tradition that has reached us as to the laws to which they promised obedience is found in Ex. 3414,17–23,25f.; and the same laws are embedded in a more extended group in 2023–2333; but at a later date the Decalogue (201–17, Dt. 56–21) was accepted as the covenant code. In Dt. 291 the remainder of the laws are even treated as the basis of a second covenant in the land of Moab, at the end of the journeyings.) This event, by which Israel for the first time was drawn into a real inner unity, was so epoch-making that ever afterwards the laws and customs—religious, social, and ethical—which grew up during the whole history of the nation until the close of the Canon, were ideally ascribed to Moses. It is probable, from the nature of things, that Moses was the founder of Israelite law in two senses: (1) In introducing the tribes to the worship of Yahweh he must have given directions as to the "manner" of His cult—the ritual requirements and prohibitions which he himself had previously learnt to observe. And the exclusive worship of one deity, although the existence of others was recognised, was the starting-point for the advance to the spiritual monotheism which was reached at a later time. (2) As a powerful *sheikh* he must have been responsible for order and discipline, which he maintained by his strength of personality and sympathetic devotion to his people. This involved decisions of many kinds on matters of tribal justice and equity, and these must have given him the opportunity of moulding the character of Israel as a whole, and of planting the germ which afterwards grew into the splendid ethical morality of the prophets. (See further p. 84.)

4. The Settlement in Canaan.—The tribes thus newly compacted into a religious confederacy lived and wandered for some time in and around the Negeb, with Kadesh as their centre. But finally the larger portion of them made their way round the S. of the Dead Sea to the steppes of Moab. There is some probability in the supposition that the remainder—those who had already been settled at Kadesh before the main body arrived from Egypt—did not accompany them to Moab—*i.e.* Judah and Simeon; perhaps Levi, as some think; and possibly also Benjamin (but see below). On the E. of Jordan some native tribes known as the Amorites, under their king Sihon, were successfully encountered, and also, according to the Deuteronomic tradition, others farther N., in the district of Bashan, under a king named Og. But the final possession of the regions E. of the Jordan was probably a gradual process, achieved by subsequent raids from the W. This uncertainty is reflected by the different accounts, at various periods, of the boundaries of the tribes on the E. of the river, but those who finally settled there were known as Gad (or Gilead), Reuben, and half Manasseh. (On the origin of the tribes and the conquest of Canaan see further pp. 248f.)

Religious writers of Israelite literature loved to paint, in glowing colours, pictures of the ancient fortunes of their race. The bulk of the Book of *Joshua* may be described as an allegory, rich in spiritual ideals, but with hardly more claim to be historical than Bunyan's *Holy War*. It represents all the people of God as making war upon the enemies of God, and the speedy result of their battles was the complete extermination of every Canaanite: "all that breathed" were swept away. Jordan was dried up, so that the host could march over it dryshod. **Joshua**, who had been appointed as Moses' successor, was encouraged by the appearance to him of One who said that He was the Captain of the host of Yahweh. The walls of Jericho marvellously fell without a blow being struck. In the centre of the country Ai was captured by stratagem, after Israel had suffered a reverse owing to the sin of Achan in transgressing the *herem* or "ban" (Dt. 234*, Jos. 617*, Jg. 117*, pp. 99, 114), by appropriating some of the spoils of Jericho. Israel made another mistake in allowing the Gibeonites to beguile them into making a treaty. When the five native kings in the south heard of it, they combined to attack Gibeon, but they were crushed by Israel at the battle of Beth-horon, in the lowlands of Judah. The five kings were imprisoned in a cave until the rout

was completed, and then put to death. After which a series of sweeping conquests put Joshua in possession of the whole territory from the hills and lowlands of Judah to the southern desert. Lastly, in the N., Jabin, king of Hazor, gathered a great army of allies, which was defeated by Joshua at the waters of Merom (p. 32), and the entire population in the N. was annihilated. The holy war was finished, the God of Israel had gotten Himself the victory. It only remained for the tribes to cast lots for their respective territories, and to take undisturbed possession of them.

But within this idealized narrative are embedded certain ancient fragments of a history of the settlement which, together with the Books of *Judges* and 1 and 2 *Samuel*, yield a very different picture. They shew that the Israelite occupation of the country was a long, slow progress. And this is supported by recent excavations, which make it evident that no sudden change took place in religion or manner of life. Canaanite became Israelite by imperceptible stages. The native inhabitants were strong with military resources and an established civilisation. They possessed garrisoned forts commanding strategic points; in particular two chains of forts ran (1) along the valley, westward from Jerusalem, which separated the southern from the central hills, and (2) along the southern border of the plain of Jezreel, the chief battle-ground of Palestine, which formed a break between the central and the northern hills. The Israelite tribes, devoid of war-chariots and armed, probably, with rude weapons, but hardy and untamed in comparison with the civilised Canaanites, gradually filtered into the country and planted themselves in the three separate hilly districts. Thus these three groups of tribes were at first distinct.

The Southern Group.—Certain of the tribes, as said above, probably did not accompany the rest to Moab. They appear to have made their way into the southern hills straight from the Negeb. **Judah** and **Simeon** moved together (Jg. 13f.). But the latter can hardly be said to have settled at all; they remained on the borders of the desert, where they soon melted away, and played no part in the national traditions. This seems to be the meaning of Gen. 497, where **Levi** is coupled with Simeon as meeting the same fate. It will be noticed that these tribes, which formed a geographical group by themselves, are three of the first four "sons" of Leah (Gen. 2931–35). Her eldest son, **Reuben**, may possibly have been in the earliest days one of this group; but Reuben is found, in history, only on the E. of Jordan, in a subordinate condition (Dt. 336; *cf.* Gen. 494). The southern group were in friendly relations, and gradually amalgamated, with non-Israelite clans—Calebites and Kenizzites, Kenites, Jerahmeelites, and others.

The Central Group.—This consisted of **Ephraim** and **Manasseh**, the "house of Joseph," who was the elder son of Rachel. They found themselves cramped for room in their hill forests, and were obliged to enlarge their borders by cutting down the trees (Jos. 1714–18). And Manasseh eventually sent some of their numbers as settlers E. of the Jordan. The little warlike tribe of **Benjamin** was also a son of Rachel, which may imply that it was at first associated with Ephraim and Manasseh. In this case the name, which means "Southerner," refers to its position in relation to these two tribes. However, it separated itself from them in the course of its history, and threw in its lot with Judah.

The Northern Group.—Five tribes—**Issachar, Zebulon, Naphtali, Asher,** and **Dan**—are found N. of the plain of Jezreel. There is evidence (pp. 248f.) which suggests that Asher was an Israelite tribe which occupied its territory, and was probably amalgamated with the Canaanites of the district, before the other tribes entered the country. Dan settled at first in the lowlands on the W. of Judah; but, being hemmed in on either side by the Canaanites and Philistines, most of its fighting members migrated to the N., and settled in a small district near the source of the Jordan.

Having made their way thus into the various parts of the country, the Israelites were very far from being in the position of conquerors. This is clearly indicated in Jg. 127–36. The process by which this was achieved was not complete until the reign of David.

5. The Period of the Judges.—The several communities, each governed by its *sheikhs* or elders, now began to enlarge their borders. They contrived to make their way into the villages in the plains. Sometimes they became friendly with the natives, intermarried with them, and all too frequently took part in their worship of the local gods and goddesses. They gradually gained possession of villages, and even of walled towns, and made the natives their slaves. From time to time, as they grew more powerful, they fought with them. When this occurred, all the Israelites in a district would follow a man of character and courage, who placed himself at their head. After a successful encounter this chief would be honoured more highly in the district than any of the local elders, and thus became a "judge" or petty king. The narratives of the judges must not be considered as successive episodes in which all, or even a large portion, of Israel took part. They are specimens of actions which must frequently have taken place in various districts. Four principal actions are recorded, in which the "judges" who took the lead were Ehud, Barak, Gideon, and Jephthah respectively. (1) The Moabites under their king, Eglon, gained a footing in the district round Jericho, and exacted tribute. **Ehud,** who conducted the caravan bearing the tribute, assassinated Eglon, and gathered a force which cut off every Moabite found W. of the Jordan. (2) A more formidable battle was fought against a northern coalition under Sisera, king of Harosheth, described in the ancient poem in Jg. 5 (the "Song of Deborah"). **Barak,** at the head of contingents from six of the tribes, routed the enemy at Taanach, and Sisera fled, only to be assassinated by a woman. In Jg. 4 the compiler has confused this battle with that against Jabin, king of Hazor, related in Jos. 11. (3) The Midianites (Ex. 215*) severely harassed the Manassites; but Jerubbaal **(Gideon)** collected troops, from which he selected three hundred men, who surrounded the enemy's camp at night and threw them into a sudden panic. The Ephraimites cut off all that were W. of the Jordan, and Gideon s army continued the pursuit on the other side of the river. (For the double thread of which Jg. 6–8 is composed, see Comm.) (4) The Gileadites were obliged to defend themselves against a neighbouring nation, probably the Ammonites, but the compiler has confused them with the Moabites. **Jephthah,** who was living the life of a freebooter, was invited to take the command against them, and defeated them. His rash vow which led him to sacrifice his daughter, and his quarrel with the Ephraimites, are incidents in the story.

Beside these four engagements, the compiler has preserved other narratives: the unsuccessful attempts

of a half-caste adventurer, **Abimelech**, a son of Gideon by a Canaanite mother, to make himself king over Shechem and the surrounding district; the individual acts of prowess against the Philistines of **Samson**, a popular hero of Israelite folklore; and some intimations of other local struggles under the names of **Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon,** and **Abdon**, which are probably (in the case of Jair certainly) names of clans or districts, not of individuals. On Othniel and Shamgar *cf.* Jg. 3$^{7-11}$* and 3^{1}*.

The result of these occasional struggles was to give the Israelites a firmer footing in the country. And, in times of peace, friendly contact and intermarriage with the natives led to the acquisition of the art of agriculture and other advantages of a settled civilisation. It also led, as said above, to frequent participation in their worship. But a further important result ensued: by gaining larger tracts of territory the tribes approached a closer unity of interests, which created a growing need of central government. So long as each township, with its surrounding villages, was managed only by an oligarchy of elders, constant friction was inevitable. But the prestige accorded to the local "judges" paved the way for the idea of a monarchy, and a desire was felt for a king to "judge" or govern them and to lead them in battle. To effect this was the work of Samuel.

6. The Beginning of Kingship.—Samuel, the son of Ephraimite parents, was of repute as a "seer" (p. 428) in the town of Ramah and the surrounding district. He was moved by a God-sent conviction that Israel must have a king. And when **Saul**, a fine young Benjamite, came to him to inquire of God respecting some lost asses, he felt sure that here was the man for his purpose, partly, perhaps, because Benjamin formed a sort of connecting link between the Joseph tribes and Judah. He anointed him privately, and bade him seize the first opportunity that offered itself of asserting his authority. The opportunity came when the Ammonites, under their king Nahash, attacked Jabesh in Gilead. Saul acted in the same manner as any of the "judges." Coming back one day from his work in the field, he heard of the desperate plight of Jabesh, and sent round a ferocious summons which brought him a strong force of men, with which he relieved the town. On his return he was made king at Gilgal.

Some time elapsed, of which the records preserve no account. But when his son Jonathan was old enough to be a skilled soldier, Saul led the Israelite armies in an attempt to throw off the yoke of the Philistines (pp. 56f.), who had gained considerable power in the country. (On an earlier occasion, before the Israelite armies were under the command of a capable leader, the Philistines had won a victory, in which they captured the Ark, and plunged Israel into despair.) 1 S. 13$^{19-23}$ gives a description, perhaps somewhat exaggerated, of the straits to which Israel was reduced. At the battle of Michmash a victory was won, but it did not put an end to the trouble. Throughout the whole of Saul's reign the Philistines harassed the country by predatory raids. Several skirmishes took place, and in one of them Saul and Jonathan met their death at Mt. Gilboa (pp. 29f.). During the latter years of his life Saul became a victim to nervous melancholia. A harpist named **David** soothed him with music when the attacks occurred, and gained the king's affection, so that he made him his armour-bearer. But the success of this young warrior in the Philistine battles, and the popularity which he won, caused melancholia to take the form of jealousy, and suspicion that David was plotting against him. David was obliged to leave the court. He went to the fortress of Adullam, where he was joined by a band of companions, which quickly grew in numbers, so that he became a freebooting chief. Repeated attempts on Saul's part to catch him were unsuccessful. For a time the Philistine king, Achish of Gath, received him as a friend, and allowed him and his troop to occupy the border town of Ziklag, whence they made raids on non-Israelite tribes in the Negeb, and gained the friendship of the southern districts of Judah by sending them presents from the spoils. Thus, when Saul died at Gilboa, Judah was ready to rally round David and make him king.

This outline of Saul's life is expanded in the later traditions, which treat of the two chief personages of the time, Samuel and David. Samuel was the most influential of a group of "prophets," earnest adherents to the old tribal religion of Yahweh, who roused themselves to ecstasy by music and dancing, thereby keeping alive the belief in Yahweh, whose Spirit was understood to be the cause of the ecstasy (p. 430). But in later times, when "prophets" had developed into something higher and nobler, the history was rewritten from this more religious standpoint. In these latter strata of narrative Samuel is pictured as the great religious adviser of king and people. Born in answer to his mother's prayers, dedicated to God's service from infancy, he received as a child a Divine message of rebuke to Eli, the priest of Shiloh, and all Israel knew that he was established to be a prophet of Yahweh. He "judged the people in Mizpah," and Yahweh threw them into a panic by a thunderstorm. The writer of this narrative had experienced the misrule, and tyranny of kings, and he expresses his condemnation of them by representing Samuel as vehemently opposed to the appointment of a king. The people clamoured for it, and God told him that they must have their way. He summoned a national assembly at Mizpah, where Saul was chosen by lot. Samuel then made a speech, warning them that Yahweh's favour, which they had hitherto enjoyed throughout their history, would be forfeited by them if they and their chosen king did not continue to fear and serve Him.

But Saul soon disobeyed Yahweh's commands, delivered by His great prophet. Samuel bade Saul undertake a religious war of extermination against the Amalekites, but he disobeyed, in that he spared Agag, their king, and the choicest animals of the spoil for sacrifice. Samuel accordingly declared that the kingdom would be taken from him, and the prophet forthwith anointed David, the youngest son of Jesse, marking him out as the future king. As in the case of Moses and Samuel, tradition enriched history in its accounts of David's life. As a shepherd boy he killed wild beasts with his own hands. While still too young to be a soldier he killed a Philistine giant, Goliath, with a sling and a stone, and was taken into Saul's household. There he formed an ideal friendship with Jonathan. But his successes in battle roused Saul's jealousy, and he fled, in danger of his life, to the hills of Judæa. There he wandered, not, as in the earlier narrative, an outlaw chief with a large band of followers, but an almost solitary fugitive chased by Saul. This late stratum of the narrative ends with Saul's visit to the witch at Endor, when the shade of the great prophet again rebuked him for disobedience, and predicted that David would become king and that Israel would be defeated by the Philistines.

7. The Reign of David.—David was chosen as king

by the Judæan tribes whose friendship he had won. As a counter move, Abner, Saul's captain, set up as king at Mahanaim Saul's son Ishbaal (Ishbosheth). But a defeat in battle at the hands of Joab, David's captain, followed by Abner's desertion, left Ishbaal helpless. He was murdered by two of his own officers, and the way was clear for David to unite the whole country under his control.

In the consolidation of his kingdom he began with a strategic movement of incalculable importance—the capture of the almost impregnable fortress of Zion from the Jebusites, accomplished by the courage of Joab. He then attacked the Philistines, so long the scourge of the country. Brief accounts of two engagements have survived (2 S. 5$17$–25), and the summary statement that he "took Metheg-ammah" (8$1$*). Their opposition was broken, and they never again became a national peril. The conflicts with the countries bordering on Israel were apparently numerous, but are, for the most part, summarised by the compiler as briefly as possible in 2 S. 8. Moab, Aram (Syria), Edom, and Ammon were worsted in a series of victories.

But David's rise to power spoilt him. He became in some respects a typical Oriental monarch. In the course of the Ammonite campaign occurred the dark incident of his illicit love for Bathsheba, and the machinations by which her husband, Uriah, a sturdy soldier, was done to death that his wife might be married to the king. The son that she bore to David died in infancy. Like other Oriental monarchs, he assumed royal state, with polygamy its usual accompaniment, which soon led to opposition, violence, and crime within his own family. His son Absalom, a pampered favourite, killed a half-brother, Amnon, for a wrong done to his sister, and fled. Joab, realising that he was hatching mischief, with difficulty persuaded David to fetch him home. But the mischief was done. Absalom gained the adherence of the northern tribes, and the rebellion became so formidable that David fled to Mahanaim. A battle ensued, in which Absalom fled, and was caught up in the branches of a tree, where Joab killed him, contrary to David's expressed wish. David returned in safety to Jerusalem, but embittered against Joab. The victory, however, did not put an end to the tension between the two parts of the nation. An obscure quarrel which arose between them out of a mere trifle gave an opportunity to Sheba, a member of Saul's tribe, to rally the northerners. But this fresh revolt was crushed, again by the iron hand of Joab. Two further troubles occurred in the course of the reign, a famine and a pestilence, both ascribed to Yahweh's anger, and both brought to an end by propitiating Him—in the former case by hanging seven of Saul's sons in blood-revenge for some Gibeonites whom Saul had slain, in the latter by an animal sacrifice (2 S. 21$1$–14, 24). After Sheba's revolt no records of the reign have survived until the aged king is pictured on his death-bed. Adonijah, a son of one of his many concubines, was plotting to seize the crown, with the help of Joab and the priest Abiathar. But David nominated **Solomon**, Bathsheba's son, as his successor, and called upon Benaiah, the priest Zadok, and the prophet Nathan, to help him. Zadok anointed him, and Adonijah at once submitted.

8. The Reign of Solomon.—Solomon was a tyrant and a man of iron, who chastised the nation with whips. Still holding together the N. and the S. in a precarious unity, and troubled by little foreign opposition (Hadad, an Edomite, and Rezon, an Aramæan, are mentioned as giving some trouble, 1 K. 11$14$–25), he was able to attain to his truly Oriental ideal of barbaric magnificence. In order, doubtless, to cement political treaties, he married a large number of foreign wives, including the daughter of the Pharaoh of Egypt. He strengthened the country by fortifying towns at strategic points. By alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre, he became possessor of a fleet which traded along the Arabian coasts, starting from the port at Elath, which the Edomite rising had not succeeded in taking from him. Wealth—tradition pictured it as fabulous—began to pour in. But for the most part it found its way into Jerusalem, and contributed to the luxury of his court and to the splendour of his palace and royal sanctuary, and of the palace of his Egyptian queen. The exchequer was further enriched by taxation: twelve districts were mapped out, each in command of an officer, who levied provisions for the palace for one month in the year. Moreover, the king's extensive buildings were erected by the forced labour of Israelites (1 K. 5$13$–17, 11$28$). One passage (9$20$–22) states that only Canaanites were thus employed; but the amalgamation of Israelites with the natives was probably too far advanced to admit of this distinction.

Solomon's reign had three permanent results: (1) His tyranny roused seething discontent. Jeroboam, son of Nebat, an overseer of the forced labour in Ephraim, who is said to have been incited by a prophet, Ahijah the Shilonite, attempted revolt. He failed for the moment, and fled to Egypt. But the seed of disruption was sown, and would soon bear fruit. (2) The absorption of wealth by the royal court gave rise to class hatred between rich and poor, and the oppression of the latter by the former, which undermined the unity and vitality of the national life. (3) On the other hand, the erection of the king's sanctuary, the Temple, in Jerusalem provided a nucleus for all that was best in the national worship, and at a later date became, in theory at least, the only sanctuary of the one and only God, Yahweh.

9. The Disruption.—When Solomon died, **Jeroboam** returned from Egypt. To the northern tribes, who were clamouring for release from the burdens of taxation and forced labour, Rehoboam, Solomon's son, declared with insolent folly that he intended to add to them. This brought about the disruption, which was never healed. Jeroboam became king of the northerners, who can henceforth be called Israel, as distinct from Judah.

The compiler states, "There was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually" (1 K. 14$30$), but no details are given. Rehoboam was about to make an attempt to recover his lost power, but was dissuaded by a prophet (12$21$–24). Jeroboam gave permanence to the breach by providing for Israel a religious bond of union. He enriched Bethel, the royal sanctuary, by setting up a golden bull, as a symbol of Yahweh, and consecrated priests to minister there. (The erection of the second bull, at Dan, is doubted by many writers.) This, as he expected, proved a strong counter-attraction to the Temple at Jerusalem. The historian, who was imbued with the later spirit of the "Deuteronomic" reform, which regarded the use of all images as idolatry, and all non-Levitical priesthood as invalid, never wearies of denouncing Jeroboam as he "who made Israel to sin." And he relates the death of his child as his punishment, predicted by Ahijah (14$1$–13), and the story of the prophet from Judah, who rebuked him at Bethel (13).

10. The Kings.—The history of each kingdom falls into four periods, as follows (see pp. 119f.):

ISRAEL

1. Miscellaneous kings, 937–887 B.C.	Jeroboam I	I K. 12^{25}–14^{20}
	Nadab	15^{25}–31
	Baasha	15^{27}–16^{7}
	Elah	16^{8}–10
	Zimri	16^{9}–20
2. House of Omri, 887–842	Omri	16^{16}–28
	Ahab	16^{29}–22^{40}
	Ahaziah	22^{49}, 2 K. 1^{18}
	Jehoram	2 K. 3–9^{26}
3. House of Jehu, 842–745	Jehu	9, 10
	Jehoahaz	13^{1}–9, 22f.
	Jehoash	13^{10}–21, 24f., 14^{1}–16
	Jeroboam II.	14^{23}–29
	Zechariah	15^{8}–12
4. Miscellaneous kings, 745–722	Shallum	15^{10}–15
	Menahem	15^{14}–22
	Pekahiah	15^{23}–26
	Pekah	15^{25}–31, 16^{5}–9
	Hoshea	15^{30}, 17^{1}–23

JUDAH

1. Struggle towards prosperity, 937–851	Rehoboam	1 K. 12^{1}–24, 14^{21}–31	2 Ch. 10–12
	Abijah	15^{1}–8	13
	Asa	15^{9}–24	14–16
	Jehoshaphat	22^{1}–50	17–21^{1}
2. Paganism and weakness, 851–836	Jehoram	2 K. 8^{16}–24	21
	Ahaziah	8^{25}–29, 9^{16}–29	22^{1}–9
	Athaliah	11^{1}–20	22^{10}–23^{15}
3. Vigorous advance, 836–735	Joash	11, 12	22^{10}–24^{27}
	Amaziah	14^{1}–20	25
	Azariah (Uzziah)	14^{21}f., 15^{1}–7	26
	Jotham	15^{5}–7, 32–38	27
4. Decline and fall, 735–586	Ahaz	16	28
	Hezekiah	18–20	29–32
	Manasseh	21^{1}–18	33^{1}–20
	Amon	21^{19}–26	33^{21}–25
	Josiah	22–23^{30}	34, 35
	Jehoahaz	23^{31}–33	36^{1}–4
	Jehoiakim	23^{34}–24^{7}	36^{5}–8
	Jehoiachin	24^{8}–16, 25^{27}–30	36^{9,10}
	Zedekiah	24^{17}–25^{22}	36^{11}–21

11. Israel. Political Unrest.—The bulk of Israel's history consists in her relations with the foreign powers Aram (§ 12) and Assyria (§ 13), and with Judah (§ 14). And since the history was compiled by religious writers with a predominantly religious purpose, the internal events recorded are mostly those connected with religion. The small remainder, which may conveniently be sketched here, is almost confined to the confusion, little short of anarchy, which prevailed in the first and the last period. The Northern kingdom snatched from Rehoboam by Jeroboam was snatched again and again by others.

Nadab, son of Jeroboam I, was besieging Gibbethon, a Philistine town, when he was killed by **Baasha.** Baasha's son **Elah,** and the whole family, were killed by his captain **Zimri.** But **Omri,** who was in command of the siege of Gibbethon, was set up as king by the army; and Zimri in despair burnt the palace at Tirzah (p. 30) over his own head. Civil war followed, a man named Tibni being supported by "half the people." But Omri succeeded in defeating him. By a vigorous reign he began to give strength and stability to the country. With the eye of a good general he perceived the strategic strength of Samaria (p. 30), and made it the capital, which it continued to be until the northern kingdom fell.

In the last period, Zechariah was killed by a usurper, **Shallum,** and he, a month later, by **Menahem.** Menahem's son **Pekahiah** was killed by his captain **Pekah,** and he in turn by **Hoshea.** The feverish unrest of this period was an immediate sequel of the prosperous reign of Jeroboam II. The country had been flooded with wealth, of the moral results of which Amos and Hosea supply terrible evidence—the rapacity of the rich and their cruel oppression of the poor, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like. The political disorder reflected the social disorder, which, as the prophets saw already, spelt ruin. The sufferings at the hands of Aram were as nothing compared with those which Assyria would inflict. The country, corrupted by luxury, and divided against itself by class hatred, would fall a helpless prey before the great world-power ordained by Yahweh to be the punishment of the national sins.

12. Israel and Aram (Syria).—Aram is the name as given in the Hebrew Bible; Syria, the equivalent in the LXX and Vulg., is adopted in the English versions. That Israel and Aram were closely akin is shown by the fact that they spoke different dialects of the same language, and would be, for the most part, quite intelligible to each other. Of the Aramæan states the most westerly, with Damascus as its capital, lay im

mediately to the N. of the Lebanon range, and could not fail to be engaged in frequent border struggles with Israel.

The defeats inflicted upon them by David, and the hostility of Rezon against Solomon, have already been mentioned. After the disruption **Baasha** made a treaty with them. But when he invaded Judah, Asa, the Judæan king, bribed Benhadad I, king of Aram, to help him, which he did by attacking some Israelite towns, thus drawing away Baasha. Omri was also attacked; he lost some towns, and ceded to the Aramæans some streets or quarters in Samaria. That he was not crippled, however, is shown by his defeat of the Moabites, as related in Mesha's inscription (the "Moabite Stone," p. 34, 1 K. 31–27*). Subdued by David, they now tried to regain their independence; in this they succeeded in the reign of Omri's successors. Against **Ahab** the Aramæans made further attempts. Benhadad II attacked Samaria. Ahab at first acceded to his demands; but when they became more extravagant he refused, and won the ensuing battle. War, according to custom, ceased for the winter; but in the following spring the Aramæans brought a large force, which was again defeated so decisively that Ahab was in a position to dictate terms. The towns lost by Omri were restored, and streets in Damascus were ceded to Israel. In the peace which ensued, Ahab joined a coalition of Aramæan states in opposition to Assyria; but though the coalition was worsted at Karkar, no decisive result was reached. Ahab was now foolish enough to break with Aram. He persuaded Jehoshaphat, the Judæan king, to join him in recovering Ramoth-gilead, which had been lost in one of the preceding reigns. Encouraged by a band of courtier prophets, but warned by the bold and conscientious Micaiah, son of Imlah, the two kings undertook the expedition. Ahab fought in disguise, but was mortally wounded, and the expedition failed.

After the death of his son **Ahaziah,** as the result of a fall from a roof chamber, an incident which tradition connected with the prophet Elijah (2 K. 1), another son, **Jehoram,** succeeded his brother. The Aramæans now began to press heavily. But at this point Elisha came to the front as the king's prophetical adviser. The compiler has preserved a group of narratives about him (2f.), preserved, as were the Elijah stories, by the prophetic bands. Some of them relate his dealings with Aram. The course of events is somewhat obscure, since the name of the Israelite king is not given in 5–8. The compiler represents the whole series of events as belonging to Jehoram's reign, as follows. The Aramæans made several attacks, but the king was in each case warned by Elisha. They besieged the prophet in Dothan, but the troops were disabled by temporary blindness, and he led them to Samaria to the king. The king would have killed them, but Elisha persuaded him to be conciliatory. The result was that "the bands of Aram came no more into the land of Israel" (623). This sentence, and the friendly relations between the prophet and the king, suggest that the above narrative should be placed at a later point than Jehoram's reign, after the dynasty of Omri, which was hostile to Elijah and Elisha, had been brought to an end. After the sentence in 23 the compiler begins, in the very next verse, a narrative of Benhadad's siege of Samaria. The town was brought to the extremity of famine. But Elisha, whom the king (no doubt Jehoram) blamed as the cause of the trouble, and determined to put to death, predicted that food would soon be cheap. That night a panic dispersed the enemy, and they fled from their camp. Four lepers, who had gone thither to give themselves up in the hope of food, reported the fact in the city, and the camp was at once looted by the famished population. To the same reign probably belongs the well-known story of Naaman (5).

The punishment of the dynasty of Omri was deliberately designed by Elisha. Benhadad II was a weak king, who indulged in drink when he should have been fighting; and he now lay seriously ill. Elisha was evidently in private communication with Damascus. He went thither, and incited Hazael, an Aramæan military officer, to assassinate his master and seize the crown. He also sent a young member of his prophetic band to anoint **Jehu,** then an Israelite captain, who was fighting at Ramoth-gilead, which Jehoram was attempting, as his father had done, to recover with the help of the Judæan king, Ahaziah. Jehu's savage attack upon the royal families of N. and S. will be related below (§ 18).

Hazael, having followed Elisha's hint, and usurped the Aramæan throne, began a series of formidable inroads upon Israel. He is said to have won from Jehu all the Israelite territory E. of the Jordan. He even attacked Gath and Judah; but Joash, the Judæan king, sent him a heavy payment, and he retired (12 17f.). Then Hazael and Benhadad III, his son and successor, continued their victories, so that **Jehoahaz,** the next king of Israel, was reduced to extremities. But at this crisis "Yahweh gave Israel a saviour, so that they went out from under the hand of Aram" (135). This refers either to **Jehoash,** the next king, or to the fact that the Assyrians now appeared in the W., and Jehoash was able, by three important victories, to turn the tide of defeat. His work was continued by **Jeroboam II,** who gained a series of brilliant victories, bringing the country to the highest state of prosperity that it ever reached. (The moral results of this have already been indicated in § 11.) But Assyria was now rising to the zenith of her power, and the small western states were helpless. The rapid advance of Israel was followed by as rapid a fall. A vain attempt to avert the onslaught of Assyria was made in the reign of **Pekah,** by an alliance between Israel and Aram. This will be related in the next section.

13. Israel and Assyria.—As soon as Assyria, under Ashurnasirpal, began her movement into Western Asia, the fate of the little kingdom of Israel may be said to have been sealed. **Omri** was known to the Assyrians; his successful reign had been important enough to cause their inscriptions to speak of Israel as "the land of the house of Khumri" (Omri), and even Jehu is mistakenly called the son of Omri. The earliest hostile contact was at Karkar, where **Ahab,** as already stated, was in conjunction with some Aramæan states. Shalmaneser III (till recently called II) attacked Aram, and ultimately besieged Hazael in Damascus. **Jehu,** as well as Tyre and Sidon, warded off an attack by paying tribute, as related on the "Black Obelisk," which fixes the date as 842 B.C. The next Assyrian king, Shamshi-ramman, was occupied for a short time in his own country, and Hazael took advantage of the interval to gain his victories over Jehu and **Jehoahaz.** But in the reign of the latter the Assyrians reappeared under Rammannirari III, and Israel was then relieved from the Aramæan pressure. During the reign of **Jeroboam II** the Assyrians, under three of their kings, were again occupied at home, defending themselves against enemies; this gave the Israelite king the opportunity

for his extended successes. But Israel's fall was at hand. In the midst of the disorders which followed the overthrow of Jehu's dynasty by Shallum's murder of Zechariah, the Assyrians again came westward under Tiglath-pileser III, or Pul. Directly he appeared, **Menahem** paid him tribute, together with Rezon of Damascus and Hiram of Tyre. The two great powers, Assyria and Egypt, were now in close proximity, separated only by the debateable ground of the small Palestinian states. When the Assyrians retired, Israel became divided against itself in its foreign policy. One party supported the king in submission to Assyria, but the other wished to buy the help of Egypt. Hosea pictures in despairing language the hopelessness of the situation (*e.g.* Hos. 7$_{11}$, 12$_{1}$). At last **Pekah** took the lead of the pro-Egyptian party, killed Pekahiah, Menahem's son, and joined a coalition against Assyria consisting of Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, Ashkelon, and Gaza. But to make success possible all the Palestinian states must join. When Judah refused, Pekah, with Rezin (better Rezon) of Damascus, tried to force Ahaz the king by raiding Judah, and even investing Jerusalem (Is. 7$_{1}$). But before they could take the city the Assyrians suddenly appeared in Northern Israel, in 734. (The action of Ahaz at this crisis will be related in § 16.) They crushed the coalition, annexing most of the territory N. of the plain of Jezreel, and deported the population to Assyria, and then prevented any help coming from Egypt by capturing Ashkelon and Gaza. Pekah was killed by **Hoshea**, a member of the pro-Assyrian party, and Pul placed him on the throne, subject, of course, to tribute. This he paid as long as Pul lived. But at his death in 727 there was a general revolt against his successor, Shalmaneser V. At his approach Hoshea did homage and brought tribute, but directly his back was turned, Hoshea in 725–4 appealed to Egypt, then in the hands of an Ethiopian usurper, a military captain named So or Sibi. Before he could send help, Shalmaneser besieged Samaria, after capturing Hoshea. The town, being too strong to be stormed, was reduced by famine. Before its capture Shalmaneser died, but it was completed by his successor, Sargon, in 723. Almost the entire population was deported to Assyria, and foreign conquered nations from the E. were settled in their place.

These heterogeneous peoples followed their various cults, the amalgamation of which with the worship of Yahweh is described in 2 K. 17$_{24-41}$. Their numbers were afterwards increased by further importations (Ezr. 4$_{2}$,9f.). The community became known as the Samaritans.

14. Israel and Judah.—The compiler of 1 and 2 *Kings* has arranged a scheme of synchronisms for the kings of Israel and Judah, but it is sometimes artificial and of no historical value. The precise overlappings of the several reigns are quite unimportant. All that need be studied are the occasions when the two kingdoms come into contact. As has already been pointed out, they were never really one nation in a political sense, but only in religion, although a precarious unity had been maintained under David and Solomon. Judah lasted a century longer than Israel, but for some 250 years they existed side by side. During the dynasty of Omri they preserved a mutual alliance, but before and after it their contact was always collision.

The folly of Rehoboam, which led to the disruption, and the steps taken by Jeroboam to make the breach permanent, have been mentioned in § 9. The compiler, who states that "there was war between **Rehoboam** and Jeroboam continually," makes a similar remark about **Abijah** and Jeroboam (1 K. 15$_{7}$), but, as before, no details are given; and again about **Asa** and Baasha. In this case we learn that Baasha invaded Judah, and fortified Ramah, a few miles north of Jerusalem, as an outpost from which to harass the enemy. But Asa bribed the Aramæans to draw away Baasha (§ 12), and demolished Ramah.

The dynasty of Omri brought a thirty years' interlude in the hostilities. Ahab began by seeking the help of **Jehoshaphat** in the disastrous attempt to recover Ramoth-gilead from the Aramæans (§ 12). A little later, the same Judæan king was approached by Ahab's son. Jehoshaphat had made himself master of Ezion-geber, and, like Solomon, had built a fleet to trade along the Arabian coasts. His first expedition failed, the ships being "broken," either by a storm or enemies. But when Ahaziah offered to join him in manning another fleet, Jehoshaphat declined. This, however, does not seem to have caused friction, for soon afterwards Jehoshaphat was again fighting in conjunction with Israel. The Moabites, defeated by Omri, had recently rebelled from Israel's suzerainty. Jehoram, Ahaziah's brother, tried to reduce them, and persuaded Jehoshaphat to join him, together with the Edomites, who were at that time subject to Judah. They approached from the southern end of the Dead Sea, to take the Moabites in the rear, but in doing so were in want of water. Elisha, roused to prophetic ecstasy by music, bade them dig trenches. In the morning the water in the trenches looked crimson, perhaps with the early sunlight. The Moabites, thinking it was blood, and that the allied armies had begun to slaughter one another, advanced incautiously and were routed. But the victory was not decisive. The Moabite king, besieged in Kir-hareseth, and reduced to despair, sacrificed his son on the city wall; and the allied armies were so terrified at the wrath of Chemosh, the Moabite god, that they withdrew.

The alliance, however, did not cease. It was further cemented by the marriage of **Jehoram**, king of Judah, to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. It also led to one more joint action. **Ahaziah**, son of the last king and of Athaliah, gave his help to Jehoram of Israel in another attempt to recover Ramoth-gilead. But it failed. Jehoram was wounded and returned to Jezreel, where he was visited by Ahaziah. Both were there put to death by Jehu. The house of Omri was thus brought to an end, and never again was there a possibility of alliance between Israel and Judah.

It was perhaps with a view to avenging the Judæan blood shed by Jehu that **Amaziah** challenged to battle Jehoash, Jehu's grandson. Amaziah was elated at a recent victory over the Edomites (§ 15), and the severe losses recently suffered by Israel at the hands of the Aramæans (§ 12) may have seemed to offer him a favourable opportunity. But Israel was making a quick recovery from her losses. Jehoash replied to Amaziah with the scornful parable of the thistle that wanted his son to marry the cedar's daughter. But Amaziah persisted, and suffered a severe defeat at Beth-shemesh. Jehoash brought him back to Jerusalem, where he destroyed part of the wall, and took heavy payment and hostages. The people were so angry with Amaziah that they put him to death and placed his son on the throne.

The only remaining occasion on which Israel and Judah came into contact was the Syro-Ephraimite attack, by which Pekah and Rezon (Rezin) sought to

force Ahaz to join their coalition against Assyria (§§ 12, 16).

15. Judah and Neighbouring Peoples.—As in the case of Israel, the bulk of Judah's secular history consists of her relations with foreign powers. From the time when Israel fell, Assyria and then Babylon filled the whole outlook. But conflicts with powers nearer home may first be briefly noticed. From a military point of view Judah was singularly insignificant. It was small—about the size of Lincolnshire—and unwarlike. Its only chance of existence, as the prophets saw, lay in its mountainous seclusion. But its rulers persistently refused to realise its limitations, and plunged it frequently into foreign turmoils.

Rehoboam, having hopelessly failed to retain his hold on the northern tribes, suffered a further reverse at the hands of Egypt. Shishak (Sheshonk I), a Libyan who had usurped the Egyptian throne from the Pharaoh with whom Solomon had been in alliance, invaded Judah, and even Israel, although he had been friendly to Jeroboam I (p. 58, 1 K. 14$_{25}$*). He carried off the large treasure with which Solomon had enriched the Temple and palace. **Asa**, when attacked by Baasha, would have met with yet another defeat if he had not called in the help of the Aramæans (§ 12). **Jehoshaphat** was more successful. He seems to have gained possession of the Philistine town Libnah (2 K. 8$_{22}$); and, still holding the suzerainty over Edom (*ib.*) which gave him control over Ezion-geber, with its port Elath on the Gulf of Akaba, he built a fleet for trading purposes, which, however, was destroyed (§ 14). His expeditions with Ahab at Ramoth-gilead, and with Jehoram to reduce the Moabites, have been related, and belong rather to the history of Israel than of Judah. His weak successor, **Jehoram**, lost Libnah, and Edom at the same time successfully revolted, although in 8$_{21}$ there seems to be an obscure account of a victory over it. But access to the Red Sea, which he had lost, was a tempting prize, which was again won by **Amaziah** in a battle with Edom in the Valley of Salt, when he captured the fortress of Sela (14$_7$). Elath remained in Judah's hands during the successful rule of **Azariah (Uzziah)** and his regent son, **Jotham**; but the use which they made of it was of no interest to the compiler. **Ahaz**, like Jehoram, was a weak man, who lost all that had been gained. In the Syro-Ephraimite invasion of Judah, Rezon (Rezin) "recovered Elath for Aram [*read* Edom]" (16$_6$). **Hezekiah** was more capable; but the only victories recorded of him in *Kings* are those by which he defeated the Philistines in and around Gaza (18$_8$). All the remaining instances of Judæan enterprise which the compiler preserves must be studied in connexion with Assyria (§ 16) and Babylon (§ 17).

16. Judah and Assyria.—The tragic history of Judah's relations with the great Asiatic power can be told more fully, material being provided not only in Assyrian inscriptions, but also in the preaching of Isaiah. In her hilly isolation, at a distance from the main highroads which connected Egypt with the N. and E., it might have been possible for Judah to remain intact. As Isaiah said: "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." But a bold and far-seeing policy counts for nothing in the face of panic. When Tiglath-Pileser III (Pul) had begun his victories over the western states, Pekah of Israel and Rezon (Rezin) of Damascus raided Judah in order to force Ahaz to join their coalition, or, failing that, to depose him and to place on the Judæan throne a Ben-Tabeel, a puppet of their own (Is. 7$_6$). The result was a panic in Jerusalem (2$_2$), and Ahaz determined to renounce his independence and to pay tribute to Assyria. At this crisis Isaiah came forward, and tried hard to persuade the king (1–16) and the people (8$_{1-15}$) that Pekah and Rezin were not formidable; that within a very few years they would be swept away by Assyria; and that, if Judah would only remain quiet and trust in Yahweh, she would suffer no harm; but if she refused Yahweh's help, imagining it to be as feeble as the small, shallow waters of Shiloah, and hired the help of Assyria, the latter would sweep over the country with a torrent like that of the Euphrates; the policy of Ahaz would be an apparent success in averting the immediate Syro-Ephraimite danger, but Judah would be finally "shaved" clean by the very "razor" hired to help her (7$_{20}$). But Ahaz was infatuated with his own plan, and would not listen. He paid tribute (2 K. 16$_7$f.)—quite unnecessarily, as Isaiah had foreseen, since Assyria would have attacked Pekah and Rezin in any case. In the next year (734) Tiglath-Pileser captured Gaza, in 733 the northern districts of Israel, and in 732 Damascus. In 724 Hoshea revolted, and the northern kingdom fell (§ 13). "Henceforward, instead of a kindred people, Judah had on its northern border, which lay but an easy day's walk from Jerusalem, an Assyrian province and a mixed population" (Gray).

During the years 734–711 Judah seems to have remained in submission to Assyria, giving no help either to the northern kingdom at the time of its collapse, or to Hamath when it revolted and was subdued in 720. Earlier, probably, than these two events Ahaz died, and thus did not witness the evils that his policy was destined to produce. In 720 Sargon also defeated Gaza and an Egyptian force at Raphia, in the S. of Philistia, but Judah was apparently untouched. But in 711, when **Hezekiah** was on the Judæan throne, a combined revolt was started which included Judah (Is. 20*), Ashdod, Moab, and Edom, with help from Egypt and Ethiopia. This was quelled by Sargon's "Tartan" or officer. But intrigue was in the air. 2 K. 20$_{12-19}$ (Is. 39) describes an embassy sent to Jerusalem by Merodach Baladan, which Hezekiah favourably received, bringing upon himself a stern warning from Isaiah. Merodach Baladan was a Chaldean who had made himself master of Babylon. If the Biblical narrative is historically trustworthy, which some writers doubt, the embassy may have been sent when he had been driven out of Babylon by Sargon in 709.

In 705 Sargon was succeeded on the Assyrian throne by Sennacherib. This was the signal for another revolt by Judah and Philistia, fostered by an Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt. In 701 the Assyrians came, as before, along the coast road to Philistia, and Sennacherib defeated Ashkelon and Ekron. The latter had deposed their king, Padi, who must have favoured submission to Assyria, and had sent him in chains to Hezekiah. But, after winning a victory at Eltekeh, the Assyrian troops overran Judah, and Padi was restored. Their inscription states that they captured forty-six fortified towns and many smaller ones, and 200,150 inhabitants; and Jerusalem was blockaded, Hezekiah being shut up "like a caged bird." But the city was not captured. Hezekiah submitted and sent a large tribute to Nineveh, whither Sennacherib had, for some reason, retired before the end of the Judæan campaign. With this account agrees the brief statement in 2 K. 18$_{13-16}$ (=Is. 36$_1$). But some other narratives are appended: (1) In 18$_{17-19}$7 (=Is. 36$_{2-37}$) it is related that, after capturing the Judæan towns, Sennacherib sent from Lachish an officer, the "Rabshakeh," to demand the surrender of

Jerusalem; but Isaiah encouraged Hezekiah to hold out, declaring that Sennacherib "shall hear a rumour and shall return unto his own land." According to this sentence his departure is as sudden and unexplained as in the inscription. But (2) in 1935–37 (=Is. 3736–38) there is the famous account of the Assyrian soldiery, smitten "by an angel of Yahweh"—*i.e.* probably by pestilence—and this seems to be given as the reason for Sennacherib's departure. And finally, (3) between these accounts stands yet another narrative in 198–34 (=Is. 378–35), according to which Sennacherib at Lachish, hearing that Tirhakah of Ethiopia was advancing against him, sent messengers to Jerusalem to intimidate Hezekiah. The king took the letter into the Temple and prayed to Yahweh to defend the city; and Isaiah encouraged him, declaring that the city would not be injured. This seems to be partly a duplicate of the first of the three narratives, but probably confused with a record of a later event, since it seems certain that Tirhakah was not king of Ethiopia before 694. The mention of him would be explained if Sennacherib, as is possible, was again called to Syria *c.* 690. Thus the details of his invasion are uncertain; but two facts are clear, that Jerusalem was not captured, and that Judah continued to be tributary to Assyria.

Under Esarhaddon, to whom **Manasseh** acknowledged vassalage by paying tribute, and under his successor Asshur-bani-pal (Heb. Osnappar), Assyria rose to her highest pinnacle of power. Both these monarchs transplanted some of their captives to join the already mixed population in the region of Samaria (Ez. 42,9f.). The latter even invaded Egypt, and captured No-Amon (Thebes) in 660 (Nah. 38–10). But only fifty-three years later Assyria fell, never to rise again. Isaiah had been confident that her pride would some day be abased (Is. 105–34); Zephaniah had declared, early in Josiah's reign, that she would share the ruin which the day of Yahweh would bring to many nations (Zeph. 2); and Nahum, his contemporary, perceiving that with all her splendour she was internally rotten, spent his short utterance in proclaiming her fall. The Medes under Cyaxares and the Chaldeans under Nabopolassar, the founder of the new Babylonian empire, united against her. At the moment when her power began to wane, Necho, the Pharaoh of Egypt, attempted to gain part of her dominions. **Josiah**, who in the absence of Assyrian forces had assumed authority over parts of Northern Israel, unwisely dared to resist his passage; he met his untimely death at Megiddo in the plain of Jezreel, and Necho passed on. **Jehoahaz**, the younger son of Josiah, was made king by the people. But Necho, on his return three months later, sent for him to Riblah on the Orontes, and dispatched him in chains to Egypt—an event bitterly lamented by Jeremiah (2210–12)—and placed on the throne as a tributary vassal Josiah's elder son, **Jehoiakim.** But the Chaldeans (Babylonians) were now rising with irresistible leaps to power. It was their impending advance which drew from Habakkuk his cry of perplexity. The fall of Nineveh in 607, and the defeat of Necho by Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabopolassar, at Carchemish in 604 (Jer. 462–26), were epoch-making events. Had Egypt won at Carchemish, and retained her hold upon Judah, the subsequent history and religious development of the chosen people would have been completely different.

17. Judah and Babylon.—Necho's defeat made Judah tributary to Babylon instead of to Egypt. It was obvious, in the circumstances, that her only chance of existence lay in quiet submission; but king and people alike failed to see it. **Jehoiakim** began to surround himself with wealth and luxury, with its inevitable accompaniments of oppression and injustice (Jer. 2213–17). The true prophets were despised, especially the greatest of them, Jeremiah. Amid hatred and persecution he stood forth and declared, in season and out of season, that submission to Babylon would alone avert utter destruction. He collected his earlier prophecies, and Baruch, his scribe, read them to the people at the time of a national fast held in view of the approaching peril. The princes took the roll, and Jehudi began to read it to the king; but he cut it in pieces and threw it into the fire. He sent to arrest Jeremiah, "but Yahweh hid him." And the prophet again made Baruch write out the prophecies, adding many of his later utterances (369–32). His words were echoed by a prophet named Urijah, but he was so fiercely persecuted that he fled to Egypt. The king, however, sent for him, and he was put to death(2620–23). Jeremiah was barely saved on another occasion from a similar fate (1–19,24). He was tried in the Temple court, and condemned to death. He deliberately reiterated his warnings, but was rescued by Ahikam, son of Josiah's secretary, Shaphan, and some of the elders, who reminded them that Micah had similarly foretold the destruction of the city (Mi. 312).

In 597 Jehoiakim took the suicidal step of revolting from Babylon. Aramæans, Moabites, and Ammonites, who were all tributary to Babylon, overran Judah, and many inhabitants of the villages fled into the capital. Jeremiah continued to predict destruction, and was attacked and put into the public stocks until the next day by Passhur, the chief officer of the Temple. At this critical moment Jehoiakim was fortunate enough to die, leaving his son, Coniah (or Jeconiah), as his successor, to suffer the Chaldean attack. He took the name **Jehoiachin** at his accession. Jeremiah saw what his end would be (2224–30). He was king for only three months. Egypt could give no help since Carchemish (2 K. 247), and the Chaldeans besieged the city. The king at once surrendered, and was carried to Babylon with the queen-mother, the court, and the best elements in Judah, including 7000 soldiers and 1000 artisans (2 K. 2410–16, Jer. 1318,19). These, base as they were, Jeremiah contrasted favourably with the population left behind; they were as good and bad figs (Jer. 24). During the latter years of his life in exile Jehoiachin was kindly treated. Evil-Merodach (Amil-Marduk), the successor of Nebuchadrezzar, took him out of prison and allowed him to live as a prince (5231–34).

Zedekiah, a younger son of Josiah, and uncle of Jehoiachin, was placed on the throne by Nebuchadrezzar as his tributary vassal. If he had continued to pay the tribute all would have been well. But soon after his accession he was invited by the kings of Moab, Ammon, and Tyre to join with them in revolt. Jeremiah was straining every nerve to prevent this. His chief opponent was a prophet named Hananiah, who declared that within two years the exiles would return from Babylon (281–4). Jeremiah had been wearing a wooden yoke to add visible emphasis to his warnings. Hananiah broke it in pieces, but Jeremiah retorted that the yoke of wood upon the neck of the nation would be exchanged for a yoke of iron. And he predicted that Hananiah would die within twelve months, which came to pass (2810–17). But the fanatical belief that Yahweh would interpose for His people by a miracle was maintained by many of the exiles, who held frequent correspondence with Jerusalem. Jeremiah gives the substance of a letter from

a certain Shemaiah to the priests in the capital, asking why the prophet had not been put in the stocks for his troublesome preaching. But Zephaniah the priest showed him the letter. Jeremiah himself wrote to the exiles imploring them to live in quiet submission, and warning them against the utterances of false prophets (29). But it was all of no avail. Ezekiel, a priest among the exiles, delivered the same message as Jeremiah, but it fell on deaf ears. In 588 Judah plunged into revolt. Zedekiah joined with Moab and Ammon in asking Egypt for help. In order to please Yahweh and induce Him to help them, they made a solemn covenant, releasing all Hebrew slaves (34$_{8-10}$); *cf.* the regulations in Dt. 15$_{12f.}$ This would incidentally increase the number of those who would be willing to defend the city. Nebuchadrezzar at once came to Jerusalem at the beginning of 587. But just as he began the siege an Egyptian force appeared under Pharaoh Hophra, and the Chaldeans for the moment retired to repulse them (Jer. 37$_{11}$). This made the people think that they had been delivered, and having gained from Yahweh what they wanted, they broke their covenant and took back into slavery the Hebrews whom they had freed (34$_{11}$).

Jeremiah in the moment of respite was starting out to his home at Anathoth, when he was seized and charged with attempting to desert to the enemy. He was put in prison, till the king, weak and vacillating in his fear both of the enemy and of his own nobles, sent for him. But the prophet, as before, persisted that his only hope lay in submission. The nobles then let him down into a noisome cistern. But a black slave at the palace, on reporting it to the king, was allowed to release him, and Jeremiah was kept safe in the court of the guard. He again advised the king to submit to Babylon, but he was too weak to stand out against the popular fanaticism (37f.). The siege lasted, with all the horrors of famine, for a year and a half, when the enemy forced an entrance. Zedekiah tried to flee, but was caught and taken to Riblah. Thence, with the mass of the population, he was carried to Babylon. The Chaldean officer Nebuzaradan was left to collect the treasures of the city and Temple, to throw down the walls, and to destroy the buildings with fire, including the Temple and palace (39$_{1-9}$). Hearing that Jeremiah had counselled submission, Nebuzaradan allowed him to choose whether he would go to Babylon or remain at home, and he chose the latter (40$_{1-6}$).

It must not be supposed that Judæa was depleted of all its inhabitants. Many had fled to the surrounding countries before the siege. But the great majority consisted of the poorest of the peasantry. There is some probability, however, that a number of priests, who had been deprived of their country sanctuaries by the "Deuteronomic" reform, now came together and carried on the worship of the community. The Chaldeans appointed a Judæan named **Gedaliah**, son of Ahikam, as governor, who settled at Mizpah, and showed signs of being a very competent ruler, and was sensible enough to advocate submission to Babylon (Jer. 40$_{7-12}$). All might have gone well but for an act of treachery. A Judæan, named Ishmael, was sent by the Ammonite king to assassinate Gedaliah. The latter was warned by Johanan, son of Kareah, but he was too generous to believe the report. He gave Ishmael hospitality at Mizpah, and then Ishmael murdered him, and many of the Judæans who were with him, and even the Chaldean soldiers on guard in the town. Two days later eighty men who had come from the north to offer sacrifice were inveigled into the town and killed in cold blood. Ishmael then carried off the remainder of the people in Mizpah, and started to take them to the king of Ammon (40$_{13-41_{10}}$). But Johanan pursued him with a band of soldiers, so that he left his captives and fled. Johanan now determined, in order to escape the wrath of the Babylonians, to take to Egypt those whom he had rescued. They inquired of Jeremiah whether it was Yahweh's will. He replied, as strongly as he could, that it was not. But after asking for his advice they refused to follow it, and carried off both him and Baruch to Egypt, and settled at Tahpanhes (41$_{11-43_7}$). There, in spite of his continued preaching, they lapsed into idolatry, declaring that it was their worship of Yahweh which had led to the destruction of Jerusalem, which He had been unable to defend. Jeremiah replied that Yahweh would deliver the Egyptians into the hands of the Babylonians (44).

18. Religious History of Israel and Judah.—The course of Israel's religious thought forms the subject of a special article (pp. 81–97), but the events related to it must be briefly sketched. From the time that David carried the Ark up to Mt. Zion, Jerusalem became the chief centre of the worship of Yahweh, although there were many sanctuaries and "high places" in all parts of the country. The popular mind, indeed, was for the most part unable to distinguish between the worship of Yahweh, whom they called Baal (Lord), and that of the Canaanite Baalim. The religious importance of Jerusalem was greatly enhanced by the erection of Solomon's Temple. It became the royal sanctuary, served by a succession of priests who rapidly advanced in wealth and importance. **Jeroboam I** realised that this might become a bond of union between the northern and the southern tribes, and this he proceeded to prevent by setting up golden bulls at Bethel (? and Dan), as related in § 9. But though the religion of Yahweh was officially recognised by royal authority, the Canaanite cults continued in both kingdoms side by side with it. **Asa** made an attempt to put a stop to some of its worst features in Judah by removing many of the *kedēshim* (EV. "sodomites"), persons dedicated to immorality in connexion with the cult of the Baalim, and destroying many of the Canaanite images, including "an abominable image for Asherah" erected by the queen-mother Maacah, whom he deposed from her official position. And **Jehoshaphat** continued his efforts, removing *kedēshim*, who still remained in the country. But in the days of **Ahab** the worshippers of Yahweh in the northern kingdom were faced by a new peril. Ahab married Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Zidon. She was a woman of a dominating force of character, which resulted in the official establishment of the Tyrian Baal-worship as the royal cult. Her priest-prophets usurped the northern sanctuaries, and she started a violent persecution against the prophets of Yahweh, many of whom, however, were secretly assisted by Obadiah, one of Ahab's chief officers. The crisis called forth two champions, **Elijah** and **Jehu**, who stood out as defenders of Yahweh-worship. The narratives related of the former are contained in a collection of stories handed down in prophetic circles (1 K. 17–19, 21$_{17-29}$; 2 K. 1f.). They are of great literary beauty and dramatic interest, and show a massiveness of conception which reflects the impression which must have been exercised on his contemporaries by Yahweh's protagonist. The prophet appeared suddenly before Ahab, and rebuked him for his Baal-worship; and then, in the splendid scene on Mt. Carmel, he managed to bring over the populace

to his side, so that they slaughtered many of the Baal priest-prophets. For this Jezebel sought his life, and he fled. In a fit of despondency he imagined that he was alone in his loyalty to Yahweh, but there was, in reality, a large number of true worshippers left. Nevertheless much remained to be done. The mischief had spread into Judah, the southern king, Jehoram, having married Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, a woman whose personal force was hardly less than her mother's. As queen-mother when Jehoram died, she doubtless exercised a strong influence over his successor, Ahaziah. And now the second chief champion appeared. When Elisha had succeeded Elijah as head of the prophetic bands, he incited **Jehu** to usurp the crown from the northern king, Jehoram (§ 12). Jehu went far to stamp out the Tyrian worship by a series of massacres. He first killed Jehoram of Israel with his own hands, and also pursued Ahaziah of Judah and caused him to be put to death (2 K. 916–28). He then entered Jezreel, where Jezebel, at his orders, was thrown by her servants from the window of the palace (30–37). In terror of his savagery the elders of Samaria killed Ahab's seventy sons at his bidding, and sent to him their heads in baskets (101–10). He also caught and massacred forty-two kinsmen of Ahaziah, and all the remaining members of the " house of Ahab in Jezreel, and all his great men, and his familiar friends, and his priests " (1011–14). He next drove to Samaria, in company with Jehonadab, a member of the clan of Rechab, who were always the sternest supporters of the ancient worship of Yahweh. There " he smote all that remained unto Ahab in Samaria " (15–17). Having thus nearly wiped out both the royal houses, he summoned all the priests and worshippers of Baal as though for a sacrifice to their god, and ruthlessly massacred them all in their temple (18–28). This furious revolution, though it attained its immediate object in the northern kingdom, was condemned a little later by Hosea (14).

With all his zeal, however, Jehu did not succeed in killing **Athaliah.** For six years longer she carried on the Baal-worship in Jerusalem, though she was evidently unpopular. She began by putting to death every male member of the family who could dispute the crown with her, except Ahaziah's infant son, **Joash,** who was rescued by his father's sister, Jehosheba, wife of the priest Jehoiada. She hid him and his nurse in a lumber-room, and kept him secretly for six years. When the boy was seven years old Jehoiada determined to put him on the throne, and to make an attempt to restore the true religion. The army swore allegiance, and on a Sabbath the child was crowned in the Temple court. Athaliah dramatically came in, and cried, " Treason, treason ! " She was executed when she had left the precincts (2 K. 111–16). As Joash was so young, Jehoiada acted as regent, and at once set about the longed-for reform. The temple of Baal, and its altars and images, were destroyed, and its priest put to death (17f.). But the repair of Yahweh's neglected Temple was not so quickly accomplished. Jehoiada allotted certain moneys to the priests, out of which they were themselves to defray all the expenses of the repairs. But they simply appropriated it and did nothing; and until the king was old enough to support him with authority Jehoiada seems to have been unable to check the abuse. But when the king took the matter up, money was collected in a chest at the entrance to the Temple, which the priests could not handle; and thus the repairs were at last accomplished (124–15).

The Tyrian Baal-worship was now no longer officially countenanced in either kingdom. But the country was still permeated as before by the common Baalim cults. At the end of the prosperous reign of Jeroboam II, Hosea draws a lamentable picture of the social and religious condition of Israel, addressing his nation as Yahweh's unfaithful wife who " hired lovers "—*i.e.* worshipped the Canaanite gods instead of Yahweh, and at the same time hankered alternately for the help of Assyria and Egypt instead of trusting in the protection of her Husband. Contemporary with Jeroboam II was **Uzziah** of Judah, with his regent son **Jotham.** Under their rule Judah was no less prosperous than Israel; the same condition of things prevailed, and Isaiah similarly denounced the social rottenness and the deep-seated tendency to idolatry which he saw around him. Under **Ahaz** things grew worse. He made a deliberate attempt to establish pagan worship with royal authority. To the ordinary Canaanite practices he added the revolting horrors of Molech rites, setting an example of child sacrifice by burning his own son in the fire. When he went to meet Tiglath-Pileser at Damascus in order to pay his tribute (§ 16), he was attracted by an altar used by the Aramæans, and caused a copy of it to be made for the Temple at Jerusalem, substituting it for the sacred bronze altar for the purpose of sacrifice. The latter he removed to one side of the court, and used it for divination. **Hezekiah,** doubtless owing to Isaiah's influence, made a serious effort to restore a purer worship. Besides the Canaanite high places and images which he removed, there was, strangely enough, a bronze serpent which had been an object of worship in Jerusalem for so long that its origin was forgotten, and tradition ascribed it to Moses. On its name Nehushtan, see 2 K. 184*. This image the king broke in pieces. The reform, however, was short-lived, and paganism returned in full force under **Manasseh,** who made a thoroughgoing attempt to restore foreign cults. Not only Canaanite altars were set up, but also altars to the sun, moon, and stars, a practice learnt from the Far East; and the terrible Molech sacrifices were revived. Not content with this, the king tried to force the people of Jerusalem by persecution to apostatize from Yahweh, and the streets of the city ran with blood. And his deadly work was continued during the short reign of his son, **Amon.** But the darkest hour is that which precedes the dawn. The blood of the martyrs was the seed of a reforming community. The religious teaching of Isaiah must have had lasting effects; through his group of disciples (Is. 816) the desire for purity of worship and belief must have spread. And Hezekiah's reforming acts shew that the leaven was at work. Manasseh's reign of terror only intensified the longings for a thorough purging of Israel's life from primitive, unworthy conceptions of Yahweh, and from the age-long stain of Canaanite idolatry. In the course of his reign, or possibly in the early years of the boy king Josiah, some one whose name is unknown, fired with a lofty devotion to Yahweh and to Judah, wrote a book calling upon the nation with prophetic power to throw off paganism. He may have been prevented by martyrdom from publishing it, or he may have waited for better times, knowing that if the king heard of the book he would destroy it at once. At any rate it remained hidden in the desecrated Temple. Meantime the small circle of religious people was fired to fresh enthusiasm by the preaching of Jeremiah. At last, in the eighteenth year of his reign, **Josiah** took public action. As in the reign of Joash, after the

pagan domination of Athaliah, the first necessary step was the repair of the Temple. Shaphan, the king's secretary, and Hilkiah, the principal priest, were with the king heart and soul, and they paid the money which had been collected to carpenters, builders, and masons. The work was in progress, and Hilkiah no doubt was constantly on the spot, arranging details with joyful interest. One day he lighted upon the book hidden there, and showed it to Shaphan, who, after reading it, told the king about it, and read it to him. On hearing it Josiah rent his clothes, and sent in great anxiety to make inquiries about it. Huldah, a prophetess living in the city, was consulted. Her answer was that the city would be visited with the punishments mentioned in the newly-found book, because of its idolatry and sin, but that Josiah would go to his grave in peace. (The latter part of the prediction was only partially fulfilled. Josiah did not live to see the destruction of the city, but he died in battle with Pharaoh Necho.) The discovery of the book brought to a head the longings for religious reform. Josiah at once led the way in a wholesale destruction of objects connected with pagan worship; and with these were included many of the sanctuaries in which Yahweh had been worshipped in what was then understood to be an unworthy and primitive manner, the rites being scarcely distinguishable in the popular mind from those of the Canaanites. He began with Judah and Jerusalem, and "brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense, from Geba to Beersheba." But the narrator goes on to record that he penetrated into the N., taking advantage of the weakness of Assyria to assert his supremacy there (2 K. 23¹⁵–²⁰). Some writers, however, doubt the historicity of this passage. Whether the N. was included or not, it is clear that the purging of Judah was carried out very thoroughly. It is a generally accepted opinion that the book which Hilkiah discovered was the Book of Deuteronomy, or a portion of it containing laws. All the leaders in the reform, which is now generally described as the Deuteronomic reform, were imbued with the spirit of the book, so that there grew up what may be called a Deuteronomic school of thinkers and writers. Jeremiah was the most conspicuous, but the work of others is seen in the Deuteronomic redactions of earlier writings. The opinion of a few scholars, however, should be mentioned, that the discovered book was only a short prophetic warning which has been lost to us, which roused reforming enthusiasm, and that early in the period of the Exile the principles of the reform found expression in Deuteronomy, the thoughts and language being coloured by those of Jeremiah. The outward effects of the reform were great, because it was carried on under the ægis of the king, especially the centralisation of all worship in the Temple by the destruction of the country sanctuaries. But the Deuteronomic ideals were, after all, shared by only a small circle. When Josiah died at Megiddo, the loyal spirits lost their principal support; and when the Chaldeans carried off Jehoiachin and the best elements in Judah, some of the populace left behind thought that Yahweh had forsaken His city, and many of them secretly returned to pagan practices (Ezek. 8⁵–¹⁸). On the other hand, the supremacy of the Temple, effected by the reform, led many to the fanatical belief that, since Yahweh dwelt in Jerusalem in the Temple, it was inconceivable that He could deliver up His people to the enemy. Thus acquiescence in the externals of the reform was compatible with a total lack of true religion, and was largely the cause of the violent opposition from which Jeremiah suffered. The lapse into idolatry of those who carried him into Egypt has been related in the foregoing section. But the reform, nevertheless, was not the complete failure that it seemed. Those who had drunk in its spirit were mostly among the better classes who had been taken to Babylon. And these formed the seed of the Jewish Church that was to come.

19. The Chronicler.—From the death of Saul till the Babylonian Exile the sources of our information have been the Books of 2 *Samuel* and *Kings* and the writings of the prophets, together with a few contemporary inscriptions of foreign nations. After the Exile the religious teachers of the Jews, in their wholehearted devotion to Yahweh, felt that all the past history of the nation was full of lessons for their own day. And they drew out these lessons, not by a series of homilies, but by rewriting the history in such a way as to make the lessons shine more clearly out of it. This was done to a certain extent by the Deuteronomic compilers of the Books of *Kings* and of earlier histories, but not with the same single-hearted consistency as the post-exilic writers. They read their own religious convictions into the past, and thus often produced not strict history, but what is known as *midrash*, didactic and imaginative narrative based on history (pp. 254f., 314, 319). Two such midrashim are mentioned in 2 Ch. 13²², 24²⁷ (RV "commentary"). With this object in view it was natural that they should idealize the portraits of the "good" kings, and emphasize the activity of the loyal prophets and priests of Yahweh, and conversely paint in the darkest colours all that fell short of their ideals. It is probable that they possessed some traditions with a good historical basis which were not made use of by the pre-exilic historians, but they are very difficult to determine.

With this proviso the principal *additions* to the history of the kings made by the Chronicler can now be sketched. (See further the comm. on *Chronicles*.)

In 1 Ch. 1–8 a series of genealogies traces the rise of the chosen people from Adam. Ch. 9 names the principal families resident in Jerusalem after the return from Exile. The death of **Saul** is related in ch. 10, and the rest of the first book is occupied with the reign of **David**, the ideal king. The bulk of it consists of a description of the arrangements of the Temple worship and the duties of priests and of their assistants, the Levites. These arrangements are really those which obtained in the post-exilic Temple, and in that respect the writer provides us with valuable information. (A "Levite," for example, in pre-exilic days was not an assistant, inferior to a priest; it was a title of a priest.) But they are all ascribed ideally to the devoted care and forethought of David, who, though forbidden by Yahweh to build a temple because he had "shed much blood upon the earth" made full preparation for his son Solomon.

In 2 Ch., as in the first book, many comments are added on the moral significance of events, which need not be enumerated here except when they involve additional narrative material. The account of the reign of **Solomon** presents no serious additions. After the disruption of the kingdom the Chronicler confines himself to the history of Judah, mentioning the northern kingdom only where unavoidably necessary. The disruption itself was, in his eyes, a grievous sin against Yahweh, and all the northern kings were wicked usurpers who destroyed the unity of the sacred people. **Rehoboam** strengthened himself against Israel by fortifying several towns round Jerusalem

(11$_5$–12), placing them in charge of his twenty-eight sons (21–23). The appointment by Jeroboam of non-Levitical priests throughout his kingdom, to the exclusion of the true priests, made the latter, with the Levites, flock to Judah (13–16). Jeroboam is further charged with erecting images not only of bulls, but also of satyrs, which is forbidden in the priestly law in Lev. 17$_7$. When Shishak raided Judah, the prophet Shemaiah declared that it was because of the sins of the nation. And when king and princes humbled themselves, Yahweh told the prophet that He would not allow Shishak to destroy them and their city (12$_2$–8). To **Abijah** is ascribed a victory over Jeroboam. Before the battle he delivered a speech to the enemy. Jeroboam surrounded the army of Judah, but when they cried to Yahweh, and the priests blew with the trumpets, Israel was routed in panic (13). In the reign of **Asa,** Zerah the Ethiopian came to fight him at Mareshah; but when Asa cried to Yahweh He smote the enemy, and they fled, and Judah won great spoil (14$_9$–15). Then a prophet, Azariah, son of Oded, addressed them, and encouraged them to maintain the pure worship of Yahweh. So Asa removed the abominations from his kingdom, and all Judah entered into a covenant to serve Yahweh (15$_1$–15). But when Asa paid the Aramæans to attack Baasha, he was rebuked by a prophet, Jehu, son of Hanani, for not trusting in Yahweh. Asa put him in prison, " and oppressed some of the people at the same time." And when he was diseased in his feet, he sought not Yahweh but the physicians (16$_7$–12). The successes of the reign of **Jehoshaphat,** hinted at in 2 K., are enlarged upon. He set garrisons in the fenced cities. He removed the high places and *ashērim,* and sent princes and Levites through Judah to teach, " having the book of the law of Yahweh with them " (17$_1$–9). The Philistines and Arabians became tributary to him, and the army was organized (10–19). When he returned from helping Ahab at Ramoth-gilead, Jehu, son of Hanani, rebuked him: " Shouldest thou help the wicked, and love them that hate Yahweh ? " (19$_1$–3). Jehoshaphat converted the people to the worship of Yahweh " from Beersheba to the hill country of Ephraim," and he appointed judges throughout the country, charging them to judge righteously, and placed them under command of Amariah the priest in religious, and Zebadiah in civil, matters (4–11). A great triumph is recorded over Ammon, Moab, and the inhabitants of Mt. Seir. Jehoshaphat prayed to Yahweh, and Jahaziel, a Levite, filled with the Spirit, declared that Yahweh would fight and Judah should stand still and watch it. Two of the Levitical choirs sang praise to God, and when the enemy went forth in the morning they sang again. And the enemy turned and killed each other to a man, so that Judah carried off great spoil. They blessed Yahweh in the valley of Beracah (" Blessing "), and returned to Jerusalem singing with joy (20$_1$–30). But when Jehoshaphat allied himself with Ahaziah of Israel, he was rebuked by a prophet, Eliezer, son of Dodavahu, and as a punishment the fleet which he had built was destroyed (35–37). The wickedness of **Jehoram,** who had married Athaliah, is dwelt upon. On his accession he killed all his brothers and several princes. For this, and for his idolatries, he was rebuked in a letter from Elijah, who told him that Judah would be smitten with a plague, and he would die by grievous sickness. The Philistines and Arabians broke into Jerusalem and carried off his treasures, and the whole royal family except his youngest son, Ahaziah (here called Jehoahaz); and he then died as Elijah had predicted (21$_2$–4,11–20). **Joash,** after the death of the good priest Jehoiada, enticed by the princes of Judah, relapsed into idolatry. He would not listen to prophets who rebuked him; and when Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, did so, he commanded him to be stoned; and Zechariah, when dying, cried, " Yahweh look upon it and require it " (24$_{17}$–22). When **Amaziah** was about to fight the Edomites he hired 100,000 men from Israel, but at the advice of a prophet dismissed them. Incensed at this, they attacked and looted many cities on their way home (25$_5$–10,13). After his victory over Edom he brought back their idols and worshipped them. For this he was rebuked by a prophet, but he silenced him contemptuously (14–16). The successes of **Uzziah** are recorded in some detail. In the days of Zechariah, a seer, he sought Yahweh and prospered. Philistines, Arabians, and Ammonites were defeated. He fortified Jerusalem, and encouraged husbandry by providing towers and cisterns in uncultivated districts. He also equipped the army with new armour and weapons, including engines to shoot arrows and great stones. But, proud of his successes, he dared to usurp a priestly function in attempting to burn incense in the Temple. Azariah the priest rebuked him; and when he persisted he was struck with leprosy, and fled from the sacred building (26). **Jotham** continued his father's prosperity. He built cities, towns, and castles, and subdued the Ammonites (27$_3$–6). In the reign of **Ahaz** the attack made upon Judah by Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Aram is recorded as a punishment for unfaithfulness to Yahweh. But when Pekah was carrying off many captives, Oded, a prophet, rebuked him and bade him send the captives back. Then " certain of the heads of the children of Ephraim " insisted that this should be done. So they clothed and fed them, and placing " all the feeble of them upon asses," brought them back as far as Jericho (28$_1$–15). The appeal which Ahaz made to Assyria for help is stated to have been due not to the Syro-Ephraimite peril, but to a defeat by the Edomites and the capture of several border towns by the Philistines (16–19). The reforms set on foot by **Hezekiah** are related at length, together with the activity of the devoted priests and Levites, the joyful music, and the sacrifices offered when the Temple was cleansed from the pollution of the idolatries of Ahaz (29$_3$–36). All Judah, and even the faithful in Ephraim and Manasseh and " all Israel," were then summoned to Jerusalem, and the Passover was observed with great joy, in the second month (as allowed by the priestly law), because the priests had not sanctified themselves in sufficient numbers, and the people had not assembled in time, for the correct date in the first month. Some from Israel had not sanctified themselves at all; but Hezekiah prayed to Yahweh to pardon this irregularity (30). The courses of priests and Levites were then appointed in accordance with the priestly law, and vast quantities of tithes and offerings poured in from the people (31). The strengthening of Jerusalem in view of Sennacherib's attack is described (32$_2$–8). **Manasseh** is recorded to have suffered Divine punishment for his paganism. The Assyrians carried him in chains to Babylon. But there he repented, and Yahweh " brought him again to Jerusalem unto his kingdom." (Whether the Chronicler pictured Judah as governed by two kings, or whether he supposed that Amon, or Josiah, temporarily abdicated in Manasseh's favour, is not clear.) Reinstated on the throne, he fortified Jerusalem, and appointed military captains in the fenced cities. He also tried to atone for his former paganism by removing all the

objects of idolatrous worship which he had placed in the capital (3311–19). In the account of the restoration of the Temple by **Josiah** it is stated that the workmen were placed under the superintendence of Levites (3412–13). The celebration of the Passover mentioned in 2 K. is described in full priestly detail (351–19). The account of Josiah's dealings with Necho is expanded. Necho warned him from God not to interfere with his advance, but Josiah would not listen; he disguised himself, but was wounded. The dirges sung at his death were repeated till the writer's day (20–25). The tragic history of the last four kings of Judah is abridged (361–21), and the book closes with the decree of Cyrus permitting the return of the Jews from Babylon, which is repeated in Ezr. 1–3 (3622f.).

20. The Exile.—Of the poorer classes who were carried to Babylon we hear almost nothing. The exiles were, in general, planted in colonies; an instance of this is seen at Tel-abib, by the river Chebar, near Nippur, where Ezekiel worked (Ezek. 1, 315). They were well treated, being allowed to possess houses of their own (81, 12–7, Jer. 295), to marry (Jer. 296, Ezek. 2418), and to make money (see Is. 551f., Zech. 69–11). There are indications, however, that some, probably the poor, suffered harsh treatment (Is. 143, 476). A pathetic longing for Zion is expressed in Ps. 137, and a feeling of despair in Ezek. 3711; but such anguish was probably confined, for the most part, to the few religious patriots who seized the first opportunity to return. Among the exiles were included the Temple priests, who had become part of the highest aristocracy of Judah by generations of wealth and prestige. Some of them now busied themselves with collecting and codifying, and perhaps shaping for future use, the ritual laws which must have prevailed in the worship at the Temple before its fall, but had been handed down orally and not committed to writing. Some of these appear in the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26). And Ezekiel, perhaps somewhat earlier, laid down in the form of a vision an ideal programme of worship and organization for the community when it should return to Jerusalem (Ezek. 40–48). At the same time many minds were imbibing ideas from Babylonian astrology and mythology, which afterwards showed traces widely in Jewish literature.

Some thirty years passed, in which Nebuchadrezzar died and was succeeded by some weak rulers, none of whom reigned long. Two of them find mention in the OT—Amil-Marduk (Evil-Merodach, 2 K. 2527) and Neriglissar (Nergal-sharezer, Jer. 393,13). In 555 Nabunaid (Gk. Nabonidos) ascended the throne. Early in his reign he was harassed by the Medes. But the danger was averted, for Cyrus, king of Anshan, who had already made himself master of Elam, defeated Astyages, to whom the Medes were at that time subject. He and his troops were betrayed to Cyrus, whose banner the Medes joined. At about this time appeared among the exiles the unnamed poet-prophet whose message is contained in Is. 40–48. He declared that Cyrus was Yahweh's chosen instrument to deliver the exiles, and that the victories which he had already won shewed that the predictions of deliverance from Babylon uttered by earlier prophets were about to be fulfilled. In *c.* 546 Cyrus became master of Lydia and its king, Crœsus, by the fall of Sardis; and at last, in 539, he was free to attack Babylon, with which Lydia had been in alliance. Bel-šar-uṣur (Belshazzar, Dan 51*), the son of Nabunaid, was defeated; Sippar opened its gates to Cyrus, and then Babylon was taken without a blow, Nabunaid, who was hated by many of his people, having been thrown into prison. Thus the exiles passed from Babylonian into Medo-Persian hands.

21. Judæan History in the Persian Period.—The OT records now carry the reader back to Jerusalem. The sources for the history are scanty and obscure, but some valuable information is afforded in the Books of Haggai and Zech. 1–8, and in portions of Ezra–Nehemiah. The cylinder of Cyrus relating his achievements (part of which is translated in EBi 453) shows that in religious matters he adopted a pacific policy towards the vanquished. But it gives no definite support to the decree ascribed to him in Ezr. 1–4, allowing the return of the Jewish exiles and the rebuilding of the Temple (see below). It is probable that a few, but only a few, of them responded to the call in Is. 4820 to flee from Babylon, and throw in their lot with those who had been left in Judæa, whose numbers must by then have been considerably increased. They managed to make themselves comfortable in "panelled houses" before they shewed any zeal in rebuilding the Temple and reviving the sacrificial worship of Yahweh. This called forth ringing rebukes from the prophet Haggai, who, aided by another prophet, Zechariah, roused them to their duty. A famine and drought were troubling them, which, Haggai declared, were a punishment for their slackness. The slackness may have been partly due to political unrest. When the successor of Cyrus, the cruel and despotic Cambyses, died, the government was thrown into confusion by Gaumâta, who claimed to be Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses, and also by other pretenders; and Judæa, being a Persian province, may have suffered. But order was at last restored by Darius, son of Hystaspes, when he took the throne in 522–1. And in his second year the building of the Temple was begun, some three weeks after Haggai's appeal (Hag. 1,15), and, according to Ezr. 615, brought to some degree of completion in four years. (On this and the following paragraphs see pp. 323f., 573f.)

The Chronicler (whose compilation comprises 1 and 2 Ch., Ezr., Neh.) gives a narrative of events before the appearance of Haggai; but this, like his accounts of pre-exilic events, must be treated for historical purposes with reserve. The decree of Cyrus, permitting the return and the building of the Temple (Ezr. 1–4), is couched in the language of a sincerely monotheistic worshipper of Yahweh, which he certainly was not. Sheshbazzar, "the prince of Judah," accompanied by returning exiles, brought back the vessels which had been taken from the Temple (5–11). But then Sheshbazzar disappears from the narrative, and Zerubbabel is named as the leader of more than 49,500 returning exiles (2), and as the civil governor, aided by Joshua (Jeshua), the high priest. Under their authority an altar for burnt-offering was at once erected, and the Festival of Booths was celebrated (31–5). Contrast, however, the statement in Neh. 813–18. Then, with timber brought from Lebanon, and shipped by Tyrians to Joppa, a beginning was made of the new Temple (37–13). But no sooner was the foundation laid with great rejoicing than the aliens, the descendants of those whom Esarhaddon had transported to Samaria, asked leave to take part in the building, which was refused. They retaliated by hindering the work—how is not stated—till the second year of Darius (41–5,24). All this is of very doubtful historicity, as also the account (in 53–614) of the events following the successful preaching of Haggai and Zechariah—*i.e.* the opposition of Tattenai,

the Persian governor of Syria, and others, their appeal to Darius by letter, the search in the archives by which Darius learnt of the previous decree of Cyrus, and his consequent reply that every possible assistance was to be given to the Jews, not only in building facilities, but even in material for sacrifice. Some modern writers go so far as to doubt whether there was any return from Babylon at all, and think that Haggai and Zechariah preached simply to the remnant (see Hag. 1$_{12,14}$, 2$_2$, and *cf.* Neh. 1$_3$) whom Nebuchadrezzar had left behind. But it is more probable that, though there was no imposing return such as Ezr. 2 relates, yet that some of the exiles who were oppressed and heartbroken in Babylon came back from time to time and in small groups, a poor and pious company, and with them a good many of the priests. At least one contribution was sent—and there may have been several—from Babylon by the hand of the Jews (Zech. 6$_{10}$ f.); and communication was kept up, and was probably frequent, between the exiles and Jerusalem (Neh. 1$_2$).

The high hopes which the prophets had rested upon the governorship of Zerubbabel and the ecclesiastical rule of Joshua (Hag. 2$_{23}$, Zech. 3f. 6$_{12}$f.) were disappointed. The period following the dedication of the Temple in 516–515 was one of decline, as shown in the writing called "Malachi." The country was harassed by Edomite raids (Mal. 1$_2$–5); the priests were corrupt, and the people consequently shewed a rebellious distaste for religious observances and requirements, and even foreign cults were beginning to appear (1$_6$–2$_{17}$). No more is heard of Zerubbabel; it is unlikely, therefore, that his rule was brilliant or noteworthy. He was succeeded by governors who made themselves burdensome to the people (Neh. 5$_{15}$), and who were probably not Jewish but Persian. Apart from such indications this period of the history is a blank.

The scene opens again with events in the reign of Artaxerxes. Ezr. 4$_7$–23 contains an Aramaic fragment of narrative, inserted too early by the compiler, showing that an attempt was made to rebuild the city walls. An appeal was lodged at the Persian court by several persons, including some of the aliens in the Samaritan territory, in reply to which Artaxerxes forbade the building of the walls, which was accordingly stopped "by force and power." Who took the lead in this attempt to build is not stated. It may have been a report of these occurrences which reached Nehemiah (Neh. 1$_3$), but this is only conjecture. It is not even certain whether the Artaxerxes named in Ezr. 4 is the same as that in Neh. 2$_1$. This, however, is probable, and also that it is Artaxerxes I Longimanus (465–424), not, as some recent writers have suggested, Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404–361).

Before the arrival of Nehemiah a narrative dealing with Ezra's work is contained in Ezr. 7–10. Opinions still differ so widely about him that it is unsafe to speak with confidence. Some place his work after Nehemiah's sojourn in Jerusalem; others deny the historicity of the whole account of him, holding that he is an imaginary figure by which the Chronicler represented in *midrash* the aims and spirit of the Judaism of that age. It is more probable, however, that Ezra was a real person, a priest who returned from Babylon and had considerable influence in pressing the claims of the priestly law. On this basis the compiler has built his narrative, as follows: Ezra, a priest and scribe, was invested by Artaxerxes with an authority, W. of the Euphrates, which is represented as almost supreme, and loaded with gifts, that he might establish in Jerusalem according to the Law the worship of his God, whom the king's decree styles "God of Israel," "God of Jerusalem," and "God of heaven" (7$_{12}$–26). At this point occurs a passage (7$_{27}$–9$_{15}$) written in the first person, as though drawn from a diary or other document written by Ezra himself. It describes his arrangements for the journey across the desert, with a large number of exiles, including Levites and Nethinim for the Temple service. They started from the river of Ahava, and, in spite of carrying rich treasure and having declined a military escort, were kept safe by God from enemies and marauders. On arrival, they paid the treasures into the Temple funds (7$_{27}$–8$_{36}$). But Ezra now learnt from some of the Jewish princes that a large number of Jews had married foreign women. He was thrown into the depths of sorrow and shame, and at the evening oblation he made a solemn confession to God in the name of the people (9). The sequel is then described by the compiler. A general assembly was called, which met in an open square in a downpour of rain, and it was agreed to appoint princes to investigate the cases of foreign marriage. The narrative, whatever was the part played by Ezra, reflects the nationalist, particularist attitude of the religious sections of the community.

And this zeal for the priestly law is shown in another narrative about Ezra, placed by the compiler in Neh. 8 —*i.e.* when Nehemiah was in Jerusalem. At the request of the people Ezra read to them the law, standing on a wooden platform, and they were deeply impressed with what they heard. Finding that the law enjoined the observance of the Festival of Booths in that very month, they celebrated it with great joy. It is idle to conjecture why and whither Ezra retired, if he did retire, from public life between the foregoing incident and this. The literary condition of the books Ezr.–Neh. forbids any chronological arrangement of Ezra's activity. He is introduced yet once again (Neh. 12$_{36}$) as leading one of the two companies which walked in procession on the city wall at its dedication.

Somewhat more confidence can be placed in the story of Nehemiah. Parts of it (1–7$_5$, 12$_{27}$–43, 13$_4$–31) are written in the first person, and have the appearance, for the most part, of coming from his own hand.

Nehemiah, a Jew, and cupbearer of Artaxerxes, heard at Shushan (Dan. 8$_2$*) of the ruined condition of the walls of Jerusalem, and in his grief he uttered an earnest prayer to Yahweh (1). He obtained leave to go to Jerusalem to restore the walls (2$_1$–8). At a later point he mentions incidentally that he was given the status of governor of Judah (5$_{14}$). On his arrival he inspected the walls by night, and then persuaded the Jews to begin the work, in spite of the opposition of Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah "the slave" the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian (2$_{9}$–20), who were probably members of the mixed "Samaritan" community in the N., who had previously been refused participation in the building of the Temple (according to Ezr. 4$_1$–5), and had already successfully hindered the building of the city walls (Ezr. 4$_7$–23). These enemies exhausted every effort to hinder the work. After mockery, which hurt no one (Neh. 4$_1$–6), they gathered an army for attack; but Nehemiah, hearing of it, provided all the builders with weapons. Half stood ready to fight, while the other half worked rapidly (4$_7$–23). Force having failed, the enemy turned to fraud. Four times they invited Nehemiah to a conference, hoping to kill him. On the fifth occasion Sanballat suggested that the building of the wall

would be interpreted by the Persian king as an attempt at rebellion, in order to make Nehemiah king. But Nehemiah saw through the plot, and boldly refused to have anything to do with them. Yet another attempt by a certain Shemaiah, who invited Nehemiah to hide in the Temple, since assassins were intending to attack him, also failed (6r–14). The walls were completed in fifty-two days, to the disappointment of the enemy, who had many allies in Jerusalem (15–19). The joyful ceremony at the dedication is described in 1227–43, and arrangements were made for the safe custody of the gates (71–3).

After this preliminary work Nehemiah took the lead in shaping the religious life and constitution of the community. He found that many of the wealthy Jews had taken poor Jews into slavery for debt. He persuaded them to release them, and declared that during the twelve years of his governorship he had taken care not to make his maintenance a burden on the people, as former governors had done (5). During these years public spirit had been so far moulded that the people bound themselves by a solemn covenant, sealed by their princes, Levites, and priests, with Nehemiah's name at the head. After a general oath to keep God's commandments they bound themselves to contract no foreign marriages, to refuse traffic on the Sabbath, to observe the sacred seventh year as commanded in the Law, to pay the poll-tax of one-third of a shekel for the Temple, and regular first-fruits, firstlings, and tithes (938–1039).

Nehemiah returned to Artaxerxes when his period of governorship had expired, and disloyal Jews at once took advantage of his absence. The worst offender was Eliashib the priest, who had entered into collusion with Tobiah and given him a chamber in the Temple court. And Eliashib's grandson (named Manasseh, if we can partially follow a confused notice in Josephus) had married Sanballat's daughter. Nehemiah also found that the Levites had not been paid their dues, and had consequently deserted the Temple and gone into the country; the Sabbath was profaned by labour and traffic; and Jews were again marrying foreign women, and their children could not speak the Jewish language correctly. Nehemiah, who was evidently possessed of authority, dealt with these abuses in a very stern and forcible manner (13). Subsequent history shows that the community for the most part adopted this policy of exclusiveness. Union with the Samaritans became increasingly impossible, and at a later date (Josephus, *Ant.* XI. viii. 4, places it as late as the time of Alexander) the establishment of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim made the schism final.

Little is known of Judæan history in the last century of the Persian Empire. But it must have been a time of much suffering. In the long conflict with Egypt, Persian armies must frequently have overrun Judæa, and Artaxerxes III Ochus fought fierce battles in Syria itself. The Jews seem to have sided with Egypt, since he is said to have transported some of them (*c.* 351) to Hyrcania and Babylonia. His notorious general, Bagoas, oppressed them with taxes, and roused their fury by entering the Temple. He killed Ochus, and placed Darius III Codomannus on the throne, a weak king who was easily overcome by the great conqueror Alexander.

22. Jews in Egypt in the Persian Period.—Jews had found their way to Egypt from various causes at different dates. Shishak no doubt took some prisoners when he attacked Rehoboam, Hezekiah made alliances with Egypt, and Judæans probably took refuge there when the Assyrians overran the country. When Necho took Jehoahaz captive, some nobles or other officials must have been taken with him. And Egypt was again a convenient refuge at the time of the Chaldean invasion. The letter of Pseudo-Aristeas definitely stated that Jews were sent to Egypt to help Psammeticus, doubtless the second of that name (593–588), in his campaign against the Ethiopians, and that many came later with the Persians. Shortly after the fall of Jerusalem (586) Jews were found already settled at Migdol on the NE. border, at Noph (Memphis), and in Pathros in Upper Egypt (Jer. 441, 4614); and Johanan, son of Kareah, carried off many, including Jeremiah, to Tahpanhes (Daphnæ) on the E. frontier. Lastly, the Assuan papyri show that a military colony of Jews, established at the fortress town of Yeb (Elephantine) in the S. of Egypt, had worshipped Yahu (Yahweh) in a temple of their own "since the time of the Egyptian kings." The temple had been spared by Cambyses when he conquered Egypt in 525, but was destroyed by Egyptian priests in 410, during the temporary absence of the satrap, Arsham. Jedoniah, the Jewish head of the colony, and "his companions the priests," wrote to Bagoas, who was then governor of Judæa, to Johanan the high priest (*cf.* Neh. 1222; Josephus, *Ant.* XI. vii. 1) and the other Jerusalem priests, and to Ostanes, brother of Anani, and the nobles of the Jews. But they received no answer. From that time they had mourned and fasted, and could not offer peace-offerings, incense, or burnt-offerings. In 407 they wrote again, imploring Bagoas to authorise the rebuilding of the temple, saying that they would all pray for him till it was accomplished, and sending him money. They had also, they told him, sent information to Delaiah and Shelemaiah, the sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria. This appeal was successful. Bagoas and the sons of Sanballat replied, authorising them to claim from Arsham the rebuilding of the temple. The problem raised by the existence of a temple of Yahweh later than the Deuteronomic Law of the one sanctuary cannot here be discussed (p. 232). But the papyri are of peculiar interest as contemporary documents giving a fund of information on the social and religious life of the community.

23. Alexander and After.—A brief catalogue of events will indicate the way in which the Jews passed into the wider world of Greece. **Alexander,** having defeated the Persians in 333, took Tyre and Gaza and advanced to Jerusalem. He treated the Jews well; Josephus relates a tradition that he even granted them autonomy in Jerusalem and Babylonia. He included Palestine in the province of Coele-Syria. After receiving the submission of Egypt, he planted many Samaritans in the Thebais and Jews in Alexandria. On his death Egypt was governed by **Ptolemy I Soter,** son of Lagos. In the campaigns by which he established his power he frequently occupied Palestine. On one occasion he seized Jerusalem without a blow, because the Jews refused to fight on the Sabbath. But he won their allegiance, and migrations took place to Egypt, where he assigned them a quarter in Alexandria. His son, **Ptolemy II Philadelphus,** definitely made Palestine part of his dominion, and treated the Jews with great consideration. The legend of the translation of the LXX is probably based on the fact that a Greek translation of the Pentateuch for the Jews in Egypt was actually made under his authority. **Ptolemy III Euergetes** continued the same kindly relations, but they began to suffer disturbances under **Ptolemy IV Philopator,** who was obliged to assert his

hold on Palestine against Antiochus II (" the Great "). Finally **Ptolemy V Epiphanes** lost it, his general, Scopas, being defeated. **Antiochus III** made concessions to the Jews, and they transferred their allegiance to the Seleucid dynasty, which led to noteworthy results under the next king, **Antiochus Epiphanes,** as related in the article on " Jewish History from the Maccabees to the Destruction of Jerusalem." (See further on the subject of this paragraph, p. 62.)

From a merely political and material point of view Israel was so insignificant that its history would hardly be worth study were it not that God chose the weak things of the world for a high destiny. The Israelites, more than any other nations, were His instrument for revealing to mankind Himself, His nature and purposes, " in many portions and many methods." Their emergence from nomadic life, their growth and training, their blessings and their punishments, and finally their wide dispersion among the great nations, were steps in a gradual advance towards the great consummation when the earth should be " full of the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the seas."

Literature.—A thorough study of the history cannot be made without systematic work at the narratives themselves, with the help of commentaries and dictionary articles; and it must include a study of the literature and the religion of Israel, together with the contemporary material, within and without Palestine, afforded by inscriptions, etc. The following histories can be consulted, not as substitutes, but as helps: Foakes Jackson, *The Biblical History of the Hebrews;* Kent, *A History of the Hebrew People;* Kent and Riggs, *A History of the Jewish People;* H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History;* Wade, *Old Testament History.* See also Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire,* and *The Empire of the Ptolemies.* Of German works, Ewald's great *History of Israel* (Eng. tr. in eight vols.) is now largely antiquated. The most comprehensive of those written from a newer point of view is Stade's; Kittel's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*[2] is much more recent, and represents a rather more conservative position (Eng. tr. *History of the Hebrews* from the first ed.). Smaller but important works by Wellhausen, Cornill, Guthe[3], and Lehmann-Haupt may also be mentioned.

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL

By Prof. W. G. JORDAN

Preliminary Statement.—The aim of this article is to give in mere outline the history of Hebrew religion as a living movement, which reveals to us one of the great threads of the Divine purpose, and prepares the way for the Christian faith. The books and subjects mentioned will be dealt with in the commentaries and other discussions; hence the main object of this sketch will be to give, as far as the writer is able, a connected view of the whole development. The problem is historical in its character. Our concern is with the life of a particular nation, and with the action of its leaders at a given period of the world's history, and not with abstract theological theories as conceived by the scholasticism of later ages. At the basis of our discussion there is a definite view of Israelite history and of the literature which tells the story of that life, and gives a record of the various stages of thought. This view is both critical and conservative; it has been built up by generations of loving toil, given to the study of the documents; it seeks to preserve all the real history contained in the sacred books, and to interpret sympathetically all the noble struggles and lofty aspirations that these record. The present aim is not directly *apologetic;* the facts, so far as we can recover them, must be allowed to speak for themselves. But the writer may express his opinion that the true apologetic of the OT is the frank recognition of an actual development, a God-guided organic movement, a revelation shining more and more unto the perfect day. It is not necessary for a Christian teacher to disclaim "mere naturalism," whatever that may mean. The word "development" in this connexion suggests to us a movement which is not fully explained by the genius of a particular people or their surroundings, by the work of any one teacher or generation of leaders; the final explanation lies in the purpose of the living God, who uses all these persons and circumstances as His instruments. Such development, being a matter of real life, is exceedingly complex; its roots are in the distant past, its ramifications run in all directions; there are side currents as well as the main stream; higher and lower movements live side by side; early types of thought reappear at later stages; alongside of the higher attainments of inspired thought there are survivals of primitive conceptions. We cannot hope—in fact, we do not desire—to reduce the rich complexity of life to an abstract simplicity.

"Periods," then, are artificial and not real divisions, adopted for convenience in handling the subject. Some historical events, as the Coming into Palestine or the Exile, some stages in the religion, as the rise of the higher forms of preaching or the Deuteronomic Reform, may make a deep impression, but the thread of history is never absolutely broken; the current of life may seem to move more slowly at one time than another, but it never comes to a full stop. In Syria and Palestine to-day beliefs and customs may still be found similar to those of the pre-Mosaic times, while the OT message, in its manifold forms, has made for itself a place in the highest life of the world. Similarly, such labels as nomadic religion, agricultural religion, pre-prophetic religion, prophetism, legalism, need to be watched lest they become hard and mechanical. They remind us that the spirit of religion, the spirit that responds to God's call and expresses man's hunger and aspiration, is influenced in its *outward forms* by changing circumstances, economic conditions, intellectual culture, but they must not be too sharply separated, or treated as final explanations of the great reality. In the most primitive observances there were glimmerings of great truths expressed in symbolic forms by men of prophetic vision, and in the days of hardest legalism there was much personal piety and tender devotion.

The Historical Setting.—The Hebrew tribes came into Palestine in the thirteenth century B.C. The first period of two or three centuries, as reflected in the earliest parts of Jg., is one of restless struggle, partly of conquest and partly of assimilation. The foundation of the kingdom under David and Solomon is of great historical and religious importance. The disruption, some seventy years later, shows its lack of political strength and religious stability. The destruction of the Northern Kingdom, in 722 B.C., turns the main current of political and religious history into the Davidic kingdom of Judah. The Assyrians had now begun to play an important part in the life of the Hebrews, and from that time onward this remarkable race has been in contact with the great powers of the world. The Exile in Babylon at the beginning of the sixth century destroyed, for the time being, the political existence of the nation and prepared the way for the birth of the Jewish Church. After the Exile, under the Persian control, the small community was left free to devote its energies to religious and ecclesiastical questions. The Greek period, after Alexander's victory, brings with it dangers to the political and religious life of Judaism. When these reach their height, in the fanatical persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Maccabean revolt shows that the old warlike spirit is not dead, and that the religion through centuries of strife has attained an independent and vigorous character. Out of external conflict and internal division there arose the religious and political parties as we find them in NT times.

Each of these periods had produced its memorials or left its deposits, which have to some extent been preserved in the varied literature that we call the OT, and these are our chief sources for the study of Hebrew religion. In early songs and stories, in short, simple codes of laws, this life and religion finds its first expression. Then come early attempts at regular national chronicles. The first written sermons show that there is real literary culture, if of a simple kind.

Later the laws are set in a more elaborate codification, and history is written from a definite religious point of view. Finally the whole is placed in the framework of the world's history, and a sacred book comes into existence which has nourished simple piety and produced hard dogmas of religion and science. In other articles the political history will be treated at length and " the Bible as literature " discussed; here it is sufficient to say that no real history of the religion could be written until literary criticism had solved many problems, showing, *e.g.*, that the Pentateuch consists of documents that can now be related to widely separated periods of the nation's life, and that the sixty-six chapters of Isaiah represent many stages of ethical prophecy and apocalyptic thought. Our discussion must relate itself to this history and rest upon this critical basis of modern scholarship.

Early Hebrew Religion.—According to the view now dominant, as to the age of the documents, we have no contemporary narratives or sermons from the earliest time; but while even fragments of our sources may reach back beyond 1000 B.C., there is no doubt primitive material that has been modified and very early beliefs and usages which have left traces in the later laws and literature. We see now quite clearly that there is no such thing as reaching back, either by history or speculation, to the beginning of the world. The Hebrews are comparatively a modern people; behind their history is that of ancient Arabia, Egypt, and Babylonia, and farther back is the dim pre-historic period. The Hebrews belong to the Semitic family. It is not probable that Egypt exerted any direct or powerful influence on their religion. Their early affinities are closer to the Arab tribes, and Babylonian influence affected them at various stages through the relation of those great Oriental empires to Palestine. Many religious beliefs and customs found among the members of the Semitic group are common to other races. The investigation of that subject belongs to the sphere of comparative religion. Of " a primitive monotheism," here or elsewhere, there can be no proof. Monotheism in any real sense is the result of a long, painful struggle; it has come to the world through what has been aptly called " the Divine discipline of Israel." In this respect both Christianity and Mohammedanism are dependent on the OT. To us with our conception of one God, who rules the whole world through the working of laws and the action of forces whose qualities and effects have been studied and catalogued by long centuries of toil, it requires a strong effort of imagination, assisted by the observation of many facts, to recreate the ancient view with its appropriate atmosphere. Then religion pervaded the whole of life; *supernatural* beings were everywhere, if we may use such a phrase of a time when no clear line was drawn between the natural and the supernatural. Gods that were real became symbols to a later time, and statements that to us are mere flashes of picturesque poetry referred originally to actual manifestations of divinities in definite time and place. In the early narratives the Hebrews have preserved the good tradition that their forefathers were nomads, and that at each place of temporary settlement they found or set up an altar to their God (Gen. 12 8, 13 18, 28 19, 33 20). The altar was set up where the presence of the Divinity had been revealed in some enlightening vision or gift of help (Ex. 20 24, 1 S. 7 12). There was a freedom and simplicity in this early stage which is prophetic of the fuller freedom of a more highly developed religion. The altar might be a rude natural stone, and the priest might be the head of the family or clan, officiating according to traditional usage, but not hampered by an elaborate ritualistic etiquette. Religion was the basis of family and clan life. The festivals were the times of natural gladness—the wedding, the weaning, the welcome of a visitor; the fasts were hours of sorrow that come to all, when pain or death breaks in upon the common routine. The man was the head of the family, the owner of wives, children, and slaves; but even then religion had, no doubt, a binding and softening influence. We need not regard the Semites of 3000 years ago as " savages," because their views of God and the world differed so widely from the " scientific " conceptions of our own time. They had great fundamental ideas which we must retain in a higher form. Religion was everywhere: the family grew out of it, society was based upon it. Duties to ancestors, to the living tribes, and to posterity were recognised as the commands of the God, the essence of religion. The unity of life and the all-pervading presence of religion were in a sense realised, but only within a restricted sphere. The God might be limited to a particular clan or a special place. The passage from one tribe or one territory to another might involve a change of allegiance and ritual (1 S. 26 19). The polytheistic background of the ancient world must be borne clearly in mind if we are to understand primitive religion. For example, the original meaning of such conceptions as " clean " and " unclean " only thus becomes intelligible (pp. 202f.). These words point to something religious and ritualistic, not sanitary. The " clean " or " unclean " thing may have a contagious influence and lead in many cases to isolation, and so there is something *analogous* to modern medical ideas. Ablutions may lead to cleanness in our sense, but that is incidental; the real root idea is that what belongs to the sphere of another god is " unclean." The dead body at one time belonged to a different divinity, and to touch it made a man unclean in relation to his own God (Num. 5 2). The divisions of life, the tribe, the trade, the caste, the custom were all based upon and hedged about by religious rites. In much of this routine national narrowness, social pride, mechanical, magical religion were present. The same thing persists to-day, often in less lovely forms. There is a certain poetry and beauty in the primitive recognition of gods in the storm, in trees, and in living fountains. That some great boulder could be the home of a god, and that the anointing oil could be an acceptable gift to the Divinity may, at first sight, seem strange; but God must be recognised as in some place and places before men can be led to the faith that He is one and His life is manifested everywhere. To the simple travellers the oasis in a desert might well be a garden of God, and the great rock might become a symbol and name of the Highest, but first He must be believed to be really—*i.e.* locally—there. So in many places gods or spirits were found, but their relation to each other was vague and indistinct. Consequently the life and worship that results, while possessing a certain amount of order, must also be complicated and confused; for things that had their origin in chance and caprice grew into customs, customs crossed each other and became hard. While everything was in some sense alive, special events and startling appearances had even more a Divine character. Thus the facts of life receive a religious interpretation, but there is little orderly reason, because when once the presence of a god is recognised, that is regarded as a sufficient explanation. His action may be what we call " arbitrary," but, of course, a god cannot be expected to conform to a standard of reason and right

to which the noblest worshippers have not yet attained. This makes it natural that *fear* should play a large part in religion, that gifts should be made and sacrifices offered to propitiate the god who was angry, or to provide against an uncertain but possible outbreak of his anger. In later times, when a nobler religious life began to permeate these things, men discovered a just and noble cause for such anger (2 S. 21). With regard to the minor deities or subordinate spirits charms might be used, or amulets worn, or various means that we now call "superstitious" employed to avert misfortune or to bring "good luck." When one remembers the abundant testimony to this early "spiritualism" from other Semitic sources, we wonder that the OT deals so little directly with it; but the literature is the result of selection, and there are abundant evidences in narratives, allusions, and prohibitions. The prophetic movement grew up over against this varied background of "natural" religion.

It is not likely that genuine totemism existed among the Hebrews of historic times or their immediate ancestors; all we can admit is that certain tribal names and some of the food *taboos* may ultimately be traced to reminiscences of such primitive religion. Late superstitions may still retain in their mongrel worships remnants of rites belonging to remote times (Ezek. 89).

With regard to ancestor worship the case seems to be stronger. The family and the tribe were in ancient times rooted in religious beliefs and observances. In such nations as China, remarkable during a great part of their existence for intense conservatism, we see the influence of homage paid to the past in this form. In tribal forms of life among the early Semites it seems to have played a great part. The Hebrews were delivered from abject slavery to the past by their changing circumstances, their internal and external struggles, their independence of spirit, and above all the influence of prophetic men; but there are things in their life and literature which suggest that this form of religion exercised a real influence. The intense desire for offspring and the strong effort to perpetuate the family name probably mean more than the natural instinct of procreation; they have behind them powerful traditions and a high religious sanction (Gen. 3824). The "ghost" of Samuel is referred to (1 S. 2813) as *Elohim* (god). The sacrificial clan feast (1 S. 2029) and the mourning customs are interpreted by many in the same direction. Ceremonies connected with such things linger on when their origin has been wholly or partly forgotten; but the legislators and the preachers of a purer faith, in their jealousy for the supremacy of Yahweh, felt a repugnance to customs that belonged to a sphere which in their day had become "heathenish" and "superstitious." With them it was not a mere matter of "archæology" (Kautzsch, HDB) but of actual religious life.

Circumcision (Gen. 17*, pp. 99f.) is a rite with a long history. In later times it was performed when the male child, at the end of the first week of its life, was dedicated to the God of Israel, and it became a distinctive mark of Judaism; but it was a primitive rite among many nations, and not a discovery of Abraham or Moses or a monopoly of the Israelites. The various traditions in the OT as to its origin and intention represent different points of view (Gen. 17*; Ex. 426; Jos. 53*). This mutilation, in the early days, was no doubt a rite of initiation into full membership in the tribe, when the young man was considered qualified to assume the duties of husband and soldier. The strange story in Ex. 4 may be meant to explain the transfer to childhood of an act of blood-dedication which left on the person a permanent tribal mark. The original form of the passover sacrifice (pp. 102f., 177f.), before it became associated with the feast of unleavened bread and received an historical interpretation, no doubt goes back to the nomadic days. We cannot, in a brief review, attempt to trace all these details or to discuss controverted points (see article, "The Religious Institutions of Israel"), but we need to bear in mind all the time that we are dealing with the complicated story of human life, and not with an abstract theology. The Mosaic period is not a blank space upon which a new revelation is written in a mechanical fashion; the Israelites do not come into an empty land free from history and destitute of customs. The new must relate itself to the old in the way of conflict or absorption. Different types of thought and different modes of worship meet and mingle, but the faith in Yahweh shows its originality and strength by its power to live and conquer. For example, suppose we ask the question, "Was human sacrifice ever a part of Hebrew religion?" The answer will depend upon our point of view. It certainly does not belong to the religion of Yahweh, and never receives the sanction of any prophet. Hebrew religion first modified and then banished this ancient widespread and barbarous custom. But we know from clear statements that child-sacrifice was practised down to a late time by superstitious or despairing Israelites (p. 99. Jer. 731). Such polemics against this custom as we find in the beautiful story or noble sermon show that it had a real hold on the minds of many people (Gen. 22*, Mi. 61–8). The case of Jephthah's daughter shows the possibility of such a sacrifice among early Israelites from a quite honourable motive; the vow is to Yahweh, and He chooses the sacrifice. But two things must be borne in mind, viz. the probability that such occurrences were much less frequent among the ancestors of the Hebrews, who led a stern, simple life, than among the Canaanites, and that such desperate religious remedies are apt to be used in times of great confusion and distress. Alongside of the highest prophetic teaching these tragic relapses may take place. Further, in the thought of that time, when all public activity was completely controlled by religious motives, people saw "sacrifice" where we do not see it. The destruction of Achan and his family (Jos. 7), Agag hewed in pieces by Samuel "before Yahweh" (1 S. 1532), and the impaling of the seven sons of Saul "before Yahweh" (2 S. 219), may all be classed as judicial procedure, exercised according to the tribal ideas of that time, but to the ancients there is in them a sacrificial and propitiatory element. Ideas attached to lower gods and demons were transferred to Yahweh, and then the thoughts concerning His being and character received a fuller purification and enlargement. The higher stage does not completely displace the lower; but there is an increase in the complexity and richness of life all round, with brilliant lights and deep, dark shades. The same remarks may be made and the same principles applied to the question of "idol" or "image worship." It took many centuries of struggle before a man of the highest intelligence could boldly declare that "an idol is nothing in the world" (1 Cor. 84), and even then such a man stood far above the popular view, and even he did not profess to dismiss in an easy fashion "the powers of darkness" (Eph. 612). Images were in use in the early days, when men did not distinguish as we do between symbol and reality (Gen. 3135, 254, 1 S. 1926). The image or sacred thing had something of Divine power

or magic in it. Natural objects might be so regarded, and manufactured articles in a later period. Against the latter a religious conservatism might protest, as in this region there is a peculiar sensitiveness towards novelties and luxuries. The prohibition of "graven images" may not at first have included all symbols or objects of worship. The true religion does not come at first as an abstract creed, but works as a living principle from within, which only gradually discloses its full meaning and rejects that which is out of harmony with its essential nature.

The Mosaic Period.—With the modern view as to the date and composite character of the Pentateuch, we can no longer regard Abraham as the actual founder of Hebrew religion, though, as we have suggested, beliefs and customs of pre-historic times persisted, among the people, down to a late date. The narratives now grouped round the name of Moses belong to different periods and represent varied points of view. But the great body of OT scholars believe that the real history of the nation and its religion begins with the work of this great leader, who united several tribes and led them to the East Jordan region. If he was not the author of a complicated literature and elaborate legislation, he no doubt, according to the usage of these days, united in himself some of the simpler functions of priest and prophet as well as those of military ruler and guide. If we are prepared to treat the present tradition and the present text with any respect, this at least we must accept. It does not follow that he was conversant with Egyptian speculations and the complete development of Babylonian civic law. The earliest code that we can trace (Ex. 34 17ff.) is brief, simple, mainly ritualistic, and already shows the influence of agricultural life. What, then, can we regard as the Mosaic contribution? It is not possible in this sketch to enter into elaborate discussions as to the origin and meaning of the sacred name "Yahweh" (Ex. 3 13–15*). In the OT there are different views as to the time when this name and the worship connected with it entered into the life of Israel and of the world (Gen. 4 26, Ex. 3 15, 6 3). The Scripture etymologies also, while revealing the thought of the day in which they arose, cannot be regarded as scientific or ultimate. The exact origin and original meaning of such words (*e.g.* the English "God") are lost in the obscurity of the remote past. Neither can we face the question of the relations of the early Hebrews to the Kenites, and their mutual influence in the region of politics and religion. Such relationship no doubt exerted an influence not only during the sojourn at the sanctuary at Kadesh, but also at a later time (Ex. 18; Jg. 1 16, 4 11,17–22, 1 Ch. 2 55). Moses had gathered a number of tribes together, and was preparing them to press into the West Jordan region to find a permanent home. They had their separate family affiliations and their different clan customs. But success in their present undertaking demanded a large measure of unity and co-operation and this could be created only by a powerful religious impulse. This impulse was given by belief in Yahweh as the God *common* to all the tribes, and faith in the power of His name as redeemer and leader. In God's good providence Moses was the man chosen as the instrument to kindle this faith and to give the highest expression that it could receive at that time. For, while we can now talk freely about *eternal* principles and the "timelessness" of Scripture, we cannot study the origin and growth of a great religion without seeing that every great truth has had to come in lowly, concrete form, limited and conditioned by the circumstances of a particular time and place. This, then, is the birth-hour of the Hebrew nation and religion, an event of immense importance for the religious life of the world. Though the idea of "a covenant" between Yahweh and Israel has been expanded and presented from different points of view by later prophetic and literary activity, it is no doubt here in a simple form and has a real *ethical* character. Yahweh had chosen His people, and would give them support against their foes and provide a home for them. Here, though the situation is a narrow national one, it is at a higher plane than any mere "nature" worship or absolutely local deity. The God who goes forth to war with and for His people, whose presence is manifested in the storm or in great volcanic shocks, is a mighty God who is likely to be a conqueror in many senses. All the battles of Israel were fought in the spirit of a high religious faith, and even in early times it was felt that defeat might be due not to the weakness of their God, but to failure on the part of His servants to keep His laws. True, these laws might be regarded as largely a matter of ritual, for, as we shall see, the contribution of the great prophets did add something in this respect; but the idea of God is beginning to act as a bond of union between tribes that are similar and yet different, and is beginning to show a freedom of movement and capability of progress that has the promise of great things, however dimly apprehended at the time. Thus, though we are compelled to view him through the varied traditions that have gathered round his name in the course of several centuries, we may still regard Moses as, in a real sense, a man of prophetic spirit, the founder of the Hebrew faith. That his work was real, as far as it went, is proved by the fact that the religion was not completely destroyed by the fierce, chaotic struggles which followed immediately on the entrance into Palestine. In many cases conquerors have been absorbed by the peoples of the land they have entered. In this case the same effect followed to some extent, but the original religious impulse was never completely lost, and it gave to its possessors the power to absorb necessary elements of faith without losing their distinctive character. From Moses down to Philo men boldly claimed the best in this world as belonging to "Yahweh," and so as the property of His people. The Christian religion has, with more catholicity, inherited the same spirit, claiming that all things are to be brought into submission to Christ. In other countries the territory of the god increased with the growth of the city; but here we are compelled to find something more real—a spiritual life, and not a mechanical matter of mere political accretion. While admitting the baffling nature of all origins, we believe that a new chapter in the history of religion begins here; that, though Moses was not a literary man or a systematic theologian, he had a real message from the eternal God, whose highest messenger always appears in the lowly form of a servant. Men rightly looked back to this as a great hour (Hos. 11 1). Prophets and priests idealised it, each from their own standpoint; and the belief that this was an hour of new revelation was never lost. Of course it was germinal; it would have been just as difficult for any human observer of that time to tell exactly what would come out of it, as it is for us now to disentangle its exact feature out of a mass of varied and in some respects contradictory material. A struggling mass of human beings, weary of the wandering life, fighting for a new home, feeling that the great blessing they needed from their God was their daily bread and a place to live in peace—this was

the unpromising material out of which sprang the greatest religious movement that this world has known. But in it, with its simple elemental facts and its complexity of motives, may be found a symbol and suggestion of many similar movements, when men have been thrown back upon the abiding mercy and supreme power of God.

The Period of Struggle and Settlement.—The picture given in the original parts of Jg. is what we might expect under the circumstances. Tradition rightly represents that time as one of confusion, struggle, assimilation. No real political unity had been attained. "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Jg. 21_{25}). The material has been set in a later form and interpreted by a simple formal religious philosophy, but the primitive records tell of only partial conquest, involving perpetual conflict. It is easy to see what kind of theology and religious ceremonies were likely to grow in such a time and place. There is little of purity or exclusiveness either in race or religion. The Song of Deborah shows that only part of the tribes gather for the great effort. In this noble battle-song there is no "theology," and its praise of Jael is revolting to our moral sense. But it is still clear that, in so far as there is unity and strength to fight for *national* existence, it is inspired by the common faith in Yahweh. Samson marries outside his clan; the sons of Benjamin take wives by capture; Jephthah, the son of a strange woman, sacrifices his daughter; Gideon takes the spoils of war to make an image; Micah's mother uses the restored silver to make an image "unto Yahweh"; and the children of Dan think it a fine thing to steal the religious apparatus that other people have got carefully together (Jg. 18_{17}). This is not very edifying reading, either from the Jewish or the Christian point of view, but it is full of interest as a picture of life, political and religious, in those rude days. The noble effort of the great founder seems to have failed; it looks as if nothing great or permanent can come out of this disorder, this apparently disconnected and aimless struggle. But it is the turmoil of a new life, and not the convulsive struggles that betoken the last agony. Much in the previous civilisation might be decadent, sensual; religious indulgence had weakened the life of the country, and its cities had no real bond of unity; but here were members of a new and virile race, fresh from the open country, their faces set towards the future, their faith alive in a real God, who showed His goings forth in the mightiest movements of nature and in the battles of their daily life. So even here there was a real movement towards a unity higher than that of the mere family or clan. From these stories we learn that religious ceremonies were connected with all the chief facts of life. The father of the family or head of the clan might officiate as the representative of the community, but there were also professional priests, men attached to a family or local sanctuary or wandering tribe. Such men offered sacrifices and consulted the oracle on behalf of their patrons. But the elaborate system and finely regulated spiritual hierarchy of later times had not come into existence, though the ideas that it represented were in some cases struggling for expression. The prophet and the priest were not as clearly separated as in later days. Samuel acts in both capacities. One general difference there was, namely, that the priest was more likely to inherit his office and to be fastened to a particular place. The priesthood of a particular sanctuary might remain in the possession of one family or clan. This made the priests the custodians and guardians of a special tradition and ritual, varying in different localities, but with many features in common.

There were also "seers," "wise men," and "prophets" of various types at this stage. Their functions were not clearly defined; by their superior insight, ability, and acknowledged relation to God, they were able to render service to their fellow-men. The structure of society was simple, and the various professional services were not elaborately organised, but the needs of men were similar in all times. Religious guidance, social help, the pursuit of justice, and the interpretation of uncommon facts of life—these made room for real spiritual insight or for showy charlatanism or petty quackery, as in our day. But the prophets that we are most concerned with now are the bands of patriotic enthusiasts who arose in times of excitement or danger, and in a real if in a rude way kept alive the fiery energy of the Yahweh religion. Some among their compatriots might regard them as "mad," and look with cooler criticism upon their wild performances, but generally abnormal sensational outbursts were attributed to "the spirit of Yahweh" (2 K. 9_{11}). Saul was caught in the contagion of this frenzied worship, to the surprise of those who knew him (1 S. 10_{11}). These bands stood for loyalty to Yahweh and opposition to Philistine oppression, and no doubt played a real part in the struggles which prepared the way for the kingdom. Here, at any rate, was the belief that God could use men as His instruments, sending His Spirit to trouble or to give them courage and strength. The same motive and the same power moved "the heroes" who fought against the surrounding peoples when they sought to divide and oppress the Israelites. The strong indignation and furious resentment which prompted men to determined resistance and fierce vengeance were regarded as the result of the oncoming of Yahweh's Spirit (Jg. 13_{25}, 14_6, 15_{14}, 1 S. 11_6). Saul, who did real work in the effort towards national unity, was a capable man, a true patriot; he sends round the "fiery cross" in the hour of need, he falls in with the effort to check sorcery and witchcraft, and yet in his moments of weakness he is troubled with "an evil spirit," which produces jealousy and melancholy, and in the crisis, before his final defeat, he has recourse to "a witch," who professes to raise the dead (1 S. 28).

Another element that has to be reckoned with is the conservatism or puritanism of those who looked back upon the ideal of the desert life as simpler and more religious. The culture of the vine and the use of its products appeared to them as disloyalty to Yahweh. These people were no doubt lacking in flexibility and progressiveness, but the real reason of their protest was religious—their objection to religious rites connected with the new culture, and the fact that much sensuality was associated with the Baal-worship of the land. A great movement is the resultant of many forces, and the protest against effeminate luxury and unbridled indulgence was not without its representatives in the earlier days.

The one thought that was about to be worked out clearly was that the Israelites were Yahweh's people, and their worship was due to Him alone as their benefactor in times of peace and their protector in days of war. The gods of other peoples might have their own place and territory (Jg. 11_{24}). There was as yet no world outlook or dream of missionary effort. A fugitive or stranger who came within the borders

of Israel must, of course, join himself to some clan and place himself under the protection of Israel's God.

The Work of David.—The work that Saul had undertaken received a certain completion under his successor, David. Though the united kingdom lasted only some seventy years, his work was of permanent importance. He was a loyal worshipper and servant of Yahweh, with clear knowledge of the situation. He made Jerusalem the political and religious centre for the whole kingdom, and it has occupied a central position in the world's history or in the regard of mankind ever since. We cannot think of him as a theologian or hymn-writer; he was a soldier and statesman. A great part of his life was spent in wandering or in war, and when he came to the possession of large power he had many troubles with his family and the rough soldiers upon whom he had been compelled to depend. We have a suggestive and reliable, if not a perfect or systematic, picture of his life and times. For him Yahweh was a great God, the supreme God of Israel, though His actual rule is limited to Israel's territory (1 S. 26^{19}). The striking story of 2 S. 21 shows that he, and the Church of his time, still stood on the old tribal level (*cf.* Dt. 24^{16}, Jer, 31^{30}, Ezek. 18^{20}). What a great step from this to the advanced theology of Ps. 139, attributed by later scribes to this great king! However, the union of the tribes and the choice of an important capital city was an event of religious importance for the life of Israel and the world. The local sanctuaries still had their place, and religious officials of various kinds were scattered throughout the land. But the bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem and the desire for a permanent dwelling-place of Yahweh marked an advance.

At the king's court soldiers, councillors, priests, and prophets were assembled, and a new and more important centre of life was thus formed. The king was a man of his time, in many ways rough, impulsive, self-willed; but he leaves upon us the impression of rare strength, power of leadership, a certain frankness of nature, and magnanimity of spirit. He receives counsel from "a wise woman," accepts meekly the stern rebuke of Nathan, and seeks to restrain the fierce men of blood whom he has had to use as his instruments. Judged by the standards of his own time he is a true and noble embodiment of Israel's religion. He is loyal to Yahweh, and is not content with a mere formal worship. He comes into the main current of this great religious movement; he would give due honour to the God of his fathers, from whom his kingship came; and he prepared the way for "the city of God," of whose full glory and influence he never dreamed. Before there could be a national religion, in the full sense, the nation must be created; then, when the national religion came, it must take time to realise its true nature before the consciousness could arise that here was something of more than national significance. This was, in the meantime, merely a new fixed point in the midst of a political life that was still restless and unstable. One needs to remember the difference between the small communities in Palestine and the large empires of Assyria or Babylonia. In great regions covered by one complex civil and military organisation officialism reigned supreme; there were millions of human beings that were severely drilled to take their part as units in an immense machine. This made possible the network of canals, the great cities and lofty towers, magnificent products of human skill, that were a cause of astonishment and religious reflection to simpler peoples (Gen. 11$^{1-9}$). On the other hand, the tribes of Israel had not been subject to any such "steam-roller process" as tended to crush individuality and destroy local peculiarities. They were a "stiff-necked people" (Dt. 9^{13}). That appropriate phrase, spoken in blame, suggests to us something that is not altogether evil. Their great religious contribution to the world could never have come from a soft, pliable people, easily influenced and easily losing impressions. The separateness of family and clan, which lent itself to the easy formation of "faction," had its advantages from the point of view of religious progress. We see now, more clearly than ever, that it was not a smooth, easy movement; there was fighting at every point, against external foes and internal division. No new stage was gained without a fierce contest, and when a great truth was conquered it was fixed in forms that would not easily die. Thus we can understand the reaction against the united kingdom which led to the disruption immediately after the death of Solomon. Religion, politics, and what we now call "economic" causes all played a part. There was an objection to rapid centralisation, forced labour, and heavy taxes for the glory of the king and the enrichment of the capital city. There was always a democratic vein in prophecy, and the oriental deification of the actual king could not easily find a place in the religion of Yahweh. An interesting anticipation of the impression produced by the tyranny of the king and the extravagance of the court has been placed in the mouth of Samuel (1 S. 8). This revolt against the authorities in Jerusalem, and the setting up of a prosperous kingdom in the north, which gained a strong and attractive capital at Samaria, was a source of political weakness. But the possible rivalry, when it did not degenerate into fratricidal strife, tended to produce a fuller, richer life. Complete centralisation and uniformity at this stage would have had a cramping effect. Both kingdoms claimed Yahweh as their God, and had in many respects a common life and literature. There was now, as the communities became more settled, an increase in the spread of education. Court chronicles began to be kept, simple codes of laws arranged (Ex. 20–23), and collections of songs and stories to be made (Jos. 10^{13}, 2 S. 1^{17}). This material, existing before in written fragments or as oral tradition, began to be gathered in simple systematic forms, and so the earliest foundations were laid for our present OT (pp. 44f.).

The Work of Elijah.—The name of this great prophet has come to us in a blaze of glory; the stories that tell of his life and work have a high literary character and great spiritual power. To have produced such an impression and left such a record he must have been a man of wonderful energy and a prophet of great distinction. Here, as elsewhere, we have to remember that the idea which plays such an important part in our explanation of nature and history had not come to clear expression then, viz. that of *process*. There is a tendency in ancient literature, and particularly in Hebrew story, to gather under the name of one man achievements that represent the struggle of a generation or more of intelligent and heroic workers. This is true in the case of all such great names as Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, and Elijah. Hence, at this point we need to review not so much the life of this particular prophet as the whole relation of Hebrew religion to the life of Canaan. Elijah is a prophet of the desert; he represents the old faith and the stern simplicity of nomad religion; he is at home in the wilderness, and flees for refuge to the ancient mountain sanctuary of Horeb. He has left no sermons;

he was no theologian. He makes no claim for the centralisation of worship; he does not discuss details of ritual; he frankly recognises the use of many altars (1 K. 19₁₄), but he declares that the people of Israel, under the influence of the court, are turning to the worship of the Tyrian Baal. Yahweh alone must be worshipped by Israelites. The question as to the use of images or symbols is not raised. The demand is for the exclusive worship of Yahweh by His own people. Without attempting a critical analysis and estimate of the documents here involved, it seems evident that in this period, both in Israel and Judah, there was a revolt against the Baal-worship introduced through the connexion of the royal families with the dynasty of Tyre. If such worship had been confined to small circles of foreigners it could scarcely have caused such a sensation, though there was an increasing apprehension of the fact that Yahweh was "a jealous God." Probably many Israelites were becoming lax and too tolerant, and so stimulated the zeal of the stricter devotees. The fact that Elijah resisted the tyranny and oppression of the rulers, as shown in the case of Naboth's vineyard, shows that he stands in the line of the true prophetic tradition that Israel's God is the defender of simple justice and the avenger of innocent blood (Gen. 4₁₀). That is a great thought of God, at a time when men generally accepted the king as a kind of god above the law, entitled to gratify, without scruple, his arbitrary will. The greatest battles for liberty in this world have been fought by men who appealed to a God of justice against the unjust claims of Cæsar. Turning again to the theological side of the situation, the point to be emphasized is that *the* Yahweh religion, having absorbed much nutriment from Canaanite culture and Baal-worship, now, in the person of its strict representatives, felt itself quite foreign and superior to the similar Phœnician worship that was threatening an invasion. Hebrew religion can tolerate no appearance of rivalry within its own territory; that must be made clear in a religion that is destined to still larger conquests. The characteristic of the true religion is that it is alive, which in the highest sense means not simply the power to fight for a bare name or abstract formula, but much more the power to enrich its own idea of religion and of God by absorbing true elements from the culture w th which it comes in contact. We have now passed the time when we regard any great system of faith and worship as completely and absolutely false; we know that in a world which belongs to God such a system would soon fall to pieces. Further, when two systems come into contact and conflict, while that which is higher may ultimately prevail, it can do so only on the condition of completing itself even from a hostile source. Through all these struggles with the Canaanites the Hebrews maintained the name of Yahweh their God, and their faith in Him was the bond of union and the inspiration of any heroic and successful action. As we have already suggested, tribal traditions and family usages remained in full force, and only gradually and by slow action and reaction were they eliminated or reinterpreted and transformed. The same process took place in regard to Canaanite customs. To some of these the real representatives of Hebrew religion were sternly and consistently opposed, while the mass of the people were easily induced to follow the prevailing fashions. As they became more completely a settled people they must be more thoroughly influenced by the religious beliefs and ceremonies connected with the culture of the soil. The name Baal means lord or owner; it is not in itself the name of the god of a whole land or tribe, but of the patron god of a particular locality. The shade of meaning attached at any time to such a word must necessarily be vague and variable. To the popular mind there were many Baals, just as in Roman Catholic countries, among simple and unreflecting people, "Our Lady" of a particular city acquires special local qualities, and is differentiated from other manifestations of the One Virgin (Notre Dame de Paris, Notre Dame de Lourdes, etc.). The Baal meant the divinity that gave fruitfulness to a piece of soil. As such fruitfulness is similar in all cases, it might easily be generalised and a general significance be given to the name; but side by side the belief could remain in a number of particular Baals. The Israelite teachers maintained that Yahweh was one (Dt. 6₄). They were clear on that point. There might be many Baals—that would need investigation—but as to this there could be no doubt, that it was one and the same Yahweh who manifested Himself to the believing Israelites wherever the conditions were favourable to His appearance. This is much more important than it appears on the surface: the search of the highest philosophy and deepest religious feeling is for *unity* behind all the varied appearances of nature and manifestations of life. The unity of Yahweh-worship over against the divisions and distractions of Baal-worship is a real revelation, a great advance in this movement. But a bare unity or a mere name cannot have the highest power; the claim must be made that Yahweh is the God of the pleasant, fruitful land as well as of the fierce storm and "the great and terrible wilderness." This means the transference of ancient sanctuaries and altars to Yahweh, and the adoption of Canaanite forms of worship, and there is always danger in such assimilation. But this inevitable movement carried with it the possibility of an enlargement and enrichment of thought of Yahweh as "the God of nature" in a fuller sense than before. Both these things are clearly implied in the later polemic of Hosea and Deuteronomy. The enervating, corrupting influence of Baal-worship was recognised, but the claim was clearly stated that the reason for such worship lay in the fact that men attributed to the local Baals powers and gifts which really belonged to the supreme Lord, Yahweh. We are now specially concerned to notice that, while during their early centuries of toilsome effort, spent in acquiring a sure settlement in the land, the life and religion of the people had been largely influenced by the new conditions, they themselves were not conscious of the extent of that influence, but maintained their full loyalty to Yahweh. They worshipped Yahweh at various sanctuaries, with pilgrimages and festivals, with ritual and sacrifice; they had departed from the simple desert standard, and entered fully into the life of their new home, but yet they had learned to cherish a certain healthy intolerance and exclusiveness. Elijah represents for us this revolt against any other god, and he calls upon the people to choose between Yahweh and Baal, as in the circumstances it was not possible to serve two masters. This became a political issue, with conspiracies and massacres following in its train; it led to a change of dynasty in the north, and brought into the kingdom a spirit of faction that prepared the way for its final destruction. The strict followers of Yahweh no doubt represented a larger and purer faith; they were in the main stream, they had a permanent contribution to make to the life of humanity, but their temper was violent, their methods rude. The picture of the giant Elijah over against the peevish weakling Ahab may

in its sharp contrast be powerful poetry rather than finely-balanced history; but in such a striking statement as that Ahab went up to eat and drink and Elijah went up to the top of Carmel to learn the Divine purpose (1 K. 18^{42}) there is a true impression of the nature of the contending forces. Out of the conflict there came, both for Israel and Judah, a fuller and clearer recognition of the fact that Yahweh, and Yahweh alone, was the God of all true Israelites. There was also a fuller consciousness of what was meant by that statement. If Yahweh had not yet conquered the world or completely extended His rule into the dark underworld of Sheol, He had secured the lordship of Palestine and the acknowledgment that there no gods could be tolerated alongside of Him. It was universally admitted that to be a true Israelite meant to give exclusive worship to Yahweh; priests, prophets, leaders, and people had all come to this. All commerce with other gods or demons with heathenish sorcery and magic must be a shameful, secret thing.

The Prophetic Movement.—This brings us to what is called "the prophetic movement" in the strictest sense, although we must not forget the warning that in a living process we must not make our distinctions and differences too deep. Some of the early narratives show material that is handled in "a prophetic spirit," and they reveal the sense of man's "sinfulness," which it was the work of the prophets to deepen and define (*cf.* Gen. 3, 6, 11). For example, Isaiah lays great stress on the feebleness and futility of human arrogance (Is. 2*f.*), and the same subject is treated in a different form, but with some similarity of spirit, in the stories of Paradise and the Tower of Babel.

Our attention is now called to the work of those prophets who were the first to transmit to posterity actual notes of their sermons. These are the prophets of the Assyrian period—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. For the purpose of this brief sketch the books of Nah., Hab., and Zeph. may be neglected, since, in so far as they have any significant message, it is dependent on the great original preachers. The critical questions must be left untouched and results of recent research assumed. We seek to understand the message of these preachers, and how we can best state its relation to what has gone before. The careful composition of the sermons, brief and few as they are, shows that literary influences had been for some time at work. Their preservation proves that even in these troubled times there were students and disciples (Is. 8^{16}, 30^{3}). These four eighth-century prophets have their differences of circumstances, temperament, and style, but they join in the one protest against the social weakness and impure worship of their time, and, broadly speaking, present the same message and make the same demands. Amos, the stern messenger to Israel from outside; Hosea, emotional, tender, and showing intimacy and sympathy even in his denunciations; Isaiah, the man of the city, courtier, and statesman; Micah, the rude peasant of the Judæan lowlands—these men have much in common. They give us a striking proof that Yahweh, the living God, is one—one in His purpose through history, one in His demand for justice and call for service. They regarded themselves as conservatives, and in the best sense this was true. They might to a certain extent idealise the past, but two facts in this connexion we must recognise: (*a*) There is deterioration as well as progress in the life of a nation which, on the whole, is moving upward; hence there is something to be learned from the simplicity and brotherliness of earlier days. (*b*) These prophets were not absolutely new in their life and original in their thought; they did rest upon a real historical basis and manifested a real continuity of life. Further, in any time of transition, in living creative periods, the only way to conserve the revelation of the past is to reach the heart of it, bring out its real meaning, and show its application to the new age. Our ultimate explanation of such men may be that God called them, manifested to them His glory, and revealed to them His will. But this happens in particular circumstances and under certain conditions. Natural environment and economic causes can never be for us the full explanation of the movement of the Divine and human spirit. We must not, however, ignore these, since the consideration of them helps us to realise that these prophets were men like ourselves, face to face with definite social problems, in a time of unrest and transition, seeking the solution by a clearer recognition of God and a more intelligent application of religious principles. In fact, Israel could not have been God's greatest instrument for the preparation of a world-wide religion if her life had been perpetually fixed and fastened down to one form, semi-nomad or pastoral. Old truth can be enlarged and new principles brought to light only by the claims of new circumstances and the demand of new needs. By the growth of commerce, increase of wealth, enlargement of cities, old tribal arrangements and clan ties had broken down. It is the direct or implicit complaint of all these prophets that Israelites, in regard to each other, are "more than kin but less than kind." The arrangement by which every family could have its tract of land, every man his own house, and small communities live together in a brotherly spirit, with slight inequalities of social conditions—that state of things could no longer be maintained. Denunciation of the greedy land-grabbers, the careless or unjust rulers, and the arrogant rich oppressors, now appears as a regular part of the preacher's programme. It has come back at different periods, and has reached a larger form in our own day; but the moral basis and religious inspiration must always come from the great prophetic ideas. The period in which this prophetic movement takes its rise was evidently a time of prosperity, for many could indulge in vulgar display and luxurious living; but, as ever, social unrest, coming from the oppression of the poor and the perversion of justice, was the result of the unequal distribution of wealth and the lack of unselfish leadership. A strongly-marked feature of the genuine oracles of Micah is their fierce denunciation of the wickedness and folly of the ruling classes.

Neglecting for the moment any special theological peculiarities of particular prophets, we may sum up their teaching as referring to this world and being social and moral in its character. They do not face the question of personal immortality, and it is doubtful whether they give any clear programme as to the future of the nation beyond the fact of an imminent severe judgment, which will partly destroy and partly purify the community. When we speak of their message as *social*, we mean that they are dealing with men not in their individual capacity as separate souls, but as members of the community, and that they set forth religion as the right discharge of social obligations. When we say that it is *moral*, we give prominence to the fact that they denounce the attempt to make ritual a substitute for social goodness. They are not denouncing Baal-worship or discussing the value of symbolism; their position is that this is not the kind of worship and service that Yahweh requires (Am. 4^{4}, 5$^{21-24}$, Hos. 6^{6}, Is. 1$^{10-17}$, Mi. 3^{10}). It has

been settled that there is only one God for Israel; the question of the nature of the worship and service that He can require and will accept is now lifted to a higher plane. How far and in what way these men would have abolished or reformed the existing cultus we cannot say. We may conjecture that Isaiah loved the Temple, and found many sacred associations with it; that Micah hated the pretentious ritual used by the oppressors of the people; that Amos found God more easily in the silence of the desert than in the noisy religious festivals; and that Hosea would have shown more æsthetic feeling and poetic sentiment in handling such a subject than the stern prophets from the country were capable of displaying. This is legitimate speculation, guided by our actual knowledge of the men. But, after all, we have to say that they were engaged in a conflict against shallow, sensuous ritualism, and that in their polemic there is no discussion of fine distinctions, but a simple demand for honesty in private and public service, for a just administration of civic affairs, and a sympathetic care for the poor. For the first time in the history of the world we find what we call "social morality" presented as the highest expression of the religious life, and this is done with remarkable clearness and boldness in the name of Israel's God. It is evident that such teaching is ethical in the noblest sense. But what do we mean when we say that because it is ethical it is *monotheistic?* The answer to this is that it is a kind of teaching that *implies* the thought of one God for the world. And on further reflection, if their central message is accepted, this implication must formulate itself in a sharper, more dogmatic fashion. Judgment is about to come upon the nation in both sections, not on account of the capricious anger of the deity at insufficient tribute in the form of sacrifices, but because of the people's failure to reach a certain standard of righteousness (Am. 3₂, Is. 5₁–₇). Yahweh punishes His own people for their lack of goodness, this being regarded as morality and not mere religiosity. Further, the *same standard* is applied to other tribes and nations: they are to be judged not because they are non-Israelites, but because of their greed, cruelty, and inhumanity (Am. 1). We to-day may argue that because there is one God there should be one standard of morality for public and private life, and one law of justice and kindness among men of different creeds and nations. But the historical movement worked in the other direction. Men of true spiritual insight learned first that their God required real service and not coarse sacrifices or magical rites, and then they advanced to the belief that the kingdom of this God of righteousness was not bounded by geographical or tribal limitations. But every step of the way had to be fought, for old enemies of formalism and sectarianism constantly returned in new forms, and the Jews preserved for others what they did not fully realise for themselves. These great beliefs were rooted in the sacred past of their nation, and it took a long time to bring out their full significance; but now it stands in a clear light as a central contribution to religious thought, as one of the highest gifts of revelation. The nation might perish, but God and righteousness must rule. What sublime faith is this! How far it soars above all small ritualism and narrow patriotism!

As a matter of fact the northern kingdom was lost, and it was left to the small community in Judæa to keep alive the sacred tradition and preserve in its purer form the worship of Yahweh. Even in those days spiritual problems could not really be settled by brute force. The internal factions within the kingdom of Israel, partly political, partly religious, weakened the government and prepared the way for the external foe. After the conquest of the kingdom and the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C., many of the inhabitants were taken away and other settlers brought in to take their place; thus there was produced a mixed race and a mongrel religion (2 K. 17₆,₂₄–₄₁). Elijah, but more probably Jehu, might delight in this grim business of slaughtering priests of Baal, but not thus does religion gain its real victories. The "ten tribes" were "lost" in the sense that those of them who were taken away had not sufficient individuality and strength of character to retain their separateness. Those that remained in Palestine did maintain an inferior type of Hebrew religion, but the efforts to reunite the two branches after the Exile failed, and the Samaritan religion continued its own stunted, barren existence (Jn. 4₉,₂₂).

It is not our task to attempt a detailed analysis of the books, to investigate the nature of prophecy and prediction, or to give a systematic account of the theology of the prophets; but at this point a brief statement must be made for the purpose of bringing out the connexion of their work with the next phase of the movement. It cannot be proved, with any approach to certainty, that any of these four men had a definite "eschatology" or a clearly-defined programme of the destiny of the nation after the approaching judgment. Passages found in these books regarding a personal Messiah probably belong to a later date. According to the view we have formed of these documents, Amos and Micah did not speculate as to the future course of history. Hosea, with his principle of a bond of love between Yahweh and His people, no doubt cherished the hope of repentance and return. Isaiah approaches the most closely to "a theologian"; he has a central thought of Yahweh from which radiates all his thought of religion, as applied to politics and civic life. To him we owe the doctrine of "the remnant," and the faith that Jerusalem would be delivered from the foreign foe. He spent a long time in public life; he had to meet the people in varied circumstances and in many moods. On the whole, while his ministry was one of denunciation, there must have been many hours of hope in the life of one who carried on such a long strife on behalf of a sane political policy and a pure worship of Yahweh (Is. 12₁–₂₆). Even if he had no elaborate eschatology, he was the prophet of faith in a new and deeper sense (7₉, 30₁₅); he gave spirituality as well as splendour to his picture of Yahweh, the supreme King, whose glory fills the whole earth.

The Deuteronomic Movement.—It is difficult to trace precisely the immediate effect of Isaiah on the religious organisation, and to learn how far any real effort was made by Hezekiah for the centralisation and purification of worship. There seems to have been a fierce reaction, which placed the prophetic party in a perilous position, and the reign of Manasseh was a time of darkness for the disciples of a purer faith (2 K. 21). Through such times a great religious movement comes with a nobler faith and more heroic courage. The Book of Deuteronomy is now accepted as in the main the product of this century. It is a blending of prophetic teaching and purified priestly ritual. It has apparently three elements—the historical, the preaching, and the legal—but the whole book is pervaded by an earnest persuasive spirit. Its aim is to produce a community of "saints," a kingdom of God on earth, and *so avert the threatened judgment.* In a sense the book is dramatic; its history, sermons, and laws are all placed in the mouth of the ancient

prophet Moses. The narratives of Exodus are turned into direct speeches, and the Book of the Covenant is amplified and modified. In the sermons the great lines of thought are the oneness of Yahweh the God of Israel, the view of history as a Divine discipline, and the danger of forgetting God in the hour of prosperity. Such a book clearly stands in the middle of this history and not at its beginning; the history is reviewed and made matter for spiritual reflection, the earlier documents are freely used and readapted. The demand for one central sanctuary now becomes intelligible and possible. It can be shown by many detailed proofs that the teaching of the great prophets has left its mark on this wonderful book. With all the limitations involved and dangers incurred, it was inevitable that the prophetic teaching, if it was to leave any other effect than the testimony of the written page, must embody itself in reforms of Church and State. We have not yet solved the problem as to the parts that the two forces represented in Dt., preaching and legislation, must play in the creation of social goodness. There is no dogmatic solution, because circumstances and other factors involved are always changing in a living nation. While the relation of Jeremiah or any particular prophet to this movement is doubtful (pp. 46, 474, 480), it is clear that this epoch-making book did represent, on the part of many, an honest effort to purify the ritual and to bring a higher humanitarian sentiment into the Law, and that it helped to strengthen the loftier monotheistic tendencies of the faith. To us one God means that in any place we may worship in a spiritual fashion, and that no city or sanctuary can have a monopoly of His special presence (Jn. 4$_{23}$). Yet we can concede that the abolition of local sanctuaries and the concentration of the Jewish sacrificial worship in Jerusalem was a movement in the direction of universalism. It drew a clearer line between the sacred and secular, and had to grant powers to the local elders that could not possibly be limited to Jerusalem. It gave *the book* a more prominent position in religion, and laid new emphasis on the need of right teaching; these elements, that then held a subordinate place were later seen to have a wider influence than any mere local reforms. What could or might have happened if the nation had survived to give the Deuteronomic influence a fuller trial, in the then existing circumstances, it is idle to speculate. In a certain sense this book saved the religion, and if there were many of its adherents who believed fanatically in the efficacy of the new law and the inviolability of the Temple, to that extent it helped to destroy the nation.

Jeremiah.—The tragic death of the young king Josiah and the strife of parties produced an uncertainty of policy which could end only in national disaster. The prophet Jeremiah gave sober counsel and frequent warning as well as strong denunciation. He saw that the threatened judgment must come, but his plan of recognising stern facts and bowing before the great Babylonian power might have lessened the terrors of the situation and have avoided the final tragedy. But to do this required an act of faith—faith to see the hand of Yahweh in the real events of history, of which neither the kings nor the people were capable. Jeremiah gave his faithful testimony during many years, and after the destruction of Jerusalem was dragged away to Egypt, where his end is veiled in darkness. He was a worthy successor of the great prophets, and did much to give a deeper sense of individual life and a higher spirituality to religion. Though the book that bears his name is in a confused condition, and contains much material of various kinds that did not come from his hand, we can gain from it a vivid picture of the disorder of the times, of his outward conflicts and inward struggles. In his story we find more of personal "experience" in the sense in which we now use that word. He had the conviction that he was, as an individual, foreordained to a great task (Jer. 1$_{5}$), but that did not end the matter; he was often subject to inward misgivings and wrestlings regarding his call and work. He makes complaints to his God and bewails his hard lot. He is gentle and sensitive, but cannot attain to the height of Christian resignation and calmness. But it was a terrible life, to be always on the strain, denouncing false prophets, exposing popular delusions, declaring unceasingly that the policy of the leaders must lead to inevitable doom. The great prophetic message, that has already been discussed, he presented in his own way with bold imagery and gentle poetic beauty, which shows that he lived in communion with nature and in intimate sympathy with human life. His life, the story of it, and his poems, must have exerted a great influence, though at the time it all seemed to be such a tragic failure. When the reaction came, and men could see his utter truthfulness and loyalty, this "man of sorrows and acquainted with grief" was seen to be one of the noblest of those saints to whom the true Israel owes so much. The part that he played in the growth of Israel's religion may be briefly summed up by saying that he deepened it, and made it more a matter of personal life and individual experience. He was a forerunner of the great poet who wrote the speeches of Job in that we see in him a man conscious of his own personality over against the personality of God. He comes to the very throne of God, not simply with humble cries for help, but also with demands for reason, justification, and defence. The fanatical dogma of the inviolability of the Temple he could not accept, but he could, we believe, look forward to a time when a new covenant would be written upon the hearts of believing men (31$_{31}$, Heb. 8 8). The fulfilment of his predictions and the spirituality of his teaching helped to save the religion when the nation was lost.

The Significance of the Exile for Hebrew Religion.—When a number of Israelites were deported to Assyria almost one hundred and fifty years earlier, they were probably scattered over a wide area, and as they had not attained sufficient distinction of character they were very largely "lost," so far as any living relation to this great movement was concerned. But the case of the Jews was different; it was the better class of the people who were taken away. They had enjoyed during the past century the influence of many great teachers, and they seem to have been planted in colonies in Babylonia, where they could enjoy intercourse with each other and form some kind of religious organisation (Jer. 24, 29). Thus, when these communities came to face the question, "How can we sing Yahweh's song in a foreign land?" (Ps. 137), they had some real equipment with which to solve the problem. Exile could not mean to them—that is, to those who in any degree preserved their faith—a decree to go and serve foreign gods. Some, no doubt, did yield to this temptation both at home and abroad, for any great crisis means loss to those whose faith is not deeply rooted. But the hour of bereavement and silence is for the men of faith the hour of thought; they reflect upon the content of the old song, and it reveals its deeper meaning. Not only did circumcision and the Sabbath as ordinances of distinction from other peoples gain

more prominence, but also within the hedge thus formed there was real intellectual life, bringing a consciousness that they possessed something which was of more than national significance, and their vision of the real sacrifice as the contrite heart and not the mere material offering. It was a time of heart-searching, and many were led to recognise that the verdict of history had confirmed the message of the earlier prophets (Zech. 1$_6$). The situation was complex and many-sided. Some may have even desired to build a temple in Babylonia, others may have thought that the religion could live without a temple. The leaders were thrown back upon the earlier literature, "the book" became more important, and in that there was the germ of later Rabbinism; the need for study and teaching was felt, and this was destined to create schools that would mean more to Judaism and the world than any temple. "The Law" came to be something more minute and comprehensive, but, as we may see from the later literature, it could not confine the fulness and variety of life or crush the universal tendencies inherent in the prophetic faith. Out of the ruins of a nation there came a Church, but that Jewish Church inherits the rich revelation and noble influence of the Hebrew religion. To speak of it as "a sect" is not fair; the life is too varied and catholic to be summed up in that reproachful word; it contained all the elements of the "high," "low," and "broad" sections. It is true that we sometimes find these elements at war with each other, but we have received the rich result of the whole movement.

Ezekiel works in the midst of the exiles; he declares that the destruction of Jerusalem must be completed, and when that prediction is fulfilled he sets himself to face the problems of the future. He is a striking figure, a prophet judging the history of his people by absolute standards, a visionary with strange ecstatic experiences, a poet with great descriptive power, a pastor realising the dreadful responsibility of his office, a priest seeking to build up a holy nation. He has been called "the father of Judaism," and "the creator of eschatology;" and if those terms are taken with the necessary qualifications they may stand, since he sketches a constitution for the restored community in Palestine, and makes a rich eschatological contribution. In this man of priestly family varied elements exist side by side without being fused into a consistent system. He has affinities with Jeremiah, but his type of mind and conception of the Church are different. He is a High Churchman, not lacking in evangelical qualities. Some truths, such as personal responsibility, he presents in a way that we are tempted to call mechanical—that is, in a hard, abstract manner, out of all living relation to the complementary truth of heredity. There was, after all, some truth in the statement that "the fathers had eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth were set on edge." However, while his weight falls heavily on the side of the priestly view, he did important work as a preacher of judgment and a prophet of faith. He believed that, at the Divine command, the dead bones of a ruined nation could rise up as a mighty army before God, and that the heart of stone could, by a miracle of grace, be turned into a heart of flesh.

The Theology of Deutero-Isaiah.—At this stage it is necessary to recognise the significance of the great message contained in Is. 40–55. Though different in its spirit and style, it takes rank with the other great prophetic sections. We do not know the name of the author, and we cannot say with any certainty where he lived. On account of its historical background, theology, and language and style this book cannot be earlier than the time of the Babylonian Exile, and the attempts to place it later are not convincing. The writer is evidently not a public leader, pastor, or prophet in the same sense as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. He is not facing particular concrete situations in the same way; he is a poet brooding over the great national disaster, and seeking to impart to others the message of comfort and hope which heavenly voices have brought to his soul. Pre-exilic prophecy had been mainly a word of warning and threatening; in Ezekiel promise follows denunciation. Deutero-Isaiah brings a message of pure comfort, and to that extent strikes a new note in prophecy. What we have here (Is. 40–55) is a collection of poems whose origin may extend over a number of years, yet we are justified in speaking of it as "The Book of Consolation," seeing that there is sufficient unity of subject and spirit in these poems concerning Zion the Bride of Yahweh, and Israel the Servant of Yahweh, to bind the various elements together, if not to prove the genuineness of every passage. Even if we should have to admit the separate origin and the later date of the great Servant passages (40$_{1-4}$, 49$_{1-6}$, 51$_{4-9}$, 52$_{13}$–53$_{12}$), it is sufficient for this general review for us to note that the Servant idea, in its national sense, receives here a very high form of expression. The writer brings a great message of redemption, so that he has been rightly called "the evangelist of the OT." The tone is tender throughout; even his denunciations of enemies and his polemic against idol-worshippers are free from the coarse, bitter invective that is generated by actual strife; underlying all his utterances is a strong conviction that the word of Yahweh is absolutely reliable. Empires may fall and perish, but it remains; it is a great world-force, which, like the powers of nature, must do its work (40$_8$, 55$_{10}$). To a nation whose members are scattered and whose sanctuary lies in ruins he addresses the word of consolation (40$_{27}$). But he does this not with some light, soothing song, but with a magnificent conception of God and a massive theology. The belief that Yahweh is the God of nature, history, and redemption receives here a fuller exposition and more brilliant expression. These are not dead forms or abstract categories, the whole presentation thrills with life. God's manifestation of His power and wisdom in the actual events of creation and history is here not a finished work, but a present energy, fresh, plastic. An inspiring, hopeful word was sorely needed in this situation, hence the movement of the theology is from God to man. There is little of the pastoral hortatory (the genuineness of 55$_7$ is questioned); the promises all rest on Yahweh's supreme power and sovereign grace. What could any man or organisation of men do for a nation in such a condition? If its destinies are not cared for by Him who rules the universe there is no hope. The thought of *election* naturally plays a great part, on account of the nature of the theme and the character of the theology. In the earlier days there was a choice of and a covenant with Israel by Yahweh, but it was not *a doctrine of election*, for then the God and the people completely corresponded to each other, and, except as enemies to be conquered, other gods and other peoples did not come into the calculation; but now election expresses the *special* relation which Israel holds to Yahweh, the supreme God before whom all nations and gods must bow. We cannot say that here there is no element of particularism or tinge of favouritism left—that would be an exaggeration; but we can maintain that election becomes in this

great message, more than ever before, election to service and not merely to privilege. There is an eschatology here: the wonderful deliverance and the miraculous journey across the desert are to lead to a new and glorious kingdom in Jerusalem; but a Gentile king is to be Yahweh's instrument, a Messiah in the secular sphere; the ends of the earth are invited to look unto Yahweh for salvation; the Servant has a mission to the outside world, and there is no grim picture of the ruthless slaughter of the heathen. In fact, in this section the OT rises to its loftiest height. After the great prophets and the Deuteronomic reform there has arisen a poet who can see what is implied in the earlier teaching, and with clear intelligence and enthusiastic faith can sing a new song to Yahweh and declare His praise unto the ends of the earth (42^{10}). Particularly is this true of the idea of vicarious sacrifice presented in ch. 53; if this comes from Deutero-Isaiah, it refers to Israel's suffering as a preparation and qualification for world-service. That individual men should suffer with and for others was no new idea; it was held in connexion with the primitive conception of the solidarity of the tribe; but here it reaches a higher plane of religious faith. The writer confronts the popular view in regard to an afflicted man and a defeated nation and rejects it: "We did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed" (*cf.* the great conflict in the Book of Job). The strength of faith and the purity of thought here revealed are not affected by the question whether the speakers are the heathen recognising the meaning of Israel's affliction, or the Jewish community giving a sacrificial and Messianic meaning to the life of one of its saints and martyrs. The endowment of "the spirit of Yahweh" resting on the true teacher, giving insight, calmness, and courage, is another feature that shows an advance upon the early conception, which tended to find the Divine most fully in the abnormal, fitful, or ecstatic condition (42$^{1-4}$).

Post-Exilic Judaism.—There are many historical problems connected with the origin and constitution of the later Jewish Church which we cannot discuss, but we must attempt merely a brief summary of the theological situation. It is clear that, if the historical continuity was not to be broken, many of the exiles must return and the Temple be rebuilt. The centre at Jerusalem was a rallying-point for the scattered Jews as well as for the perpetuation of Judaism itself. The Judæan community was small and of little political significance; it was under the guardianship and control of Persian rulers; this favoured the concentration of its energies on ecclesiastical and theological problems. The work of restoring the walls and building the temple had to be carried on during many years with feeble resources and many external hindrances. Prophecy had to continue its work of comforting the people (Zech. 1^{13,17}); the preachers found themselves compelled to take an interest in church-building and in ritual. In Haggai, Malachi, and Is. 56–66 we have no longer the sustained denunciations of the earlier prophets, nor the pure message of comfort of Deutero-Isaiah, but a form of preaching more like our own, when denunciation, warning, reasoning, exhortation, persuasion, and promise are all mingled in one appeal. In such a book as Malachi there is an approach to an "academic" style of teaching. We know also, from the accounts given of the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, that the Jewish community was not established on the basis of a stricter law and cleansed from what were regarded as impure elements without fierce struggles. The regulations against mixed marriages and in favour of strict Sabbath observance met with strong opposition. The rejection of all communion with the Samaritans, and the contempt of some "sons of exile" for "the people of the land," were also causes of heart-burning and strife. When we seek to treat the situation sympathetically and in the true historical spirit, we recognise that a certain amount of "intolerance" was inevitable; but we rejoice that the view of post-exilic literature, which we are now compelled to take, does not allow us to regard Judaism as a company of ignorant fanatics and bloodthirsty zealots. Jerusalem could not be sealed from all external influences. Her children, now beginning to be scattered throughout the world, kept her in touch with the higher life of the world. While the national point of view must still dominate, certain sides of the religion began to assume a more universal character. Even the Temple sacrifices and the priestly ritual, a region in which there is most danger of formalism, came to express a deeper sense of sin, of penitence, and national obligation. Ecclesiastical reformations had gained something in the way of purity and dignity; the ritualism of the later Temple was in its best days free from the sensuality and disorder of the earlier festivals.

It is possible for us to indicate special features of the later period and different times of development, but again we must remember that these do not exist in abstract separation, but may be found in various combinations in the men of action and leaders of thought. It is a period of slow organisation, patient, painful scholarship, and keen reflection. The codification of ritual laws, the increase of scribal activity with growing dominance of written authority, the deepening sense of religious peculiarity and isolation—all these influences tend to check personal initiative and prophetic enthusiasm. Of course, in a living community where intelligence has been so highly developed and concentrated on religious subjects, nothing can completely crush criticism, as may be seen from such books as Job and Ecclesiastes, which examine and partly reject orthodox beliefs, or the books of Jonah and Ruth, which must now be regarded as a protest against the militant forms of exclusiveness. On the whole, while the period is full of varied life, and we are still distant from the wild, unrestrained extravagance of later apocalypse and the deadness of stagnant scholasticism, it is a time of reflection and reaction rather than of original creation. But the living movement had not ceased; the difficulties from without and controversies within, along with the varied efforts to appreciate and appropriate the great heritage from the past, prevented any real stagnation. That could come only when the written text had been finally fixed and the dogmas of the various schools clearly defined. In the meantime the living movement goes on, acquiring complexity and variety, without losing its central principle of faith in Yahweh as the source of all life and the giver of all blessings *to His own people*. This needs emphasis: the religion of Israel never really ceased to be national; while Yahweh came to be regarded as God of the world, and hence all nations were under His control and care, yet their destiny was fixed by their relation to Israel. Individuals might be converted and come into the true fold, nations might receive blessings on account of friendship to Israel, or be destroyed in the great day of Israel's victory. Thus the great blessings, if they were to come to the nations, must come through

Israel. When this is stripped of all sectarian pride and party passion, it is astonishing how much truth there is in it; in other words, how much real missionary influence was exerted by a system that is supposed to be hard and exclusive. God flung the Jews out into the world, when they were fit to stand alone, to give and receive influence in the great centres of civilisation. The contents of the Jewish literature and the meaning of Jewish life were larger and richer than the formal creed. The prophetic principles were felt to be a gift of God which could not be monopolised by one nation. The Servant carries these principles to the expectant nations (Is. 42$_4$); the nations flow towards Jerusalem, because there true teaching and righteous judgments are given (Is. 2$_{1-4}$); the great festival in the final days, when the burdens of a sorrowful world are to be removed, will be "in this mountain," but it will be a feast for "all nations" (Is. 25$_{6-8}$). The paradox can be understood only when we remember that a stream of life is more than institutions and creeds that seek to give it outward expression, and that a great truth will, because of its greatness, show its broad human significance and its universal tendency.

Alongside of the Temple, which held a central place in the life of the people as a place of worship and a shrine for pilgrims (Pss. 122, 84), there was private personal piety, in which prayers became more prominent as an expression of spiritual life and a means of communion with God (Ps. 44), and there was also a fuller development of scholastic and educational work (Pr. 18). The Book of Proverbs is a monument of Hebrew *wisdom* compiled and completed in this period, though it may contain brief oracles and popular sayings from earlier days. Naturally, on account of its subject, which deals with the need for discipline of thought and regulation of conduct, it is unsectarian, or, in other words, its contents are, on the whole, more ethical than theological. Its aim is to insist upon the need of knowledge and discipline, if a man is to avoid snares that are set on every hand and attain to real success in life. Reverence towards parents, obedience as the first lesson in life, the cultivation of self-control—these are in a general way the forms in which "the fear of Yahweh" or religion should express itself, and this is the beginning and foundation of wisdom. Except the longer passages, containing personifications of Wisdom and Folly, this book of practical philosophy consists mainly of short similes or terse antithetic proverbs, which express contempt for "the fool," the man given to babbling, to greed, self-indulgence, or excess of any kind, and praise of "the wise man," the man who has learned to take care of himself, to control his temper, rule his household, and manage his business. There may not appear to be much idealism, sentiment, or romance about this "philosophy," but it rests upon a pretty solid basis of "common sense," and claims the whole range of common life as a sphere for the manifestation of "the fear of Yahweh." This is the hard, prosaic side of life, but it deals with matters that are common to mankind, and the inclusion of morals, manners, and etiquette in one comprehensive survey of life suggests the all-embracing character of the claims of religion.

For the rich variety of theological truth and religious sentiment which constituted the most precious possession of that age we must turn to the Psalter. It has been called the Hymn-book of the Second Temple, but it is more than that; it is also a prayer-book of confessions, meditations, and thanksgiving, which reflects the richest experiences of the individual as well as the varied worship of the community. For our present purpose those portions that are strictly liturgical are of least importance, but even in them the large claim of the religion is manifest (117, 149, 150). The Book of Psalms may be called *secondary* literature in this sense, that it shows us how all the lines of thought worked out in earlier days are appropriated and turned into prayer and song. An important proof this, that the great messages of the prophets have not been merely the property of a few great thinkers or special scholars, they have entered into the life of the community. The expression of these truths in the Psalter popularised them still more, and we need only remember the frequent reference to it in the NT to find confirmation of the belief that here we have a real document reflecting the higher life of the post-exilic Jewish community. It has been said that in prophecy God speaks to man, while in the Psalms man speaks to God; or, as we may put it, the truths revealed in the past show that they have left the realm of speculation and have entered into the sphere of public worship and personal devotion. In reading these Psalms, apart from particular sharp expressions (137$_9$) which shock us, we naturally lift them into a Christian atmosphere, and ignore the local circumstances and party conflicts out of which they arose, and which, thanks to our ignorance and the mellowing influence of time, have now become so dim. Thus the book remains a prayer-book of humanity and one of Israel's greatest gifts to men. No complete analysis can be given, but it is important to recognise the fact that the great truths which we have seen growing in the past have become a possession to be used in public worship and private prayer. When we are engaged in a study of history, however, it is well for us to remember that what we have here is not merely selected poems from a few choice spirits, but a precipitate from the feverish struggles of a time that has not wisely been called "four centuries of silence." True, God is also in the silence, but we have to find Him in the confusion of opinions and the fierce strife of parties.

In the Psalms Yahweh is Lord of the world, supreme ruler over all kings and gods (88$_{8-10}$); He is the creator and guide of His people (100); the worship of idols is an absurd thing, only fit subject for contemptuous ridicule (115; note 17 of this Psalm, that the triumphant faith is still confined to *this* world). The faith in Yahweh is thus firmly established in the realm of nature (8, 19, 29, 104, etc.), in history (78, 80, 135), in human conduct, regulated now by a written law (1, 19, 119). He is the ruler of the world, and though He is slow to anger and plenteous in mercy, He will surely punish the wicked, whether they are heathen oppressors outside or arrogant apostates within the nation (97, 37). One of the noblest expressions of this later theology regarding the greatness and extent of Yahweh's power is Ps. 139, and even here we have a flaming hatred of "the enemies of Yahweh." The so-called "penitential Psalms," and others of similar tone (32, 51, etc.), show a deep sense of personal sinfulness, deepened by the burden of sickness or other afflictions. Here the theory of sorrow as the result of sin is working in a wholesome way of self-application begetting penitence. In other poems (73, etc.) this theory is faced as a problem from the point of view of its application to life, in the spirit of the struggles of Job. We may say, then, that all possible religious beliefs and moods of that time find expression here. They cannot be harmonised into one system; they express a many-sided life. Running through all there is the conviction that the

Israelites are a peculiar people, who have inherited a noble tradition and who stand in a special relationship to the God of the world. This God is to be worshipped and honoured in the services of the Temple and by the diligent student of His Law. He is a righteous God, not only in the sense that He regards moral distinctions, but also that He will keep His covenant and defend His people, thus causing righteousness to be vindicated on the stage of the world's history. "Pious," "poor," "meek" are beginning, in some places, to mean almost the same thing, and the hope is cherished that the "meek shall inherit the earth" when the judgment comes which will overthrow the arrogant, faithless Jews as well as the proud heathen oppressors. The Messianic hope finds clear if not frequent expression, and probably many phrases that have for us lost their eschatological flavour originally possessed it. There is not much movement in the direction of the belief in personal immortality; we may find a suggestion of it in 73, but even this is not generally accepted. We must say that in the actual period of Hebrew religion the hopes concerning the future continued to have a national point of view which was not largely displaced by the more personal hope. The continuance in life or the resurrection of the individual was a belief held in connexion with the hopes of a final and complete redemption of the nation, under the reign of the Messianic King (72). Thus, beginning at a point about a thousand years earlier than the present period, we found a few tribes with loose organisation and a simple faith in Yahweh as their God. We have seen the building up out of this material into two kingdoms, which after a brief fitful existence were destroyed, to be replaced by a Church community in Judæa with an elaborate ecclesiastical organisation and a large body of theological beliefs. The thing that grew through all the political and civil changes of a millennium was the religious faith and theological thought. The earlier revelations were received in and through the actual political conflicts of the time; in later days theology became for a while the chief business of the nation.

The Significance of the Maccabean Period.—This small nation was called to fight for its existence and its faith in the early years of the second century B.C., and the result showed that a positive dogmatic faith had power to inspire heroic zeal and lead "the saints" to victory. In the preceding century the Jews in the Greek colony of Alexandria in Egypt had grown in numbers and influence. The translation of the Law into Greek helped to keep the dispersed Israelites faithful to Judaism, while the commerce and communion of the scattered Jews with Jerusalem helped to keep alive the intellectual life of the homeland. Greek influence of a direct kind may not be proved in the case of the Books of Job and Ecclesiastes, but it is clear that the Jews have come to have something of the Greek spirit in their method and style of dealing with weighty problems. Their contribution is theology, not philosophy, as they seek to work always from the thought of God out to the details of thought and life. They do not analyse things and the mind in the same way as the Greeks, but in their own way they are seeking to link all things to a central principle, and they are becoming more critical in temper. The writer of Job attacks the common dogma of sin and retribution which pervaded all the theology of his time. The prophetic message had been taken so much to heart that the thought of "sin" had become the central thing in Jewish theology. The belief in a reasonable retribution, ethical in its character, was an advance on the idea of capricious, arbitrary action of gods or demons, but it became too systematic, or, in other words, too simple. Men in many ages have made large sacrifices to a narrow, severe logic and a vain craving for uniformity in religious thought and practice. Against this the great poet protests; more than any particular solution of the problem suggested by the various statements in the Book of Job is the spirit of the great speeches and the demand for full expression of the soul even in the presence of God. "Sin" is not everything, man is not the centre of the world; the mighty Creator is just, though His ways may perplex us. Man may come to silence in the presence of God's majesty, but he must not be crushed by a wooden, mechanical system in which men attempt to confine their thoughts of God. This is not scepticism, it is simply a more robust faith. The writer of Ecclesiastes goes much further in the direction of scepticism, and the ground tone of the book is pessimistic. He is a man who cannot find escape from perplexity and disappointment along either of the two avenues that have been opened; he deliberately rejects the thought of personal immortality and pays no attention to the national hopes. Not in such a temper as this could the great battles have been fought. We are now simply concerned to show that in the period immediately preceding the Maccabean revolt there was much reflection on religious problems, and that in some cases faith was "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." When the nation passed from the rule of the Ptolemies to that of Syria, little dreaming of the terrible trouble to come from that quarter, Greek culture must have already exerted a powerful if subtle influence on its religious life. Some think that "the Greek peril" would have been still greater if it had been allowed to pursue its peaceful way. When Antiochus Epiphanes attempted brutally to crush Judaism and substitute his bastard Hellenism, two things were revealed—the extent to which Greek influence had already gone, and the terrible strength and tenacity of those who adhered to the Law. Men died rather than break the Sabbath or pollute themselves with unclean food; the nation might be cast into the lion's den or the fiery furnace, but it would not worship the idols that this mad king had set up (see the Book of Daniel). The standard of revolt was raised, and the first battles for religious freedom were fought. The story must be read elsewhere (pp. 607f.), but its religious significance must be noted here. The real strength and heroism was inspired by passionate love for the Scriptures and scrupulous respect for the Law. When the latent military strength had been revealed, and liberty of worship secured, the pious party, the Chasidim, forerunners of the later Pharisees, were ready to return to the peaceful pursuit of religion. They were willing to accept a high priest of the legitimate line, notwithstanding his alliance with the Greek party and the Syrian kingdom. Again they had to suffer for their blind literalism, but clung to their ideal of an unworldly kingdom of Yahweh. The movement inevitably enlarged itself into a struggle for complete political independence, and under the Maccabean family Judah enjoyed a brief period of military success and national splendour. The political power and official influence thus passed into the hands of the priests and their adherents, who later were the Sadducees of NT times. They were Jews, but were less scrupulous in their religious conduct, and had little zeal for the doctrine of the resurrection and the Messianic kingdom. The stricter believers, who gave their energy to the study of theology, to the elaboration

and observance of the written Law and preparation for the coming Kingdom of God, were regarded by the people as the custodians of the best religious traditions, and had a powerful influence on the life of the State. Thus it may be seen that, when the noblest theology had been developed, touched with something of the prophetic spirit, making universal claims, and even offering something of its best life to other nations, there was manifested the fanatical, fierce hatred against the foreigner that may be seen in the books of Esther and Judith. The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach belongs to a different school, and shows the essential Jewish thought in a more sober, "moderate" mood. The Judaism, then, that we find in the two centuries immediately preceding the coming of our Lord was anything but a simple sect; it was, as the product of many ages and varied influences, exceedingly complex, and not completely dominated by any one shade of thought. Some were content with a Judaism that could be adapted to present conditions; others were waiting and working for "the consolation of Israel," believing that Yahweh would bring it in His own time; others were in a fever of discontent, prepared to fight for the new kingdom.

What we have been able to give in this short article is a slight sketch, a mere outline; it needs to be filled in by a study of the history in detail and the many-sided literature. But surely there is before us the fact of a living movement, an organic development. We have had to recognise a real relation between the religion and the soil on which it came to maturity. The luxuriant growth of the later apocalyptic literature also shows that, when the creative impulse ceased, there was much extravagant mechanical borrowing that produced a chaotic mass of undigested material. But the real religion, whose course we have been studying, appropriated facts and ideas from other sources in such a way as to subject them to its own central principles. Wonders credited by tradition to Babylonian gods or Palestinian Baals it could claim for Yahweh, and thus work out a practical, and to a large extent a theoretical, monotheism, which, though never quite freed from national associations, prepared the way for the Christian doctrine of God, who is Spirit, and who in His Son manifests love to the whole world. The real antithesis between the OT and the NT is not that of Law in contrast to Gospel. The apostle Paul saw that Law, in the strict sense, came in as a preparation for a fuller manifestation of the faith that had inspired the lives of ancient saints (Gal. 3 18f.). It is that the NT, while preserving the idea of a Kingdom of God, was less national and brought a richer personal experience. But in all the important stages of OT theology there were real "evangelical" elements.

The healthy growth may be seen in all the great ideas of OT theology. In dealing with the idea of God it is no longer advisable merely to choose texts at random from the whole area of the literature. We must recognise that the presentation given in Deutero-Isaiah or Ps. 139 could not have appeared in that form in the earlier phases of the movement, and that the first chapter of Genesis, though based upon earlier material, offers a transcendent view of God that belongs nearer to the close than the beginning of the revelation. We know that, while the Hebrews must have possessed a certain amount of the speculative gift that was developed so highly in the Greeks, the real motive of the progress is to be sought in the personal spiritual life of their great teachers. The proof that their thought of God was living is in the fact that it could grow to meet new needs. We use the name "Yahweh" instead of the conventional name "Lord," because it is a more correct rendering of the original, and reminds us that we are dealing with the name of a personal national God. "Lord" has become colourless, so far as national associations are concerned; if it means anything to us, it must mean the Ruler of the whole universe, the source of all law and life. To use this title in OT passages may lead us to forget the centuries of toil, prayer, and thought by which the way was prepared for our lofty and somewhat abstract conception. In OT times Yahweh ever remained the God of Israel, and men had to learn to recognise Him as the God of righteousness, of history, and of the particular manifestations and products of nature before they could claim for Him, in the fullest sense, the supreme position as God of the whole earth. Hence, while angels and spirits appear in the earlier literature, it is in an unsystematic fashion; Yahweh is not only supreme within His kingdom, but His action is direct, immediate (*cf.* the Yahweh-Elohim of Gen. 2f. with the Elohim of 1, also the two different statements regarding the same events in 2 S. 24 1 and 1 Ch. 21 1). We do not attempt to smooth all these differences that give individuality to the different accounts, but rather rejoice in the sense of historical perspective that they help us to acquire. The gods of other nations are at one time rival deities belonging to rival tribes; later they become "idols," and even the great heavenly bodies worshipped by the Babylonians are claimed as creatures of Yahweh (Is. 40 26). These finally become mere *lamps* for the service of man, and specially to regulate his religious festivals (Gen. 1). The idols then become simple images, things that man has made and to which it is foolish to attach any Divine significance. The "gods" have passed away from them and become "angels" or "demons," to whom Yahweh allows a limited sphere of service. This is different from the hard monotheism of Mohammedanism, which is more suitable to the bareness of the desert than a rich, complex social life. We can never go back to Moses or back to Christ in any narrow, mechanical way, because from the OT as well as from the NT we have inherited a religion which claims the right to grow and to baptize new things, when they have proved their reality, with the old sacred name.

Such development can also be recognised in connexion with an idea that must be central in any living conception of true religion, that of sacrifice. Whether the original idea was that of a gift to the God to win His favour, or of communion through a common meal shared by the worshippers and the deity, we must not attempt to settle; it is possible that both thoughts might become blended in the one transaction. Traces of these views in their more primitive form may still be found (Gen. 4 14, 8 21; Ex. 24 10). It is certain that the popular view in the eighth century was that sacrifice was a means of gaining Yahweh's favour and so making worshippers secure against their foes. The prophets set in opposition to this the demand for an intelligent obedience to Yahweh's righteous claims. He desires "mercy and not sacrifice." "Obedience is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." Yet the idea of sacrifice permeates all life; the captive in war and the criminal offender are slain in some sense as a sacrifice. The higher prophetic teaching turns away from the coarse ritual to the ordinary activities of life, which bring opportunities of real service. It was not directly concerned with theories as to which was the most effective form of

material sacrifice. It was probably in the Exile, where men learned to keep alive a real religious life without material sacrifices, that they learned to think of penitence and obedience as the true sacrifice. There is a difference in the statement that obedience is *better* than sacrifice and that obedience *is* sacrifice (Ps. 40⁶; *cf.* the use made of this passage by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (10⁵), when he puts the words into the mouth of Christ and tells us that He abolishes the first and lower that He may establish the second and higher form of sacrifice, viz. that of the will). In the later ritual sacrifice was used for the expression of penitence and the taking away of sin, so it was not out of all relation to prophetic teaching. But even then the meaning depended upon the intelligence of the worshippers: some treated it as symbolic, and some were inclined to reject it. In any case confined to one central sanctuary, it left a large place to be filled by the more intellectual exercises of prayer, praise, and the reading of The Book.

The statement already made concerning the national character of Hebrew religion explains to some extent the fact that the doctrine of personal immortality does not gain a large place. The old view of the underworld was there as a background for popular beliefs and superstitions, and other Oriental religious made much of the influence of ghosts and spirits. But these things have not left a strong mark on OT teaching, which was concerned more with the pursuit of godliness here, and the building up of a community that would embody in its life the demands of Israel's God. In later days, outside influences might help in this direction, especially when the sense of communion with God had become personal and spiritual to the extent that is expressed in Job and Ps. 73. Reasoning that the martyrs who had lost their lives for the faith could not, because of Yahweh's faithfulness, lose their share in the new kingdom, might suggest at least a partial resurrection (Dan. 12², Is. 26¹⁹; the earlier passage, Ezek. 37, most probably refers to the restoration of the nation). In the OT, then, the doctrine of personal immortality is rather the glimmering of a new hope than a prominent and fixed element of faith.

We cannot regard the recent attempt to carry back the eschatological teaching to the early times as successful. The natural basis of such teaching lies, of course, in the hope that springs eternal in the human breast. As to its imagery, we must remember that we have no colours with which to paint the future except those drawn from the past. The golden age of the past reappears with new glory in the final redemption which ushers in the eternal kingdom and marks the completion of Yahweh's purpose for His people. This consummation seemed to be near at hand to those prophets who had a message of forgiveness and hope. These general considerations, true in themselves, do not lead to the conclusion that there was a fully-developed eschatology in the earliest times. The Israelites had to build up their own nation and learn to review their past history as a discipline of Yahweh; they had to come face to face with a large world and consider their relationship to it, before they could work out elaborate schemes of future development and definite programmes of the final days. These subjects were not in the centre of the early prophetic teaching, though they rest upon the prophetic doctrine of a severe judgment and the salvation of the faithful. The primary prophetic message is one of judgment on Israel; the essential feature of "eschatology" in the strict sense is judgment on the heathen and the exaltation of the Jews. There are various conceptions of the place of "the heathen" in this scheme of things. It is quite clear that this way of regarding the future must have received a strong impulse from the ministry of Ezekiel. If the Jews were to be restored to their own land and hold permanently the central place in the world that his programme assigns to them, Yahweh must control the foreign nations, and either destroy them or cause them to acknowledge His supremacy and holiness. An important passage such as Is. 2²–4, Mi. 4¹–4, belongs to a different, though as to time a parallel, strain of thought, and is related to the spirit of Deutero-Isaiah. The early post-exilic prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, look forward with pathetic longing to a speedy convulsion, to be followed by a reign of peace and prosperity for Jerusalem (Hag. 2, Zech. 2). In a loose fashion all passages are called "Messianic" that promise and describe this time of blessedness, when "the meek shall inherit the earth"; but in the strictest sense only such passages should bear that name which set forth the ideal King as a mediator between Yahweh and His people. The discussion of this branch of the subject is complicated by the difference of opinion among scholars as to the collective or individual interpretation of "the Servant passages" in Deutero-Isaiah and the phrase "Son of Man" in Daniel. It is difficult, with our views on the date of the documents, to prove that a definite belief in a personal Messiah existed before the Exile. In Ezekiel's priestly system a prince or new David is mentioned, but could not have a leading rôle. But when men of faith brooded over the sorrows and failures of the nation, they could not believe that the promises given to Judah and David had received their final fulfilment, and they looked forward to a more real fulfilment of Yahweh's ancient promises. Some might believe in a fixed time, which man's work could neither hasten nor hinder; others might regard patient study of the Law or militant enterprise as the real preparation. In one sense there was pessimism, despair of the present order of things; in another sense there was faith in an overruling Providence and the rich possibilities of the future. The present ruler might be invested with Messianic attributes, or there might be expectation of a supernatural being coming with the great catastrophe. He might be a mighty warrior wreaking vengeance on the heathen, or appear as a prince of peace. The point for us now is that later Judaism, in spite of the variety of views and mingling of strange elements, stands at the close of our review in an attitude of expectation, and so remains true to the forward look which is the characteristic of genuine prophecy.

What, then, was the result of this strange national career? One quotation may be permitted from a carefully-written volume, recently published, which sums up in a few words the view that has substantially been adopted in this article.

"Briefly reviewing the ground that we have gone over, we may recall to mind that when the Israelites first came into the light of history they were a group of nomad clans with a religion like that of other dwellers in the desert. Their God, Yahweh, was apparently the local divinity of Kadesh, who was made party to a coalition of the social groups in that region. The success of the coalition led to the invasion of Canaan and the gradual settlement of that country by the immigrants. In Canaan the God took on the features of an agricultural divinity receiving the first fruits and tithes of the soil. The attempt of Ahab to introduce the worship of the Phœnician Baal led to a

reaction under the powerful personality of Elijah. The prophetic party thus beginning its career was prompted by a desire for social justice as well as for religious simplicity. In some centuries of conflict this party clarified its aims and at last preached an ethical monotheism for Israel. This monotheism would not have triumphed (humanly speaking) had it not been for the Exile. In the Exile people found the bond which held them together to be that of religion. They therefore became a Church rather than a nation, conscious of possessing a unique treasure in the traditions of Moses and the prophets, carefully avoiding amalgamation with those of different faith" (*The Religion of Israel*, by Dr. H. P. Smith, p. 350).

There remained, then, (1) a nation or community that, because of this religious discipline, was able to maintain its separate existence when the Temple was destroyed and the land laid desolate. For some time the main interests of the most zealous adherents of the faith had been religious rather than political, and when the fanatical resistance to foreign oppression was in vain the faith of the religious community survived. The Jews took their place in the world of commerce, and gave their attention to the transmission of the traditions and the observances of the written law, so far as that was possible without the Temple ceremonial. They expanded and arranged the traditions. The synagogue became a permanent institution. Scholastic theologians, sober scribes, mystical thinkers, fanatical visionaries all played their part. The strength and persistence of the Jewish Church, in spite of centuries of persecution and hatred, is one of the wonders of history; but its creative period closed and its great religious contribution was made before the beginning of the Christian era. (2) There remained also a book which the Jew has not been able to monopolise. It was translated into Greek about two centuries before the coming of our Lord, and now, mainly through the influence of the Christian Church, it speaks in practically all the languages of the world. Under the influence of theological scholasticism it was handled in a hard, dogmatic sense as mere "revelation"; but now "The Bible as Literature" is a fruitful theme, and the fuller appreciation of historical perspective and real development gives it a freshness and power as a revelation of God's education of the world. As we see the great movement pass from stage to stage, we are conscious of a "Power not of ourselves," and cry, "It is Yahweh's doing, and is marvellous in our eyes." "It shall be to Yahweh for a name, for an everlasting sign that shall not be cut off."

Bibliography.—Students of this subject are indebted to the works, in German, of Stade, Smend, Duhm, Marti, Baethgen, Gunkel, Sellin, Bertholet, and others. The following is a brief list of books in English which are of comparatively recent date: A. S. Peake, *The Religion of Israel*; W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, *The Prophets of Israel*; Kuenen, *Hibbert Lectures*; Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*; E. Day, *The Social Life of the Hebrews*; S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*; A. Duff, *The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews*; A. S. Peake, *The Problem of Suffering in the OT*; R. L. Ottley, *The Religion of Israel*; J. Robertson, *The Early Religion of Israel*; T. K. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*; W. E. Orchard, *The Evolution of OT Religion*; W. E. Addis, *Hebrew Religion to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra*; K. Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*; J. C. Todd, *Politics and Religion in Ancient Israel*; L. B. Paton, *The Early Religion of Israel*; K. Marti, *The Religion of the OT*; A. Loisy, *The Religion of Israel*; W. H. Bennett, *The Religion of the Post-Exilic Prophets*; W. G. Jordan, *Prophetic Ideas and Ideals*; H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel*; E. Kautzsch, *The Religion of Israel* (HDB, vol. v.); H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Religious Ideas of the OT*; J. P. Peters, *The Religion of the Hebrews*; A. C. Welch, *The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom*; A. Nairne, *The Faith of the OT*. See further the section on OT Theology in the General Bibliographies.

THE RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL

By Dr. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE

1. Introductory.—In dealing with the religious institutions of Israel (as of any nation) two principles have to be understood and applied by the student: (*a*) the principle of *growth*, (*b*) the principle of *environment* as modifying the forms of growth. (*a*) The principle of *growth* simply means that all institutions grow from simpler to more complex forms. Thus the religious institutions of Israel in the days of Moses and the earlier rulers, called "Judges," are not the same as they subsequently became in the later times at the close of the Hebrew monarchy (at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.). And when we come to the post-exilian period we note some remarkable developments. (*b*) The principle of *environment* means that Israel's life and the institutions which embodied it were necessarily affected by their surroundings. We note this pre-eminently in two ways: (i) In the earliest stage of the people's life they were mainly *nomads*. After the invasion of Canaan they attached themselves more and more to fixed abodes and became agricultural, and also in course of time town-dwellers, engaged to an increasing degree in such occupations and crafts as building, weaving, pottery, and metal-work. (ii) They were surrounded by other and kindred peoples, speaking the same or a closely similar language, some of them more highly civilised, by whom they were profoundly influenced. Not only were they affected by the adjacent Canaanite populations, but also these and the Hebrews themselves received the powerful impress of the *Babylonian civilisation and traditions* which spread over Western Asia long before the days of Abraham, and even penetrated into Egypt (about 1400 B.C.). As we might expect, during the days of the Exile (587–536 B.C.) this influence became specially marked. *Later still* (536–330 B.C.) we should note the influence exerted by *Persia* when the kingship had passed away and the Jews became a church-nation subject to the Persian king, with a large population scattered in Egypt and Asia Minor. And *last of all*, after Alexander's conquests, Greece deeply influenced Jewish life and thought (summed up in the term *Hellenism*; see Schürer's *Hist. of Jewish People*).

Note also (under this head of environment) the *geographical* factor. Palestine is the only practicable, because comparatively well-watered, highway and caravan track of intercourse between N., including NE. (Assyria) and S. (Arabia), as well as SW. (Egypt). It was therefore specially exposed by land to external influences.

It is impossible within our limits to do more than very briefly indicate the external influences which in God's providence were destined to mould the institutions of Judaism. But they will serve to guide the studies of the reader in his further pursuit of this subject and its related branches.

2. Israel's Primitive Religion and Subsequent Development: the High Place, the Sacred Pillar, and Sacrifice.—Israel was one of a small group of Semitic peoples living adjacent to one another in Western Asia, and so inherited in its earliest institutions a common stock of Semitic tradition. Religion in its beginnings is intensely social. The clan (*mishpaḥah*) rather than the family was the unit of early Semitic society, and religion might be called the vital cement which bound the individual members of the clan into a living whole. In the earliest days of Israel's nomadic existence the clans were migratory, as among the Bedouin of the present time. But after the settlement in Canaan the clan became local, and religious rites came to be attached to some neighbouring "high place" or sanctuary, where the essential element was the rude upright stone (or stone heap) under the open sky. Examples of such stones may still be found in large numbers, especially on the E. side of the Jordan. The Hebrew name for this was *maṣṣēbhah* (Arab. *nuṣb*), meaning something which is set upright. This was the stone symbol of the Divine presence held to be incorporate in it (see "Pillar" in HDB, p. 879b, footn.). In the primitive days of nomadic life the sacrifice consisted of the bloody offering of the slaughtered ox, sheep, or goat. This was called *zēbaḥ*; but as agricultural occupations came to prevail during Israel's settled life in Canaan, vegetable offerings, whether of oil, meal, or cakes, would also be offered. Later, and more especially in post-exilian times, these vegetable or meal offerings were designated by a special name—*minḥah*, meaning "gift"; but in earlier times this term was used of both animal and vegetable offerings—*e.g.* of Abel's more primitive animal offering, and of Cain's vegetable offering, representing a higher grade of civilisation (Gen. 4$_{3-5}$ J). The blood or the oil (Gen. 28$_{18}$) would be smeared or poured upon the upright stone. Thus sacrifice was an essential part of worship, and often consisted of the firstborn of herds and flocks or the firstfruits of the earth brought as an offering to God. In its most primitive form it was in reality a feast of *communion*, in which all the participating members partook as well as the present deity, who were thus bound together by a sacred bond of fellowship. Sacrifice viewed in this aspect, as renewing the life-bond and binding the participants in friendship with God, was expressed by the special name *shĕlem*, which the LXX probably renders correctly by "peace offering." Such an offering might be presented in discharge of a vow (Pr. 7$_{14}$*), and a certain portion was consumed by the worshipper at his home. But probably this practice grew up later, after the suppression of the local sanctuaries (621 B.C.).

In the most primitive form of worship the stone served as altar and Divine symbol in one, but afterwards a separate raised stone platform, with hollows for the reception of the blood, was used as the place of sacrifice or altar (*mizbeaḥ*), and later still the upright stone was carved into some shape, human or animal,

to represent the deity. But this was forbidden in the Decalogue (Ex. 20₄), and in the Deuteronomic legislation the pillar-cult itself (*maṣṣēbhah*) is proscribed as hateful to Yahweh (Dt. 16₂₂).

Since the sacrifice was virtually a sacred meal, the materials of sacrifice were those which formed man's daily food, but were in their sacrificial relation called by the generic name "food of God," an old phrase which survived in later legislation, such as Lev. 3₁₁, 21₆,₈,₂₂.

At a fairly early period there arose the custom of consuming the offering by *fire*. The *burnt offering* (*'ōlah*, *kālîl*) may have sprung from the felt need of destroying all forms of decay, as Robertson Smith suggests (RS², 387), but other and primitive anthropomorphic notions may have contributed to this result (RS², pp. 236, 371, Ex. 29₁₈, Lev. 1₉,₁₃,₁₇, Gen. 8₂₁, with which we may compare the Bab. flood-story in the Gilgamesh epic, Tablet 11, lines 160ff.).

The earlier narratives of the OT present us with several examples of this sacrificial meal (1 S. 9₁₂f., 22–24, Jg. 6₁₈–₂₁). *Covenants* were ratified by sacrifice in which the deity was present and witnessed the solemn contract (Gen. 31₅₁–₅₄), and the contracting parties walked between the severed portions of the victim (Gen. 15₁₀,₁₇*, Jer. 34₁₈; see Peake's note in Cent.B.).

In very early times sacrifice undoubtedly expressed the idea of *propitiation* as well as communion. In times of distress or calamity sacrifice was the means employed of appeasing the deity to whose anger the calamity was ascribed, and of disposing him to friendliness. In the later times that followed the period of the Assyrian invasions (740–700 B.C.), and especially in the days of the Exile and after, sacrifice became to an increasing degree propitiatory, or was intended to remove some taint or uncleanness of the nature of *tabu*, or atone for some ritual oversight or neglect. Of sacrificial offerings destined for this purpose many examples may be found in the rules laid down in Lev. 4–7, 11–15 respecting the "sin offerings" or "guilt offerings" to be brought to the priest.

Though these prescriptions are collected together in the codes of legislation embodied in the later post-exilian document P, it is generally recognised that many of these rules are of much older origin than the exilian or post-exilian period. It may be remarked here that nearly all the sins or trespasses (in some cases diseases such as leprosy, or uncleanness due to childbirth) specified in these chapters are of a non-ethical character. Only rarely, as in Lev. 6₁–₇, are the sins actually ethical transgressions. The sense of ethical sin was mainly developed in the national consciousness by the teaching of the prophets. Many of the deepest thinkers then came to feel that sacrifice was an inadequate remedy. Only righteous conduct could really atone (Is. 1₁₁–₁₇; Am. 5₂₁–₂₄; Mi. 6₆–₈; Ps. 50, 51₁₆–₁₇). Respecting sacrifice in detail, see "Sacrifice" in HDB, HSDB, and EBi, also Intro. to and commentary on Lev. Sacrificial offerings were, in fact, of the most varied kinds, some of which seem to have passed into disuse. Thus in 1 S. 7₆, 2 S. 23₁₆ (*cf.* 1 K. 18₃₃–₃₅, Jos. 9₂₇), we have allusions to *water offerings* on special occasions, while in 2 S. 6₁₉, Hos. 3₁*, reference is made to *raisin-cakes* (*'ăshîshah*). These remind us of the cakes or wafers made from dough offered to "Ashtoreth, queen of heaven" (called *kawwān*), to which Jeremiah alludes (7₁₈*). This is illustrated by an interesting Phœnician inscription found in Cyprus, which contains a list of expenses for the month Ethanim (*Tishri*): "For the architects who have built the temple of Ashtoreth . . . for two sacrifices . . . for two bakers who have baked the cakes for the holy queen." In fact, many of the sacrificial details, and even some names of the Hebrew sacrifices, may be found in Phœnician inscriptions, such as the Marseilles table of sacrificial dues.

In the pre-exilian period of Israel's national life sacrifices were offered at all the important crises of life in which the nation's God was held to participate. Especially was this true of *war*, when God became the leader of Israel's armies and His will was sought. Here Israel followed ordinary Semitic custom. War was inaugurated by sacrifice (Jg. 6₂₀,₂₆, 20₂₆; 1 S. 7₉, 13₉f.). This was said to "consecrate war" (Mi. 3₅, Jer. 6₄; *cf.* Jos. 3₅), and the warriors were placed under ascetic restrictions, as of sexual abstinence (see "War," EBi, § 2). Here we touch upon primitive savage customs, of which the darkest aspect is expressed in the Hebrew-Canaanite term *herem*, or sacred ban of destruction, which involved in its dire scope everything, inanimate or animate, captured in war, including human beings as well as cattle (Dt. 2₃₄*, Jos. 6₁₇*, 8₂₆, 10₂₈,₃₇; 1 S. 15₃f., p. 114). The same custom prevailed among the Moabites, as the Stone of Mesha testifies (line 17). Deuteronomic legislation tended slightly to mitigate its harshness (Dt. 7₂, 20₁₃–₁₇).

Another of the darker aspects of sacrifice belonging to the primitive period of Canaanite and Hebrew life was *infant sacrifice* (p. 83), to which we have an allusion in one of the earliest codes (Ex. 22₂₉f.), where it is enacted that the human firstborn as well as of oxen and flocks are to be offered to Yahweh. There was an ancient superstition that buildings were safeguarded by human sacrifice (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,² i. p. 104f.), and we have confirmation of this custom in the discovery of child-victims walled up in the ruins laid bare in Gezer and Megiddo (see Driver, *Schweich Lect.*, pp. 60–92), and it probably underlies the story of Hiel and his children (Jos. 6₂₆*, 1 K. 16₃₄*). [Trumbull's *Threshold Covenant*, pp. 45–57, may be consulted. For a modern story with this *motif*, see Grant Allen's *Wolverden Tower*.—A. S. P.] In Ex. 34₂₀ J (*cf.* Dt. 15₁₉) we see that an animal came to be substituted for the human victim (*cf.* Gen. 22₁₃). But human sacrifices continued to prevail in Israel, as Jg. 11₃₀–₃₅, 2 K. 16₃, 23₁₀, and the allusions in Mi. 6₇, Jer. 7₃₁, Ezek. 20₂₆ clearly prove. It was forbidden in Dt. 18₁₀. *Tithes* (Nu. 18₂₁–₂₄*) were a form of sacrificial offering. In 1 S. 8₁₅,₁₇ we read that the king used to claim his tithings of cornfield, orchard, and flocks. It is probable that Israelite sanctuaries made a similar claim for the maintenance of the priesthood, and it is perhaps in this sense that we should interpret the reference to the "firstfruits" (*rêshîth*) or the firstlings of the soil (Nu. 18₁₃*) that are to be brought to God's house according to one of the oldest codes (Ex. 34₂₆). But we have a definite reference to the tithe offering in Am. 4₄ and Gen. 28₂₂ (E), both of which prove that tithes were actually paid in the eighth century (and probably earlier) to the northern sanctuary of Bethel. This custom became embodied in the subsequent legislation (Dt. 14₂₂–₂₉, Lev. 27₃₀–₃₃; *cf.* Mal. 3₈,₁₀).

Under the head of sacrifice we may include the rite of *circumcision* (p. 83, Gen. 17*), which was a sacred initiatory ceremony, a species of blood-offering (*cf.* Ex. 4₂₄–₂₆), analogous to the offerings of hair customary among Syrians (RS², p. 327f.). From Herod. ii. 104 we learn that the rite was practised by Phœnicians, Hittites, Ethiopians, as well as Egyptians; and in reference to the Egyptians this is confirmed by a very ancient

wall-painting, in which is depicted the surgical operation as performed on adolescent youths with flint implements. There are various indications, such as the Hebrew name for "father-in-law" and "son-in-law" (bride-groom) and Gen. 3422–25, which show that among the early Semites it was a rite initiatory to marriage, but among the Hebrews in later times it was an obligatory national covenant rite practised on the male infant on the eighth day after birth (Lev. 123 P), though the earlier custom is clearly recognised in Gen. 1725 (P), where it is stated that Ishmael was thirteen when he was circumcised. From Jer. 926 we learn that it was practised not only in Judah and Egypt, but also in Moab, Ammon, Edom, and certain Arab tribes. Indeed, "uncircumcision" was quite exceptional, and became a term of reproach addressed to the Philistines, who were a non-Semitic people.

In later times sacrifices became more elaborate in character; offerings of *incense* in earlier times probably meant only the smoke and fragrance of burning meal or fatty portions of flesh, but in the eighth and following centuries, if not earlier, the Hebrews had learned to compound the fragrant resins and spices from Arabia and Syria. This we might infer from the altar of incense discovered by Sellin at Tâanach (Ta'annek). On the other hand, the language of Jer. 620 seems to imply that the use of these ingredients in Hebrew sanctuaries was regarded as a foreign innovation (*cf.* 2 K. 1610–18), like chariots and horses (Dt. 1716, Ps. 207). Probably contact with Babylon and its more elaborate forms of worship during the Exile partly dispelled these conservative scruples. The post-exilian legislation of P (Ex. 3034–38) contains the specific rules for the preparation of the incense, which appears, however, to have differed in some degree from the foreign (*cf.* 9).

The restriction of sacrifice to the central sanctuary in Jerusalem (Dt. 125f.; 165–7,11,16) in the legislation of 621 B.C., presupposed in later codes (P), tended to reduce seriously the opportunities of sacrifice, especially to the increasing numbers of the Jewish Diaspora (the Dispersion). The worship of the synagogue, which involved singing and prayer and the reading of the Law and Prophets, then took the place of sacrificial worship. After the destruction of the Temple, when the Roman armies under Titus captured Jerusalem (A.D. 70), and after the Jews were expelled from the city in A.D. 135, synagogue-worship remained the sole mode of public religious service, while of animal sacrificial offerings only the annual paschal lamb of each Jewish household survived, and still survives, and a curious cock or hen sacrifice described in Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship*, pp. 416f.

3. Accompaniments of the Primitive Sanctuary and Worship.—Prominent among these, and frequently depicted on Phœnician and Babylonian monuments, was the *sacred pole* (Dt. 75* 1 K. 1513*), symbol of fertility, which represented the goddess Ashērah (mistranslated "grove" in AV, distinct from, though sometimes confounded with, "Ashtoreth"). The pole probably originated from the *sacred tree*, the familiar accompaniment holy places among Semitic peoples. Frequently it was a palm-tree, as in Jg. 45 (palm-tree of Deborah), especially in Babylonia and Arabia (where the palm-tree is so much used in supplying food for the sustenance of life), but in Israel it was most frequently the *terebinth*, *e.g.* the soothsayer's terebinth in Gen. 126, Jg. 937. While special mention is made of the sacred terebinth in Jg. 411 and 611, other trees are sometimes referred to, as the pomegranate and tamarisk, oak and poplar. Both the latter are specially mentioned in Hos. 413 as the accompaniments of the sanctuaries on the hills, which came under prophetic condemnation, since the cult of these "high places" so closely approximated to the Canaanite worship. Hence, when we come to the reformation of Josiah's reign, whose principles were embodied in the Deuteronomic code and the Deuteronomically redacted Books of Kings, we find these elements suppressed (Dt. 12f.) and condemned (2 K. 179–18).

We find also many allusions to sacred *springs* (Nu. 191–22*), and these sometimes give their names to places such as *Beer-sheba* (well of seven), *'Ên-Harod* (spring of Harōd, Jg. 71), *'Ên-hakkōrê* (Jg. 1519*, "spring of him who calls (on God)"). Hagar's spring was called "Well of the Living One who sees me" (Gen. 1614). Neither prophecy nor law could take exception to so simple and beautiful an expression of the pure, life-sustaining power of God, as it did to such man-made things as the *Ashērah*-pole and the *maṣṣēbhah*. Hence we read, in one of the noblest passages of Ezekiel (471–12), of the river flowing out of God's sanctuary, which deepens as it flows in its life-giving course (*cf.* Ps. 464, Is. 86). The river appears again in the last vision of the Apocalypse (Rev. 22 1f.). We are also reminded of the symbolic use made by Jesus (Jn. 44) of Jacob's well.

To the earlier life of the Hebrews belong the *êphôd* and *terāphîm*, the precise nature of which has been much discussed. The *ephod used in divination* by the priest must be carefully distinguished from the *linen ephod* worn by the priest, *e.g.* the boy Samuel (1 S. 218), and by David when he danced before Yahweh (2 S. 614). The former ephod was not worn but carried. That it was a sacred object representing deity is clear from the significant passage (Jg. 824–27), in which we are told that Gideon made an ephod of the golden earrings, crescents, pendants, etc. These were evidently melted down, and formed a metal covering around a wooden stock or base; and we read, moreover, that it became an object of superstitious worship. In the sanctuary at Nob the ephod had its recognised place, and Goliath's sword was placed behind it, probably as a dedicated trophy (1 S. 219). In war the priest-soothsayer accompanied the expedition, and carried with him the ephod-image, in the presence of which lots were cast, sacrifice having been previously offered to the deity, who gave authority to the answer by divinations through lots. The ephod thus formed one essential part of this mechanical apparatus of inquiry; another essential part was the sacred lot, which consisted of wooden rods (Hos. 412) or arrows (Ezek. 2121). Apparently the answer was determined by the particular way in which the rod or arrow fell.

The lot probably had the effect of an alternative, chiefly "yes" or "no." This explains how slowly a reply involving definite details came to hand, since successive operations of the sacred lot were required. So slow was the process that Saul was compelled to put an end to it in the stress of battle (1 S. 1419). Sometimes the results were ambiguous. Yahweh gave no answer (36–38). 1 S. 239–12 gives a clear illustration of the detailed process of question and reply.

Equally if not more obscure is the nature of the *ûrîm and tummîm* (Ezr. 263), which also appears to have been a form of sacred lot, which it was the special function of the priest-soothsayer to employ (Dt. 338, blessing of Levi). The most instructive passage that bears upon it is 1 S. 1441ff.*, which is, unfortunately, badly corrupted; but if we follow the LXX and the Hebrew text reconstructed accordingly in Driver's *Commentary*, we are allowed to infer that *urim and tummim* were

sacred lots employed in an ordeal to discover guilt or innocence. According to Jerome's interpretation, *urim* meant the demonstration of guilt, while *tummim* meant acquittal.

The same word *ephôd* (probably derived from a root meaning "lay over as a covering") is also used to designate the linen garb of the priest, a light linen vestment, somewhat short, as we may infer from the taunt uttered by Michal against David (2 S. 620), probably a simple loin-cloth. In the details elaborated in Ex. 282–25* (P) we have the later development of this simple priestly vestment, which must not in any way be mixed up with earlier usage. In this elaborate description of the post-exilian priestly dress we have many obscure points (see Driver, *Exodus* (CB), p. 312). It might be summarised briefly as "a kind of waistcoat consisting of an oblong piece of richly variegated material, reaching down as far, apparently, as the waist. It was supported by two broad straps passing, like braces, over the shoulders ('shoulder-pieces,' Heb. 'shoulders'), and attached to the ephod in front and behind. On the top of each of these shoulder-straps was an onyx stone enclosed in a filigree setting of gold and engraved with the names of six of the twelve tribes of Israel. Round the body the ephod was further held in its place by a band woven in one piece with it. The ephod was worn over a long blue robe, described in 31–35" (Driver, p. 300). In front of the ephod the "pouch" (or bag, *not* "breast-plate") "of judgment" was worn, richly coloured, and with four rows of jewels. This pouch contained the "urim and tummim." [See now Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*.—A. S. P.]

Another obscure object of worship was the *terāphîm* (used in the plural like the name of God, *Elohim*). Whether Yahweh was worshipped under this form as Kautzsch supposed, or foreign deities (Benzinger suggests *Astarte*), or ancestral spirits (*Rephâim*—so Neubauer, Schwally, Harper, and others), is still an open question. Recent discoveries show that offerings were made to the dead. We also know, from Michal's artifice (1 S. 1913f.), that the image must have resembled the human shape, and formed a treasured part of the household possession (Gen. 3119,30–35). In Hos. 34, Jg. 175, it is conjoined with the cult of the ephod, and was evidently employed in divination (Zech. 102, Ezek. 2121). *Teraphim* were suppressed, along with divination and its accompaniments, in the Reformation of Josiah (2 K. 2324; *cf.* Dt. 1810f.).

4. Sacred Seasons and Festivals.—Just as certain *spaces* attached to sanctuaries were regarded as sacred by the Semites, and ordinary human activities upon them, as hunting and ploughing, were debarred, so we find certain portions of *time* were consecrated, and human activities during these holy seasons were similarly restricted and certain exercises of worship were demanded. These sacred seasons were determined by (*a*) certain important forms of human pursuit on which life depended, such as sheep-rearing and agriculture; (*b*) by the phases of the moon. As an example of (*a*) we may cite the early festival of Israel's pastoral life, viz. the festival of *sheep-shearing*, to which Absalom invited royal guests (2 S. 1323f.; *cf.* Gen. 3812f., 1 S. 254f.). Probably it was celebrated with a sacrificial meal of lamb's flesh and the firstfruits of wool (Hos. 29), but nothing is heard of it in later times. Other examples are furnished by the familiar agricultural festivals which we shall presently mention. Of (*b*) we have the notable illustrations of New Moon and Sabbath, to which we shall now refer.

I. New Moon and Sabbath.—Sabbath was celebrated in Babylonia as well as Israel. Greece also had its *neomēnia* or new moon celebration. From 1 S. 205f., 24–29 we learn that David's clan had an annual new moon celebration at Bethlehem, at which his own presence was imperative. A sacrifice was offered (29), as we might expect. Though New Moon and Sabbath are often mentioned together in the prophets (Is. 113, Hos. 211, Am. 85), we never find mention of the New Moon among the older Hebrew codes.

With reference to the *Sabbath*, we have good reason for believing that among the early Hebrews the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the month was called Sabbath. The first was the day of the new moon, and the fourteenth (fifteenth) day would be the full moon. In this connexion it may be noted that the solemn paschal meal was taken on this very night, 14–15th Nisan.

This view is strongly suggested by the discovery of a list of Babylonian names for days by Dr. Pinches, in which the fifteenth day is called *shapattu* or Sabbath. While this may be true—and the juxtaposition of New Moon and Sabbath in the earlier Hebrew prophets (Is. 113, Hos. 211, Am. 85) seems to suggest it—the seventh-day Sabbath must have co-existed from early times, since the sacredness of the number seven and the existence of the seventh year as one of release for slaves appear to have been an ancient tradition of Israel embodied in early codes (Ex. 212). Moreover, the restrictions which attached to the Hebrew seventh-day Sabbath belonged to the Babylonian seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the month. On these days, we learn from a tablet (IV Rawl. 32 f.), a ruler was not allowed to eat roast flesh or even to change his robe or put on clean apparel, a king could not mount a chariot or announce a decision, nor a soothsayer deliver an oracle, nor could a physician lay his hand on one diseased. (See "Holiness" in ERE, vol. vi. p. 756.) These severe restrictions are the outcome of the old-world Semitic conceptions of holiness applied to time. In earlier days they did not so seriously limit human activities as they did in later times (probably owing in some degree to Babylonian influence during the Exile). Nevertheless, in earlier times abstinence from ordinary avocations, enforced in the Decalogue (Ex. 2010, Dt. 514), was well sustained, as Am. 85 clearly proves, in which similar restrictions applied to the sanctity of the new moon. From 2 K. 423 we infer that *New Moon* and *Sabbath* were days on which prophet or soothsaying priest at some high place might be consulted, and that considerably longer journeys than the restricted Sabbath day's journey of later times were permissible.

With reference to the *New Moon*, the practice in post-exilian times is codified in Nu. 1010 (P), where it is laid down that the first day of the month was to be celebrated by burnt offerings and peace offerings to the accompaniment of the blowing of trumpets (*cf.* Ps. 813). Further detailed regulations as to the sacrifices then offered are contained in a later section in Nu. 2811–14 (*cf.* also Ezek. 461,3,6, Ezr. 35, Neh. 1033,34).

The *Sabbath* came to have a greater importance, perhaps because it was more frequent than the new moon. It is the only holy season mentioned in the Decalogue (Ex. 208–11*), and in the list of feasts contained in Lev. 23 it is the first. Also in early pre-exilian times it was fully maintained as a day of abstinence from labour, even in harvest-time and ploughing (Ex. 3421, J). In the later days of the Exile the stringency of the Sabbath was enforced by prophetic teaching (Jer. 17 19–27 (a subsequent addition), Ezek. 4424, Is. 562, 5813), as well as by post-exilian legislation. With

Neh. 13¹⁵⁻²² *cf.* Ex. 31¹³⁻¹⁷, 35²f., Nu. 15³²⁻³⁶ (the death-penalty by stoning being enforced on a man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath).

The Sabbath rest of one day in seven became the foundation in early times for a series of Sabbath cycles. Hence we have the law respecting the *seventh* or *Sabbatic year of release* in that early compend of laws, the Book of the Covenant, Ex. 21–23 (viz. in Ex. 21²⁻⁶, 23¹⁰f.), which provided that the slave should go free in the seventh year, if he so wished, after generous provision had been made for him from the flock, threshing-floor, and wine-press. Also debts were not to be exacted in this year. Moreover, the land (including vineyard and olive-yard) was to remain fallow.

We have likewise a *month-cycle*. The seventh month had therefore a special sanctity, and, according to the later legislation of Lev. 23²⁴f., the first day of this month was signalised by blowing of trumpets and an offering made by fire.

The last of the cycles is the end of the seventh of the seven-year periods. This final year was called the year of *Jubile*. But it is quite evident that this was a later exilian or post-exilian development, the details of which are to be found in Lev. 25⁸⁻⁵⁵*. It was announced with a loud trumpet-blast on the tenth day of the seventh month (*i.e.* Tishri). The land was to lie fallow as in the ordinary seventh year, nor was it to be sold in perpetuity, "for the land is mine, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (23). Great difficulties encompass this subject. Does the Jubile year involve the forty-ninth year as well as the fiftieth as fallow years for the soil? 8–11 speaks of the Jubile year as the fiftieth. But two successive fallow years are implied in 20–23, which moreover guarantee that the preceding sixth year of the last septennial period shall be one of exceptional fruitfulness, so as to enable the cultivator to tide over the two-year interval. Though Driver and White (SBOT) argue that the law was maintained, the testimony of late Jewish writers that the law of Jubile belonged to theory rather than practice appears probable. See EBi, "Jubilee."

II. Annual Festivals and Fasts.—(*a*) *Pre-exilian.*—Here we see the clear impress of Israel's settled agricultural life in Canaan. According to the earliest codes (Ex. 21–23¹⁹, 34¹⁰–²⁶) there were three such festivals in the earlier period of Israel's life in Canaan (Ex. 23 ¹⁴⁻¹⁷, 34¹⁸f.), viz.:

(i.) *The Festival of Unleavened Cakes* (*Maṣṣôth*).—With this the ancient nomadic *passover sacrifice of the lamb* (*pésah*) came to be associated (Ex. 34²⁵, Dt. 16¹f.), probably because both were nearly coincident in time, the one being the product of the firstfruits of the corn, the other the firstling of the flock. The feast of Unleavened Cakes was celebrated for a week, from the 15th to 21st Nisan, and is mentioned by itself without reference to Passover in Ex. 23¹⁵. According to Dt. 16⁹ it began "from the time when thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing corn." It therefore marked the beginning of the harvest, just as the Feast of Weeks marked its close. One characteristic of the feast, which is still maintained in the ritual of every Jewish household at the present day, is the complete banishment of all leaven (Ex. 12¹⁵*) from the precincts (Dt. 16⁴). Ex. 34²⁵ seems to imply the close conjunction of Passover and Unleavened Cakes. On the other hand, the special command respecting Passover issued by king Josiah in the days of general degeneracy and laxity (2 K. 23²¹f.) seems to imply that this primitive celebration had fallen into neglect. Henceforth (Dt. 16 ¹⁻⁷) it acquired exceptional importance, and formed an indissoluble part of the Easter festival of Unleavened Cakes. Note that it was no longer to be kept anywhere except at the *central sanctuary* (5f.; *cf.* 15¹⁹⁻²⁰). It was to be sacrificed at sunset at the close of the 14th Nisan, and then boiled and eaten within the precincts of the sanctuary.

Here we notice that the domestic character of the institution in its earlier pre-exilian form represented by the J narrative in Ex. 12²¹⁻²⁷ is removed in order to vindicate the exclusive claims of the central sanctuary in Jerusalem so repeatedly enforced in Deuteronomy. What Deuteronomy and this J narrative have in common is that the Passover is closely connected with the Exodus journey. Moreover the J narrative derives the name of the Passover sacrifice (*pésah*) from the fact that God spared the firstborn of the Hebrew household on whose door-posts the blood of the paschal lamb had been smeared. For other explanations, see EBi, "Passover."

Special provision is made, both in the earlier codes (Ex. 23¹⁸, 34²⁵) as well as in Deuteronomy, that the sacrificial flesh shall not remain till the morning. According to Deuteronomy the Feast of Unleavened Cakes closed on the seventh day with solemn Sabbatic celebration.

(ii.) *Feast of Harvest* (Ex. 23¹⁶), or, as it is called in another early compend of laws, *the feast of weeks* (Ex. 34²²), was that of the firstfruits of the wheat harvest. It was celebrated, as we learn from the fuller statement in Dt. 16⁹, seven weeks after the beginning of the harvest or "time when thou beginnest to put the sickle to the standing corn." Seven weeks may have been the average duration of the Palestinian harvest. Probably it varied in different parts of Canaan, and this length of time was observed in the Jerusalem sanctuary because it applied especially to Judah and Benjamin. This would bring the celebration to the 6th of the month Sivan (May–June). The feast must have corresponded in character somewhat to our English "harvest home." It was accompanied by a "tribute of a free-will offering of thine hand" (Dt. 16¹⁰), and all were bidden to participate in this truly social feast of rejoicing, both father and family as well as servants, resident alien, widow, and orphan. Probably the "joy in harvest" of Is. 9³ is an allusion to the genial character of this harvest feast.

(iii.) *Feast of Ingathering* (Ex. 23¹⁶, 34²²), called in later times (Dt. 16¹³⁻¹⁵) *feast of Booths* ("Tabernacles"), completed the cycle of annual agricultural feasts. This last was celebrated at the "turn of the circuit" (Ex. 34²²) of the old Canaanite-Hebrew year, *i.e.* the present *civil* month-calendar of the Jews. The month in which it was held was called in pre-exilian Israel *Ethanîm* (in the later Bab.-Jewish or Ecclesiastical Calendar *Tishri*), corresponding to September–October. According to the more detailed statement in Dt. 16¹³ the festival lasted seven days, *i.e.* from 15th to 21st Tishri, and was held "after thou hast gathered in from thy threshing-floor and from thy wine-press." It was essentially a vintage festival. Probably no feast was more characteristic of the Canaanite and Hebrew life of the pre-exilian period. The oracles of the prophets of this period contain frequent reference to its joy and merry-making. Am. 8¹f. connects the basket of summer fruit with the songs of rejoicing in the Temple soon to be changed to howlings, just as in the denunciation of doom on Moab another prophet declares: "Upon thy summer fruits and upon thy harvest the shout (of battle) is fallen, and gladness is taken away and joy out of the fruitful field," etc. (Is. 16⁹f.; *cf.* Hos. 9¹f., Jer. 25³⁰). A picturesque touch is given us in Jg. 21¹⁹⁻²¹, in which this annual

autumn festival at Shiloh is described, in which the "daughters of Shiloh came out to dance in the dances." In a vine-cultivating land like Canaan such a festival might easily degenerate into excess. Indeed Shiloh, like Samaria (Is. 28$_{1,3}$), was probably notorious for its intemperance (1 S. 1$_{9,13f.}$). In fact it was against this sensuous indulgence of Canaanite life that the *Nazirite* order (Nu. 6*, Jg. 13$_{4f.}$*, Jer. 35, Am. 2$_{12}$) arose as a protest, and as an endeavour to restore the old and primitive simplicity of Israel's earlier nomadic life.

The reformation in Josiah's reign which found expression in the Code contained in Deuteronomy brought about the suppression of the high places. It must have effected a great change. Instead of a short pilgrimage to a local shrine like Bethel, Shechem, or Beersheba, the pilgrim was compelled to journey a considerable distance to the great Jerusalem sanctuary. As the festival then lasted an entire week, the erection of booths became necessary and the feast was called the *feast of Booths* (tabernacles). From this time onwards, and especially in the restored Temple worship inaugurated by Ezra and Nehemiah, when the detailed regulations of P (contained in Lev. and Nu.) came into force, the old genial character of festival celebrations passed away, while a purer, more rigid, and puritanic legalism took its place.

The Hebrew festivals of the pre-exilian period, just described, formed the religious cement of the clans and tribes of Israel who participated in the common sacra of the common altar. In many respects the Arabic Ḥajj graphically portrayed by Wellhausen (*Reste arab. Heidentums,*[2] pp. 87–89) represents the old pre-exilian Hebrew Ḥagg or festival. "It formed the rendezvous of ancient Arabian life. Here came under the protection of the peace of God the tribes and clans which at other times lived apart, and only knew peace and security within their own frontiers. Here affairs between peoples or states or questions affecting the rights of nations were settled, tribute paid or cessation of war during a dry season arranged, or a struggle postponed for a year. Moreover, an active intercourse arose between individuals in every form and mode. It was the single opportunity when members of different tribes could move freely and fearlessly in their relations to one another. Tradesmen and pedlars, smiths and horse-doctors erect their booths . . . (*cf.* the allusion to the grasping trader in Am. 8$_{5}$). Slaves are bought or redeemed . . . acquaintances are made, and courtships arranged between adherents of different tribes who could otherwise hardly manage to see one another."

(*b*) *Post-exilian Developments.*—The general tendency of the changes in ritual, especially of sacrifice, and in the festivals of the post-exilian period, has been already briefly indicated. They may be found in the legislation of P in Ex. 35–40, Lev. entire, and Nu. 1–10$_{28}$ and subsequent sections in Numbers. It should be understood, however, that by no means all the additional details respecting sacrifice or ritual belong to this post-exilian period. It is now generally recognised that much of this detail is of old pre-exilian origin. Thus:

(i.) We note that the *Passover feast* reverts in Ex. 12 $_{3f.}$* (P) to its original domestic character which it still possesses in every Jewish household. The removal of leaven from the house was by later enactment ordained for the interval between the evening of the 13th and that of the 14th Nisan. This is what in Jn. 19$_{14}$ (*cf.* Mk. 15$_{42}$, Mt. 27$_{62}$) is called the "preparation for the passover." On present-day use see Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue,* pp. 356f. (1st ed.). Till midday of the 14th, leaven might be eaten, after which every fragment was destroyed. For the Passover meal either a lamb or a kid might be chosen. The selection of the animal was fixed for the 10th of the month Nisan (or in the old pre-exilian Hebrew-Canaanite calendar *Abib*), care being taken that it should be a male in its first year and *without blemish* (Ex. 12$_{5}$). The lamb was slain at or before sunset on the 14th Nisan. Special precautions were taken that not a bone of the lamb should be broken (Ex. 12$_{46}$). According to the Jewish treatise *Pesāḥim,* vii. 11, the penalty for breaking a bone was forty stripes save one. (Some would hold with respect to the incident in Jn. 19$_{31–33}$ that the citation in 36 is a reference to Ex. 12$_{46}$; *cf.* Nu. 9$_{12}$, which is interpreted typically. This is possible, though the analogy of Jn. 19$_{37}$ which immediately follows makes the reference to Ps. 34$_{20}$ more probable.) The flesh was not to be eaten raw since the blood would be consumed also, in direct violation of the post-exilian regulations in Gen. 9$_{4}$, Lev. 7$_{26f.}$, 17$_{10–15}$ (P), *cf.* Ps. 16$_{4}$, but it was to be roasted on fire and eaten along with unleavened cakes and bitter herbs (with lettuce or wild endive; see Mishna, *Pesaḥim,* ii. 6). All that remained was to be consumed with fire before morning. The bounden duty of every male, who was not prevented by uncleanness or by travel, to take part in the Passover, was very strictly enforced by later Jewish legislation (Nu. 9$_{4–14}$ P). Even the resident alien if circumcised (Ex. 12$_{48}$ P) was expected to participate. But if, by reason of temporary disqualification, a man was prevented from taking part, special provision was made for him by the institution of a *second Passover* just one month later (14th Iyyar).

With reference to the seven days that followed the Passover, when *unleavened cakes* were eaten, elaborate regulations are set forth in Nu. 28$_{16–25}$. The 15th Nisan was a day of "holy convocation," on which no servile work could be done. Special offerings for this and the following days till the 21st (which was again a day of "holy convocation" strictly kept) are appointed in Nu. 28$_{19f.}$. From Lev. 23$_{10f.}$ we learn that a special rite was appointed for the 16th or morrow after the Sabbath, viz. the presentation of the "Omer" or sheaf of barley which was waved by the priest before Yahweh. A male lamb a year old without blemish was sacrificed at the same time as a burnt-offering, accompanied by cereal offerings.

(ii.) *Feast of Weeks or Pentecost.*—There has been considerable discussion as to how the Pentecost was reckoned. It is enough to say that Pentecost was reckoned from the morrow of the Sabbath, *i.e.* the 16th Nisan on which the "*wave offering*" (Tenûfah) of the "Omer" or sheaf was presented in the Temple. Thus Pentecost fell on the 6th of the month *Sivan.* Pentecost was celebrated by the offering of two loaves baked from leaven as firstfruits, accompanied by a burnt offering of seven lambs of a year old without blemish. Several other sacrificial details were added, viz. in Lev. 23$_{15–21}$, Nu. 28$_{26–31}$ (P).

(iii.) *Feast of Booths* (or *Tabernacles*) lasted from the 15th till 22nd Tishri (*Ethanim* in the old Hebrew-Canaanite calendar) which corresponds to September–October. The first day (15th) was a day of holy convocation or public worship on which all servile labour ceased (Lev. 23$_{35}$). The main characteristic of the first was the erection of booths from palm-branches or boughs of willows or other large trees. Nu. 29$_{12–16}$ contains regulations as to the special offerings to be presented on the first day, while in 17–38 we have a series of instructions respecting the special offerings of animals, meal-offerings, and drink-offerings

for each day of the feast until the eighth day, which was once more a day of solemn assembly that brought the festival to a close.

The precise mode of celebration no doubt varied somewhat at different periods. Thus in Neh. 8 15f. we read that the branches in the booths were olive, myrtle, and palm, and that the booths were set up on the roofs of houses and in their courts, in the courts of God's Temple, and in the open space by the water-gate and that of the gate of Ephraim. From Jewish treatises of later times (chiefly *Succah*) we learn that in the early morning of the 15th a priest followed by a procession went down to the pool of Siloam and drew water from thence into a golden vessel and returned to join the other priests at the morning sacrifice. The remaining details of procedure need not be described. But there is good reason to believe that this rite of water-drawing, and the libation that followed, were carried out in the time of Christ, and there may be an allusion to it in Christ's words on the last day of the Feast of Booths in Jn. 7 37f. : " If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink " (see Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien, ad loc.*).

We now come to a *series of post-exilian festivals* which, properly speaking, belong only to the centuries subsequent to the Exile. Most important among these is :

(*a*) *The Day of Atonement*, really a *fast* and not a feast (Ac. 27 9 ; *cf.* Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 16, 14), held on the 10th Tishri. It was called a " high Sabbath," a day of " holy convocation " on which no work could be done, and every Israelite, home-born slave, and even resident alien was required " to afflict his soul " (Lev. 16 29f., 23 27–32). The ceremonial throughout the day was essentially expiatory in character, and reflects the general tendency of sacrificial rites at this time, which was piacular, and bore reference to an exalted sense of sin and uncleanness. Moreover, the ceremonial throughout the whole time, lasting from the evening of the 9th to that of the 10th, was centred in the person of the High Priest, a personage whose office emerges in the post-exilian period (Zech. 3 1). The special offerings for the day are prescribed in Nu. 29 7–11, and are similar to those of the eighth day (22nd Tishri) in the Feast of Booths. On the other hand, the ritual proceedings appointed for the High Priest are set forth in detail in Lev. 16 3–28. After having bathed in water, he arrayed himself in garments of white linen as well as linen girdle and turban. He then brought a young bullock as a sin-offering for himself and his house and a ram for burnt-offering. But in making atonement for the people a ram was chosen for a burnt-offering (*cf.* Heb. 7 27) and two he-goats were selected. Then follows a unique ceremony described in considerable detail. Lots were cast with respect to the two he-goats, whereby one was assigned for Yahweh and the other for Azazel (probably some demon of the desert). The bullock was then offered as an expiation for the High Priest and his family. After this a censer was filled with coals from the altar of burnt-offering, and with a handful of incense the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies (*cf.* Heb. 9 7,11,24–26). As he threw the sweet incense on the coals, clouds of the incense covered the Ark and the mercy-seat, apparently with the object (*cf.* Lev. 16 13) of veiling the Divine Presence, for no man can see God's manifestation and live (Ex. 19 21, Jg. 13 22). The blood of the bullock was then sprinkled on the east side of the mercy-seat and seven times on the space in front. Coming forth from the Holy of Holies the High Priest, having made atonement for himself and his household, next made atonement for the people by offering the goat reserved for Yahweh as sin-offering for the people. He then re-entered the Holy of Holies, into which none could accompany him, and performed the same acts of sprinkling with the goat's blood. Ex. 30 10 here gives some further details not found in Leviticus. Once more the High Priest emerged from the Holy of Holies and, after further lustral ceremonies on the altar of burnt-offering, proceeded to the strange rite with the goat devoted to Azazel (called " scape-goat "). Upon it the High Priest laid both his hands and confessed over it all the sins of the Israelites. The goat was then led away into the wilderness to a remote spot and set free. The High Priest, after bathing, resumed his priestly vestments in the " tent of meeting," and then came forth and offered two burnt-offerings for himself and the people (Lev. 16 23f.). Meanwhile the man to whom was entrusted the goat for Azazel was regarded as unclean and had to bathe his flesh in water (26). In later times the penitential confession of sin (*cf.* Bab. penitential litanies) took an important place in the service of the Day of Atonement (*cf.* Ps. 32 5). Further details and later minutiæ introduced into its observance may be found in HDB, " Atonement, Day of," derived in the main from the Mishna tract *Yômâ*. For NT students the chief interest lies in the great place which this fast occupies in the argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

(*b*) The other festivals or sacred days in post-exilian Judaism may here be enumerated. (1) *Feast of Trumpets* at the beginning of the seventh month (Tishri) of the *ecclesiastical* year and the first of the Jewish *civil* year. It was accordingly a *New Year festival*, a solemn Sabbath and New-moon feast, on which work ceased. The sacrificial regulations may be found in Nu. 29 1–6. (2) *Feast of Dedication* (still called by the Jews Hanukkah), established by Judas Maccabæus to commemorate the purification of the Temple in the month Kislev (about December) 164 B.C. (p. 607), after its desecration by heathen sacrifices through Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac. 4 59). Ps. 30* is generally held to be a Temple-inauguration Psalm in reference to this event, and is still so employed in Jewish liturgy (*cf.* Jn. 10 22). (3) Feast of *Purim*, on the 14th and 15th of the twelfth month (Adar or Feb.–March), commemorated the deliverance of the Jews from Haman. In Est. 9 22 it is ordained that Jews should treat these two days as " days of feasting and gladness and of sending portions to one another and gifts to the poor." In 2 Mac. 15 36 the feast is called " the day of Mordecai." We know that it was celebrated in the first century of our era (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 6, 13). (4) Other post-exilian feasts need only a bare enumeration, such as the Feast of *Acra*, 23rd of second month (Iyyar), established by Simon the Maccabee, 141 B.C., to commemorate the capture and purification of Acra (1 Mac. 13 50–52). This feast afterwards became obsolete.—*Feast of Wood-carrying* on 15th of the fifth month (Ab), on which wood was brought to supply the altar-fire in the Temple (Neh. 10 34, 13 31 ; Joseph. *Wars*, ii. 17, 6).—*Feast of Nicanor*, another Maccabæan institution commemorating the victory over Nicanor, the general of the Syrian forces of Antiochus Epiphanes, at Adasa near Bethhoron, 161 B.C. It was held on the 13th day of Adar (Feb.–March) ; *cf.* 1 Mac. 7 49 —*Fast of Esther* (Est. 4 16) preceded Purim on the 13th Adar.

In addition to these we read of certain fasts of *sorrowful commemoration* of the tragic events which occurred at the close of the Judæan kingdom, viz. the Babylonian assault on Jerusalem on the ninth day of the fourth month (Tammuz or June–July) (2 K. 25 3f.,

Zech. 7₃,₅, 8₁₉), the destruction of the city and Temple (Jer. 52₁₂) on the tenth day of the fifth month (Ab or July–August). The following list of months, arranged according to the Ecclesiastical Calendar and containing the chief feast- and fast-days, will be found useful:

1. *Abib* or *Nisan* (March–April).
   1st or *New Moon*. Beginning of the ecclesiastical year.
   14th. *Preparation* for *Passover; paschal lamb* eaten about sunset. *Barley harvest.*
   15th. *Sabbath* and Holy Convocation. Beginning of *Week of Unleavened Cakes.*
   16th. Offering of Omer or First Sheaf (Barley).
   21st. Holy Convocation.
2. *Iyyar* (April–May) or *Ziv* (older name).
   1st. New Moon.
   14th. *Second* or *Little Passover.*
3. *Sivan* (May–June).
   1st. New Moon. Wheat harvest.
   6th–7th. *Pentecost* or Feast of Weeks, marking the close of corn harvest.
4. *Tammuz* (June–July).
   1st. New Moon.
5. *Ab* (July–Aug.).
   1st. New Moon.
6. *Elul* (Aug.–Sep.).
   1st. New Moon
7. *Tishri* (Sep.–Oct.) or *Ethānîm* (older name).
   1st. New Moon—*New Year's Day of the Jewish Civil Year. Feast of Trumpets.*
   10th. *Fast of Atonement.*
   15th–22nd. *Feast of Booths* (or *Tabernacles*).
8. *Marchesvan* (Oct.–Nov.) or *Bul* (older name).
   1st. New Moon.
9. *Kislev* (Nov.–Dec.).
   1st. New Moon.
   25th. *Feast of Dedication.*
10. *Ṭebeth* (Dec.–Jan.).
   1st. New Moon.
11. *Shebaṭ* (Jan.–Feb.).
   1st. New Moon.
12. *Adar* (Feb.–March).
   1st. New Moon.
   13th. *Feast of Nicanor.*
   14th–15th. *Feast of Purim.*
13. *Ve-Adar* (intercalary month).

Vows were not infrequent among the Hebrews as among other peoples. It was an obligation to God, a pledge to do certain things, voluntarily incurred, frequently in times of crisis or trouble, in order to secure Divine aid. The pledge often consisted in some service, gift, or sacrifice. It was of a very binding character and might be very tragic in its issue, as in the case of Jephthah (Jg. 11₃₀f.), or entail unforeseen issues (Ac. 23₂₁f.). Any evasion or subterfuge was sternly censured or suppressed (Dt 23₂₁–₂₃, Pr. 20₂₅, Mal. 1₁₄). The laws respecting vows in the Pentateuch were codified late, *i.e.* belong to the post-exilian document P, viz Lev. 27₁–₂₉, which deals especially with the objects devoted or "sanctified" to Yahweh in the accomplishment of a vow and the conditions on which they might be redeemed, and Nu. 30, which deals with the vows made by women, whether married or divorced or widows. A vow made by a woman without a husband's cognisance and consent is not allowed to stand—a very significant illustration of the subject condition of women in those times.

Reference has already (p. 103) been made to the *Nazirite*, or one who had taken the vow of consecration or separation to Yahweh. Unshorn locks and abstinence from wine were the chief obligations; indeed every product of the grape is debarred in Nu. 6* (P), and even approach to a dead body, though it be of a near relation.

5. Ark of God; its Temple and Furniture; Music; Synagogue.—In very early times the Hebrews appear to have borrowed the conception of an *ark* which formed the *palladium* that enshrined the Divine *numen* or presence. Egypt appears to have been the proximate source from which it came. In Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 189*b*, we have portrayed on a monument of the time of Rameses II a sacred bark which conveyed the God Amon. We have also sacred barks moved on wheels which conveyed Babylonian deities in religious processions. The Hebrew Ark appears to have been specially connected with military expeditions. We find it associated with the name of the Lord of Hosts enthroned above the cherubim in 1 S. 4₄, 2 S. 6₂ (*cf.* Dt. 10₃). This Ark in ordinary times, during the nomadic life of Israel in the wilderness, was placed in the sacred tent where Moses held converse with Yahweh (Ex. 33₇–₁₁ E). But when Israel advanced on their march, the Ark was borne on the priests' shoulders, and the cry was raised: "Arise, Yahweh, that Thy enemies may be scattered and those that hate Thee flee from Thy presence"; and when Israel reached his destination the exclamation arose: "Return, Yahweh, to the myriads of Israel's thousands" (Nu. 10₃₅; *cf.* Ps. 68₁). Shiloh was the resting-place of the Ark when Israel had settled in Canaan. Here was evidently a building in which the Ark was housed within a covered erection, recess, or *adytum* (Hebrew *debhîr*) with which Canaanite sanctuaries of larger size were provided. A lamp was kept burning by the Ark (1 S. 3₃), probably from sunset till dawn. Outside the covered *debhîr* was an outer court open to the sky (*hātsēr*) where an altar stood whereon victims were sacrificed. An interesting added detail occurs in LXX of 1 S. 1₁₈: "And she (Hannah) said, Let thy handmaid find favour in thine eyes. And the woman went her way and *entered* the (rather than 'her') *chamber* and did eat." The passage becomes clear in the light of 1 S. 9₂₂. On the side of the court, near to the *debhîr*, was the sleeping apartment of the priests (1 S. 3₁f.). There would also be some larger chamber (*lishkah*), where priests and others partook of the flesh of offerings used in sacrifice. Canaanite and Hebrew temples were made, like Greek temples, receptacles for treasure. Thus 70 shekels were stored in the sanctuary of Ba'al Berîth (Jg. 9₄) The sanctity of the spot, it was held, would preserve the treasure inviolate (*cf.* 1 K. 15₁₈, 2 K. 12₁₈, 18₁₅, 24₁₃).

The Temple erected by Solomon, with the aid of Phœnician craftsmen, was on a scale hitherto unknown in Israel, and in 1 K 6f. we have a number of valuable but unfortunately obscure and mutilated details into which it is impossible to enter. The reader is referred to the articles "Temple" in EBi and HDB. This Temple was provided with a large outer court. The worshipping throng assembled in this outer court, within which the most conspicuous object was the large altar for burnt offerings, made by Tyrian artificers of bronze, with a length and breadth of 20 cubits at the base and 10 cubits high. From the base the altar rose in three stages. Also SE. of the Temple proper stood a bronze "sea" 5 cubits high and 10 in diameter, which rested on twelve oxen of bronze with their faces directed outward, the significance of which cannot be discussed here. Passing between two pillars called *Yāchîn* and *Bō'az* fronting E, and through

the portico, we come into the Temple proper, which consists of *two parts*. *First*, a front chamber 40 cubits long, 20 broad, and 30 in height. The chief object contained in this front chamber was the so-called "table of shewbread" (Ex. 25$_{23-30}$*, Lev. 24$_{5-9}$*), or of "bread of the Presence," a kind of altar-table made of cedar-wood (1 K. 6$_{20}$). *Second*, we come to the hindermost chamber or most holy place (Holy of Holies), which stood on the westernmost side of the Temple structure and corresponded to the aforesaid *debhîr*. For within its precincts stood the Ark of the Covenant (or "ark of God") already described, in which God's presence dwelt in a very special manner. This Holy of Holies is associated very intimately with the personality of the High Priest and his functions on the great Day of Atonement. See above, § 4, p. 104.

After 621 B.C. (Josiah's Reformation) Solomon's Temple acquired an exclusive position as the only place where sacrifice could be offered. But at this time, and especially during and after the Exile, a very large number of Jews were scattered in the lands outside Palestine, especially in Egypt, Babylonia, and in the countries which bordered the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. How did they maintain their religious life? Recent discovery has shown us that a temple for Jewish worship existed at Elephantine in Egypt before 526 B.C. and continued till its destruction in 407 B.C. Later still we have the rival temple to that of Jerusalem at Leontopolis set up by Onias IV in 160 B.C. (Is. 19$_{18}$*). But this was an illegitimate worship in defiance of Deuteronomy. Accordingly Jews had recourse to the *Synagogue* and its worship, in which praise, prayer, and the reading of the Scriptures (Law and Prophets) took the place of the sacrificial ceremonial which was lawful in Jerusalem only. Every considerable town would have one or more synagogues. Indeed the growth of a body of canonised Scripture probably arose partly in response to the needs of pious Jews in the widely scattered and ever-increasing *Diaspora* who desired to worship the God of their fathers on the Sabbath and at other times than the recurring annual feasts at Jerusalem. The general supervision of the services of the synagogue was in the hands of the *Chief of the Synagogue*. Worship consisted of public prayer, the reading of the Scriptures (Law and Prophets) and exhortation, and it was competent for any man to take part (Lk. 4$_{16-22}$, Ac. 13$_{15}$f.) with the consent and approval of the chief or chiefs of the synagogue. Both in the later post-exilian Temple as well as in synagogue-worship, music and singing came to play an important part. This is clearly evident in 1 Ch. 15$_{16}$f., 16$_{4-36}$, 25$_{1-7}$. The elaborate arrangements for psalmody here set forth do not belong to the early days of the Israelite monarchy, but to those of the later post-exilian Temple services of about 250 B.C. or later, when the Books of Chronicles were drawn up. The five Books of Psalms gradually arose in connexion with the musical worship of Temple and synagogue. Musical instruments came into use, and there can be little doubt that Greek influence here played a part. Thus the names of several musical instruments in Dan. 3$_{5,10,15}$ are Greek (*cf.* Lk. 15$_{25}$). The Book of Daniel belongs to 165 B.C. See Schürer, *Hist. of the Jewish People*, 3rd German ed., vol. ii. pp. 49f.

6. Sacred Persons.—King—Sorcerer—Soothsayer—Priest—Scribe—Prophet.

The *King* was anointed, and was thereby held to be endowed with a certain supernatural power, and on this account was called *Messiah* or "the Lord's anointed." His person, like that of a priest, was sacrosanct and inviolable (1 S. 24$_{6-10}$, 2 S. 1$_{14}$). In this respect the Hebrew king did not greatly differ from the Assyrian or Babylonian king, who was held to be of Divine descent and possessed priestly functions. Thus David and his sons exercised priestly functions (2 S. 6$_{17}$, 1 K. 8$_{63}$f.). At a very early period Israel had, like other Semites (*e.g.* the Babylonians), their recognised *Magicians, Soothsayers*, and *Necromancers*. The magicians or sorcerers sought by incantations, tying of knots, or other practices, such as the evil eye, to control events or blast the happiness or welfare of those against whom these practices were directed (see *Magic, Sorcery* in HDB). The *Necromancer* was supposed to be possessed of the spirit of a deceased person and to speak with his voice. Not infrequently these arts were practised by women, as in the case of the Witch of Endor (1 S. 28$_{7}$f.). They were sternly reprobated by the prophets (Is. 8$_{19}$, 29$_{4}$); in fact the death-penalty was appointed for the sorceress in the early legislation of Ex. 22$_{18}$. On the other hand the *Soothsayer* (*ḳōsēm*), who endeavoured to ascertain by various mechanical means, such as wooden rods or arrows, the will of the Deity before any important enterprise, such as a military expedition, was undertaken, was regarded as one of the mainstays of the state. Thus in Is. 3$_{2}$ he is mentioned by the side of the judge, the captain, and the prophet. But in Dt. 18$_{10}$of his function, as well as that of others closely akin, is definitely declared illegitimate. See *Soothsayer* in HDB.

In the early days of Israel's life in Canaan soothsaying was one of the chief duties of the *Priest*. This can easily be shown by reference to the facts of the case. It has been already stated in § 3, p. 100, that it was the business of the priest who bore the ephod in the military expeditions of the king to declare God's will to the king who inquired of Yahweh by means of the sacred lot. In the Blessing of Moses it is said of the priest-tribe Levi that *urim and tummim* (already explained, pp. 100f.) formed part of their sacred function (Dt. 33$_{8}$; *cf.* 1 S. 28$_{6}$). The Hebrew word for "priest" is *kōhēn*, but in Arabic what is virtually the same word (*kâhin*) means "soothsayer." In later times the priest's function became more restricted to sacrificial and other Temple ceremonial. Moreover, in earlier times there was no restriction as to the personnel of the priesthood. Joshua, who was an Ephraimite, exercised priestly functions in the "tent of meeting" without the camp (Ex. 33$_{11}$ E), while David, a Judæan, offered sacrifice (2 S. 6$_{17}$), and his sons also discharged priestly functions (2 S. 8$_{18}$). This is in full accord with the earlier compends of legislation (Ex. 20$_{23}$–23$_{19}$, 34$_{10-28}$), in which there is no restriction as to the personnel of the priesthood. Yet it is fairly obvious that at an early time special virtue accrued to those who belonged to the tribe of Levi, to whom priestly functions came to be attached. This clearly appears in the early narrative Jg. 17$_{7-13}$. Micah feels assured of a Divine blessing "seeing I have a Levite for priest." In the time of Josiah the reformation reflected in the legislation of Deuteronomy definitely assigned the priesthood with its sacrificial function to the Levites only. A still further restriction was made in post-exilian legislation when one family only of the Levitical tribe was permitted to hold the sacerdotal function, viz. the sons of Aaron, while the other Levites were assigned subordinate functions (*cf.* Ezek. 44f.). These new developments of the post-exilian period are reflected in P (mainly in Leviticus). Moreover we now (for the first time in Zech. 3$_{1}$) find that the entire priesthood has a supreme head—the *High*

Priest—whose exalted national and representative dignity is most fully manifested in the Great Day of Atonement already described in § 4, p. 104. This high personality, with his sacred office, naturally absorbed the dignity and position of the Hebrew king of pre-exilian times, in days when Judah was ruled under a Persian viceroy and the old national state with a king at its head gave place to a Church-state whose head was the High Priest. In the middle of the second century B.C. we have a succession of Asmonean High Priests in Jerusalem enjoying princely power and splendour. The elaborate details respecting the priesthood and their courses in 1 Ch. 23f. reflect the conditions of ecclesiastical organisation and practice in a late post-exilian period (third century B.C.). *Cf.* Lk. 1 5,8.

After the time of Ezra the Pentateuch or Law (Tôrah) became a book of canonised authority, the foundation on which the religious and social life of the Jewish community was based. Its careful study became, therefore, a matter of vital interest, and there arose a body of men distinct from the priests, called the *Scribes*, who made the study and interpretation of the Law their special business. The duties of the priests were connected with Temple ceremonial In days when Hellenism became rampant and corrupted the priesthood, the scribes, who were enthusiasts for the Law, grew in power and reputation, and this high position they held in the time of our Lord.

In the far earlier age of Israel's life before the Exile there arose another order of religious functionary called the *Prophets*. In the days that preceded Samuel, the prophet was usually called *Seer* (1 S. 9 9), who would give answers to those who "inquired of God" and sought direction about the ordinary affairs of life, much as those who consulted a Greek *μάντις*. We know that Canaanites also had their prophets (1 K. 18 19). Prophesying in the days of Samuel assumed strange ecstatic forms, and prophets were somewhat like the dervishes in Mohammedan countries (1 S. 10 5f., 18 10, 19 23f.). "Frenzied" (2 K. 9 11) was the term currently applied (*cf.* Hos. 9 7) to the manner and speech of their members. These members formed special guilds or societies dwelling in special spots and presided over by some head such as Samuel, Elijah, or Elisha. The term "schools" of the prophets is altogether a misnomer. Individual prophets like Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, Elisha, and Micaiah ben Yimlah (1 K. 22) rose above the ordinary level of these prophets, and when we come to the eighth century prophets such as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, we are in the presence of men of far-reaching, Divinely-inspired intelligence, who were able to interpret to their countrymen God's true nature and His moral requirements. Israel's progress in the knowledge of God and in the path of true religion was almost wholly due to the teaching of this wonderful order of men, who succeeded in lifting religion out of the realm of traditional and national ceremonial and basing it on its true foundation of God's eternal, righteous will.

It is at this point that we see the great distinguishing feature of the Hebrew religion from the time of Moses (himself a prophet) onwards. No other race possessed such an order of men. It is not so much in their priests and their institutions that Israel was distinguished from other ancient peoples of the world, for other Semitic peoples exhibit in these respects parallels more or less close. But Israel *is* distinguished by those large progressive ideas instilled by the Hebrew prophets which enabled Israel, and through Israel mankind, "by divers portions and in divers manners" (Heb. 1 1) "to rise on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things."

Literature.—Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie*; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* [2]; W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* [2]; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums* [2], *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*; Lagrange, *Études sur les Religions Sémitiques* [2]; Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ*. Of the older literature, J. Spencer's *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus* is valuable. There is at present no English work corresponding to Nowack's or Benzinger's the volume in Int. Theol. Lib. has been entrusted to G. B. Gray. Meanwhile the English reader may study the subject in works on OTT and the Religion of Israel (see p. 97); in valuable articles on the various topics in HDB, EBi, HSDB, EB [11], Herzog-Hauck *Realencyclopædie*, the Jewish Encyclopedia; and in commentaries, esp. Nu., Dt., Jg., in ICC; Ex., Lev., Nu., in CB and Cent.B.; Ex. in West.C. The commentaries in HK and KHC are also to be recommended.

THE SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF ISRAEL

By Professor WILFRID J. MOULTON

The writings of the OT reflect many stages in the history of the Hebrew people. The stories of the patriarchs and various references in later days, such as Dt. 26$_{5}$ff., 32$_{10}$, as well as the survival of the clan of the Rechabites (2 K. 10$_{15}$, Jer. 35), point back to a nomad period when the life closely resembled that of the modern Bedouin. From the settlement in Palestine up to the reign of Solomon we see a peasant population growing into a race of sturdy yeomen. From the days of Solomon onwards intercourse with surrounding nations changed the people from a self-contained community into a busy nation of traders, and brought in a multitude of foreign arts and modes of life. Even after the return from the Exile, despite all efforts to seclude the people within the hedge of the Law, the flood of foreign influences continued to pour in, until in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes Hellenism threatened to submerge Judaism altogether. It is plain, therefore, that no single view of the social institutions of Israel can be given. The present article can do little more than comment on some phases of the progress revealed in the OT. Yet it is not hard to show how the same prophetic spirit which purged the religious conceptions of the people and wrought out the victorious faith of later days was active also in creating truer social ideals and in criticising the failures and corruptions of the developing social life.

The subject will be dealt with under three main headings: A. The Family. B. The Life of Trade and Commerce. C. The Community.

A. THE FAMILY

In all the early records of Israel the family is counted as of supreme importance, and within the family the father ranks as undisputed head. The tribes are presented as the natural expansion of the family into the clan, and the genealogies trace back their origin by male descent from a single ancestor. Hence to the historians of the Exodus the "heads of fathers' houses" appear as the natural chieftains of the people. Beyond the natural ties of kinship and possessions the family was held together by a religious bond. As the ritual of the Passover shows (Ex. 12$_{3}$ff., 13$_{8}$ff.), the father acted as house-priest, directing the worship of the family. In later days the family gathers for its yearly sacrifice at some sanctuary (1 S. 13), or keeps its annual religious festival in its own city, at which every member is expected to be present (1 S. 20$_{6,29}$). Similarly Job is represented as acting as priest on behalf of his family (1$_{5}$).

In earlier times the father possessed the right of life and death over his children. This is illustrated in the stories of Abraham and Isaac (Gen. 22), and of Jephthah's daughter (Jg. 11$_{34}$f.). Similarly in the Book of the Covenant a father has the right to sell his daughter as a bond-servant (Ex. 21$_{7}$). But in later times this right ceased to be despotic. In Dt. 21$_{18}$f. the incorrigible son is liable to the death penalty, but this must be inflicted by the decision of an impartial tribunal. Later still, as in Pr. 30$_{17}$, disobedience to parents is cited as something which brings the offender to a bad end, but not as an offence punishable by law.

In this development we can see the growth of the sense of individual personality. Whereas in the story of Achan the whole family is held guilty for the sin of its head (Jos. 7$_{24}$ f.), and Saul's descendants suffer for the sins of their ancestor (2 S. 21), the law of Deuteronomy (24$_{16}$) limits responsibility to the actual transgressor, and Ezekiel and Jeremiah insist that "the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son." "The soul that sinneth, *it* shall die" (Ezek. 18$_{20}$, Jer. 31$_{30}$).

Husband and Wife.—Throughout the OT polygamy was recognised and generally practised. The wife was purchased with a marriage-price, and became part of her husband's property. In the Decalogue she is mentioned as part of his wealth. The humane legislation of Dt. 21$_{15}$ interposes for the protection of the children of the less favoured wife. The same law-book regulates the practice of divorce, requiring some definite and substantial ground, and a proper legal instrument (24$_{1}$f.). Yet we should err in supposing that a wife's position was only that of a slave. In Ex. 21$_{8}$ and Dt. 21$_{14}$ it is enacted that no woman, not even one bought as a slave or taken captive in war, may be sold into slavery when once her master has entered into marriage relationships with her. In practice, force of character was always able to win outstanding influence, as may be seen by the story of Deborah and the picture of the good housewife in Pr. 31$_{10}$ff. Moreover, the whole prophetic movement was towards monogamy. Hosea sees in his love for his sinful wife the symbol of God's patient love for rebellious Israel. Jeremiah speaks of the time when Israel followed her God, as a bride in the love of her espousals (2$_{1}$f.). Malachi protests that divorce is against the Divine will (2$_{16}$). And in the story of the institution of marriage (Gen. 2$_{24}$) our Lord found lying latent the principle of the ideal union between man and woman (Mk. 10$_{2}$ff.).

As to the actual marriage ceremony we have little information. It appears to have been a purely secular act, and was not accompanied by any religious rites. Such customs as are mentioned—the bringing of the bride to her husband's home, richly dressed and accompanied by troops of rejoicing friends (Ps. 45, Is. 49$_{18}$)—resemble Oriental practices of the present day. The Song of Songs is very probably a series of lyrics sung during the week of wedding festivities (pp. 418f.).

The Home.—The oldest form of dwelling spoken of in the OT is the *tent*. According to tradition the ancestors of Israel were tent-dwellers, and the memory of this time remained long afterwards in the proverb, "To your tents, O Israel!" (2 S. 20¹). In its simple form the tent was of one compartment only, separated into two by a hanging curtain screening the women's apartment from the public room. Long after the settlement in Canaan the Kenites (Jg. 4¹⁷), as well as the Rechabites (Jer. 35⁶⁻¹⁰), remained true to their ancestral customs and dwelt in tents. A richer family would possess a number of tents (Gen. 24⁶⁷, 31³³). Like the tent, the peasants' *houses* consisted often of one room only, with floors of beaten mud. Larger houses had two rooms separated by a court. Large families might have a number of courts with rooms opening out of them, for the accommodation of the several households. The upper room spoken of in Jg. 3²⁰ (Heb. "upper chamber of cooling"), as also in 2 K. 4¹⁰, was an additional story raised above the flat roof of the house at one corner, or upon a tower-like annex to the building. The battlement or parapet (Dt. 22⁸) guarded the part of the roof which was left open, and was used either for recreation or for household purposes (Jos. 2⁶, Jg. 16²⁷, 1 S. 9²⁵f., Jer. 19¹³). The roof was reached by a ladder or rough staircase passing up the outside of the house, or along one of the walls of the court. In later days the prophets lament the growing luxury of the rich, who built themselves houses of hewn stone (Am. 5¹¹), with spacious chambers, panelled with cedar (Hag. 1⁴*), and lavishly adorned (Jer. 2 2¹³f.). In the prophets also we find references to silken cushions and divans with frames inlaid with ivory (Am. 3¹², 6⁴), marks of a luxury foreign to the simpler traditions of Israel. The windows were not of glass, but consisted of a frame of lattice across the lower half (1 K. 6⁴), the upper part being either barred or left open. In large houses a doorkeeper guarded the entrance (2 S. 4⁶, RVm), sleeping at night in a small room just within the entrance. His position outside the life of the family is referred to in Ps. 84¹⁰. The doorways were often highly ornamented (Is. 54¹²), whilst, according to the law of Dt. 6⁹, sentences from Scripture were inscribed upon the posts.

Inheritance.—According to Hebrew theory the whole land was the gift of God to the people, and was divided amongst the tribes so as to secure a share to each family and clan (Nu. 32–34, Jos. 14¹⁻⁵, 18¹⁻¹⁰). To this ancestral land the Israelite felt himself bound by the closest ties. The tenacity with which Naboth clung to the inheritance of his fathers illustrates the strength of this principle (1 K. 21), and the horror excited by Ahab's tyrannical disregard of it contributed largely to the success of the rebellion of Jehu. In the law of the year of Jubile (Lev. 25) provision is made that land shall not be finally alienated from its original proprietors. Purchase of land is thus reduced to the granting of a lease of fifty years at the longest. It is very doubtful whether this law, which occurs only in the later Codes, was ever effectually enforced. The denunciations of the earlier prophets (*cf.* Is. 5⁸) suggest that it could not be appealed to in their days. But the right of pre-emption and the power of purchase by a kinsman is referred to in Jer. 32⁶ff., and is undoubtedly an ancient custom.

The natural heir of the family estate was the eldest son. There are indeed many stories which show how younger sons succeeded to their fathers' influence; we need only mention such names as Isaac, Ephraim, Solomon. But the law of Dt. insists on the right of the firstborn to a share twice as large as that of his brothers, and seeks to protect him against the designs of a favourite wife (21¹⁵⁻¹⁷). We have no means of deciding whether the landed property was divided. It is most likely that it passed to the eldest son, who would make some kind of provision for his brothers. To him also passed the obligation of maintaining any unmarried female members of the family.

The Priestly Code (Nu. 27⁵⁻¹⁰) gives a formal statement of the law of inheritance. Where there were no sons the property passed to daughters, failing them to brothers, failing brothers to uncles, and failing them to the next of kin on the father's side. As the wife became a member of the husband's clan, her own relatives are not recognised in the distribution of property. Heiresses were expected to marry into their own clan (Nu. 36⁶), and a member of another clan marrying an heiress joined her clan (Ezr. 2⁶¹, Neh. 7⁶³). The meaning of these provisions is obvious.

Instances are not wanting where, as with the Arabs before Mohammed, a widow could be inherited like the rest of a man's property (*cf.* 2 S. 16²⁰ff.). **Levirate marriage** (Dt. 25⁵ff.*) provided that a childless widow should be retained as a member of her husband's clan by marriage with his brother or kinsman. Failing this she might return to her own family (Lev. 22¹³, Ru. 1⁸f.), where she was free to marry again. Such provisions must often have failed in securing her interests, and Dt. 10¹⁸, 24¹⁷, 27¹⁹, as well as the prophets (Is. 1¹⁷, 10², Jer. 7⁶, 22³, etc.), present her claims to compassion with much earnestness.

The whole purpose of these laws and customs was to secure the economic independence of the family, by ensuring perpetual access to the land, and by preventing any such absolute property in land as would permit the building up of great estates exclusively held. The growth of commercialism and other social causes made this ideal impracticable. But the way in which it recurs in the latest strata of legislation shows its constant attraction for the Hebrew mind.

Education.—No schools are spoken of in the OT. The "Schools of the Prophets" were associations or brotherhoods of men united by a common zeal for the God of Israel, and we have no traces of any literary activities in connexion with them. That the people were by no means illiterate may be conjectured from the written record left by the workmen who excavated the tunnel from the Virgin's Spring to the pool of Siloam in the days of Hezekiah. Amongst the writing prophets, Amos and Micah sprang from the ranks of the people. Regular officials kept the royal annals. Is. 10¹⁹ refers to trees so few "that a child could write them."

In the main, however, the parents were the chief teachers of their children and the home the only school. The moral instruction of the children is emphasized as one of the weightiest obligations of the father. Within the home there was to be constant conversation about the claims of Yahweh and remembrance of His redeeming acts (Dt. 6⁷, 11¹⁹). The recurrence of national festivals served to introduce the recital of the providential history of the past (Ex. 13⁸ff, Ps. 78⁴ff). The part taken by the mother is mentioned in Pr. 6²⁰,³¹¹.

It would appear that the sons of prominent men were placed under the care of guardians who would naturally be teachers also (2 K. 10¹,⁵, 1 Ch. 27³²).

Apart from these scanty references it may be safely conjectured that instruction was given at the various sanctuaries by the priests who were the natural guardians of the knowledge of the day. The Israelites entered into a land which was already a seat of an

ancient civilisation, as the excavations at Gezer and elsewhere make manifest. Statesmen, annalists, physicians, prophets must all have acquired the knowledge needful for their calling, and schools of some sort must have been present. The class of "Wise Men" whose sayings are preserved in Pr. and who are spoken of in Ec. may have given oral teaching at least, as did the contemporary Sophists in Greece.

Hospitality.—This is so marked a feature of Oriental life that it deserves mention. A guest is sacred and his person inviolable. Narratives like Gen. 18f, 2431, Ex. 220, show the sense of this duty. Offences against the law of hospitality were sternly punished (Jg. 20). In Ps. 235, Pr. 1810, the security of those who are the guests of God is strikingly expressed.

The law of the *ger* or sojourner, the resident foreigner (Lev. 17f.*, Dt. 116*, 1018, 1429, etc., Mal. 35), is an extension of this thought. He dwelt under the protection of the family or the tribe, and therefore under the care of the God in whose land he was a guest. The story of the Gibeonites (Jos. 9) shows how this status, even when acquired by fraud, was sacredly respected, though service might be required in return.

Slaves.—Throughout the OT period slaves were regular members of Hebrew households. Many of these were foreigners, either prisoners of war or acquired by purchase. Although they ranked as the property of their masters they had rights which were carefully safeguarded by legislation and custom (Ex. 21 20f. 26f.). A female slave could be incorporated into the family by marriage (Dt. 2110ff.); a slave might marry his master's daughter (1 Ch. 234f.); and in case there was no son might inherit the property (Gen. 152f.). Further regulations ensured the participation of slaves both in the sabbath rest and in the great festivals (Ex. 2010, Dt. 1218, 1611). Even the runaway slave was taken under the protection of the law (Dt. 2316). Slavery in most countries has been productive of many social evils. As safeguarded in Israel it produced many benefits. It provided for the gradual incorporation of many aliens into the national life and so assimilated the heterogeneous peoples of Palestine; it afforded a safe position to many who might otherwise have become vagrants; and it developed the spirit of benevolence. Kindness to slaves was counted amongst the chief virtues of an upright man (Job 30 13, Pr. 3010). The presence of Hebrew slaves was caused by family misfortunes. Children of struggling families might be sold into slavery to keep the patrimony intact. In the disorganisation caused by the wars in the times of the monarchy, and through dearth and famine, many families were reduced to destitution. Debtors, and thieves who were unable to make restitution, could be sold (Ex. 222, 2 K. 41, Am. 26, 86, etc.). The law of the Book of the Covenant limited the length of a Hebrew's servitude to six years (Ex. 212). From Jer. 348–17 it is clear that this merciful provision was often overridden. Post-exilic legislation held it intolerable that a Hebrew should be kept as a slave by one of his own nation, and required that he should be treated as a hired servant (Lev. 2539ff.). In the spirit of this legislation Nehemiah intervened to redeem the Jewish slaves of foreign masters (Neh. 55–8). The words of Lev. 2541—"He shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return"—show the persistence of the ancient ideal of a nation of families, each possessing its own share of the land, an ideal which neither slavery nor misfortune had been able to destroy.

Mourning.—The usual disposal of the dead was by burial (Gen. 2319, etc.). To burn a dead body is regarded in Am. 21 as a sin against common humanity meriting the punishment of Yahweh. The bodies of notorious wrong-doers were in some cases burnt as an aggravation of the penalty of death (Jos. 725, Lev. 20 14,217). In connexion with funeral ceremonies the ordinary Oriental practices were followed; hired mourners added their lamentations (Am. 516, Jer. 917, Ec. 125); outward signs of grief such as the rending of garments, wearing of sackcloth, and sprinkling earth upon the head are freely named (2 S. 331f., 1319). Besides these practices there are references to certain cuttings and shaving of portions of the head as existent down to at least the time of Jeremiah (Jer. 166, 415, Am. 810, Is. 324, 2212). These practices are forbidden in Dt. 141f., Lev. 1928*. They undoubtedly had heathen associations, and may have been designed to help in concluding a covenant with the departed, at whose grave the shed blood or cut hair might be offered; or, as Kautzsch conjectures, may go back to an animistic stage where it was desired to make the living unrecognisable by the malevolent spirits of the dead. Whatever the original meaning may have been, the motive of the prohibition in Dt. is the reminder that the Israelites are the children of Yahweh, and must not imitate the manners of the surrounding peoples.

B. THE LIFE OF TRADE AND COMMERCE

The land of Palestine is singularly well situated for the home of a busy trading community. Northwards through the Lebanons there was access to the great empires of Mesopotamia; on the south-west there was constant communication with Egypt, whilst caravan routes connected it with Arabia on the south; on the west lay the Mediterranean Sea and the road to Europe. In the ancient world the land was thus a meeting-place of many of the chief lines of communication.

Yet for a large part of the history of Israel these advantages were of little service to the Hebrews. Through almost all the history a belt of foreign territory separated the people from the sea-coast. It was not till 144 B.C. that the port of Joppa passed into the possession of Israel. The way in which the sea is pictured throughout the OT as the symbol of a power hostile to God and to man (Is. 1712ff., Job 712, Ps. 93, etc.), shows how foreign this element was to the genius of the Israelites, though the northern tribes may have made some maritime ventures (Gen. 4913). Moreover idealistic pictures, such as that of Jos. 2143–44, which represent the invading tribes as securing possession of the whole land, have to be corrected by the more sober records of the Book of Judges. There we see how the separate tribes, after the death of Joshua, had to fight to secure their territory and were compelled to leave many of the stronger Canaanitish cities unconquered. In the end, besides the maritime cities of Phœnicia and Philistia, a strong line of fortresses—Taanach, Megiddo, Bethshan—secured to their former inhabitants the richest inland plain, the valley of the Kishon. Further south the strongholds of Ajalon, Gezer, and Jebus shut off almost completely the tribes of Judah and Benjamin from the rest of the Israelites. The masters of these fortresses made communication dangerous (*cf.* Jg. 56f.). Not till the days of the monarchy was Israel able to enjoy the natural advantages of its country. Thus though the Israelites entered a land which, as the Amarna letters show, was in the main route of a great trade between Egypt and Northern Syria and Babylonia, and though some of the fruits of that trade were amongst the prizes which they won (*cf.* Jos. 721, Dt. 610 f.), they themselves were driven off

the main lines and were for a long time confined chiefly to agricultural and pastoral occupations.

Pastoral and Agricultural Life.—The stories of Genesis depict the ancestors of Israel as living a simple pastoral life. The laws of the Book of the Covenant are directed to a people which has passed a little beyond this stage. Most of them refer to agricultural conditions, and none of them has to do with conditions of life in walled towns. We must think of scattered groups of families and clans, settling down on the conquered estates, living the lives of shepherds and husbandmen. Pictures of the laborious life of the shepherd, with the constant exposure to extremes of heat and cold, and the need of long night watchings, are found in Gen. 3140 (*cf.* 1 S. 1734ff., Ezek. 344ff.). The numbering of the cattle as they pass beneath the shepherd's rod (Lev. 2732, Ezek. 2037), the gathering of the herds into the folds (Nu. 3216), their defence against marauding wild beasts (Jer. 4919), give glimpses of the daily work and are used freely as symbols of religious truth.

The year of the agriculturist was divided into the dry season, April to October, within which months fell all the harvests, and the wet season, October to April, marked by the early and the latter rains. Methods of cultivation have changed little in the East up to the present day, and do not call for detailed notice. In Is. 2823–29 the simple art of the farmer is ascribed to the teaching wisdom of God and made to illustrate the Divine dealings with men. There three distinct methods of threshing are mentioned. We have the beating with a flail (Jg. 611, Ru. 217); treading with the feet of cattle (Dt. 254, Mic. 413); drawing a heavy wooden sledge, with sharp stones or iron spikes fixed beneath it, or a wagon with sharp-edged wheels, over the grain.

The cultivation of the vine was very general, sometimes (*cf.* Is. 723–25), on mountainous lands over which the plough could not be drawn, which had to be prepared for sowing by the hoe or mattock. The wine-press consisted mostly of two troughs of different levels, often hewn out of the solid rock (Is. 53). The trampling of the grapes, with the staining of the garments of the treaders, affords the terrible figure of Is. 632. The various processes in the making of wine may be illustrated by a few references. The freshly expressed grape juice might be drunk at once before fermentation began. In this sense the vats are said to overflow with "new wine" or "must" (Jl. 224). Before wine, properly so called, was made, it was drawn off from the vats and left for the lees to settle. This process was repeated several times, with successive pourings from vessel to vessel, until the colour and body was sufficiently fixed. The product was then "wine on the lees well refined" (Is. 256). If, on the other hand, it was left standing too long on the lees it became thick and syrupy, lacking the sparkle of the better wines, and soon turning bad. It is from this that the metaphor of Jer. 4811, Zeph. 112, is derived. Wine left undisturbed in this way took the coarser taste and smell of the lees, just as Moab's freedom from discipline had confirmed it in its ancient faults, and the men of Jerusalem had settled down in sloth and unbelief.

Many references show how the social life of the people found its most joyous expression in celebrating the first-fruits of flock, herd, and field, and in rejoicing over the successive harvests of corn, fruit, oil and wine. (For the religious significance of these feasts see pp. 98, 101–104.)

Trades.—With the growth of city life came the development of the ordinary trades. The Bedouins of to-day practise no trades but those of the smith and the worker in leather. This was probably the case in the early days of Israel, where all that was needful for the clothing of the family and for the simple furniture of the house was made at home (*cf.* 1 S. 219, and much later Pr. 3113ff.). But with the growth of larger communities the division of labour became necessary. In the fashion common in the East separate streets were occupied by workers in one trade, *cf.* "the bakers' street" in Jer. 3721. The Chronicler speaks of localities that were the seat of special trades, such as "the valley of craftsmen," the workers in fine linen of Beth Ashbea, the potters of Netaim and Gederah (1 Ch. 414, 21,23). In Neh. 38 we find references to families of goldsmiths and apothecaries, or dealers in perfumes. The earlier prophetic references to trade are not sympathetic, and the besetting sins of business are often castigated (Am. 26, 41, 84ff., Mic. 2f., etc.). Through such passages there breathes the regret for the older and simpler life. But Isaiah's picture of Tyre (23) looks forward to the day when the gain of her commerce shall be consecrated to Yahweh. In later Judaism it was counted part of the duty of every father to teach his son a trade.

Commerce.—Foreign trade in Israel hardly began until the victories of David over Philistia, Moab, Ammon and Edom gave him the command of the trade-routes to the south and east, and made commercial intercourse with Tyre possible (2 S. 511f.). Under Solomon a great extension took place. Solomon kept control of the caravan route leading through Edom to Elath, the modern Akaba, on the NE. arm of the Red Sea. From there his navy, manned by Phœnician sailors, sailed to Ophir, situated most likely in Eastern Arabia on the shores of the Persian Gulf. With Sheba, known in later days as the seat of a commercial empire in the SW. of Arabia, he conducted a land trade. As the text of 1 K. 1028 stands he had an extensive trade in horses with Egypt. But it is probable that the real seat of this trade lay far north, in Cappadocia and Cilicia. As exports we read of honey, balm, wheat, and oil to Phœnicia (1 K. 511, Ezek. 2717); as well as spice, myrrh, nuts, and almonds to Egypt (Gen. 3725, 4311). The long list of imports in 1 K. 10 10–25 includes gold, silver, precious stones, timber, ivory, horses and mules, apes and peacocks, and armour. There seems so great a disparity between the value of the imports and exports that other sources for Solomon's wealth must be sought. It seems clear that behind the confused text of 1 K. 1015 there lies an allusion to a tariff levied on the commerce carried on in Solomon's sphere of influence. He would derive a large income from custom dues imposed on the transit trade between Arabia and the Levant. Along these routes he possessed store-cities, arsenals containing materials of war, as well as magazines of provisions and emporia of trade (1 K. 919). It is an interesting question how far the people as a whole participated in this trade, and how far it remained a royal prerogative. The fact that "Canaanite" or "Phœnician" means "trader" in Job 416, Pr. 3124, and that in Hos. 127, Zeph. 111, "Canaan" is used for "the merchant people," suggests that the early trade of Israel was largely carried on by Phœnicians, who would be the paid servants of the king. But from 1 K. 2034 we learn that Ahab secured for his subjects trading rights in Damascus. After Solomon's death the growing power of Syria, as well as the divisions between Israel and Judah, caused a great shrinkage of foreign trade. Judah soon lost the route to the Red Sea, though Jehoshaphat made a fruitless attempt to

renew the trade with Ophir (1 K. 2248). Later, after the conquests of Jeroboam II, trade revived again. Isaiah draws many pictures of the busy commercial life in Judah. "They strike hands with the children of strangers," and the land is full of foreign products (26f.); ships of Tarshish are mentioned (216); while the caravans that trafficked with Egypt are scathingly described (306). It seems plain that by this time the community as a whole had become a trading one. Many social consequences resulted, notably the breaking up of many of the old ancestral estates, and the replacement of the farmers by men who had grown rich through trade (Is. 58ff.). The depopulation of rural districts, so often the result of a new industrialism, is bitterly reproved by the prophets.

A sign of this industrial progress is furnished by the regulations of the Deuteronomic Code with regard to the taking of interest. The Book of the Covenant had forbidden the taking of interest on money lent to the poor (Ex. 2225). The thought of money lent for commercial purposes was not present. In Dt. 2319 the taking of interest from a brother Israelite is still forbidden, but it is now permitted in the case of a foreigner. The Bedouins of the present day still refrain from taking interest from a countryman. The taking of interest had been long familiar in the East, and is mentioned in the Code of Hammurabi (§§ 49, 50, 100), but though permitted under restrictions it seems always to have been against the ideal conscience of Israel. It is mentioned with disapproval in Ezek. 188,13,17, 2212, Pr. 288, Ps. 155. The law of Dt. opened the door to a practice which never obtained general approval, at least until much later times. The law of Dt. (151f.) as to the cancelling of debts in the "year of release" refers to charitable loans, not lendings for business purposes. When, later, this law was held to refer also to loans contracted in commerce, it was found to be impracticable, and devices for evading its provisions were invented.

During the Babylonian Exile the Jews came into contact with a system of banking and of partnerships for trading purposes held to be the origin of our modern commercial system. Each partner contributed his share of capital to the association. The exiles were counselled by Jeremiah to take their share in the life of the land to which they had been carried (294ff.), and must have become acquainted with these customs. Yet it is plain from the Priestly Code that its compilers had little sympathy with or understanding of such methods. They fall back on the old ideal of a simple agricultural community, and the laws concerning property show little variation from those of the earliest Code. The depressed and poverty-stricken conditions at Jerusalem are reflected in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, though Haggai clings to the hope of the day when the wealth of the nations will be poured into the Temple (27). The later chapters of Zech. hope for the time when foreign traders will be banished for ever from the holy city (1421). This spirit, the product of the new legalism, must have seriously hindered any development of trade in Judah.

The growth of the commercial instincts which have given the Jewish race its preponderating influence in the trade of the world must be sought in the Dispersion, at Alexandria and Antioch and elsewhere. Numerous indications of this may be found in Ecclus. and Josephus, but they fall outside the limits of the OT.

A word may be added as to the great market-fairs held at the chief sanctuaries in conjunction with the religious festivals. It was probably as a trader in wool that Amos was present at Bethel when his prophetic activity began (Am. 710 ff.). From the blessing on Zebulun and Issachar (Dt. 3318f.), it appears that these northern tribes held sacrificial feasts at which many foreigners were present. There the products of fishing and sea-borne commerce, and possibly glass from the sand about 'Akko were offered for sale.

C. THE COMMUNITY

Law and Justice.—The early beginnings of government have been traced under the section on the Family. With the gathering of families into clans and tribes, and during settled life in Palestine, more detailed arrangements became necessary. In the story of the desert wanderings (Ex. 1813–27, Dt. 115f.), Moses is said to have organised the people for judicial purposes under capable men of approved character. No trace of this arrangement appears in later days. On the other hand "the elders" (Ex. 316*), either heads of families or the leading inhabitants of a particular district or city, appear in almost every period of the history. In Dt. 1912 they constitute the local authority charged to adminster the law in a case of murder; in 1 S. 4 they act on behalf of the people in a time of national danger; in 2 S. 53 they offer the crown to David; in 1 K. 218ff. the elders of Jezreel act on behalf of Jezebel and inflict and carry out the sentence on Naboth. No indications are given as to the mode of their appointment. Their authority was moral rather than legal. Their executive powers may be illustrated from Dt. 21 1ff., 2215ff. The justice of their actions might be affirmed in the presence of the priests, and in the death-penalty the whole community united to carry out the sentence (Dt. 177).

In the period of the "Judges" we are presented with a picture of a series of leaders ruling with an authority which was personal, and not a matter of descent or family influence. Amongst them appears Deborah the prophetess, who sat beneath a palm tree and decided the causes of the people in accordance with the common law of Israel (Jg. 45). The position of Samuel is similar (1 S. 715ff.). His authority as representative of Yahweh is spoken of as acknowledged by the people as a whole.

According to 2 Ch. 194–11 Jehoshaphat is said to have organised a judicial system throughout Judah, with a court of appeal at Jerusalem for both civil and ecclesiastical cases. It is possible that this passage reflects the developed practice of post-exilic times, but the mention of "judges" amongst the pillars of the state in Is. 32, as well as the references in Mic. 73, Zeph. 33, shows that some judicial system had grown up. In Ezr. 725, 1014, we find professional judges drawn from the ranks of the city elders. Later, during the Greek and Roman periods, there were local courts beside the council of the elders. The *procedure* of the courts was simple. They might meet in the open (Jg. 45), or at the gate of the city, the common place for transacting business or administering justice (Dt. 21 19, Am. 512,15). Two witnesses were required for confirmation of a charge (Dt. 176, 1915). In the absence of witnesses the accused was put on his oath (Ex. 227–11). One case of trial by ordeal is named, that of a wife accused of adultery (Nu. 511f.). The oldest principle of punishment is the *lex talionis*, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" (Ex. 2124). This was largely modified by a system of monetary compensation. In some instances (Ex. 2130) the common Oriental custom was followed whereby the consent of the injured parties was required before a fine could be accepted in lieu of the severer penalty. In other cases the amount of the

fine was fixed (Ex. 21$_{32}$, Dt. 22$_{19,29}$). No money payment was allowed to cover the guilt of wilful murder. The duty of blood revenge was held sacred from the most ancient times (Gen. 9$_{5}$f.). Even the later Codes recognise the place and duty of the avenger of blood (Dt. 19$_{1-13}$, Nu. 35$_{16-21}$). In practice this was modified by the right of asylum, at first at any sanctuary (Ex. 21$_{14}$), and later at the "cities of refuge." Such a story as 2 S. 14ff. shows that when regular tribunals began to be established they took blood vengeance under their control. But the story of the execution of Saul's descendants in 2 S. 21 shows how the thought of blood revenge as a sacred religious duty lingered on, and how, before the individual had become distinguished from his family, this might bring disaster to innocent men. On the other hand the clear distinction drawn between wilful and accidental homicide shows how the sense of right prevailed over the older thought of "blood for blood" without discrimination.

Other penalties such as stripes (Dt. 25$_{3}$), imprisonment (Jer. 37$_{15}$ff., etc.), and the stocks (Jer. 20$_{2}$), do not call for detailed notice. The reason given in Dt. for the limitation of the number of strokes to forty is noteworthy. No punishment was to be inflicted which would degrade or destroy the manhood of the offender (25$_{3}$). The formula "that soul shall be cut off from Israel," which occurs very frequently in P., appears to mean excommunication, combined with a threat of Divine interposition to root out the wrong-doer. In Ezr. 10$_{8}$, where the phrase is not used but the case is similar, it means both confiscation of property and social and religious outlawry.

Of legal *forms* the simplest that is recorded is that where the seller gives his shoe to the buyer in token of his divesting himself of the right of ownership (Ru. 4$_{7}$; *cf.* Ps. 60$_{8}$). In Jer. 32ff. we have the record of a formal deed of sale. Parallels from Babylonian sources make it probable that the deed was first written and signed, then executed in duplicate on the envelope or outer covering in which the original deed was enclosed, and then sealed in the presence of witnesses and deposited in safe custody. In this case the deed was placed in an earthen vessel, as was frequently the case with Babylonian and Assyrian deeds.

The "bill of divorcement" has been already referred to.

The Monarchy.—The founding of the monarchy marks so clearly the dividing line between the new Israel and the old that it is not surprising that widely differing views were taken as to its value. According to the old ideal Yahweh was the only King and the priests His highest earthly representatives. In times of national need a Judge would be raised up to rally and lead the armies. But when his special task was over there was no thought that his office was hereditary. When the kingship was offered to Gideon he replied, "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: Yahweh shall rule over you" (Jg. 8$_{22}$f.). From this standpoint the creation of the kingdom was regarded as an act of apostasy and a sinful imitation of heathen nations (1 S. 8ff.). On the other hand the king was regarded as "the Lord's anointed" and his person deemed sacrosanct and inviolate (1 S. 24$_{6,10}$). This latter view persists in the hopes that attached to the house of David (2 S. 7$_{12}$); in the prophetic pictures of the King-Messiah (Is. 9ff., Zech. 9$_{9}$, etc.); and in Pss. such as 2, 89$_{19}$ff., 110. On the other hand in Deutero-Isaiah's visions of the future there is no room for an earthly king; Yahweh is the only Saviour. Similarly in Ezek. 40–48 the secular head is the "Prince," whose prerogatives are strictly limited (45$_{7}$ff., 46$_{16}$ff.), his main duties being to make due provision for the sacrifices. The Prince is far removed from the earlier king. In the Priestly Code the high-priest is the supreme head of the community. Not till the reign of Simon the priest-king (143–135 B.C.) did these two streams of thought really unite, and even then the union was soon broken by the dissensions of the first century B.C.

The monarchy once established was regarded as hereditary, in strong contrast with the view taken of the Judges. Ishbosheth naturally succeeded his father Saul (2 S. 2$_{8}$f.). David was appointed king not so much by the free chcice of the people as from the belief that God had taken away the kingdom from Saul's house and bestowed it on David's. Two sons of David, Adonijah and Solomon, sought to succeed him. Later dynastic changes, dispossessing the ruling house, were brought about by prophetic influence, as by Abijah (1 K. 11$_{29}$ff.), and Elisha (2 K. 9$_{1}$ff.). Still the broken annals of Northern Israel show the force of the popular will. If the kingship was never elective it never was able to become completely despotic.

Of royal *revenues* we read nothing during the simple rule of Saul. Under David (2 S. 20$_{24}$) an officer is mentioned as over the labour-gangs (RV "tribute"), pointing to the system of forced labour universally employed in the East for public works. Solomon largely extended this system (1 K. 9$_{15}$ff.), and in addition divided the land into twelve administrative districts from which monthly supplies were exacted for the court. Besides the trade dues (p. 111), horses and chariots were Solomon's monopoly (1 K. 10$_{28}$ff.). The picture of kingly rule in 1 S. 8 speaks of crown lands (12,14; *cf.* 1 Ch. 27$_{25}$ff.), and of tithes both on produce and flocks (15,17). Under special stress Jehoiakim is said to have imposed a property tax (2 K. 23$_{35}$). Amos (7$_{1}$) speaks of "the king's mowings," probably a contribution in kind for the royal horses. The complaints of the people to Rehoboam (1 K. 12$_{4}$), show how bitterly the oppressive imposts and forced services were resented.

Around the king, from the time of David onwards, there grew up a group of state officials. The "*scribe*" was responsible for the royal correspondence, the keeping of records, and the preparation of state documents. The "*recorder*" or remembrancer was charged to bring important matters of state to the notice of the king. He may have represented the Grand Vizier of modern times. The officer "*over the household*" (1 K. 4$_{6}$), entrusted with the key of the palace (Is. 22$_{22}$), may be called High Chamberlain or Steward. The title of "*king's servant*" (2 K. 22$_{12}$) has been found on an ancient Hebrew seal, and may stand for a distinct office. The multiplication of these offices created a new aristocracy, diminishing the importance of the older heads of families, and so by severing the ruling classes from the soil accentuated the social distinctions. It also gave opportunity for the bribery and oppression so constantly stigmatised by the prophets. Thus the monarchy tended increasingly to repress the growth of the free life of the individual Israelite. Against this must be set the services which it rendered in enabling the nation to resist foreign invasion. At the same time the way in which the ambitions and disputes of successive kings involved Israel in world politics led in the long run to the overthrow of the State. The protests of Isaiah against the alliances with Assyria and Egypt (7, 31), show how the insight of the prophets perceived the consequences of such intrigues.

Military Service.—In ancient days every man be-

came a soldier on occasion, and the head of a family could muster his whole household as a fighting force (Gen. 14^{14}ff.). In the story of the Conquest of Canaan every tribesman took his place in the ranks. After the settlement and the dispersion of the tribes successive leaders rallied what forces they could to their standards; so Barak (Jg. 4^{10} ff.). In the days of Saul, after the deliverance of Jabesh-gilead, we find the first beginnings of a standing army. Three thousand men were selected as a permanent national guard, and stationed in positions especially open to Philistine attack (1 S. 13^{2}). We now read of military officers, amongst whom was David (1 S. 18^{13}). But every man capable of bearing arms was still counted as a soldier.

David, as king, carried the organisation further. His personal bodyguard of six hundred men, beginning from the company of refugees who had gathered round him at Adullam, was supplemented by a force of foreign mercenaries, "Cherethites and Pelethites" (2 S. 8^{18}), probably Cretans and Philistines. Joab now appears as holder of a new office, that of commander-in-chief (1 Ch. 11^{6}). The "Carites" in 2 K. 11^{4} are another body of mercenaries acting as the royal lifeguard, keeping the palace and the Temple. Still the old idea of a national militia was never abandoned and appears in P (Nu. 26^{1}f). Priests and Levites were exempted from military service (Nu. 2^{33}). The humane law of Dt. exempts from service in any particular campaign men newly married or betrothed, or those who were just entering into the possession of a new house or estate (Dt. 24^{5}, 20$^{5-8}$). It is probable that Am. 5^{3} refers to a system which grew up during the later monarchy, whereby each township was required to furnish its specified quota of men to the national army.

The forces were divided into light-armed and heavy-armed infantry. According to the Chronicler (1 Ch. 8^{40}, 12^{2}), the Benjamites were traditionally the picked troops amongst the former, armed with bows and slings (*cf.* Jg. 20^{16}). Amongst the latter the men of Judah, Gad, and Naphtali are specially named, armed with spear and shield (1 Ch. 12^{8,24,34}). Cavalry and war-chariots are named as forming part of the Egyptian army (Ex. 14^{6}ff.), also amongst the Canaanites (Jos. 17^{16}, etc.), and the Philistines (2 S. 1^{6}). The Israelites do not appear to have possessed them earlier than the days of Solomon (1 K. 9^{19}). Afterwards they formed a regular part of the Israelite army (1 K. 16^{9}, Is. 2^{7}, etc.). War was regarded in ancient times as a holy act, and Yahweh was "the God of the armies of Israel" (1 S.17^{45}); the wars of Israel were His wars (1 S. 25^{28}). Hence follows the practice of consulting the sacred oracle as to the direction of a campaign (1 S. 14^{37}, etc.). Similarly the use of the phrase "sanctify war" (Jer. 6^{4}, Jl. 3^{9}), and the stringent directions as to the purity of the camp (Dt. 23$^{10-12}$), reflect the same thought. The practice of the "ban" (p. 99, Dt. 2^{34}*, Jos. 6^{17}ff.*, Jg. 1^{17}*, 1 S. 15^{3}) wherein the whole of the spoil belonged to Yahweh and must be devoted as a sacrifice to Him, finds its explanation here. With the deepening of the ethical sense the feeling of the horrors of war was intensified. Ruthlessness in war is condemned by the prophets (Am. 1^{3,11,13}). The callousness of the war-lords of Assyria roused the indignation of Habakkuk. War was still regarded as Yahweh's instrument of punishment, but beyond the strife hope looked forward to the establishment of perpetual peace (Is. 9^{5}ff., 2^{4}, Ps. 46^{9}).

Literature.—Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*[2]; Whitehouse, *A Primer of Hebrew Antiquities*; Cruickshank, *The Bible in the Light of Antiquity*; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*[2]; Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*. Also many articles in EBi., HDB, HSDB.

WEIGHTS, MEASURES, MONEY, AND TIME

By Professor A. R. S. KENNEDY, D.D.

I. Measures of Length

Name.	Finger-breadth.	Hand-breadth.	Span.	Cubit.	Reed.	Value in Inches.
Finger-breadth	1	..	..	..	..	·733
Hand-breadth	4	1	..	..	..	2·93
Span . .	12	3	1	..	..	8·8
Cubit . .	24	6	2	1	..	17·6
Reed . .	144	36	12	6	1	105·6

Mankind's earliest measures of length were those of Nature's own providing—the finger, hand, foot, etc. Thus the widespread unit called the cubit is the length of the forearm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. It was reckoned by the ancients as one-fourth of a man's height, which again was equal to his "stretch" (see "fathom" below). In Dt. 311 this "natural" cubit is termed "the cubit of a man." Originally it was probably identical with the corresponding "natural" cubit of the Egyptians (*c.* 17·7 in.), and was divided into 6 hand-breadths or palms, each of 4 finger-breadths or digits.

Measurements of the remains of Herodian and pre-Herodian architecture in Jerusalem yield a cubit of 17·6 in. (for details see *Exp. Times*, xx. [1908–9], 24ff.), which is the value adopted in the table above. For rough calculations it may be reckoned at 1½ feet. This result is in close agreement with that obtained from the Siloam aqueduct, the length of which is given in the well-known inscription as, *in round numbers*, 1200 cubits. The actual measured length is approximately 1750 ft., or 1193 of the cubit of 17·6 in.

That the Jewish cubit in common use in NT times cannot have differed much from the corresponding Græco-Roman measure (*c.* 17½ in.) is evident from a comparison of Ac. 112 with Josephus, *Ant.* XIX, xvii. 6. In the former passage the distance of the Mount of Olives from Jerusalem is given as "a sabbath day's journey," which was 2000 Jewish cubits (*c.* 980 yds.), in the latter as 5 stadia (see below), each of 400 Greek cubits.

In addition to the "natural" cubit of 17·7 in. the Egyptians used the "royal" cubit of 20·63 in., which was $\frac{6}{7}$ths of the other. This cubit has hitherto been recognised in the so-called "cubit of Ezekiel," which, on the basis of Ezek. 405, 4313, is reckoned as containing seven handbreadths, say 20·53 in. This longer cubit again is usually identified with "the former measure" in terms of which the Temple of Solomon was built (2 Ch. 33). But there are textual and archæological difficulties in this, the generally accepted, view, and it is safer to abide meanwhile by the above results obtained from actual measurements. It is probable, however, that new measures, as well as new weights (see below), were introduced in the Persian period, and the Persian cubit of *c.* 20·7 in. may still have been in official use in the time of the Chronicler, *c.* 300 B.C. In this case the expression "former measure" would refer to the shorter "natural" cubit of Deuteronomy and the Siloam inscription.

In the NT "fathom" and "furlong" represent the Greek *orguia* (lit. "stretch") and the popular *stadion*, the former 6 and the latter 600 Greek ft., say 5 ft. 10 in. and 194 yds. respectively of our measures. The "mile" of Mt. 541 is the Roman *mille passuum*, or 1000 double paces, equal to 1618 yds.

II. Measures of Capacity

Name.	Log	Kab	Hin	Seah	Ephah-Bath.	Cor (homer)	Later Value in Pints.
Log . .	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Kab . .	4	1	..	..	..	..	4
Hin . .	12	..	1	..	..	..	12 (1½ galls.)
Seah . .	24	6	..	1	..	..	24 (1½ pecks)
Ephah .	72	18	..	3	1	..	72 (1⅛ bush.)
Bath . .	72	..	6	..	1	..	72 (9 galls.)
Cor (homer)	720	180	60	30	10	1	720 (11½ bush. 90 galls.)

The names and mutual relations of the Hebrew measures of capacity are known from the OT and later Jewish writings, but it is as yet impossible to offer more than an approximate estimate of their actual values in terms of our imperial measures. This is specially true of early times; for NT times we have the evidence of Josephus, who repeatedly gives the admittedly *only approximate* values of the Jewish measures in terms of the Græco-Roman measures of his day. In recent years finds of actual measures in Jerusalem have tended, in the main, to confirm the results thus obtained (see *Exp. Times*, xxiv. [1913], 293ff.), but it is almost certain that the measures were originally somewhat smaller—the larger ones considerably smaller—than is represented in the table.

Of the measures there entered the log, hin, and bath are in the OT exclusively liquid measures, while the kab, seah, ephah—the equivalent of the bath—and homer are exclusively dry measures. The cor, of the same value as the homer, is mostly used as a dry measure, but once as a measure of oil (Ezek. 4514). Traces are also found of a decimal system, of which the lowest member is the omer, defined as "the tenth part of the ephah" (Ex. 1636), *i.e.* *c.* 7⅓ pints, the ephah in turn being $\frac{1}{10}$ of the homer (Ezek. *l.c.*).

The values in the table are those derived from Josephus, who bases his equations on the identity of the Hebrew unit, the log, with the *xestes* of the Attic, and the *sextarius* of the Roman measures. As the estimated values of these vary from 0·96 to 1·009 of a pint, the log of NT times may for all practical purposes be reckoned as the equivalent of our pint, consequently the seah, the "measure" of the parable (Mt. 1333,

Lk. 13$_{21}$), as 1½ pecks, and the ephah as roughly our imperial bushel, while its liquid counterpart, the bath, may be set down as 9 gallons, the approximate value also of the Greek *metretes*, the "firkin" of Jn. 2$_6$.

III. Weights

The weights used by the Hebrews were mostly of some hard polished stone, such as hæmatite or quartzite, and were of three denominations, the shekel, the mina, and the talent. The mina contained 50 shekels, and the talent 60 minas or 3000 shekels. This arrangement is of Babylonian origin, as are the names shekel (Bab. *shiḳlu*) and mina (Heb. *maneh*, Bab. *manû*). In Babylonia, however, 60 shekels went to the ordinary trade mina, which originally weighed about 15,160 grains (2½ lb. avoir; nearly) on the so-called "heavy" standard, and half that amount on the "light" standard, with corresponding shekels of 252 and 126 grains respectively. The excavation of numerous sites in Palestine has brought to light hundreds of weights belonging to a variety of systems. One of the oldest is attested by a series of small weights, doubtless used in weighing the precious metals, with inscriptions in old Hebrew letters. The shekel or unit weighed about 160 grs., and it is very probable that the Egyptian tribute of the vassal-states of Syria and Palestine was paid on this standard (HDB iv. 904f.).

The standard in general use, however, among the Hebrews, from the earliest to the latest times, was that known as the Phœnician. Its shekel is reckoned at 224 grs., but the average weight of the existing coins is nearer 218 grs., the weight of a British half-crown. It is "the shekel of the sanctuary" (more correctly "the sacred shekel") of the Pentateuch, by which gold, silver, and apparently all merchandise were to be weighed (Lev. 27$_{25}$).[1] The values of these denominations are shown in the following table:

THE HEBREW-PHŒNICIAN WEIGHT SYSTEM

Name.	Shekel.	Mina.	Talent.	Value. (*a*) In Grains.	Value. (*b*) Avoird. Weight.
Shekel .	1	..	..	224	½ oz. nearly
Mina .	50	1	..	11,200	1⅔ lb.
Talent .	3,000	60	1	672,000	96 lb.

In NT times this system was adjusted to the Roman official system in such a way that the old Hebrew shekel—now termed *sela*, and reduced to 210 grs.—was reckoned to contain 4 drachms or denarius weights (*zûzim*), while the light mina of 50 light "shekels" (half the original shekel or *sela*) was equated with the Roman *libra* or pound of 5053 grs. (Jn. 12$_3$, 19$_{39}$). The original (heavy) talent, now *c.* 631,560 grs. and equal to two light talents, weighed exactly 12,000 denarius-drachms and 125 Roman pounds (see further under "Money" below).

To what extent the Babylonian weight-standard was in use in Palestine cannot be ascertained. The current view that the Hebrew gold shekel was the Babylonian shekel of 252 grs. is based on a misinterpretation of a passage of Josephus (see below). In a slightly modified form, however, the Babylonian standard was in official use in the early post-exilic period, while Palestine formed part of the Persian empire. In the late gloss 2 S. 14$_{26}$, the "200 shekels after the king's weight" are Babylono-Persian shekels of 126–130 grs.

When the Jews passed under the rule of the Seleucid kings of Syria, the Attic weight-system, based on a drachm of originally 67 grs., came into use (see below). The Attic commercial standard, best known as the Æginetan, with a drachm of originally 100 grs., more or less, was probably in use in Palestine throughout the whole historical period. Specimens of inscribed weights on all these standards have recently come to light (see *Exp. Times*, xxiv. [Aug. and Sept., 1913]).

IV. Money

All money transactions in the pre-exilic period were carried through by means of the balance, coined money being unknown until the Persian period. Silver was the ordinary medium of exchange. By what standard or standards it was weighed in earlier times cannot be affirmed with certainty, but the probability is all in favour of the Phœnician standard set forth above. The standard for transactions in gold is even more uncertain.[1] The Priests' Code certainly demands the standard of the "sacred" or Phœnician shekel for gold as for silver (Lev. 27$_{25}$). On the assumption that the gold shekel was reckoned for convenience as worth 14 silver shekels of the same weight we get the following *approximate* values:

Denomination.	Silver. £	s.	d.	Gold. £	s.	d.
1 Shekel (220–224 grains) . .	0	2	9	1	18	6
1 Mina (50 shekels) . . .	6	17	6	96	5	0
1 Talent (60 minas) . . .	412	10	0	5,775	0	0

The first coins to circulate in Palestine were: (*a*) the light gold shekel, or daric, of Darius Hystaspis, weighing 130 grs., and therefore worth rather more than 21 shillings, and (*b*) the silver half-shekel of 86–87 grs., in value $\frac{1}{20}$ of the daric. Although termed by Greek writers a *siglos*, this silver coin was really half of the true Persian silver shekel of 173·3 grs. (Neh. 5$_{15}$), 50 of which went to the mina. The latter is the "pound"—more nearly 1¼ lb. avoir.—of the entries in Ezr. 2$_{69}$, Neh. 7$_{71}$f.

Alongside of the Persian coinage the contemporary silver shekels or tetradrachms (*c.* 220 grs.) of the Phœnician cities, of Tyre especially, were also from this time onwards, until the first century of our era, in circulation among the Jews. Under the Ptolemies Egyptian money circulated freely since it was also on the Phœnician standard. In passing under the rule of the Seleucids (198 B.C.), the Jews became familiar with their silver currency on the Attic standard, based on the drachm, which at this period weighed *c.* 63 grs., and was worth about 10*d.*; 100 drachms went to the mina, and 6000 to the silver talent (*c.* £250). The numerous sums of money in the two books of Maccabees are to be calculated on this basis. From Josephus' account of the revenues of Herod, and similar entries, it appears that a silver talent of the concurrent

[1] The "gerah" of this passage is the equivalent of the Greek obol, ⅙ of the drachm.

[1] The view hitherto current (see HDB iii. 419, EBi iv. col. 4444), based on Josephus, *Ant.* XIV. vii. 1, that the Hebrew gold shekel was identical with the heavy Babylonian shekel of 252 grs., must, in the writer's opinion, be given up. The gold mina which Josephus here represents as equal to 2½ Roman pounds is the mina of the syncretic weight system of his day, as explained above, according to which the talent was equal to 125 Roman pounds (see further below).

Phœnician issues was reckoned as the equivalent of 10,000 Seleucid-Attic drachms.

Under Simon Maccabæus the Jews first began to coin copper money, for the so-called "Maccabæan" silver shekels really belong to the years of the first revolt against the Romans (A.D. 66–70). This copper coinage was continued by the Hasmonean princes, by the Herods, and by the Roman procurators (see Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, "Coins of Palestine").

The coins circulating in Palestine in NT times were of several denominations and of varied provenance. The only gold coin was the *aureus* of the Roman emperors, at this time practically equivalent to our sovereign. It was equal to 25 of the popular silver coin, the *denarius*, the "penny" of our versions (Mt. 20_2, 22_{19}, etc.) and worth about $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ In ordinary usage it was accepted as the equivalent of the drachm (Lk. 15_8, "piece of money," Ac. 19_{19}). From Tyre came shekels, or tetradrachms, on the old standard, by which alone, as the "sacred" shekel, the Temple dues could be paid, and of which 30 "pieces" were the price of our Lord's betrayal (*cf.* Mt. 17_{24-27}).

Of copper coins we find in the gospels (*a*) the *assarion* (Mt. 10_{29}, Lk. 12_6), worth about $\frac{3}{4}d.$, (*b*) the *kodrantes*, the Roman *quadrans* (Mt. 5_{26}), worth about $\frac{1}{8}d.$—both are rendered "farthing" in our versions—and (*c*) the *lepton*, the widow's "mite" (Mk. 12_{42}, Lk. 21_2), worth about $\frac{1}{16}d.$

In the gospels, finally, we have mention of larger sums of money, the pound or mina (Lk. 19_{13}ff.) and the talent (Mt. 18_{24}). The mina was now the equivalent of 100 denarii, or 4 aurei, say £4 sterling. The silver talent of 60 minas, or 6000 denarii, on the same light standard, would thus represent £240 (so RVm., Mt. 18_{24}). Josephus, however, as we have seen, reckons with a talent, on the heavy standard, of 10,000 Seleucid-Attic drachms, equivalent to 12,000 of the lowered denarius-drachms of his day, which represent a sum of nearly £480. The value, at the British mint price, of the corresponding gold talent, taken as equal to 125 Roman pounds (see above), works out at £5124. In all such equations of ancient money with our own it must be remembered that the *real* value of all the denominations, *as tested by their purchasing power* in the particular period under review, was several times greater than their *nominal* value as expressed in pounds, shillings, and pence. In our Lord's day a denarius ($9\frac{1}{2}d.$) was the wage of an agricultural labourer (Mt. 20_2ff.), who to-day commands four to six times as much.

V. Divisions of Time. The Jewish Calendar

The sun and the moon are the universal time measures, and were recognised as such by the Hebrews (Gen. 1_{14}). The measures thus provided are primarily the day, the month, and the year.

1. The Day.—The day was the smallest definite measure of time in OT times, and was reckoned from sunset to sunset, a survival of the once predominant position of the moon among the Semites. The length of the day in Palestine, in the sense of the period of daylight, varied with the seasons, ranging from about $14\frac{1}{2}$ hours at the summer to $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours at the winter solstice. In this sense the day was properly divided into three parts: morning, noontide, and evening. The night was similarly but more exactly divided into three watches, a term of military origin (*cf.* Jg. 7_{19}, "the middle watch"). In NT times the Roman division into four watches began to be introduced (see Mk. 13_{35}).

The division of the day into hours, numbered from sunrise, is also first met with in the NT. The hour was not a fixed quantity, but the twelfth part (Jn. 11_9) of the period of daylight, varying, therefore, with the season from 70 to 50 minutes.

2. The Month and the Week.—The Hebrew months were true lunar months or "moons," and began with the day at the beginning of which, soon after sunset, the new moon was first observed. The length of a lunation being 29 days, 12 hours and some minutes, the interval between one observation and another was in some months 29 days, in others 30. By what method and by what authority the beginning of each month was determined in the pre-exilic period is unknown. In the first centuries of our era, however, and doubtless for some centuries previously, elaborate arrangements were made by the Sanhedrin for hearing and testing the witnesses claiming to have seen the new moon on the expiry of the 29th day. If it had not been seen on this, the evening and beginning of the 30th day, the following day was declared to be the first of the new month, since it was well known that no lunation period could exceed 30 days.

In the OT the months are indicated in three ways: (*a*) By the old Canaanite names (known also from Phœnician inscriptions), of which, however, only four have been preserved in the OT. These are Abib, lit. the month of "ripening ears"—the Passover month corresponding to Nisan of the later nomenclature (Ex. 13_4, Dt. 16_1, etc.)—Ziv (1 K. $6_{1,37}$), Ethanim (*ib.* 8₂), and Bul (*ib.* 6₃₈). (*b*) By numbers, the first, second, month, etc., beginning in spring with Nisan. (*c*) By adaptations of the Babylonian names, which appear in writings subsequent to the Exile (*e.g.* Neh. 1_1, 2_1, Est. 3₇, 8₉, Zech. 7_1). The following table gives these names as found in later Jewish writings, with the corresponding months of our calendar, beginning with the first month of the Babylonian year. The older Canaanite name is added in parentheses.

The Names of the Months of the Jewish Year

1. Nisan (Abib)	corresponding to	March–April
2. Iyyar (Ziv)	,,	April–May
3. Sivan	,,	May–June
4. Tammuz	,,	June–July
5. Ab	,,	July–Aug.
6. Elul	,,	Aug.–Sept.
7. Tishri (Ethanim)	,,	Sept.–Oct.
8. Marcheshvan (Bul)	,,	Oct.–Nov.
9. Kislev	,,	Nov.–Dec.
10. Tebeth	,,	Dec.–Jan.
11. Shebat	,,	Jan.–Feb.
12. Adar	,,	Feb.–March

The intercalary month was named Adar II, and always contained 29 days.

The origin of the week of seven days is still obscure. Probably it originated in a division of the month corresponding to the four phases of the moon (see on Sabbath, pp. 101f.). However this may be, from the earliest period of which we have record the week had already, among the Hebrews, become a measure of time independent alike of the month and of the year. The days of the week were known only by numbers with the exception of the seventh or Sabbath; from the Greek period onwards, however, the sixth day began to be known as "the eve of the Sabbath" (Judith 8₆ and more definitely Mk. 15_{42}, RV "the Preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath").

3. The Year.—The Jewish year is known as a lunisolar year from the fact that while, as we have

seen, the months were lunar months, these were periodically adjusted to the solar year. Whatever may have been the nature of the Hebrew year before the emergence in history of the Hebrew tribes, it is certain that, from the early monarchy onwards, the necessity for securing that each of the three agricultural festivals should fall at the appropriate season compelled the adoption of some means of adjusting the lunar months to the solar year. How this was done under the monarchy is unknown. When evidence becomes available—the earliest is found in the recently discovered Jewish papyri of the fifth century B.C. from Elephantine—it is seen that its adjustment proceeded on purely empirical lines. When, in the course of the month preceding Abib or Nisan of a particular year, it became apparent that the barley harvest would not be ripe by the middle of the following month (see on Feast of Unleavened Bread, pp. 102f.), an additional month was added to the year. The Passover month then began with the second following new moon. Each year, it appears, was considered, so to say, on its own merits, as opposed to the later system of intercalation, at fixed intervals, of three months in eight years, or, as in the official Jewish calendar of the present day, of seven months in nineteen years.[1] Assuming that "full" months of 30 days may have varied in number from four to eight, the length of the year will have varied from 352–356 days in ordinary years—the normal number of a "lunar year" being 354 as in the Moslem calendar—to 381–385 days in years of thirteen months.

There is a decided cleavage of opinion as to whether the Hebrew year began in spring on the first of Abib (Nisan), as did the Babylonian year, or in autumn with the month Tishri. Among an agricultural people, the cycle of whose farm operations began with the late autumn rains, the latter alternative is the more probable. This is also the *primâ facie* inference from the wording of the earliest legislation, according to which the autumn Feast of Ingathering (or Booths) fell "at the end of the year" (Ex. 23$_{16}$, 34$_{22}$). Before the fall of the monarchy, however, probably under the influence of Babylonia, it had become customary to begin the New Year in spring (Jer. 36$_{22}$*). It is also possible that both reckonings existed side by side from an earlier period. In any case the developed festival legislation of the Priests' Code reckons the Passover month (Abib-Nisan) as "the beginning of months" (Ex. 12$_2$ and *passim*). The presumably earlier method, however, persisted, and indeed still persists, in the official Jewish calendar of to-day.

Under the monarchy events were dated by the regnal years of the sovereign, or by some outstanding incident (see Am. 1$_1$). In the Greek period we first meet with a real era, that known as the Seleucidan era, which began in October 312 B.C. The author of 1 Mac., however, is believed to calculate his dates from the spring of 311 B.C.

Literature.—I.–III. Weights and Measures.—F. Hultsch, *Griechische und Römische Metrologie*, 2nd ed. 1882 (standard work on this subject, but now antiquated in parts); W. M. Flinders Petrie, "Weights and Measures" in EB [11]; H. Nissen, "Griechische u. Römische Metrologie," in Ivan Müller's *Handbuch d. Altertumswissenschaft* [2]; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Das altbabylon. Maas- und Gewichtssystem*, 1893, also "Die hebräischen Masse" in *Klio* xvi. [1914], 345ff.; G. F. Hill, "Weights and Measures" in EBi; A. R. S. Kennedy, corresponding article in HDB, also "Inscribed Weights from Palestine," ET, xxiv. [Aug.–Sept. 1913], and "Hebrew Weights and Measures," *Journ. of Transns. of the Victoria Institute*, xlvii. [1915].

IV. Money.—F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881, now largely superseded by G. F. Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins of Palestine*, 1914 (indispensable); Th. Reinach, *Jewish Coins* (Engl. Transl., 1903); A. R. S. Kennedy, "Money," in HDB, iii. 417–432; E. Rogers, *A Handy Guide to Jewish Coins*, 1914.

V. Time.—F. K. Ginzler, *Handbuch der mathemat. u. technischen Chronologie*, vol. ii., "Zeitrechnung der Juden," pp. 1–119 (includes four pages of bibliography); E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes* [3], vol. i. 745ff. "Grundzüge des jüd. Kalenders," also for Assuan Papyri, *Theol. Litztg.*, 1907, col. 65–69; "Calendar," "New Moon," &c., in *Jewish Enc.*; Abrahams, "Time" in HDB, iv. 762ff.; W. M. Ramsay, "Numbers, Hours, Years," in HDB, v. 473ff.; E. König, "Kalenderfragen," etc., *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 60 (1906), 605ff.

Cf. for each section the relative parts of the standard works on Hebrew Archæology by Nowack and Benzinger.

[1] The present practice is to intercalate a thirteenth month in years 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, and 19 of the cycle. In NT times it was already a rule that the Passover must always fall *after* the spring equinox.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By THE EDITOR

The subject is full of difficulties. The Biblical data taken by themselves provide no satisfactory chronology, and a comparison with non-Biblical chronologies proves that at many points the Hebrew statements need rectification. The OT records are often vague and indefinite. In the earlier books the king of Egypt is referred to simply as the Pharaoh, without any indication which Pharaoh is intended. There is accordingly much dispute as to the identity of the Pharaoh of the Oppression and the Pharaoh of the Exodus. They are also inconsistent. Thus in the case of the two kingdoms, the period assigned to the kings of Israel from the death of Solomon to the destruction of Samaria is about eighteen and a half years less than that assigned to the kings of Judah within the same limits. The equalisation of the two by the interpolation of interregna in the former is arbitrary and conjectural, with no shred of evidence to support it The figures also seem in some instances to have been artificially constructed; *e.g.* 40 and its multiples play a considerable part. At various points they involve serious improbabilities, not to say impossibilities. The most obvious case is the extraordinary length of life ascribed to the antediluvians (Gen. 5), and in a somewhat less degree their successors (Gen. 11 10–32). But other examples are to be found in the patriarchal history (p. 163). So far as Gen. 5, 11 10–32 are concerned, we have also to reckon with the serious discrepancies between MT, Sam., and LXX.

When we take non-Biblical sources into account, the deficiencies of the OT chronology become still more patent. The Assyrian records in particular are singularly exact, presenting a striking contrast to the OT. They show that the statements as to the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel need serious revision. Several dates are definitely fixed by them, the earliest being the battle of Karkar in 854 B.C., at which Ahab is said to have been present. Unfortunately the earlier chronology of Egypt and Babylonia is still much in doubt.

An advanced civilisation had been reached by the time at which the OT places the Creation of Man. It is futile to attempt any determination of dates till we come to Abraham, and even here any result must be very uncertain. According to the Biblical data 645 years elapsed between the Call of Abraham and the Exodus. If we fix the Exodus about 1230 B.C., in the reign of Merenptah II, we should get 1875 B.C. for the Call of Abraham. According to Gen. 14 Abraham was a contemporary of Amraphel. If we can rely on this synchronism, which is very precarious (p. 133), and if Amraphel is to be identified with Hammurabi, which is by no means certain, and if we fix Hammurabi's reign as 2123–2081 B.C., then Abraham would be in Canaan about 2100 B.C., and the period from his Call to Merenptah would be much more than 645 years. We might ease the difficulty by shifting the Exodus back, or possibly by coming down to a lower date for Hammurabi, or by abandoning the synchronism of Gen. 14. If, however, we recognise the uncertainty which attaches to the period of 645 years and to the narrative in Gen. 14, we shall be forced to conclude that, even if the historicity of Abraham is accepted, no certainty can be felt with reference to his date.

The date of the Exodus has also been much contested. It must suffice to say here that the usual view that it fell in the Nineteenth Dynasty (1328–1202), in the reign of Merenptah II (1234–1214), still seems the most probable. It appears to have taken place about 1230 B.C. The Pharaoh of the Oppression would be Rameses II. It is quite uncertain how long the residence of the Hebrews in Egypt lasted.

No definite conclusions are possible as to the period from the Exodus to Saul, beyond the general statement that, assuming *c.* 1230 as the date of the Exodus, the period lasted about two hundred years. The scheme in Jg. has been artificially constructed, and we must beware of supposing that the twelve judges stood in lineal succession, with intervals of national apostasy and oppression. For the most part their sphere was restricted, and two or more judges may have flourished contemporaneously. No attempt, accordingly, is here made to assign dates.

For the period of the monarchy we are much better informed, and the Assyrian records are often available to correct the OT figures. Even here, however, there is a margin of uncertainty. A good deal of discussion has centred about the narratives of the return under Cyrus, and the work of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The opinion of scholars is divided on many points, and the following table must be regarded as often conjectural. Reference should be made further to the Introductions to the Commentaries on Ezra and Nehemiah, and Daniel, and to the articles on *The History of Israel*, *The Nations Contemporary with Israel*, *The Historical Books of the OT*, and *Jewish History from the Maccabees to the Destruction of Jerusalem*.

Hebrew History.	History of Other Peoples.
B.C.	
	2123–2081. Hammurabi king of Babylonia.
	1300–1234. Rameses II king of Egypt.
	1234–1214. Merenptah II, king of Egypt.
c. 1230. The Exodus from Egypt.	
1025. Saul.	

Hebrew History.			History of Other Peoples.
B.C.			
1010.	David.		
970.	Solomon.		
	Judah.	*Israel.*	
933.	Rehoboam.	Jeroboam I.	929. Sheshonq invades Judah.
916.	Abijam.		
914.	Asa.		
912.		Nadab.	
911.		Baasha.	
888.		Elah.	
887.		Zimri.	
887.		Omri.	
876.		Ahab.	
873.	Jehoshaphat.		860–825. Shalmaneser II king of Assyria.
854.		Ahaziah.	854. Battle of Karkar.
853.		Jehoram.	
849.	Jehoram.		
842.	Ahaziah.		
842.	Athaliah.	Jehu.	Jehu tributary to Assyria.
836.	Jehoash.		
814.		Jehoahaz.	
798.		Jehoash.	
797.	Amaziah.		
783.		Jeroboam II.	
779.	Uzziah.		
750.	Jotham regent.		745–727. Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria.
743.		Zechariah.	
743.		Shallum.	
743.		Menahem.	738. Menahem tributary to Assyria.
740.	Jotham.		
737.		Pekahiah.	
736.	Ahaz.	Pekah.	
730.		Hoshea.	
727.	Hezekiah.		727–722. Shalmaneser IV king of Assyria.
722.		Fall of Samaria.	722–705. Sargon, king of Assyria.
			705–681. Sennacherib king of Assyria.
698.	Manasseh.		681–668. Esarhaddon king of Assyria.
			668–626. Asshurbanipal king of Assyria.
643.	Amon.		
640.	Josiah.		625. Nabopolassar founds New Babylonian kingdom.

Hebrew History.		History of Other Peoples.
B.C.		
608.	Jehoahaz.	610. Necho king of Egypt.
608.	Jehoiakim.	607. Fall of Assyrian Empire.
		605. Nebuchadnezzar defeats Egypt at Carchemish.
597.	Jehoiachin.	604–561. Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon.
597.	Zedekiah.	594. Psammetichus II king of Egypt.
586.	Destruction of Jerusalem and Exile to Babylon.	589. Apries king of Egypt.
538.	Edict of Cyrus.	
516.	Dedication of Second Temple.	For dates of Babylonian and Persian kings and dynasties of Seleucids and Ptolemies, see pp. 523f. For fuller chronology of the period covered by Ezra–Nehemiah, see p. 323.
458.	Return under Ezra.	
445.	Nehemiah's first visit to Jerusalem.	
444.	Public reading and acceptance of the Law.	
432.	Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem.	
332.	Submission of the Jews to Alexander the Great.	
320.	Palestine under the Ptolemies (pp. 62, 79f., 524).	
198.	Antiochus III of Syria (pp. 62, 524) conquers Palestine.	
168.	Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) attempts to suppress the Jewish religion.	
167.	The Jews revolt, led by the Maccabees.	
165.	Jerusalem recaptured and Temple worship restored.	
160.	Death of Judas Maccabæus.	
160–142.	Jonathan.	
142–135.	Simon Maccabæus.	
142.	Jews gain independence of Syria.	
135–105.	John Hyrcanus.	
105–104.	Aristobulus I.	
104–78.	Alexander Jannæus.	
78–69.	Salome.	
69.	Aristobulus II.	
65.	Pompey captures Jerusalem, Palestine becomes Roman province.	
40–37.	Antigonus.	
37–4.	Herod the Great.	

INTRODUCTION TO THE PENTATEUCH

By Dr. J. ESTLIN CARPENTER

The OT opens with five books which our English Bible designates "books of Moses."[1] The titles which they now bear—like *Genesis* or "origin," *Exodus* or "departure"—are derived ultimately from the Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures. The books were known in the synagogue by their first words: thus Genesis was entitled *Bᵉrêshith*, "In the beginning." Taken together they formed the "Five-fifths of the *Torah*," or Law. The Greek name *Pentateuch* expressed this "five-volume" arrangement. As the Book of Joshua continues the story of the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan after the death of Moses, and has been compiled out of documents continuous with those employed in the preceding books, it forms a natural sequel to them, and the term *Hexateuch*, "six-volume," has been coined to indicate their literary and historic unity. In the Jewish arrangement the Book of Joshua is reckoned in the second division of the Canon; it stands at the head of the great group of histories—Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—which were classed as "the Former Prophets," followed by Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and "the Twelve" (Hosea to Malachi), known as "the Latter Prophets" (pp. 37f.). At what time the books of the Law were divided as they have descended to us is not known with certainty. The Pentateuch is the result of a long historical process, the last stage of which begins with the labours of Ezra in the fifth century B.C. There is good reason to think that the inclusion of Joshua in the Canon of the prophetic writings was not effected for two centuries later.[2]

The Hebrew term *Torah* was not confined to positive commands or legal ordinances. In its broad sense it denoted "teaching," such as parents might give to their children, or wise men to the young who were entering life. It was applied to the instruction imparted by prophets, and the directions with which priests settled difficult disputes. Sometimes it widens out to include the whole field of what we might call Revelation; in other contexts it is the title of a special collection of precepts. As the general name of the first five books of our Bible it included history as well as legislation: it summed up the ancient faith of Israel in the Divine purpose of the creation of the world, the making of man, and the preparation of the chosen people to be the organs of truth and righteousness for the nations of the earth. And as Moses had been the founder of Israel's religious institutions, the books which recorded the sacred traditions, and the collections of laws established upon them, came to be associated with his name; and in citing "the Law of Moses" the Chronicler probably refers to our Pentateuch and implies his authorship. But the Chronicles are among the latest works in the OT. They belong to the Greek age (p. 315), and thus the earliest external testimony to Moses as the writer of the Pentateuch only meets us not much less than a thousand years after the Exodus. It was the belief of the rabbis; it was the boast of the historian Josephus in Palestine; it was the assumption of the cultivated Jew of Alexandria, Philo; and it passed into the Christian Church as the accepted basis of the entire history of revelation.

But the books themselves contain no such statement. Genesis and Leviticus tell us nothing of their authors. Exodus briefly refers certain passages to Moses (17¹⁴, 24₄, 34²⁷⁻²⁸). Numbers only attributes to him a list of the stages of the Israelite march (33₂). Two accounts are given in Deuteronomy of the writing of "this law" (31₉₋₁₃ and ₂₄₋₂₆), which is then committed to the custody of the Levites. The Law thus said to have been recorded is clearly limited (4₄₄) to "the testimonies, the statutes, and the judgments" assigned to the last year of Moses' life in the land of Moab. These "statutes and judgments" apparently begin in 12₁ and reach a solemn conclusion in 26₁₆₋₁₉. The value of these ascriptions must be tested by such evidence as history subsequently may provide. The fact that they apply only to certain parts of the books is in itself a warning against crediting Moses with the whole.

For more than a thousand years after our era the tradition of Mosaic authorship was not seriously questioned, though some obscure sects here and there raised a doubt on grounds of doctrine or usage. The famous Spanish Rabbi Ibn Ezra (A.D. 1088–1167) was the first to hint in veiled language at the existence of passages belonging to a later age. The immense intellectual energy of the Renaissance did not neglect the Scriptures. In 1520 Carlstadt, who had started in 1516 on the same path of reform as Luther, pointed out that the style of narrative after the death of Moses in the Book of Joshua remained unchanged, and it was therefore possible that Moses was not the author of the five books ascribed to him. Luther, who felt himself in no way bound by the Church tradition about Scripture, asked what it mattered if Moses had not himself written the Pentateuch. The new learning brought various critics, both Catholic and Protestant, into the field, and in the seventeenth century Thomas Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (1651), and Spinoza in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1671), pointed to numerous indications of post-Mosaic authorship and chronological embarrassment. Neither theologian nor philosopher, however, had as yet hit upon any clue by which the contents of the Pentateuch could be analysed into their constituent parts. In 1685 a Dutch scholar, Jean le Clerc, made the important observation that the term "prophet" applied to

[1] This description came into England through Tyndale's version of the Pentateuch, and was probably derived from Luther's translation, which did not employ any other than numerical titles, "First Book of Moses," and so on to the Fifth.

[2] As the Book of Joshua will receive separate notice, this Introduction is limited to the Pentateuch.

Abraham in Gen. 20^{7} did not come into use till the time of Samuel (1 S. 9^{9}). He inferred, therefore, that the Pentateuch could not have assumed its present form till the time of the monarchy, and suggested that it had been compiled from various documents, some of which might have been written even before Moses, though only fragments had been preserved. The problem was how to distinguish such different sources. Two generations passed before a clue was supplied. At length a French physician, Jean Astruc of Montpelier, Catholic by religion though of Huguenot origin, published anonymously at Brussels a little book of *Conjectures on the Original Documents which Moses appears to have employed for the Composition of the Book of Genesis*. He noticed that in different narratives the Deity was designated by different names. In some passages He was called *Elohim* (God), in others YHWH (the four letters of the sacred name originally pronounced *Yahweh*, represented in our English version by "the LORD," the equivalent of the Hebrew word read in its place and anglicised, through the application of the vowels of the Hebrew title to the original consonants, in the form *Jehovah*). On this basis he distributed the contents of Genesis into two main documents, an Elohim narrative A and a Yahweh story B, which ran through the entire book. To the Elohim source, for example, he assigned the stately account of the creation (1–2^{3}), followed by the genealogy in 5; its counterpart in 2^{4}–4 opened the Yahweh document. The story of the Flood was compiled from the two narratives, and its inconsistencies were at once explained. If in 6^{19} Elohim commanded Noah to take one pair of each kind of animal into the ark, while in 7^{2} Yahweh enjoined Noah to distinguish between the clean and the unclean, it was clear that two independent versions had been combined. In the patriarchal stories there were episodes that seemed to fit into neither of these two great groups. The invasion of the Jordan valley by Chedorlaomer and his allies in 14, the attack on Shechem in consequence of the violation of Dinah in 34, the Edomite lists in 36, with some shorter passages (ten in all), were referred to separate sources. Astruc did not carry his investigations beyond the first two chapters of Exodus. By this limitation he missed the real key to the diversity which he had so acutely noticed. His results were consequently incomplete. Later scholars were to lay broad and deep the foundations of OT study, but the initial inquiry into the composition of the Pentateuch owes most to Astruc.

It is not necessary to recite the successive critical steps by which the modern position has been reached, but a few words may be said concerning the method of composition, of which the Pentateuch presents so conspicuous an example. The later books of Israel's national history show similar traces of compilation. Thus Jg. 1^{10b}–15 reproduces Jos. 15^{14}–19 in a different context. There are two accounts of the origin of the monarchy in 1 S.; there are in the same way different versions of the rejection of Saul. David is first introduced as a lad, too young to be summoned to the family sacrifice (1 S. 16^{11}), but in the same chapter he is already (18) a "mighty man of valour and a man of war." Plainly these descriptions are drawn from separate sources, and the compiler saw no difficulty in putting them in immediate succession. Sometimes such extracts might be altered, or expanded, or curtailed. The purpose of the writer was always moral; he chose what seemed fittest to convey his ideas, and he adapted his materials to suit his own conceptions of religious truth. Of this practice a conspicuous illustration is afforded in the Books of Chronicles compared with the earlier Books of Kings. They tell the story of David and his successors in the monarchy at Jerusalem in the light of the faith and practice of the Greek age to which the author belonged. The forms of worship which he knew were of time-honoured antiquity. He supposed them to have been observed by the pious kings of the past; and he depicted David and Hezekiah as types of the devout observance of his own time. Statements of the older books are transferred to his own pages, sometimes in long passages word for word, sometimes with important modifications or additions. In this way later works are built up on earlier, and the examination of other literatures shows that this practice was not confined to Israel. "When we compare the Arabic historians with one another," says Prof. A. A. Bevan,[1] "we find that they differ precisely as the Book of Chronicles differs from Samuel and Kings. Sometimes the same passage, extending over several pages, appears in two or more authors, but in such cases we almost universally find a certain number of variants. At other times, particularly in the later Arabic historians, we come upon what may be called patchwork narratives, consisting of short passages borrowed (with or without modification) from older works and fitted together by the compiler, who, of course, usually intersperses remarks of his own." Similar methods may be observed in the literature of India, for example in the successive narratives of the early life of Gotama the Buddha, while the development of numerous works of sacred law presents corresponding features. The study of the first three Gospels shows that like methods were adopted by the primitive Evangelists (pp. 672–678). Large portions of *Mark* are reproduced in *Luke*; very nearly the whole is represented in *Matthew*. But Luke and Matthew have both employed an additional source, which, however, they treat in their own way, sometimes preserving its very words with care, sometimes transposing, modifying, omitting, adding, creating fresh connexions and imparting new meanings. Various materials may thus be welded into a single whole. Of this process a remarkable instance is afforded in the early Christian Church by the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. Born in the East, probably beyond the Tigris, and educated in the Greek learning, he was converted to Christianity and went to Rome. There he was a pupil of Justin some time before A.D. 152, and thence he returned at a later date to the East. For the use of the churches he drew up a kind of harmony of the Gospels, which gained the name *Diatessaron*, "by Four," and was widely employed instead of the "separate" books. In a general sense its literary foundation was the Fourth Gospel, from which its opening and closing passages were taken. But the attempt to combine the different materials led inevitably to transpositions and amalgamations, which sometimes left incongruities unconcealed. From such a product the sections belonging to the Fourth Gospel could be eliminated with little difficulty. But no analysis of the rest could reach more than tentative results. In this case, however, we possess the "separate" Gospels independently, and can trace the use which has been made of each. In dealing with the Pentateuch that aid fails us. On the other hand, the grounds for resolving it into definite groups of narrative and law are far more numerous and decisive. The modern view, which distributes it into four main

[1] "Historical Methods in the OT" in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, 1909, p. 13.

documents, presents it, in fact, as the Diatessaron of the OT.

It is sometimes supposed that this distribution depends exclusively upon the use of different words, notably on the varying occurrence of the two Divine names to which Astruc was the first to call attention. Thus the distinguished Egyptologist, M. Edouard Naville, writes of "the philological analysis on which rests entirely the theory of the various documents of the Pentateuch."[1] Such an assertion entirely overlooks the large mass of evidence of other kinds, which constitutes the real foundation of the whole argument. It cannot be too often repeated that the primary considerations are not linguistic at all. They arise out of inconsistencies in statements of fact; they are based on divergencies in the presentation of the events and institutions belonging to the Mosaic age; they are concerned with incongruities in legislation which cannot be referred to one single hand. It is quite true that these differences, when they are compared together, are seen to be accompanied by varieties of expression, which tend in their turn to fall into groups. Certain leading ideas are couched again and again in recurring formulæ. And in passages which may for other reasons be suspected as composite, the usage of words may become a valuable aid in analysis. But it must always be remembered that the elemental grounds of the resolution of the Pentateuch into its four main constituents do not lie in language; they are to be found in the diversities of sacred tradition and of religious enactment, and are confirmed by the witness of subsequent history.

A few instances must suffice to illustrate the difficulty of ascribing the accounts of the incidents of the Mosaic age to the great leader himself. In the settlement of Israel in Egypt they were placed as shepherds in the land of Goshen (Gen. 47^{27}). There, accordingly, when the plagues break out, they are unaffected by the flies which swarm in the houses of the Egyptians (Ex. 8^{22}), and the hail which desolates the crops throughout Egypt does not touch them (9^{26}). But a second representation depicts them as located among the Egyptians; and when thick darkness covered the land for three days, so that no one could move, the children of Israel had light in their dwellings (Ex. 10$^{21-23}$). Blended in this manner with the native population all around them, and even in their own homes, they were able to secure jewels of gold and silver with which to start upon their way (Ex. 3^{21}f., 11$^{1-3}$). Sometimes the same narrative contains quite different details. When the twelve spies are sent to explore Canaan (Nu. 13^{21}), they traverse the whole length of the country from south to north, as far as the pass known as "the entering in of Hamath." But the next verse describes them as making a fresh start; they only get as far as Hebron and the adjacent valley of Eshcol, where they cut down a huge cluster of grapes, which they carry back, with pomegranates and figs, to Moses at Kadesh (26*b*), about fifty miles south of Beersheba, the other narrative conducting them still further south to the wilderness of Paran, whence they had started (13^{26}*a*).

A similar combination of different narratives may be discerned in the account of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram in Nu. 16. Korah the Levite is the leader of "two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation, men of renown," who protest against the religious leadership of Moses and Aaron; Dathan and Abiram belong to the tribe of Reuben, and head a revolt against the secular authority of Moses. Even Prof. Orr admits that "there are traces in the narrative of *two* movements."[1] They have been imperfectly combined, for Korah's party are first of all swallowed up with the followers of Dathan and Abiram (32), and are afterwards devoured by the sacred fire which comes forth from the entrance of the tent of meeting (35). The significance of the fact that in the retrospect (Dt. 11*b*) Dathan and Abiram alone are mentioned, and Korah is ignored, will become apparent hereafter.

Once more there is a remarkable divergence between the accounts of the making of the Ark in Ex. and Dt. In Dt. 10, after the first sojourn of Moses on the mount, and the fracture of the stone tablets of the covenant, Moses is directed to cut two new tablets and make an ark in which they may be preserved. The recital continues: "So I made an ark of acacia wood, and hewed two tables of stone like unto the first." He reascends the mount, the tablets are Divinely inscribed, and the story concludes (5): "And I turned and came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I had made; and there they be as Yahweh commanded me." The narrative of Exodus gives a completely different representation. Before the first tablets have been entrusted to him, Moses receives elaborate instructions for the preparation of the Ark (Ex. 25$^{10-21}$), into which he is to put the "testimony" which will be delivered to him. These directions are carried out by Bezalel (37^{1}), and on New Year's Day in the second year Moses put the "testimony" into the Ark (40^{20}). It is impossible to suppose that these two stories can have been written by the same hand. The narrative of Dt., however, plainly depends on that in Ex. 34$^{1-4}$, as the following parallels show:

Ex. 34.	Dt. 10.
1 And Yahweh said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first;	1 At that time Yahweh said unto me, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up to me to the mount, and make thee an ark of wood.
and I will write upon the tables the words which were on the first tables which thou brakest . . .	2 And I will write on the tables the words that were on the first tables which thou brakest, and thou shalt put them in the ark.
4 And he hewed two tables of stone like unto the first . . . and he went up into Mount Sinai . . . and took in his hand two tables of stone.	3 So I made an ark of acacia wood, and hewed two tables of stone like unto the first, and went up into the mount having the two tables in mine hand.

Why is all mention of the Ark omitted in Ex. 34? No doubt it stood there originally, for why should it have been inserted in Dt. 10? It has apparently been removed from the earlier story to make room for the very different description of Bezalel's Ark. In the process of compilation they could no longer be allowed to stand side by side.

Bezalel's Ark is placed in an elaborate structure named "the dwelling" (Ex. 25^{9}).[2] Upon the Ark is laid a golden slab (26^{17}) bearing two cherubim with outspread wings, protecting the "testimony" within. It was the solemn seat from which Yahweh would condescend to meet and speak (RV "commune") with Moses (25^{22}). The dwelling which enshrined it was placed in the centre of the camp, with the twelve tribes surrounding it, three on a side, Judah taking the lead upon the east (Nu. 2). It sometimes also bears the name "tent of meeting," as in the chapter just cited, or the two are combined, "dwelling of the tent of meeting" (Ex. 40^{2}). But of this tent we are told (Ex. 33^{7}) that Moses used to pitch it outside the

[1] *Archæology of the Old Testament*, 1913, p. 204, cf. 24.

[1] *The Problem of the Old Testament*, p. 358.

[2] So RVm. The rendering "tabernacle" obscures the fact that the term is derived immediately from the promise in the preceding verse, "Let them make me a sanctuary that I may *dwell* among them."

camp at a distance from it.[1] And a very different picture is given of the august communion of the great leader with Yahweh. When Moses had entered it, a pillar of cloud came down in the sight of the distant people, and stood at the opening, and spoke with him. Such Divine converse, "face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend" is recorded in Nu. 11$_{25}$, 12$_5$, and at a similar meeting Joshua receives his charge (Dt. 31$_{14f.,23}$). It is alleged, indeed, that "going out from the camp" means coming into the open space in the centre where the sanctuary stood. But such an explanation is quite inconsistent with the story of the seventy elders (Nu. 11), two of whom did not go out to the tent, but remained in the camp (24–30), to which Moses and the prophetic company return. These representations cannot be harmonised, and belong to different conceptions of the sanctuary in the wilderness.

In the tent of meeting the young Joshua used to minister, remaining in it when Moses went back into the camp (Ex. 33$_{11}$). For the dwelling, however, very elaborate provision was made. Aaron and his sons were solemnly consecrated to the ministry (Lev. 8), and at a later stage the Levites were set apart for the service of the sanctuary (Nu. 8), but they were forbidden to approach the altar or perform priestly functions under pain of death (Nu. 18$_{2-7}$). The Deuteronomic code, however, which is assigned in Pentateuchal chronology to the last year of Moses' life, recognises no such distinction. "The priests, the Levites" (*i.e.* the Levitical priests), "the whole tribe of Levi" (Dt. 18$_1$), possess equal rights; all are alike entitled "to stand to minister in the name of Yahweh." A country Levite coming up to the central sanctuary, "the place which Yahweh shall choose" (*i.e.* Jerusalem), shall have the full privilege of the altar, like those who already "stand there before Yahweh" (Dt. 18$_{6f.}$). They will have no territorial maintenance, they will live by the altar-dues (Dt. 18$_{1f.}$), which in Nu. 18$_{20}$ are reserved for the priests alone. More startling still is the contrast with the repeated commendation of the poor Levites to the householder's goodwill (Dt. 12$_{12,18-19}$, etc.). So far from having no inheritance (Dt. 18$_2$), they are promised, in the very same year of Moses' life, the ample endowment of forty-eight cities with their surrounding pasture-lands (Nu. 35$_{1-6}$). How can such diversities of religious institutions and legislative enactment be ascribed to a single founder?

The records of Moses' activity thus present different conceptions of historic fact and of provision for the future. A little attention to their language further reveals striking varieties of terminology. The "sanctuary" which is to be provided for Yahweh (Ex. 25$_8$ and twelve other passages), Dt. never names. It constitutes a place for Yahweh to dwell in, and is called the "dwelling." This term Dt. ignores. For one group of narratives the sacred mountain bears the name of Sinai; Dt. always prefers the name Horeb. The middle books describe the organisation of the people under the name "congregation"; they are divided into "tribes" (*matteh*), whose chiefs are "princes." For Dt. the nation forms an "assembly," constituted, indeed, out of tribes, designated by a different word (*shébhet*), who are led by "heads" and "elders." These changes of vocabulary are not haphazard. They accompany contrasted conceptions of specific arrangements which are attributed to the same historic and geographic situation. Thus in the plains of Moab provision is made twice over for cities of refuge in the following terms:

Nu. 35$_{9-14}$.

9 And Yahweh spake unto Moses saying, 10 Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them, When ye pass over Jordan into the land of Canaan, 11 then ye shall appoint cities to be cities of refuge for you, that the manslayer which killeth any person unwittingly may flee thither. 12 And the cities shall be unto you for refuge from the avenger; that the manslayer die not until he stand before the congregation for judgment. 13 And the cities which ye shall give shall be for you six cities of refuge.

Dt. 19$_{1-3}$.

1 When Yahweh thy God shall cut off the nation whose land Yahweh thy God giveth thee, and thou succeedest them, and dwellest in their houses, 2 thou shalt separate three cities for thee in the midst of thy land, which Yahweh thy God giveth thee to possess it. 3 Thou shalt prepare thee the way, and divide the borders of thy land, which Yahweh thy God causeth thee to inherit, into three parts, that every manslayer may flee thither.

The careful reader of the laws thus introduced will notice a large number of differences of language. The opening formula in Nu., "Speak . . . and say," occurs twenty times in Lev.–Nu., but never once in Dt. The designation "land of Canaan" is frequent in Lev.–Nu. (fourteen times); it is replaced in the Deuteronomic code by various circumlocutions, such as "the land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee to possess it," etc. The law in Nu. calls the cities "cities of refuge," a title which Dt. persistently ignores. From the rest of the passage (35$_{10-34}$) various phrases of repeated occurrence in Lev.–Nu., such as "congregation," "high priest," "anointed with the holy oil," "stranger and sojourner," "statute of judgment," "throughout your generations," and others, have all vanished. In Nu. we read "killeth any person unwittingly"; Dt. writes "killeth his neighbour unawares, and hated him not in time past," laying stress on the enmity (19$_{4,11}$). Why should these laws have been composed in such different terms in the last year of Moses' old age? These variations of language are found to characterise groups of enactments associated with no less marked variations of social development and religious ideas. It has been recently suggested that Moses originally wrote on clay tablets similar to those which were discovered at Tell el-Amarna on the Nile (in 1887), containing reports from governors of Palestinian cities to the sovereign of Egypt in cuneiform character (p. 55). These tablets, it is supposed, were carried to Babylon by the exiles, and were translated by Ezra some nine hundred years after Moses inscribed them into the vernacular Aramean of his day. This translation was then, at Jerusalem, translated again into the language which we know as classical Hebrew, the speech of Isaiah and Jeremiah. How under such circumstances can it be imagined that these regular variations of diction should have been so carefully preserved? Once more it must be remembered that the "philological argument" only emerges into significance when it is found to accompany divergent representations of fact.

The key to the most immediately important of these divergencies lies in Ex. 6$_{2-8}$. Astruc had already hinted that two main documents might be traced through the Book of Genesis, one employing the Divine name Elohim, the other Yahweh. Had he pursued his researches a little further, he might have discerned a reason for this remarkable fact. For the writer of Ex. 6$_{2f.}$ tells us that "God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am Yahweh, and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as *El Shaddai* (God Almighty), but by My name Yahweh I was not known to them." This passage makes two clear statements. In revealing Himself as Yahweh, God declares that He had been unknown to the fathers of

[1] The careful reader will notice that it is here described as something familiar and well known. But according to Ex. 35–40 it has yet to be made.

Israel by that name; on the other hand, He had disclosed Himself as El Shaddai. Two such self-disclosures are recorded, the first to Abraham (Gen. 17₁), the second to Jacob (35₁₁). The corresponding announcement to Isaac has not been preserved. On the other hand, such declarations as that to Abraham (Gen. 15₇), "I am Yahweh, that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees," or to Jacob (28₁₃), "I am Yahweh, the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac," cannot have proceeded from the writer of Ex. 6₃, unless he contradicted himself. Behind the patriarchs stand the dim figures of an older time, so that the worship of Yahweh can be carried back to the immediate descendants of Adam—"Then began men to call upon the name of Yahweh" (Gen. 4₂₆).

Here are different conceptions of the history of revelation, which are not to be set aside by the plea that the Hebrew text is uncertain, and that the Greek and other ancient versions sometimes show variations of usage. Were there no other independent indications in statements of circumstance, in records of events, in religious ideas and practice, these diversities would undoubtedly possess greater weight. But the most cautious scholars have pointed out how many considerations need attention in estimating their value. Sometimes a copyist introduces a variation quite accidentally; sometimes a translator has a preference for one name over another, or freely reproduces the original without rigid adherence to uniform rules. Hence the late Dr. Driver warned the student that, before a variant in the Greek or other version can be regarded as casting doubt upon our Hebrew text, "it must be shown, or at least made reasonably probable, (1) that the variant is not due to a paraphrase or loose rendering on the part of the translator, or to an error of a transcriber, but that it really depends upon a various reading in the Hebrew MS. used by the translator; and (2) that this various reading in the Hebrew has substantial claims to be preferred to the Massoretic text, as being the original reading of the Hebrew"[1] Dr. Skinner has proved, by a careful comparison of the Samaritan text of Genesis with the Hebrew, that while they agree in the Divine names over three hundred times, they only differ in nine. The Samaritan Pentateuch is believed to be older than 300 B.C.; it thus precedes the Greek version, which was begun in the next century. The result is significant. "It means," says Dr. Skinner, "that through two independent lines of descent the Divine names in Genesis have been transmitted with practically no variation."[2]

The argument founded on the respective occurrences of the names Elohim, El Shaddai, Yahweh in Genesis is, however, only one item in a much more comprehensive list. Around these terms are grouped manifold repetitions, incongruities, discrepancies, which become intelligible as soon as they are referred to different documents. Thus the narrative of the creation in Gen. 1–2*a* is at once discriminated from the story of Eden which follows. In the first, mankind are created by Elohim in two sexes on the sixth day, as the climax of the whole process of bringing into being the heavens and the earth. The order of production in the second pays no heed to what precedes. A single man is formed by Yahweh out of the dust upon the ground before any green thing had appeared.[3] A garden is planted, and he is placed there to keep it. The beasts of the field and the birds of the air are wrought successively out of the same ground, but none is a fit mate for him. The history of early man thus opened is continued with the account of the first sin and its issue. A sketch of the development of primitive civilisation (Gen. 4) leads to an account of the Flood. The descendants of Noah are dispersed, and the origin of diversities of language is explained, and the writer passes to the traditions of the patriarchal age. Abram builds altars to Yahweh and calls on His name (Gen. 12₈, 13₁₈, 21₃₃), and Yahweh makes a covenant with him (15₁₈). Isaac follows his father's example at Beersheba (26₂₅); Jacob recognises Yahweh's presence at Bethel (28₁₆). Here is a succession of stories repeated from generation to generation, linked in local association with altars, pillars, wells, and sacred trees, and penetrated with the belief that the simple worship of Yahweh had been practised from immemorial antiquity. To this group modern criticism has affixed the designation J (Jehovah).

On the other hand, there are traces of a document, conceived on the theory of Ex. 6₂f., that the Divine name Yahweh was first made known to Moses. For example, after the statement in Gen. 6₈ that "Noah found grace in the eyes of *Yahweh*," we read in 9 that Noah was a righteous man and walked with *Elohim*. The writer proceeds to relate how the earth had become full of violence, and Elohim proposed to destroy all flesh upon it. The story runs parallel with Yahweh's grief over human wickedness, and His intention to *blot out* man and beast and creeping thing (6₅–₇). But Noah and his family are to be saved, and while one writer in the name of Elohim directs him to take two of each sort of living thing into the ark (6₁₉), the other narrates Yahweh's command that he shall discriminate between clean and unclean, taking seven pairs of the former (7₂). We are plainly on the track of two versions of the story, not set side by side like the narratives of the creation of man, but blended together in one continuous account. The careful reader will notice how the vocabulary changes in successive sections, as the following table shows:

Elohim	Yahweh
Elohim, 6₁₃,₂₂, 7₁₆, 8₁₅.	Yahweh, 6₅–₈, 7₁,₅,₁₆*b*, 8₂₀,₂₁.[1]
All flesh, 6₁₂,₁₃,₁₇, 7₁₅,₂₁, 8₁₇.	Every living thing, 7₄,₂₃.
Destroy, 6₁₃,₁₇.	Blot out (RVm. Heb.) 6₇, 7₄,₂₃.
The flood, 6₁₇, 7₆.	Rain, 7₄,₁₂.
Die (Heb. *gava*) 6₁₇, 7₂₁.	Die (Heb. *muth*), 7₂₂.
Thou and thy sons, etc., 6₁₈, 7₁₃, 8₁₆,₁₈.[2]	Thou and all thy house, 7₁.
Male and female, 6₁₉, 7₁₆.	Male and his female (Heb. "man and his wife"), 7₂.[3]

A large number of other instances may easily be collected linking the Elohim story with Gen. 1–2*a* and 9₁–₁₇. It will be observed that it begins with a title (6₉): "These are the generations of Noah." The same title is found in 5₁, which looks back to 2*a*, where it is reasonably conjectured that the phrase "these are the generations" (*tôledhôth*) "of the heaven and of the earth when they were created" originally stood at the head of 1₁. Similar titles are found in 10₁, 11₁₀,₂₇, 25₁₂,₁₉, 36₁,₉, 37*a*; a solitary instance occurs later in Nu. 3₁.[4] They point to a continuous document running through the whole of Genesis, and constituting its literary foundation as it now stands. Part of it is cast in genealogic form, as in 5, 11₁₀–₂₇,

[1] *Literature of the OT*, 9th ed., p. 29, where references to detailed discussion will be found.

[2] *The Divine Names in Genesis*, 1914, p. 117. Students will find in this careful treatise an exhaustive reply to the arguments of Dahse.

[3] The compiler has apparently added the name Elohim in order to identify Him with the Deity in the preceding story.

[1] In 7₉, the Samaritan, the Targum and the Vulgate read Yahweh, "no doubt rightly" (Driver).

[2] In 7₇, the phrase seems due to the compiler.

[3] In 7₃, "male and female" as in 6₁₉, is again a harmonising touch.

[4] Elsewhere only in Ruth 4₁₈ and 1 Ch. 1₂₉.

36$^{1-30}$. Sometimes it expands into important sections of Divine promise, as in 9$^{1-17}$ or 17. These two passages contain announcements of a covenant couched in parallel terms, with a number of distinctive phrases which reappear in Ex. 6$^{2-8}$. With the help of these and other links a narrative amounting roughly to about a quarter of the Book of Genesis may be separated out. It proves to be a rapid summary of the history of the human race from its creation, which gradually narrows down to the family of Jacob, and brings the venerable patriarch with his descendants into Egypt. There they increase and multiply (Ex. 1^{7}), but are oppressed with rigorous service (1^{13}), till Moses brings them the promise of liberation in the name of Yahweh (6$^{2-9}$). Great judgments will accompany their deliverance, and will lead to a solemn act of Divine adoption, when Yahweh will take Israel for a people and will be to them a God (*cf.* Gen. 17^{7}, Ex. 29^{45}, Lev. 11^{45}, 22^{33}, 25^{38}, 26^{12,45}, Nu. 15^{41}). This is realised by the establishment of the sacred Dwelling and the worship of which it is the hallowed scene. The sequel relates the consummation of the Divine gift of the land once promised to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which carries the story on into the Book of Joshua. Inasmuch as this contains the regulations of the Aaronic priesthood, it is designated by the symbol P.

When the *tōledhōth* sections have been removed from Genesis, there still remain numerous duplicates, which cannot all be ascribed to the writer who employs the name Yahweh. For instance, there are no less than three allusions (Gen. 17^{20} [P], 16^{11} [J], 21^{17}) to the meaning of Ishmael ("God hears"). In this last passage the designation Elohim appears. But the style is not that of the *tōledhōth* book. A similar set of three plays on the significance of Isaac ("he laughs") may be seen in 17^{17} [P], 18^{12} [J], and 21^{6}, once more following Elohim. Does P thus repeat itself? It is hardly likely, for none of its characteristic formulæ occur in these connexions, and it presents Elohim as communicating with the recipients of revelation directly, without the mediation of angels. The difficulty vanishes after the careful study of Ex. 3$^{11-15}$. Here is another account of the self-disclosure of the Deity in the character of Yahweh, a counterpart of that in 6^{2}. Each passage describes Him as the God of the forefathers of the people, and each entrusts Moses with the duty of demanding permission from Pharaoh for the departure of the Israelites. Each thus looks at the same time back through the generations of the past and forward to the achievements of the future. To this second document, founded on the view that revelation was progressive and the sacred name Yahweh was first imparted to Moses, the passages in Genesis incongruous with the *tōledhōth* book may be provisionally ascribed. In current nomenclature it is known as E (Elohim). It first appears at any length in Gen. 20$^{1-17}$, though there is some reason for believing that it may be traced in passages in 15 (see the analysis in the *Oxford Hexateuch*, or in Skinner's *Genesis* in ICC, p. 277). Other extracts may be seen in 21$^{8-21}$ and 22$^{1-13}$ (in 11 *Yahweh* seems to have been inserted to prepare for 15–18; the Syriac retains Elohim), and in large portions of the story of Joseph. J and E are, however, so similar in style, and are frequently interwoven so closely, that their separation is often a matter of difficulty, and the efforts of the most skilful analysts can only reach probable results.

The first four books of the Pentateuch may thus be resolved into three main documents, P, J, and E. Their combination into a united narrative has involved various small modifications at the hands of successive editors, and they have no doubt each of them taken up into themselves elements of various dates. To P belongs the great mass of legislation in the middle books—such as Ex. 25–30, 35–40—the whole of Lev., and the greater part of Nu. But Dt. (D) brings with it fresh problems. It opens with a discourse of retrospect (1$^{6-3}$), which appears to contain allusions to both J and E. On the other hand, in its reference to the story of the spies (1$^{23-28}$), it ignores the elements in Nu. 13 now ascribed to P. The great sermons which introduce the code in 12–26 are, again, full of references to J and E, but they contain no clear references to P. It has already been shown, for instance, that the account of the making of the Ark (Dt. 10$^{1-5}$) is inconsistent with that in Ex. 37$^{1-9}$, which belongs to P. In the Deuteronomic legislation a large amount of the laws in Ex. 20$^{22-23}$ is reproduced, often with significant modifications and enveloped with hortatory eloquence. But the student looks in vain for allusions to the characteristic institutions of the Dwelling and its service. Parallel laws, as has been shown in the case of the cities of refuge, are couched in different phraseology and rest upon different social arrangements, though they are supposed to have been issued at the same time and place. The recurring phrases of the Deuteronomic oratory are quite distinct from those of the narratives or the legislation of P. They appear repeatedly in the midst of materials which may be traced back to J and E; they show no clear acquaintance with the literary features any more than with the historic representations of the Priestly Code. If Dt. 10^{22} reckons the fathers who went down into Egypt at seventy—the figure also given by P in Gen. 46^{27} and Ex. 1^{5}—it immediately adds a comparison of their increase to the stars (*cf.* Gen. 15^{5}, 22^{17}, 26^{4}, Ex. 32^{13} [J and E]). The number may well have been borrowed independently by both P and D from earlier tradition. The general result of such investigations is to vindicate for Dt. a separate and distinct place in the sacred literature now combined in our Pentateuch, which thus represents the union of four separate works—P, J, E, D.

But how did these works come into existence, and how were they united? Only the briefest answers can be given to these questions. The prevailing view has been reached through the labours of a long series of scholars, led by Graf (in two essays published at the close of 1865), Kuenen (1869–70), and Wellhausen (1876). Their investigations lie behind all the most recent commentaries; they are adopted as the foundation of the treatment of the history and literature of Israel in dictionaries and encyclopædias at home and abroad; and they lead to the result that the Priestly Code, though it opens the Book of Genesis and supplies the framework into which the other documents have been fitted, is nevertheless the latest of them all. It has already been shown that some of the narrative portions of D rest upon J and E; it is therefore later than those documents (whether separately or in combination need not now be asked). Its independence of P implies that it at least made no use of that great collection, and that fact suggests the inquiry whether it had really been compiled when D was written. The answer depends on the story of the religious institutions which they respectively ordain. Attention has already been called to the striking discrepancy between the regulations for the tribe of Levi in Dt. and the Books of Exodus and Numbers (P). It can hardly be supposed that the stringent rules which forbade

the Levites to minister at the altar, and reserved the right of sacrifice to the Aaronic priesthood, could have been relaxed by a later legislation. Nor could the ample provision which P lays down for the priestly maintenance have been permitted to lapse into the meagre allowance which leads D again and again to commend the poor Levite to the householder's goodwill. The calendar of the feasts in Dt. 16 requires the attendance of all male Israelites three times a year at the place which Yahweh shall choose, for the feasts of unleavened bread, the feast of weeks, and the feast of booths. With the first of these is associated the passover, which is to be kept in the month Abib (ear-month), when the corn was ripening in the spring.[1] But P's list adds two other "holy convocations." On the first day of the seventh month is a "memorial of blowing of trumpets," and on the tenth is the "day of atonement" (Lev. $23_{24,27}$). This last is described with great fulness in Lev. 16. Its deep significance caused it to be known in later times as "The Day." The prescribed offerings are enumerated in Nu. 29_{7-11}. Is not the entire omission of this rite in D a sign that the Deuteronomic legislator was unacquainted with it? By such lines of reasoning the conclusion was gradually reached that, whatever might be the antiquity of different elements in the sacrificial practice of P, the literary form given to its legislation marked a later stage in the development of Israel's cultus and the organisation of its ministry. The constituent documents of the Pentateuch may, then, be ranged in the following chronological order—J and E, D, P. Is it possible to ascertain under what conditions they successively appeared?

The documents J and E contain no record of the circumstances under which they were compiled, nor does history suggest any specific occasion for their publication. The student is therefore thrown back upon their internal evidence. It is plain that the representations of the patriarchal age rest upon legends and traditions, often connected with particular sacred spots. There are snatches of ancient song, there are sayings—half proverb, half poem—in which long observation of national and tribal circumstances has been condensed. The writers are not concerned with history in our modern sense; they love to recite the stories of ancient time, told and retold for generations by priests at ancient sanctuaries, by warriors round the camp-fires, or by shepherds at the wells. Such narratives were not always on the same plane of religious thought. Some have the character of antique folklore; some breathe the loftier spirit of a later day. When Abraham pleads with Yahweh as "the Judge of all the earth" (Gen. 18_{25}), it is plain that the author has a more exalted view of the Deity than that implied in the strange tale that Yahweh met Moses in an inn on his way back to Egypt and sought to kill him (Ex. 4_{24}). Materials of different ages and values are thus blended, and it is probable that both the original documents known as J and E received additions or expansions after their first composition. Both narratives of the patriarchal age, however, look forward to the subsequent occupation of Canaan by the twelve tribes, and both treat them as constituting a national unit. But no such conception appears in the age of the Judges. It was the monarchy which first welded them into one people. The empire created by David and transmitted to Solomon was proudly described in later days as extending from the Euphrates to the border of Egypt (1 K. 4_{21}). Such were the ideal boundaries of Israel's power; they are announced already in Gen. 15_{18} as Yahweh's covenant-gift to Abraham's seed (J); they are promised in the wilderness to the tribes upon the march (Ex. 23_{31}, E). In like manner the blessing on Judah (Gen. 49_{8-10}, incorporated in J) presupposes the establishment of the Davidic kingdom (Skinner, *Genesis*, in ICC, p. 500), while the description of Abraham as a "prophet" (Gen. 20_{7}, E) and the grand utterance of Moses, "would God that all Yahweh's people were prophets" (Nu. 11_{29}), belong to the age which followed the rise of prophecy in the days of Samuel (*cf.* 1 S. 9_{9}). We are thus led to the period of the early monarchy for the composition of the two great collections of traditions J and E. The brief legislation which they contain—the covenant words of J (Ex. 34_{10-27}) and the Book of Judgments in E (Ex. 21–23)—both imply conditions of agricultural settlement, and prescribe three feasts in connexion with the seasons of annual produce; while J's demand (Ex. 34_{26}, apparently adopted editorially into 23_{19}, E) recognises a permanent sanctuary ("the house of Yahweh") instead of a wandering tent. The problem of determining the relation between J and E is more difficult. Both are penetrated by the same conviction of a Divine purpose in history; but whereas J starts with the origin of the human race and gradually narrows his view to the line of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the first certain traces of E are to be detected not earlier than Gen. 15. E may, it is true, have described Abraham's origin beyond the Euphrates, for in Jos. 24_{2} he declares that the forefathers beyond the river were idolators; the wives of Jacob accordingly bring their "strange gods" with them (Gen. 35_{2-4}). E thus recognises three stages of religious development, the second being the Elohim-worship of the patriarchs, and the third the manifestation of Elohim by the new name Yahweh to Moses (Ex. 3_{13-15}). This implies a more definite reflection on the progress of revelation than is evinced by J, who assumes that the sacred designation had been known from the earliest times. In view of the less anthropomorphic character of E's representations of the deity, and the possibility that its author was acquainted with J's collection of the traditions, it is usual to suppose that J was the first to take written shape. And the importance which its original author attached to Hebron, the part played by Judah in the story of Joseph, and other indications, support the view that it was produced in the kingdom of Judah. What may be called the first draft of the great story from the first man to the settlement of the tribes in Canaan was probably compiled in the early monarchy, most likely in the ninth century. Simple and brief in its primitive shape, it seems to have received expansions and additions adapting it to the higher forms of thought. In the first part of the next century, in the midst of growing wealth and national prosperity, the writer designated by the symbol E retold the story of the patriarchs and the Mosaic age, in the northern monarchy of Ephraim. He too loved to dwell upon the thought of providential guidance, and a large part of the adventures of the great tribe-father Joseph is due to him. His work probably preceded the first books of literary prophecy which have come down to us from Amos and Hosea; but the allusions in their discourses are too vague to enable us to affirm that they were acquainted with either document. Of the catastrophe which overthrew the northern kingdom in 722 B.C. E contains no hint. The Assyrian peril is not yet in view. Like J, E also seems to have contained different deposits of religious tradition, and to have been enriched with fresh materials,

[1] *Cf.* Ex. 34_{18}ff., J, and 23_{14}ff., E.

drawn possibly from different groups of sanctuary lore. Before long, it would appear, it was proposed to combine the two recitals. J naturally led the way, and portions of E (often much mutilated) were inserted in it. In the process of harmonising the two documents some discrepancies, no doubt, were pruned away. But sufficient were left to reveal the fact of their union, even in cases where the texture of the narrative is so closely knit that its analysis can only be tentative.[1]

To distinguish the additions to J and to E and the work of the Redactor, R^{JE}, is necessarily a task of great delicacy; but that such additions have been made can hardly be doubted. The editor's hand is plainly to be traced, for instance, in Gen. 22¹⁴⁻¹⁸. This amalgamation must have been effected before the composition of the Book of Deuteronomy—*i.e.* some time prior to 621 B.C. Dt. (D) opens with a discourse attributed to Moses in the land of Moab after the conquest of Sihon, king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Bashan. This briefly recites the incidents of the journeys from Horeb, and, like a subsequent discourse concerning the events at the sacred mountain (9f.), it rests on the combined narrative JE. It is followed by an exposition of the "testimonies and statutes and judgments" delivered by Moses before his death, which are introduced by a series of prophetic addresses (5–11), couched in a lofty style of eloquence, showing remarkable affinities with the language of Jeremiah. The laws themselves are set forth in 12–26, and the book concludes with further exhortations and poems, an account of the installation of Joshua at the tent of meeting, and the final narrative of the death of Moses. It soon becomes evident, on an examination of the code in 12–26, that it takes up and develops the early legislation of Ex. 21–23. Compare, for example, the following passages:

Ex. 21²⁻⁶.	Deut. 15¹²⁻.
2 If thou buy an Hebrew servant (or bondman) six years he shall serve; and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. 3 If he come in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he be married, then his wife shall go out with him. 4 If his master give him a wife and she bear him sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's and he shall go out by himself. 5 But if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife and my children; I will not go out free; 6 then his master shall bring him to God, and shall bring him unto the door, or unto the doorpost; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him for ever.	12 If thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee and serve thee six years; then in the seventh yeat thou shalt let him go free from thee. 13 And when thou lettest him go free from thee, thou shalt not let him go empty; 14 thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock, and out of thy threshing-floor and out of thy wine-press; as Yahweh thy God hath blessed thee thou shalt give unto him. 15 And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt, and Yahweh thy God redeemed thee; therefore I command thee this thing to-day. 16 And it shall be, if he say unto thee, I will not go out from thee; because he loveth thee and thine house, because he is well with thee, 17 then thou shalt take an awl and thrust it through his ear unto the door, and he shall be thy bondman for ever.

Here the earlier law has been recast with new additions. D. 12 and 16f. are plainly founded upon the prior statute, but in 13–15 fresh injunctions of generosity are laid down. They are full of expressions which are found elsewhere in D,[2] and they make the same appeal to the householder's goodwill, which is renewed again and again on behalf of the poor Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. But this is not the only difference. One significant item is dropped. In the first legislation, the ceremony of perpetual enslavement is a religious one. The bondman is to be brought to "Elohim." The most probable meaning of this is that the slave was taken to the local sanctuary, where justice was administered, and the most august sanction was thus given to the master's ownership by the symbol of pinning the slave's ear to the doorpost. (But see Ex. 12²²*, 21⁶*, Dt. 15¹⁷*.) In D this reference is dropped, and the operation is apparently performed in the house. Why should the ancient ritual be thus changed? It arises from the fundamental law of the Deuteronomic Code (Dt. 12), enjoining the abolition of all centres of cultus but one. Here the destruction of the venerable altars, with their sacred pillars and other emblems, some of which had been associated by long tradition with the patriarchs, is sternly enjoined, and worship is to be strictly confined to the one place which Yahweh Himself would choose. The student of the early history of Israel or of the prophetic writings of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, can hardly fail to see that this chapter contains a programme of religious reform, which dominates the whole subsequent legislation. Over against the usage of the past, which permitted the erection of altars and the practice of sacrifice wherever Yahweh "caused His name to be remembered" (Ex. 20²⁴), such as Bethel or Beersheba and many another hallowed spot, D demands the exclusive concentration of Israel's homage to its Divine Lord in one spot. To this end one after another of the older laws is modified to suit the new conditions, and the reformed code is expanded in noble oratory, embodying the truths which Moses was believed to have first proclaimed. He it was who had taught Israel that they should have no other God but Yahweh. The prophets had realised that there was no other God. He it was who had guided the destinies of His people, had delivered them from slavery in Egypt, had led them through the wilderness, and finally given them their land. The Baals might be many, Yahweh was but One; obedience and love to Him, therefore, involved unswerving devotion and loyalty, and every vestige of idolatry must be swept away. When was such a demand first made? There is no trace of it in the great polemic which Elijah wages against the worship of the Tyrian Baal. Elisha raises no protest against the calves at Bethel. Neither Amos nor Hosea alleges that they are illegal. The first recognition of the demands of D meets us in the story of the reformation under Josiah's reign (2 K. 22³–23²⁴). The Temple at Jerusalem needed some repairs, and the king sent his secretary, Shaphan, to the High Priest, Hilkiah, with instructions about the necessary funds. Hilkiah told him that he had found a book of the Law in the sanctuary. How the discovery was made we are not told, but critics of all schools are agreed that the book contained the fundamental laws of D. It has been recently conjectured that it was a clay tablet, written by Moses himself in cuneiform character, which had been built into the wall of the Temple by Solomon. But a tablet is not a book, nor could the Deuteronomic Code have been inscribed upon so limited a space. Moreover, nothing whatever is said of its being written in a different language, or requiring translation when it was read to the king. The steps which were immediately taken to carry out its injunctions prove beyond doubt that it included D's strenuous commands for the purification of the worship of Yahweh. All idolatrous emblems were removed from the Temple. In city and country the high places and their altars were overthrown, the sacred pillars were shattered, and the tree-poles (*asheras*) were cut down. In par-

[1] A familiar instance occurs in Gen. 37, where J represents Joseph as sold by his brethren to Ishmaelites, 25b–27, while E relates that he was "stolen" (40¹⁵) by Midianites, the same verse (37²⁸) actually relating both the kidnapping and the sale!

[2] With 15 *cf.* 5¹⁵, 16¹², 24¹⁸,²².

ticular, certain forms of Oriental cults which had become popular under Josiah's grandfather, Manasseh, were abolished. Manasseh had erected altars in the Temple for the great army of the stars (2 K. 215). The devotion attracted the imagination of Jerusalem, and was sternly rebuked by Jeremiah (82, 1913). D prescribes for it the severe penalty of death by stoning (173–5), and by the prohibition of the practice brings the composition of the Law Book into the seventh century B.C., whether under the reign of Manasseh (698–641 B.C.) or in the years following the accession of Josiah (639 B.C.) may be left undetermined. Around the fundamental laws others were gradually grouped, and the Code was framed in the grand exhortations which had for their leading theme the love of Yahweh for His people, and the duty of Israel to love Him and cleave to Him alone in return. The large number of expressions common to D and Jeremiah[1] show that prophetic influences were at work in Israel's religion which were powerful enough to create a common vocabulary of thought and speech, in the midst of great individuality of purpose and expression. The Deuteronomic conceptions of history and moulds of speech may be traced in various parts of the OT, such as Joshua, Judges, and the Books of Kings; and it becomes quite impossible to account for them on the hypothesis of a retranslation into Hebrew of a translation into Aramaic by Ezra of cuneiform tablets originally written by Moses nine centuries before.

The reforms of Josiah were designed to give effect to the Deuteronomic principle that Israel was a "holy" people (Dt. 76). But the overthrow of the Davidic monarchy seemed to endanger the bond which Yahweh had Himself created by choosing Israel as the agent of His purpose of revelation. To Ezekiel it was impossible that Yahweh could thus allow His name to be "profaned" among the nations. A new Israel must arise, purified from its old sins, and gifted with spirit that it might walk in Yahweh's statutes and observe His judgments. So should they be His people and He would be their God (3624–28), as they returned once more to their fathers' land. For this regenerated nation Ezekiel designs a new sanctuary, which is solemnly filled with the glory of Yahweh, who promises to dwell there in the midst of the children of Israel (435–7). A scheme of worship is laid down for the future, the duties of the priesthood are defined, and appropriate sacrifices are prescribed. This is no repetition of D. It is no longer necessary to denounce the local shrines. The principle of the centralisation of the cultus is assumed, but a new arrangement is made concerning the minister at the altar. D had provided that the disestablished priests might come up to the metropolitan Temple and serve there with their brethren (187–8). The Jerusalem clergy, however, would not admit the country members of their order to share either their functions or their income (2 K. 239), and this difficulty appears to have been the beginning of a distinction between higher and lower ranks in the same service. Ezekiel for the first time announces a division of the sacred tribe into two branches, one of which shall minister to Yahweh and the other not. Access to the altar, admission to the sanctuary, shall be reserved for one particular family, the sons of Zadok (4415f.). Here is a discrimination hitherto unknown. It is inexplicable had the Levitical Law embodied in P been then in existence. The Aaronic priesthood would have been already in possession of the privileges which Ezekiel promises in the future to the Zadokites; and the Levites, for whose degradation to menial offices Ezekiel endeavours to find an explanation, would have been long ago prohibited from aspiring to any other under pain of death. The ideal arrangements of Ezekiel for the theocracy of the restoration stand, therefore, midway between D and P. Under what circumstances, then, does P appear for the first time? No clear traces of the Levitical usage as codified in P present themselves in the early days of the Second Temple. Even Malachi identifies the Law of Moses with the legislation in Horeb, the "statutes and judgments" now summed up in Dt. 444ff.; and the priests are "sons of Levi" (33), as if the right of altar service still belonged (as in D) to the whole tribe. Not yet have the full priestly claims been embodied in sacred Law. They are first announced, it would seem, at the great meeting held under Nehemiah on one autumn day at the end of September (444 B.C.),[1] when the people gathered in the great square before the water-gate (Neh. 81). A large wooden pulpit had been erected, and there, from early morning to midday, Ezra read aloud to the assembly out of "the book of the Law." The story is related after the type of the national assembly convoked by Josiah for the promulgation of the Deuteronomic Code (*cf.* 2 K. 232). The new Law stood in the same relation to the age of Ezra which D held to the seventh century. Josiah's reformation was celebrated by the observance of a Passover on principles unknown before (2 K. 2322; *cf.* Dt. 16); and similarly, according to Neh. 814, the Feast of Booths was held for seven days in joyous thanksgiving, concluding with a solemn assembly on the eighth day, in accordance with the ordinance of Lev. 2336. This is the introduction of the Priestly Code.

Like the other great documents of the Pentateuch, P does not, however, appear to be all of one piece. It contains earlier and later materials, though they are all combined in one historic framework, and united by certain common ideas. Just as D showed remarkable affinities with the language of Jeremiah, so some portions of P present strong resemblances to the ideas and phraseology of his younger contemporary Ezekiel. Through Ezekiel came the Divine promise (3726) of an everlasting covenant, and a sanctuary in Israel's midst for evermore: "And my dwelling shall be with them, and I will be to them for a God, and they shall be to me for a people" (27). "Sanctuary" is one of Ezekiel's favourite religious terms (thirty times); it occurs in P in the Pentateuch thirteen times (otherwise only in the song, Ex. 1517). The Mosaic "sanctuary" is to be made (Ex. 258), "that I may dwell in their midst."[2] "And I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel, and will be to them for a God" (Ex. 2945; *cf.* 67, "I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you for a God"). The sanctuary accordingly is called the "dwelling" (Ex. 259). It stood, like Ezekiel's Temple, in a court, and the camp was always so pitched that, like Ezekiel's sacred house, it should look towards the east. And as the prophet beheld the "glory of Yahweh" returning from the east and filling the house (Ex. 431–6), so does P describe how, on the completion of the desert sanctuary, the "glory of Yahweh filled the dwelling" (Ex. 4034).

But the parallels with the language of Ezekiel are still more numerous in a small group of laws now recognised in Lev. 17–26.[3] They are bound together

[1] According to the usual chronology.

[2] This word (RV "among") is of very frequent occurrence in P to express the Divine Presence in Israel; *cf.* 2945, Lev. 1531, 1616, 2232, 2611, etc.

[3] *Cf.* Carpenter, *Composition of the Hexateuch*, pp. 277–284.

[1] Carpenter, *Composition of the Hexateuch*, 1902, pp. 147 151.

by the frequent recurrence of phrases such as "I am Yahweh," "I am Yahweh your God," "I Yahweh am holy," "I am Yahweh which hallow (sanctify) you," and many others. The sanctuary must be carefully guarded from defilement, and the priesthood must maintain its ceremonial purity. The social and moral legislation of Lev. 18–20 contains rules of conduct that may well be of venerable antiquity. Some additions have probably been inserted by later hands in adapting the collection to the general scheme of P; but there is good reason to believe that, with its concluding exhortation (Lev. 26), it once formed a small legislative *corpus* by itself, standing midway between D and P. Its special concern for the sanctity of Israel has gained for it the name of the Holiness Code, and it is sometimes designated by the symbol Ph.

By what steps the final incorporation of the several documents into our Pentateuch was at last effected cannot be precisely determined. It is probable that JE had been united with D into a continuous work of history and legislation in the early years of the Captivity, when the story of Israel's past was gathered up, and the records of the monarchy were compiled. The hand which fitted JED into the framework supplied by P cannot be identified. There are even indications that the "Diatessaron" JEDP received some additions, notably in the long repetition (Ex. 35–40), some time after the first combination was effected.

The Pentateuch is thus an epitome of the history of Israel's religion.[1] Like some great cathedral which has enshrined the devotion of centuries, its growth must be inferred from the relations of its parts among themselves, and the points of contact which can be discovered between them and the beliefs and usages recorded elsewhere. It embodies traditions of immemorial antiquity, and its authors shape to their own conceptions elements of ancient Babylonian lore. It is not surprising, therefore, that it should frankly reveal that the ancestors of the people were polytheists. Beyond the Euphrates the forefathers "served other gods" (Jos. 24$_2$ [E]), and Jacob's wives consequently bring their "strange gods" with them (Gen. 36$_{2-4}$), among them being the household images which Rachel carried off, and for which Laban so plaintively inquired, "Why hast thou stolen my gods?" (Gen. 31$_{19,30}$). Such plurality lies behind some of the narratives of the primeval age, and even gleams through the traditions of a later day.[2] Three stages may be traced in Israel's long development as it rises to the full height of its great task. They are marked by the three codes of Law successively embodied in the three great documents JE, D, and P.

The ascription of these codes to Moses follows the convention of ancient nations, by which, as Prof. Robertson Smith showed,[3] the continuity of the legal system was maintained. The new Law was regarded as a development of the old, and the same sanction was preserved without disturbance. And Israel, like its neighbours in Egypt or Babylonia, unhesitatingly referred them to a Divine source. Beside the Nile, Osiris was believed to have ordained the worship of the heavenly powers, appointed the offerings, prescribed the ceremonies, and even composed the words and music of the sacred liturgies. Out of the deep came Ea, lord of wisdom, who proclaimed laws to the dwellers by the shore of the Persian Gulf. An ancient collection of Babylonian precepts, known as the Book of Ea, defined the duties of the king. The famous Code of Hammurabi (who reigned about 2100 B.C.[1]), discovered in 1902 at Susa engraved on a block of black diorite nearly eight feet high, was presented to the king by the sun-god Shamash, "judge of heaven and earth" (p. 51). This was the mode in which the reverence of antiquity for the mysteries of religion found expression. The sanctions of law on which national welfare and social order depended could be no other than Divine.

The earliest legislation in JE, accordingly, marks the first stage of Israel's religious observance. The command, "Thou shalt have none other gods before me" (Ex. 20$_3$), does not deny the existence of other gods, but it pledges Israel to the sole worship of Yahweh. Loyalty to Him who had brought them out of Egypt and given them their land demanded that they should honour Him alone. But the requirements of the cultus are extremely simple. They may make no images of gold or silver, but they may rear an earthen altar for their sacrifices anywhere. The local sanctuaries, consecrated by age-long tradition, stood beside the fertilising well, the sacred tree, or on the hill-top. At such places the "firstborn" of Yahweh (Ex. 4$_{22}$) might pay the sacred dues and keep the annual feasts. Separating themselves from the idolatrous usages of the Canaanite peoples, they must remember that they were hallowed or set apart to their God. What kind of conduct did this imply? The only holiness rule in the First Legislation is a food law (Ex. 22$_{31}$): "Ye shall be holy men unto me; therefore ye shall not eat any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field; ye shall cast it to the dogs." Here is the first faint note of the call to ritual purity which was afterwards to grow so exacting. This kind of holiness has nothing to do with morality such as is enforced in the Ten Words now incorporated in E (Ex. 20), but the ethical element was growing stronger and stronger. Antique legend might depict Yahweh as going to find out whether the wickedness of Sodom and Gomorrah was really as great as report alleged, but to Abraham He is already the "judge of all the earth," who must do right. Monotheism is trembling into full consciousness. Yet, while Elijah and Elisha led the contest for Yahweh against the Tyrian Baal, they left the *ashéras* or tree-poles at the high places untouched, and made no attack on the calf-worship at Bethel, which Amos and Hosea denounced afterwards as "Samaria's sin." The first codes of JE, therefore, may be taken to represent the general aim of religion at the beginning of the eighth century B.C.

But the higher prophecy of that great age demanded something more. It reached the sublime conviction of the sole Deity of Yahweh. That majestic Power, which reached from the sky to the underworld (Am. 9$_2$), encompassed the whole earth, and guided the movements of other nations as well as Israel. Its champions, therefore, demanded the extinction of all idolatries. Doom must descend upon a disloyal people, and Isaiah could describe the Assyrian invader as the "rod of Yahweh's anger"; but its strokes would not be fatal; Zion should be purged and become a "citadel of righteousness, the Faithful City." The Assyrians came and Jerusalem survived the shock, but in the

[1] On the subject of the rest of the article, see also the article on "The Religion of Israel."

[2] Compare the language of Jephthah, Jg. 11$_{23-24}$, where Yahweh of Israel and Chemosh of Ammon are represented as pitted against each other.

[3] *The OT in the Jewish Church*, 2nd ed. p. 384.

[1] The chronology is very uncertain. Recent estimates vary. Mr. L. W. King in *Enc. Brit.* (11th ed. vol. iii. p. 103) identifies the thirtieth year of his reign with 2340 B.C. Eduard Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*,^{2} i. 2, p. 585, assigns his reign to 1958–1916 B.C. Ryle in *Genesis*, CB, (1914), tentatively suggests about 2150, p. 167; but on p. 179 cites Ungnad's date 2130–2088. Driver, about 2100.

next century under Manasseh the very existence of Yahwehism was endangered. All kinds of foreign cults were encouraged; they were pursued by the court, they were installed in the Temple. In a single sentence, "Manasseh shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another" (2 K. 21^{16}), the historian describes the first of those martyr-ages which were again and again to test Israel's fidelity. Under such circumstances prophecy girded itself for a new effort. It could no longer remain abstract and ideal; it must enter the field of reform and cleanse the national worship of all corruptions, old and new. "Cast out every Canaanite or Assyrian abomination, destroy idol and tree-pole and pillar, abolish every altar where the sacred rites may be contaminated, admit no sacrifice but at the place of Yahweh's own choice"—this was the programme of the Deuteronomic Code. This was the practical side of prophecy, as it sought to secure the fruits of the labours of the century before. Holiness now meant something more than abstinence from meat not properly killed. It was the response of Israel, small as it might be among the nations, to the gracious choice of Yahweh (Dt. 7$^{6-8}$). No ritual could adequately express this response. Reverent obedience might, indeed, fulfil outward commands, but the Divine love appealed for something more. The whole moral and spiritual energies of the people must be dedicated to their great Deliverer: "Thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might" (Dt. 6^{5}).

This far-reaching principle marks the second stage of Israel's legislative advance. On this basis the first Codes were recast; outwardly in favour of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, inwardly in favour of a worship which could be practised everywhere "in spirit and in truth." But there were many steps to be trodden before that consummation could be reached. The Deuteronomic principle was the immediate antecedent of Jeremiah's vision of a "new covenant" which should supersede the old by writing the Divine teaching on men's hearts (Jer. 31^{33}f.). But for a time the pressure of events was too strong. The Temple which Josiah so diligently cleansed was again defiled. In 586 B.C. the troops of Nebuchadrezzar entered Jerusalem and burnt it. Were the truths attained by the prophets to be lost? Was the religion of Yahweh to be extinguished?

Among the exiles was the priest-prophet Ezekiel. As he looked back over the past, the story of Israel's unfaithfulness cut him to the heart. But his conviction of Yahweh's transcendent purpose triumphs over all hopelessness. From the death of sin the nation shall arise once more, dowered with a new heart, ready to keep the judgments of their God. So once more does Prophecy prepare in his person to wear the mask of Law. Through the clear air he sees the ancient land; it is divided anew. The holy house stands again upon the holy mount. The holy tribe is parted into two orders—the priests who minister at the altar to Yahweh Himself, and the Levites who shall keep the gate and kill the victims for sacrifice, but shall not come near to any of the holy things. There would Yahweh make His "dwelling" (RV "tabernacle") with His people, and would be their God (Ezek. 43^{7} and 37^{27}). So the way is prepared for the third stage of Pentateuchal legislation. Early drafts for the development of the conception of holiness are embedded in the oldest portions of the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26), and at length a new programme for the future is produced in the shape of an ideal delineation of the past. The Deuteronomic Code belonged to a polity that had ceased to be. The monarchy was gone, it needed no more regulation. New elements of thought and life had risen into importance; new ideas, especially the sense of national sinfulness, now needed expression. This was the object of the Priestly Code produced under Ezra and Nehemiah. Its fundamental principle is laid down in one of its oldest sections in the sublime command, "Be ye holy, for I, Yahweh, your God, am holy" (Lev. 19^{2}). Yahweh was holy because His nature transcended everything earthly and unclean. His holiness really involved the totality of His attributes as deity. In this sense truly He was beyond Israel's imitation. But His people could keep themselves from everything defiling and impure; and this kind of holiness had a moral as well as a ceremonial character. On one side it might express itself in a variety of minute ordinances, designed to secure immunity for certain groups of persons from ritual pollution; on the other, it might embrace all social relations under one comprehensive injunction, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Lev. 19^{18}). And to ensure the discharge of these demands for sanctity, the sacred Presence was conceived as abiding in the midst of the nation, and thus distinguishing it from any other on the face of the earth. It is, then, hardly surprising that the Priestly Code should contain prescriptions that seem incompatible. On the one side is the whole scheme of holy things—vessels, robes, furniture, and sanctuary; of holy persons—the lower Levites, the superior priests, with the High Priest as the unique representative of the whole nation before God; of holy days from week to week, of solemn festivals, culminating in the great annual ceremony of confession and propitiation, known in later usage as "The Day." On the other hand is the sublime picture of the Holy One symbolically "dwelling" in His people's midst. He demands that they shall resemble Him, and how can these minute details of ritual serve that end? In the light of fuller truth we can see their inconsistency, but in the light of history we can also see how needful each element was to the other. Ezra and the Scribes completed Israel's religion. The Law was the vehicle through which the gains of the higher prophecy were preserved and incorporated in the national life. The framers of the Levitical Code did what the Isaiahs had been unable to do; but without the Isaiahs they could not have done it. They created what a later seer could describe as "the righteous nation which keepeth truth" (Is. 26^{2}). In the Temple service and in the simple worship of the synagogue the emotions of joy and thankfulness were poured forth in hymn and prayer. Obedience became a delight, the Law was Israel's privilege. It restored the soul, it enlightened the eyes (Ps. 19$^{7-14}$); the secret of happiness lay in meditating on it day and night (Ps. 1^{2}); the persecutor might lay his snares, but the loyal worshipper would perform the statutes for ever, even to the end (Ps. 119$^{110-112}$). The piety of the Pss. is the fruit of this call to holiness. The "saints," so full of love and trust, waiting for Yahweh to show them the path of life; the poor and meek, so patient under suffering; the faithful, who endured torture and death rather than disobey the commandment—these were the holy people nurtured under the Law. Here was the power which nerved Judaism to resist the attack of Antiochus Epiphanes (in December 168 B.C. an altar to Olympian Zeus was erected on the great altar in the Temple court). Thus was the way prepared for prophetism to reappear

in the still nobler form of the Gospel. Its essential aim was set free from the limitations of ancient ritual, and transfigured into the final goal of all religion, "Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect."

Literature.—Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs, Prolegomena to the History of Israel;* Kuenen, *The Hexateuch;* Driver, *Literature of the OT* (9th ed., 1913); articles in HDB and EBi; Carpenter and Harford, *Composition of the Hexateuch* (1902); Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch;* A. T. Chapman, *Introduction to the Hexateuch;* McNeile, *Deuteronomy, Its Place in Revelation* (1912); D. C. Simpson, *Pentateuchal Criticism* (1914); Eiselen, *The Books of the Pentateuch;* Skinner, *The Divine Names in Genesis* (1914); commentaries in ICC, West. C, CB, Cent.B, KEH, HK, KHC; Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das AT* (1912).

GENESIS

By THE EDITOR

The English title of the book goes back through the Vulg. to the LXX. It stands for the origin or creation of the world, the subject of the opening chapters. The usual Heb. title is Bereshith, "In the beginning," taken, as was commonly done, from the first word of the book. It is composed for the most part from the three documents, J, E, P, which are found also in Ex., Nu., and Jos. The general grounds for the analysis may be seen in the Introduction to the Pentateuch. The detailed analysis of this book, with reasons, is given in the commentary. In spite of persistent assertions to the contrary, there is no room for reasonable doubt that these documents are really present, and that the distribution of the matter among them has been in large measure successfully achieved. The sections belonging to P have been identified with the greatest certainty. But while it is frequently incontestable that a section belongs to JE, the fusion of the two documents has often been effected with such skill that their disentanglement is inevitably both delicate and difficult. For the non-Mosaic character of the book and the date of the documents it incorporates see the Introduction to the Pentateuch.

From the literary we pass to the historical problems. It is pointed out elsewhere (pp. 123f.) that even the later books of the Pent. contain many inconsistencies which prove that they cannot be a record of literal history. This is even more emphatically the case with Gen. The literary analysis is not based exclusively or even mainly on differences in vocabulary and style, but on inconsistencies in statement which prove that the record is not impeccable in its accuracy. Here it may suffice to mention the discrepancies in the narratives of Creation and the Flood, the different accounts given as to the origin of the names Beersheba, Bethel, and Israel, the variations as to the names of Esau's wives. The story as it stands raises insuperable chronological difficulties. As illustrations we may take Sarah's adventure with Pharaoh when she was more than 65 and with Abimelech when she was 89; the sending of Jacob to marry into his mother's family when he was 77, and his actual marriage at 84 (p. 157); the representation of Benjamin as quite youthful when he was the father of ten sons; the crowding of all the events in Gen. 38, together with the birth of two sons to Perez (4612), into 22 years, so that Judah becomes a grandfather in much less than 10 years.

Apart from internal inconsistencies there are intrinsic incredibilities. That the story of the Deluge is not unvarnished history is shown in the Introduction to it. The narrative of creation cannot be reconciled with our present knowledge except by special pleading which verges on dishonesty. The period allowed for human history is far too short; nor can we suppose that angels mated with women and begat a race of demigods (61–4).

Once this is recognised, better justice can be done to the character of the book, and the extent to which it contains actual history can be made the subject of dispassionate inquiry. It is a modern prejudice to suppose that historical inaccuracy is incompatible with genuine revelation, or that myth and legend are unworthy vehicles for the communication of spiritual truth. Myth and legend, like poetry and parable, often convey religious teaching much more effectively than bare historical narrative.

The line between myth and legend is hard to draw, but the general distinction is clear. Dr. Skinner says: "The practically important distinction is that the legend does, and the myth does not, start from the plane of historic fact. The myth is properly a story of the gods, originating in an impression produced on the primitive mind by the more imposing phenomena of nature, while legend attaches itself to the personages and movements of real history" (ICC, p. viii). Much in Gen. 1–11 is of mythical origin; but it has been purified in various degrees by the religious genius of Israel and the spirit of revelation. The most naked piece of mythology is the story of the angel marriages (61–4), which was once, no doubt, much grosser. There are mythical elements in the story of the Tower of Babel. The narrative of Eden is rich in mythical traits: the garden of Yahweh where He walks after the heat of the day is over; the formation of man from the dust and of woman from the rib of man; the magical trees, one conferring immortality, the other supernatural knowledge; the serpent gifted with wisdom and the power of speech; the cherubim and the whirling fiery sword. The priestly narrative of creation (11–24*a*) is ultimately derived from a frankly mythical story, still known to us in its Babylonian forms, but the striking feature is the all but complete obliteration of mythology. The same applies to the story of the Deluge. But if this originated in a historical event it belongs primarily to the category of legend, though in Babylonia it is legend turned into myth. Possibly the story of Cain and Abel, the curse on Canaan, and the blessing of Shem and Japheth refer to the relations of historic or prehistoric peoples.

In the patriarchal history the mythical element is naturally much less prominent. The wrestling of Jacob (3224–32) is the most striking example. The story of his encounter with the angels at Mahanaim (321f.) may be a faded variant of the same theme. His vision at Bethel of the angels passing up and down to heaven on the ladder (2812) and the visit of the three heavenly beings to Abraham (18) have also a mythical colour. There may possibly be some connexion between the twelve sons of Jacob and the twelve signs of the Zodiac. We should have to recognise the thoroughly mythical character of the patriarchal narratives if we supposed with E. Meyer that the patriarchs were originally deities, or with Winckler

that the stories are to be interpreted in terms of the astral mythology. The tangible evidence for the former view is extremely slight, and much of it capable of a less far-fetched explanation; the latter would involve the acceptance of a far-reaching theory which, in the judgment of most scholars, has not been substantiated, while this interpretation in particular is open to additional objections of its own. A more tenable view would be that the leading personalities were nations or tribes. It is in fact probable that at certain points tribal is disguised as personal history. Possibly, as already mentioned, Cain and Abel, more probably Shem, Japheth, and Canaan, should be so interpreted. So also the story of Judah in 38 (*cf.* p. 162). Similarly, the story of Joseph's residence in Egypt, where he was subsequently joined by his father and brothers, might point to successive Hebrew migrations into Egypt. The birth of Benjamin after Jacob's return from Paddan-aram might express the fact that the tribe was formed after the settlement in Palestine. Similar interpretations might be put on the separation of Abraham and Lot, the story of Reuben and Bilhah, and that of Shechem and Dinah. Still, many of these instances are very dubious. It is important to observe that large sections of the history do not lend themselves to this interpretation. In the main the narratives about Abraham do not, nor those about Isaac, nor yet those about Joseph. The two most plausible instances are those of Jacob and Esau, and Jacob and Laban. The former are supposed to reflect the relations between Israel and Edom, the latter those between Israel and Syria. The narrative itself suggests this interpretation for the former. The prenatal struggles of Jacob and Esau prefigure the struggles of the nations, the elder of which is to serve the younger (25$_{23}$). This is practically endorsed in the blessings of Isaac (27$_{27-29,39}$f.), but with the addition that Esau will ultimately break off the yoke of Jacob. Yet the actual story is far from reflecting the later relations. Of course the bitterest antagonism between the two peoples belongs to the period after the destruction of Jerusalem, and such a hymn of hate as Is. 34 or 63$_{1-6}$ would not have expressed Israel's feeling in the pre-exilic period. But Israel's subjugation of Edom in war is not very aptly represented by the narrative in Gen. Jacob buys the birthright by driving a hard bargain with Esau; he obtains the blessing by cheating and falsehood. Esau's anger is not pushed to extremities. Jacob secures his brother's friendship by grovelling submission and a very substantial present, and there is no suggestion of any hostility after his settlement in Palestine. Nor does the story of Jacob and Laban, closing with the friendly compact not to violate each other's territories, at all agree with the bitter and prolonged antagonism between Israel and Syria in the period of the monarchy.

The various attempts to interpret the patriarchs as gods, nations, or tribes are thus open to very serious objections. It is accordingly safer to recognise that the leading figures in the story were actual personalities. But this, of course, does not guarantee the stories in detail. The discrepancies sufficiently show this. The same incident is related with reference to more than one character or different accounts are given of the same thing. Comparative study shows the reappearance in our book of tales and *motifs* familiar in the folklore of other nations. Few things are more familiar than the way in which incidents or sayings originally anonymous gravitate to famous names. And it is not inopportune to point out that archæological investigation has so far done nothing to rehabilitate any stories which a sober criticism has doubted, or to give the patriarchs any definite position in the history of their time. The crucial case here is that of Chedorlaomer's expedition (14), and this is examined in the introduction to that chapter. Fidelity in depicting local or national conditions is no guarantee of historicity, especially where conditions remain stable for many centuries.

Attention should be called to one feature which has played a prominent part in the creation or moulding of narratives in our book. Many of the stories are ætiological, that is, they supply an answer to the question, What gave rise to such customs, instincts, conditions, names as those with which we are familiar? The story of Eden answers several such questions (p. 139). The story of Babel not only accounts for the existence of an unfinished or dilapidated tower, but explains why it is that although peoples have all a common parentage, they speak such different languages. Similar examples are the accounts as to the origin of the arts and modes of life, music, metal work, city building, vine culture and the manufacture of wine, the pastoral occupation. So, too, the origin of such a rite as circumcision or the taboo on the sinew of the hip, natural phenomena such as the rainbow and the desolate condition of the Dead Sea region. The land system of Egypt, so different from that of the Hebrews, is traced to Joseph's policy of turning the necessities of the famine to the royal interest. Explanations are given as to the origin of names: Eve, Cain, Seth, Noah, Abraham, Moab, Ben-ammi, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, Edom, Jacob's children, Perez, Manasseh, and Ephraim; and among names of places, Beer-lahai-roi, Zoar, Beersheba, Bethel, Mizpah, Mahanaim, Peniel, Succoth, Abel-mizraim.

A few words may be added on the religious and moral value of the book. Happily this does not depend upon its historical accuracy. Nothing shows more impressively the power of Israel's religion than a comparison between the polytheistic and unmoral stories of Creation and the Flood in their Babylonian forms and the pure monotheism and stern ethical quality of the Heb. narratives. Heathen material has been used, but it has been filled with the spirit of Israel's religion (p. 51). The conception of God, especially in the older documents, is often anthropomorphic, but genuine religion does not really suffer through a quality for which allowance can readily be made, which was specially helpful in earlier days for the concrete and vivid reality it gave to the idea of God, and which still invests the stories with much of their deathless charm. If the theological and ethical statements scattered through the book were to be collected they would include much moral and spiritual truth clothed with a worthy expression. But what is most precious would have escaped us. It is not the explicit formulation of principles and beliefs, nor even these distilled from the narratives, it is the narratives themselves as they stand which yield us most for edification, guidance, and inspiration. The records hold up the mirror to nature, they depict for us actual situations in which our common thoughts and emotions find ample play. Many types of character are here, no lifeless blocks on which the moralist sets off his wares, but warm and living, a human heart beating in the breast and human blood throbbing through the veins. As contributions to scientific history our estimate of their value may be reduced; as channels of instruction, warning, stimulus, they remain unimpaired, we might say enhanced in value, since attention is

now concentrated on the abiding content rather than the transitory form. The surest way in which to gain from them the best they have to give us is not to be seeking over-anxiously for their moral, but to permit them to make their own impression through intimate familiarity with them, aided by close study of the best which has been written about them.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Driver** (West. C), **Bennett** (Cent. B), **Ryle** (CB), Mitchell; (*b*) **Skinner** (ICC), Spurrell; (*c*) *Dillmann (KEH), *Delitzsch, Holzinger (KHC), **Gunkel** (HK, SAT), Procksch; (*d*) F. W. Robertson, *Lectures on Genesis*, Dods (Ex.B), Strahan, *Hebrew Ideals*. *Other Literature:* Discussions in OT Introductions and in Dictionaries of the Bible; Ball, *Genesis* (SBOT Heb.), Wade, *The Book of Genesis*, Bacon, *The Genesis of Genesis*, Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, Ryle, *Early Narratives of Genesis*, Gordon, *The Early Traditions of Genesis*.

I. 1–II. 4a. The Priestly Story of Creation.—This section belongs to the Priestly Document (P). This is shown by the use of several of its characteristic terms, by the constant repetition of the formulæ, and by the formal arrangement. P's interest in the origin of religious institutions is displayed in the explanation of the origin of the Sabbath. The lofty monotheism of the section is also characteristic of his theological position.

The story rests upon a much older tradition, mainly, it would seem, Babylonian in its origin. There are several striking parallels with the Babylonian creation legend. The "deep" or watery chaos (*tehom*) (1₂) corresponds to the Babylonian Tiamat. Darkness is over this chaos. There is a rending of sky and earth from each other, and the creation of a solid expanse or firmament which divides the upper waters from the waters of the earth, and in which the heavenly bodies are placed. There are also serious differences, due largely to the absence of the polytheistic and mythological element from the Biblical account (p. 51). Even if the Spirit of God that broods over the abyss is a remnant of mythology, yet the Hebrew account represents God as existing before the creative process begins, and as willing and controlling it, whereas in the Babylonian legend the gods come into existence during the process. Nor is there any trace of opposition between the abyss and the creative power in Genesis; though it is not said that chaos was created by God, it rather seems to have an independent existence beside Him. The Phœnician cosmogony presents striking parallels, such as the existence at first of chaos and spirit, and the egg, from which the universe was produced, which seems to be implied in the Hebrew narrative in the reference to the brooding of the Spirit. It is probable, in spite of the striking differences, that the Biblical account has its ultimate origin in the Babylonian mythology rather than that both are, as Dillmann thinks, independent developments of a primitive Semitic myth. Gunkel has argued forcibly that the work of creation was explained by analogy from the rebirth of the world in spring after the winter, or in the morning after the night, and that the phenomena depicted can have been suggested only in an alluvial country like Babylonia. But it has derived elements from other sources, especially Phœnician and possibly Egyptian. It appears to have been formed in Palestine, for the purification of the story would involve a long process, and one which would be complete only at a late point in the pre-exilic period. In its present form it is probably not earlier than the exile, and was presumably written on Babylonian soil. But it is most unlikely that the Priestly writer, belonging, as he did, to the rigid school of Ezekiel, should have borrowed consciously from Babylonian mythology.

At what time this myth reached Israel is much disputed. Some think the Hebrews brought it with them from Mesopotamia; others place it in the period known to us from the Tell el-Amarna tablets (about 1450 B.C.) when Babylonian culture exerted great influence on Western Asia and Egypt; others again think of the period of Assyrian rule over Judah. It is unlikely that the Hebrews, even if they brought the Babylonian legend with them from Mesopotamia, would preserve it through all their subsequent experiences. More probably they derived it from the Canaanites, who may have learnt it from the Babylonians in the Tell el-Amarna period (see p. 51). We can thus account for the Canaanite elements that appear to have been incorporated. Some scholars hold that the Hebrews elaborated the creation doctrine at a late period. This does not at all follow from the silence of the earlier prophets, even if, as is not unlikely, the creation passages in Amos are a later addition (pp. 551, 554). For these prophets had little occasion to speak of it. And there are references in the other literature which seem to be early. This is specially true of the creation story in Gen. 2. And in Solomon's dedication words at the consecration of the Temple, restored by Wellhausen from the LXX (p. 298), we read "Yahweh hath set the sun in the heavens." So also in Ex. 20₁₁, which, even if a later addition to the Decalogue, is probably pre-exilic, we read that "in six days Yahweh made heaven and earth." It would be strange if, when the surrounding peoples had creation narratives, Israel had none.

Whether the Priestly writer himself originated the division into six days is uncertain. It is clearly later than the enumeration of the works as eight. For in order to get eight works into six days it has been necessary to put two works on the third and two on the sixth day; and in neither case is the pair well matched; in the former we have the separation of land and water combined with the creation of vegetation, in the latter land-animals and man are created on the same day, though from the lofty position assigned to man, we should have expected his creation to have taken place on a day reserved for it. But the six days' work and the seventh day's rest are probably not due to the Priestly writer. The Sabbath rest for God is so anthropomorphic an idea, that P, who does not represent God as subject to human limitations and affections, must have borrowed it from an older source. Both the six days' work and seventh day's rest are found in Ex. 20₁₁. If this is dependent on our passage, it yields no evidence for an earlier origin of the six days' scheme. But although it does not occur in the Deuteronomic version of the Decalogue, the reason for the commandment substituted in Dt. 5₁₅ probably had its origin in the humane spirit of the Deuteronomic legislation. The differences between Ex. 20₁₁ and Gen. 2₂ are also of a kind to exclude the dependence of the former on the latter. It may, therefore, be assumed that not only the division of creation into eight works but the period of six days lay ready to the author's hand. As it is not found in the Babylonian or Phœnician cosmogonies, it seems probable that the six days' scheme is of Israelitish origin. The eight works may have been borrowed ultimately from a foreign source.

Those who are interested in the once burning question as to the relation between this narrative and modern science should consult the very thorough discussion in Driver's Commentary. Here it must suffice to say that the value of the narrative is not scientific but religious; that it imperils faith to insist on literal accuracy in a story which can only by unjustifiable forcing be made to yield it; that it was more in harmony with the method of inspiration to take current views and purify them so that they might be fit vehicles of religious truth than to anticipate the progress of research by revealing prematurely what men could in due time discover for themselves; and finally that even if this narrative could be harmonised with our present knowledge, we should have the task of harmonising the very different narrative in the second chapter both with the present story and with modern science. (See further p. 12.)

I. 1–5.—Since the formula "These are the generations of" is usually placed by P at the beginning of a section, whereas here it occurs at the end (2*4a*), it is thought by many that its present position is due to its removal from the beginning of this chapter, and that the story opened with the words "These are the generations of the heaven and of the earth." But this implies a different use of "generations" from what we find elsewhere in P, who employs it to express what is produced by the person mentioned. The clause may be an addition. Several scholars connect 1 with 3, rendering "In the beginning when God created the heaven and the earth (now the earth . . . . the waters), then God said, Let there be light: and there was light." This makes the creation of light the main point, the creation of heaven and earth serving simply to date God's command "Let there be light." But surely the creation of light thus receives an excessive emphasis, while the placing of 2 in a parenthesis makes the sentence very awkward and involved. It is better to retain the RV rendering, according to which 1 is an independent sentence. It is possible that this verse narrates the creation of the primæval chaos, described in 2; but, since heaven and earth are cosmos rather than chaos, it is far more likely that it gives in a summary form what is to be told in detail in the rest of the chapter. To us the word "created" most naturally suggests to create out of nothing. But whether this was the writer's view or not, the term probably does not express it. Its meaning is uncertain; most usually it is given as "to cut" or "to carve." It is characteristic of, and is generally, though not invariably, found in late writings, but it does not follow that it must be a comparatively late word. Neither here nor elsewhere is Scripture committed to the doctrine of absolute creation. Heb. 11*3* does not assert creation out of nothing; it denies creation from "things which do appear," *i.e.* out of the phenomenal. Basilides the Gnostic, who taught in the former part of the second century A.D., was perhaps the first to teach it (see Hatch, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 195f.); earlier statements often quoted may be otherwise explained. 2 describes the condition of things before this Divine action began. "The earth," as we know it, had not come into being, but the writer uses the word to describe the formless mass, in which were confused together the elements God would disentangle to make the ordered universe. This chaos was illumined by no ray of light, the deep lay under a thick pall of darkness, and over its surface the spirit of God was already brooding (*mg.*), as a bird on the eggs in its nest. Are we to suppose that the brooding has a similar result? Milton's invocation to the Spirit:

> "Thou from the first
> Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread,
> Dove-like satst brooding on the vast abyss,
> And mad'st it pregnant:"

corresponds to the impression made on the modern reader; but it is questionable whether it is that intended by the writer, who regards creation as achieved simply by God's word. The term "spirit of God" is not to be interpreted through later theological usage and identified with the Holy Spirit; more probably it is an expression for the life-giving energy of God. Perhaps we have here a relic of a mythological feature in the original story, which may have told how the gods came into existence through this brooding over the world-egg, a thought which the severe monotheism of Israel could not tolerate.

Such, then, was this dark chaotic confusion before God Himself began to act upon it. There are eight creative acts, each introduced with the formula "And God said." There is no manipulation of matter by God's fingers, but all is achieved by God's word, which is living and active, and instinct with Divine power. "By this effortless word God called the various orders of creation into existence and carried to completion His stupendous task. Here there is no conflict with the hostile demon of darkness and chaos as in the Babylonian myth, no struggle to bend the reluctant matter to His will, no laborious shaping and moulding of raw stuff into the finished product, but the mere utterance of the word achieves at once and perfectly the Divine intention" (Peake, *Heroes and Martyrs of Faith*, pp. 27f.). And just as, after darkness and sleep, the light comes that man may go forth to his work till the night closes in when no man can work, so after the eternal night which has rested on the abyss, light comes, to be followed by God's creative work. For the Hebrews light and darkness were "physical essences" (Cheyne), each having its own abode (Job 38*19f.*), from which each in turn issued to illumine or darken the world. When light was first created, it streamed out into the darkness, and mingled with it as one fluid with another. But such a confusion it is the purpose of creation to overcome, so God separates the light from the darkness. This separation is partly temporal, as 5 indicates; each has a period in the twenty-four hours in which to function, yielding then the field to the other. But the temporal rests on a local separation. The two are disentangled, and then each is assigned first its local habitation (Job 38*19f.*), then its period of operation. Light is thus not due to the heavenly bodies, which come into being only on the fourth day; it has an independent existence. And it is entirely adequate to its purpose, for God pronounces it "good," by which He means that it corresponded to His design, the result was precisely what He had intended. To the light He gives the name of Day, to the darkness the name Night. The temporal mingling of light and darkness, which we call twilight, is much briefer in Palestine or Babylonia than in our northern climes. Thus the work of the first day, reckoned probably from morning to morning, is accomplished. The period of light is followed by evening and darkness, which comes to an end with the next morning, when the second day begins. Render, "And evening

came, and morning came, one day" (Driver), and similarly throughout the chapter.

6–8. When, on the second morning, light resumes the sway which had been interrupted by the night, God begins the task of evolving order out of chaos. First He makes a "firmament," by which is meant a solid vault over-arching the earth. Then the waters of the abyss are divided into two portions, one of which is placed above this firmament, to constitute the waters of the upper or heavenly ocean, the other left where it was, to form "the deep that coucheth beneath" (Gen. 49$_{25}$). This, it must be understood, is not identical with the ocean, though the ocean issued from it (Job 38$_{8-11}$); it is beneath both sea and land. It feeds the sea through openings in the bed of the ocean, "the springs of the sea" (Job 38$_{16}$*) or "the fountains of the great deep" (Gen. 7$_{11}$). In the vault of the sky there are "windows" (Gen. 7$_{11}$) or sluices ("the channel for the waterflood," Job 38$_{25}$*); when these are opened the waters of the heavenly ocean stream down on the earth in the form of torrential rain. The representation of the division of the waters of the abyss probably goes back to the Babylonian account of the division of the corpse of Tiamat by Marduk after that deity had vanquished her. We are told that he split her in two like a flat fish, and made one half a covering for the heaven; then he fixed a bar and set a watchman, bidding them not let her waters escape. The other half of the corpse is said by Berossus (third century B.C.) to have been made into the earth; and we can hardly doubt that, though this is not explicitly stated in our cuneiform sources, it correctly represents the authentic Babylonian view. The formula "and it was so" has been accidentally transferred from its proper place at the end of 6, where the LXX reads it, to the end of 7. The omission of the clause "and God saw that it was good" may be accidental, the LXX reads it after "heaven."

9–13. Two acts are assigned to the third day, the separation of land and water, and the creation of vegetation. The former was apparently effected by the draining of the waters which covered the land into a receptacle (for "one place" LXX reads "one gathering"), so that the dry land emerged into view. It was now possible for it to be clothed with vegetation, first the tender grass, then the herbs or larger plants, and finally trees, especially those that bore fruit. Thus the way is prepared for the creation of man and animal, their food-supply being now provided (29f.). Possibly, however, the term "grass" may be intended to cover "herb" and "tree," in which case it means not grass but all vegetation in its earliest stage. The herb yields seed, the tree yields seed enclosed in fruit. Each genus remains fixed, and reproduces "after its kinds" (render by the plural here and in 12,24f.), *i.e.* the various species embraced in it.

14–19. The second set of four works on the last three days corresponds to the set of four on the first three. Thus we have the creation of light and of the luminaries; the firmament separating the upper from the lower waters, and the birds which fly across the firmament and the fish in the sea; the appearance of the land and creation of land animals; finally the creation of herbs and fruit, and the creation of man, who till the Flood subsists entirely upon these.

The heavenly bodies are described as they appear to us, hence the stars are a mere appendix to the "two great lights," added almost as an after-thought, possibly by some scribe or reader. The plain meaning of the passage is that the lights were created on the fourth day, not that they had been created before and only then became visible! They are attached to the firmament, and serve as lamps for the earth. They also regulate the festivals and other occasions, secular as well as sacred, and the divisions between day and night, and they determine the length of the year. They serve, moreover, as "signs," perhaps in the astrological sense as foreshadowing the future. But they are not to be worshipped, nor are they even represented here, as often in Scripture, as animated beings (21*).

20–23. On the fifth day were created the denizens of the water and the atmosphere; the creatures that move in swarms in the water, all winged creatures, including insects, and the sea monsters, especially, perhaps, such as belong to mythology, and fishes. The rendering "bring forth abundantly" is inaccurate; the margin gives the sense, though it would be better to translate with Driver, "Let the waters swarm with swarming things (even) living souls." The term is used of creatures that move in swarms whether in the water (as here) or out of it. The RV often renders it "creeping things" (similarly the verb), which is the proper rendering of a noun (*remes*) 24, the verb of which is translated "moveth" in 21. On the distinction see Driver's article, *Creeping Things*, in HDB. The rendering "creature that hath life" is more tolerable to the English ear than "living souls," but it conceals the interesting fact that the term "souls" could be used of the lower creation as well as of men. There is no necessity to infer that the author regarded the winged creatures as derived from the water. The fact that they fly in "front of the firmament," *i.e.* skim the surface of the sky turned towards the earth, shows that the writer regarded it as quite near.

24–31. The sixth day is occupied with the creation of the land animals and of man. It is natural that a much fuller space than usual should be accorded to the latter. And the solemnity of the act is marked by the formula of deliberation, "Let us make man." The plural has been variously explained. Setting aside as beyond the range of the OT the view that the Father addresses the Son and the Holy Spirit, and the view that God speaks of Himself in the plural since He is the fulness of energies and powers, as too artificial, the most obvious explanation is that God is addressing the heavenly assembly (*cf.* 1 K. 22 19–22, Is. 6$_{8}$). Yet there is difficulty in this view, for P ignores angels altogether; nor would he regard them as sharing in the work of creation; nor, probably, would he think of man as made in their image as well as in God's; *cf.* 27, "in his own image, in the image of God." The original sense was perhaps polytheistic; naturally this was impossible to the author, and if he reflected on the formula he would presumably interpret it of the heavenly council. No distinction seems to be intended between the image and the likeness. Originally this may have been physically conceived; man was thought to be like God in external appearance. But the author presumably would be drawn rather to a spiritual and intellectual interpretation, laying stress on man's community of nature with God. Creation in the image of God differentiates man from all other creatures on the earth (*cf.* 9$_{6}$), hence he is fitted to rule over them (for "over all the earth" in 26 read "over every living creature of the earth," with the

Syriac); *cf.* the fine development of the theme in Ps. 8, and the deeper discussion in Heb. 2$_{5-9}$. The reference to the creation of both sexes most naturally suggests that they originated at the same time, a view very different from that followed in the other creation story, 2$_{18-23}$. Men and animals are regarded as living on a vegetarian diet in the period before the Flood (9$_{3f.}$). There would thus be peace between men and animals, and in the animal world itself. To man is allotted the seed and fruit, to beasts and birds "the greenness of herbs" (30), *i.e.* the leafage.

24. Render, "Let the earth bring forth living soul after its kinds."—28. The change from "fill" in 22 to "replenish" here is misleading to the modern reader, who is unaware that at an earlier period the words were equivalent in sense. The same Heb. word is used in both places and in 9$_{1}$.—**29f. meat**: *i.e.* food, not animal food merely.

II. 1–4a. Thus in six days God completed His work of creation, and as He reviewed it He uttered the same verdict on the whole, only in a heightened form ("very good" and not merely "good") that He had uttered on the successive stages. For the whole is not the mere sum of the parts, it is a unity in which these separate parts dovetail into each other and work together in perfect mutual adjustment and co-operation. It is here described as "the heaven and the earth . . . and all the host of them." The host of heaven generally means the stars, though it is sometimes used for the angels, and since the stars were often regarded as animate bodies (*e.g.* Jg. 5$_{20}$, Job 38$_{7}$*, Rev. 9$_{1f.}$), the transition from one sense to the other was easy. Our author ignores the angels, and treats the stars simply as lamps in the firmament. In Job 38$_{7}$, the morning stars sang when the foundations of the earth were laid, and the sons of God (*i.e.* the angels) raised their joyful shout. The host of earth is not elsewhere mentioned, its occurrence here is due simply to the combination of earth with heaven. The whole phrase means the total contents of heaven and earth. After work is finished man rests, so also God. Here, indeed, the word used implies simply that He ceased to work, but our author elsewhere says of God that He "refreshed Himself" or, to render more literally, "took breath" on the seventh day (Ex. 31$_{17}$), a startling anthropomorphism in P, all the more so that in the creation narrative itself all is achieved by the utterance of the word. Since, then, the author seems to have regarded the work as involving no toil, and therefore as causing no weariness which demanded rest, we must assume that he is here using an idea which he did not originate. He is not interested in the rest of God in itself so much as in the institution of the Sabbath, for which it provides the basis. The seventh day which had brought rest to God is singled out for His blessing, and "hallowed" or set apart as a sacred day on which man may rest. On the origin of the Sabbath see pp. 101f. Our story is an explanation to account for an already existing institution. The Heb. text of 2, however, creates a difficulty. It seems to state that God completed His work on the seventh day. But the whole point is that no work at all was done on the seventh day; the task was finished by the end of the sixth. The expedients to impose a satisfactory sense on the text do not seem to be successful, and the simplest course is to read (with Sam., LXX, Syr.) "And on the sixth day God finished." This is so much easier that it might seem to be a correction to remove a difficulty (p. 42), but "seventh" was probably introduced by the inadvertence of a scribe under the influence of the references to the seventh day in the rest of the passage.

3. created and made: more strictly "creatively made," *i.e.* God acted in His work as creator, this was part of His *creative* as distinguished from other forms of His activity.—**4. these . . . created**: this clause is probably a later insertion (see Skinner's full discussion). If so, the editor probably intended it to refer to the narrative which follows, the formula meaning "this is the history of."

II. 4b–III. 24. J's Story of Creation and Paradise Lost.—This story does not belong to P, for it is free from its characteristics in style, vocabulary, and point of view. It is distinguished from P's creation story by differences in form and in matter. The regular and precise arrangement, the oft-repeated formulæ, the prosaic style are here absent. We have, instead, a bright and vivid style, a story rather than a chronicle. The frank anthropomorphism would have been repugnant to the priestly writer, and a marked difference is to be observed between the two accounts. P starts from a watery chaos, this narrative from a dry waste. P represents the development of life as moving in a climax up to the creation of man and woman, while here man seems to be created first, then plants and animals, and woman last of all. The use of Yahweh, the anthropomorphism, and several characteristic expressions combine to show that this section must be assigned to the Yahwist group of narratives. The use of the double name Yahweh Elohim (rendered LORD God) raises the question whether we should assign the section to J. Possibly two documents have been combined, one of which used Yahweh from the first while the other used Elohim till the time of Enosh (4$_{26}$). But a sufficient explanation is that the writer used Yahweh alone, while an editor added Elohim to identify Yahweh with the Elohim of the priestly story. We may, accordingly, refer this section to J. Yet it bears the marks of a rather complicated literary history, and elements from different sources seem to be present in it.

The most important of the literary problems is that raised with reference to the two trees. According to 2$_{9}$ the tree in the midst of the garden is the tree of life, in 3$_{3}$ it is the forbidden tree, *i.e.* the tree of knowledge. The ambiguity gains further significance when we find a double reason assigned for the expulsion from the garden, (*a*) that the man should suffer the penalty of gaining his bread by the sweat of his brow, (*b*) that he should not eat of the tree of life. Probably two stories have been combined; one spoke of the tree of knowledge, the other of the tree of life. Since the latter has several parallels in myths of the golden age, it probably belongs to a much older story than that of the tree of knowledge, which appears to be of Heb. origin. But the later story has apparently been preserved in full, the older only in fragments. We must, accordingly, seek to understand the original meaning of both.

In the volume of *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway*, Sir J. G. Frazer has made a suggestion of great interest as to the tree of life. In myths accounting for the origin of death the serpent often occurs. It is commonly believed that with the casting of its skin it renews its youth, and so never dies. This immortality was designed for men, but the serpent by learning the secret filched the boon from them. Frazer suggests that there were two trees, the tree of life

and the tree of death. The Creator left man to choose, hoping that he would choose the tree of life. The serpent, knowing the secret, persuaded the woman to eat of the tree of death, that the other might be left to him. This was the motive of his conduct, which in the present form of the story is inexplicable, and accounts more fully for the hatred between man and the serpent. The story may have ended, This is how it is that man dies while the serpent lives for ever.

It will be seen that this story is, to use the technical term, ætiological (p. 134), *i.e.* it explains the reason for certain facts, it answers the question "Why?" Why does man die while the serpent is immortal? Why do man and the serpent feel such antipathy for each other? The story of the tree of knowledge is however, much deeper. Whether the Heb. narrator took the story of the tree of life for his starting-point or whether the two stories were originally independent, and only such elements of the older narrative were taken over as could be combined with the later, may be left undetermined. But the later also is ætiological. Only we must not suppose that its object is to account for the origin of sin. The author was not concerned with the problems which the chapter presented to Jewish theology and to Paul. He is answering the questions, Why is man's lot one of such exacting toil? Why does birth cost such agony to the mother? What is the origin of sex and the secret of the mutual attraction of the sexes? Whence the sense of shame, and the clothes which distinguish man from the beast? Why, when all other land animals go on legs, does the serpent glide along the ground and eat dust?

But what is the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and how does the eating of its fruit open the eyes? To the modern reader the most obvious answer is that eating the forbidden fruit brings with it a knowledge of moral distinctions and the sense of shame and guilt. This can hardly be the real meaning. The author surely did not believe that a knowledge of the distinction between right and wrong was improper for mankind; all the more that this is already presupposed in a prohibition which may be met with obedience or disobedience. The choice of the tree is not arbitrary, as if any prohibition would be equally fit for the purpose. The object is not to test obedience, but to guard against a trespass. Just as the tree of life has the property of communicating immortality, so the other tree confers knowledge. They are magical trees; God Himself, it is suggested, cannot prevent any who eat the fruit from enjoying the qualities they bestow (3^{22}). Moreover, it is hinted that the reason for the prohibition is protection of the heavenly powers. If man acquires immortality after gaining knowledge, he becomes a menace to them. Just as, if the builders of the tower are not restrained, they will not be thwarted in their heaven-storming plan (11$^{4-9}$), so man, having become like the heavenly ones in knowledge, must not be permitted endless life in which to use it. Now, clearly, it is not familiarity with the difference between right and wrong, but the knowledge that is power which is meant. Good and evil have no moral significance here. According to a common Heb. idiom, the phrase may mean the knowledge of things in general; but the sense is perhaps more specific, the knowledge of things so far as they are useful or harmful; an insight into the properties of things. Such a knowledge is reserved for Yahweh and the other Elohim; and just as in the story of the angel-marriages (6$^{1-4}$) and the tower of Babel (11$^{1-9}$) Yahweh resents any transgression of the limits He has set, so here. Yet it is not mere jealousy or fear that prompts His action. The writer is in full sympathy with the prohibition. Knowledge has been gained, but with it pain and shame, the loss of happiness and innocence. Civilisation has meant no increase of man's blessedness but the reverse. Had he been content to abide a child, he might have remained in Paradise, but he grasped at knowledge and was for ever banished from the garden of God.

The literary beauty of the narrative, the delicacy and truth of its psychology, have long been the object of merited admiration. And though it has been mishandled by theologians to yield a doctrine of original sin, yet it describes with wonderful insight the inner history of the individual. He insists on buying his own experience in spite of the Divine warning, only to find that he has purchased it at a ruinous cost, and that conscience awakens when the sin is irretrievable and remorse unavailing.

The representation of the original condition of things as a dry waste, and of fertility as normally dependent on rain, does not suit Babylonian conditions, nor yet the reference to the fig-tree. Hence, if the story originated in Babylonia, which is uncertain, it has been much modified to suit Palestinian conditions. The Hebrews may have received it directly from the Phœnicians and Canaanites, but we may be sure that it has been greatly deepened by the genius of Israel.

II. 4b–17. The narrative begins with the words "In the day," but the construction is uncertain. Perhaps 5f. is a parenthesis, so that man was formed at the period when "earth and heaven" (J's phrase for P's "the heaven and the earth") were made, before there was any vegetation. The absence of vegetation is due to the absence of rain and of a man to till the ground. In 6, however, we are told of a "mist," or as we should probably render, a "flood," which irrigated the ground. 6 may be out of place (possibly added with 10–14), for rain would be unnecessary if irrigation was secured by a periodical overflow as in Egypt or Babylonia. After earth and heaven had been made, Yahweh moulded man (*'ādām*) from the ground (*'ădāmah*) as a potter moulds images from clay, and breathed into his nostrils "breath of life" so that he became a living being. Then He planted a garden or park far away to the E. of Palestine, in a district known as Eden. It was apparently His own home (3^{8}), but He placed man in it. He then caused such trees to grow in this garden as were pleasant to the eye and good for food, and in particular the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Of other species of trees in the garden or of any trees outside, the author says nothing, nor yet of plants or flowers whether in the garden or without, since he selects those features which lead up to the story in the next chapter. Yahweh charged the man with the care of the garden, and permitted him to use all the trees for food, save that He forbade him the tree of knowledge on pain of death. The position of Eden is more definitely fixed by 10–14 (usually taken to be an insertion). A river rises in Eden, flows through the garden, and on leaving it, branches into four rivers. Hiddekel is the Tigris in front of Assyria, approaching it from Palestine. The fourth river is Euphrates. The writer apparently thought of these as springing from one source. Hence he regarded Eden as situated at their point of divergence, and the source of the other two rivers was the same. But his geography was ancient rather than modern, and no one has combined his statements into a consistent scheme. Havilah is unknown, but perhaps in

Arabia. Cush is generally supposed to be Ethiopia. In that case Gihon is probably the Nile, though it may be the Indus, which was supposed to be the upper part of the Nile, in which case Pishon might be the Ganges. Other suggestions may be seen in the commentaries.

4. the LORD: *i.e.* Yahweh. On the significance of the name see Ex. 3$^{13-15}$*, where an explanation of the form "Jehovah" (*mg.*) and the reasons for pronouncing the name *Yahweh* are also given.

11. compasseth: not necessarily "surrounds"; the verb may mean "to pass along one side of" (Nu. 21$_4$, Jg. 11$_{18}$).—**12. bdellium:** probably a fragrant gum.—**onyx:** either this or "beryl" (*mg.*) is the probable meaning.—**17.** The original text was presumably "the tree in the midst of the garden," for the woman so describes it in 3$_3$, and if the tree had been mentioned under its true name, the point of the serpent's revelation would have been rather anticipated and so blunted. When the two trees were brought together, the change was made to avoid confusion.

II. 18–25.—Up to this point one living creature alone has been formed, and he is a man. But Yahweh realises that loneliness is unwholesome for him, so He decides to give him a companion to share his life and help him in his work. It is to be a help "answering to him" (*mg.*), *i.e.* of his own nature. So, as He had formed man out of the ground, He formed from the same source the animals and the birds, and brought them to the man to see what he called them. The name expresses the nature, hence the naming of the animals showed what impression they made on him. But none of the names indicated any consciousness of fitness for companionship with himself. This experiment then having failed, for all the range of forms that was covered, Yahweh realised that something quite different was needed. To be made of the same clay was not enough, man and his comrade must be of the same flesh and bone, his companion must be literally a part of himself. He cast the man into a trance-sleep, for it was not fitting that he should penetrate Divine secrets or see Yahweh at work, took a rib from his side and built it (*mg.*) into a woman and brought her to the man as He had brought the animals. This time the experiment proved a complete success. "Now at last," the man exclaims, "after all my weary search I find my companion, bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh." This intimacy of relationship is naturally expressed in a name "woman" (*'isshah*) which contains "man" (*'ish*) as part of itself. And this is why man seeks the woman, forsaking for her the authors of his being; man and woman were originally one flesh, in wedlock they became one flesh again. Finally the author notes the absence of shame in spite of their nakedness, and thus leads up to Yahweh's discovery of their disobedience.

III. 1–24. Among the animals formed by Yahweh, in His first attempt to provide man with a companion, was the serpent; at that time either a quadruped or holding itself erect. It was eminent among its fellows for cleverness. In antiquity serpents were often regarded as mysteriously gifted with wisdom or cunning, sometimes as good but more often as evil. It is a mistake to think of it here as an incarnation of the devil; the ability to speak and reason is quite commonly attributed to the animals in folk-stories. Its wisdom is shown in the familiarity with the nature of the tree, its cunning in the intentional mistake it makes as to the prohibition, by which the woman is led to correct it and thus the opening for conversation is made. Craftily it contrives to instil a resentment at God's unreasonableness into the woman's mind: can it really be that God has insisted on a condition so unheard-of as this? Possibly the effect is to be seen in the woman's addition of touching to the prohibition of eating, thus making it more exacting. The woman describes the tree by its position, probably since she does not know its name or its quality. (On the difficulty that in 2$_9$ "the tree in the midst of the garden" is the tree of life, see p. 138.) The serpent now discloses the true nature of the tree and the reason for the Divine prohibition. The tree confers knowledge such as God wishes to be the monopoly of the Elohim or heavenly beings. The tree has no fatal properties, but will lift you in this respect to the Divine level. The woman scrutinises the tree as she had not done before, and sees that it is as the serpent has said. Its fruit is not deadly but good to eat, its beauty attracts her, the promise of wisdom completes the fascination; she eats and shares the forbidden fruit with her husband. The serpent has indeed told the truth; they become mature at a bound, their eyes are opened. The first effect of this guilty deed is the loss of sexual unconsciousness and the birth of shame. This leads them to make girdles of fig leaves, which were very unsuitable, but chosen for mention as the largest leaves of Palestinian trees. But they have still to meet Yahweh. It is, it would seem, His habit to walk in His garden at evening, just as men do in Palestine when the cold wind blows in from the sea. So in the cool of the evening (not of the morning) they hear the sound of His movement and hide. Yahweh calls out to learn where the man is. The man alleges his nakedness in explanation of the fear with which he shrank from meeting his Maker, and thus inadvertently discloses what he has done. When taxed with his disobedience he puts the blame on the woman, for the gift of whom he reminds Yahweh that He was responsible. The woman in turn explains that the serpent enticed her. The serpent is not questioned, not because he is a mere beast (such an estimate being modern) but because Yahweh is aware that no fourth party stands in the background, the scheme was hatched in the snake's clever brain. He is picked out from among (*mg.*) all cattle for a curse; to lose his upright posture and eat dirt, to hate and be hated by the woman's posterity. In the perpetual feud between them man crushes with his foot the serpent's head, but in doing so is bitten in the heel. There is no Messianic reference in the passage, and the last clause ("and . . . heel") may be a gloss. The woman is punished by the pangs of childbirth, promoted by her desire for man's society, and by his rule over her. The man is punished by the cursing of the ground; thorns spring up of themselves, food only at the cost of hard toil. And at the end comes death: made from the dust, back to the dust man goes; the threatened penalty of 2$_{17}$ is not enforced. Clothing more adequate than fig-leaves is provided by Yahweh's own hands, possibly from the skins of sacrificed victims. But since man has become like the Elohim in point of knowledge, there is a danger that he may eat also from the tree of life, and thus, winning immortality, become like them altogether. To prevent this, he and the woman are driven from the garden, and the way to the tree of life is guarded by the cherubim and a whirling fiery sword. The cherubim appear here as custodians of the entrance; they resemble the griffins who watch over treasures. (See Ps. 18$_{10}$*, Is. 6$_2$*.)

15. bruise: the Heb. word occurs only here and in

Job 917, Ps. 13910, where the text is probably corrupt. Its meaning is uncertain, but the general sense of the passage is clear.—**20** seems out of place, and may belong to a story, only fragments of which have been here included.

IV. 1–16. The Story of Cain and Abel.—This belongs to the J cycle of stories, but apparently not to the same stratum as 3, for it is assumed that the earth has a population from which Cain fears vengeance, and the curse in 411f. ignores the cursing of the ground in 317–19. Originally then the story was placed in a later period of human history: its present position is perhaps due to the identification of Cain the murderer with Cain the firstborn of Eve. Whether the original story had to do with peoples or individuals is uncertain; in any case Stade's theory that it accounted for the nomad life of the Kenites is improbable in spite of the identity in the name.

The two brothers naturally brought their offerings from the produce of their callings. Cain's offering was not rejected because it was bloodless; the fault apparently lay in himself (7). His failure breeds resentment, which, in spite of Yahweh's warning, leads him to kill Abel in the field, to which he had invited his brother to accompany him (*mg.*). Yahweh learns of the murder from the cry uttered by Abel's blood. It was a widely-spread belief that blood which fell on the ground cried for vengeance (Ezek. 247f., Is. 2621, Job 1618, 3138f., (see "Job" in Cent.B on these passages), Heb. 114, 1224); hence precautions were taken to use methods which did not involve bloodshed, or at least to prevent the blood from falling on the ground. Cain has taken no such precautions, and when questioned by Yahweh lies brazenly and perhaps with a shameless witticism on his brother's occupation as "keeper" of sheep. So Yahweh sentences him to the life of the nomad in the desert, for the cultivated ground, having drunk Abel's blood, will not yield its strength to the fratricide. Brought to a more chastened frame of mind, Cain pleads that his punishment is too great to bear. For in the desert he will be hidden from Yahweh, whose presence is regarded as localised, and, murderer though he is, Yahweh is his God; and he will be exposed to the lawlessness of the desert. So Yahweh mercifully sets a visible mark on him, not to identify him to all men as the murderer Cain, but to warn any who may desire to kill him that sevenfold vengeance will be taken for his death. Thus shielded, Cain leaves Yahweh's presence for the wilderness, where he lived in the "Land of Wandering" (*mg.*)

1. The text of the closing words is difficult, probably corrupt.—**4. fat:** fat pieces, specially dedicated to God.—**4b, 5.** How acceptance and rejection were indicated is not said.—**7.** The text is probably incurably corrupt; MT seems to mean that if Cain does well will there not be lifting up of his fallen countenance? otherwise sin couches like a beast at his door, waiting to rend him; it has a longing for him, but he ought to master it (see *mg.*).—**10.** Render "Hark! thy brother's blood," etc.

IV. 17–26. Cainite and Sethite Genealogies.—17–24 probably belongs to the earliest stratum of J, in which the progress of civilisation is not interrupted by the Flood, and the human race is derived from Adam through Cain. When the story of the Deluge was added and the race of Cain was believed to have been exterminated in the Flood, a Sethite genealogy was required. Only a fragment (25f.) of this is given from J, the redactor having omitted the rest since it was given with dates by P (5). The Sethite table is modelled on the Cainite, for several of the names recur in the same or a slightly altered form. While P gives a bare list, J adds interesting details. This section, moreover, does not belong to the same stratum of J as the story of Cain and Abel. In the latter, Cain is a homeless wanderer in the desert, in the former he is the builder of a city. He is thus a "culture-hero," and further steps towards civilisation were taken by Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-Cain, who introduced the domestication of cattle, music, and metal-working. 23f. is often thought to be a sword-song; exulting in the new resources given him by Tubal-cain, Lamech says that the vengeance taken for Cain will in his own case be far exceeded. But this is due simply to its present setting, for Tubal-cain is not said to have invented weapons, nor are weapons mentioned in the song. Originally it was probably independent. It contains a boast of Lamech that he avenges himself far more thoroughly than Cain is avenged. He kills in return for a blow and thus gets seven and seventy-fold vengeance. The code of blood-revenge practised is exceptionally ferocious. Such bragging of their prowess and fierceness before the women is common among the Bedouin. In its present form the Sethite genealogy represents Seth as a substitute for Cain, but originally it is questionable if it was so (*cf.* ICC); this writer may have regarded Seth as the first-born, Cain being ignored. 26*b* seems to mean that the worship of Yahweh was introduced in the days of Adam's grandson, a representation which conflicts with 41–16.

20. father: *i.e.* originator of this type of life. The text of the following words is uncertain.—**22.** Corrupt. Read, perhaps, "he was a forger, the father of every artificer (*mg.*) of brass and iron."—**25. Adam:** only here as a proper name in J.

V. 1–32. Sethite Genealogy of Antediluvians.—With the exception of 29 this comes from P, as is clear from the style, each statement being cast in the same mould, and the whole forming a mere catalogue of names and dates. There is a striking divergence between the Heb., Sam., and LXX figures, the period from the Creation to the Flood being reckoned as 1656, 1307, and 2242 (a variant yields 2262) years respectively. The question is very complex; here the editor's view must be stated without discussion. The LXX may be set aside; the Sam. is probably to be preferred to the Heb. since the latter shows signs of artificiality and because it can be more readily explained from the Sam. than *vice versa*. The Sam. represents Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech as dying in the year of the Flood, and since this occurs early in the year the suggestion is that they perished in it. The Heb. presumably is an alteration to avoid this inference, and to make the period from Creation to the Exodus two-thirds of 4000 years. It is also necessary to pass by the individual members with the exception of Enoch and Noah. The mention of 365 years suggests a connexion with the solar year. Enoch may be identical with Enmeduranki, the king of Sippar, a favourite of the gods, connected with the sun-god, and initiated into mysteries of earth and heaven, just like the Enoch of the late Enoch literature (p. 433). His walk with God may, therefore, imply not simply an intimate fellowship but an initiation into Divine secrets. "He was not" is explained in Heb. 115. The redactor has added 29 from J. The etymology of Noah's name (29) refers apparently to his discovery of the vine (920). The ground has been cursed (317–19), but Noah is to pluck from it a soothing cordial for man's weariness, the wine which makes glad the hearts of men as well as God (Jg. 913, Ps. 10415) and enables them to drown their sorrows in at least temporary

oblivion. The age of Noah (500 years) when his eldest son was born is at first sight surprising, for no other had reached 200 years. But the Flood had to occur late in Noah's life, otherwise the length of life assigned to his ancestors must have been abbreviated, if they were not to survive the Flood. On the other hand, if Noah's sons were at the time to have no children, they must themselves have been born a sufficiently short time before the Flood for their childlessness not to seem strange. It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add that the years mentioned in this chapter are intended to be literal years, and that we are not reading real history; though even these high figures are sober in comparison with those in the parallel Babylonian list of ten antediluvian kings whose reigns lasted in the aggregate, 432,000 years.

VI. 1–4. The Angel Marriages.—This section belongs to J, but to what stratum is not clear. In its nakedly mythological character it is quite unlike anything else in the history. It is obscure at some points, probably through abbreviation, and the phrase "the men of renown" implies that a cycle of stories was current about the Nephilim. It does not join on to the preceding genealogy, since the opening words point to a time much earlier than that of Noah. It serves at present as an introduction to the story of the Flood; matters had come to such a pass that nothing but the almost complete extermination of the race could cure the evil. But it does not really lead up to this, for the writer does not imply that these unions resulted in a progeny of monstrous wickedness. It is a kind of coarser parallel to the story of the forbidden fruit; in both the Divinely-appointed limits are transgressed. Here we read of union between the sons of God and the daughters of men, *i.e.* between angels and women. The sons of God (Job 16*) are those who belong to the Elohim order of being, the immortals whose nature is spirit as contrasted with mortals whose nature is flesh. This is the oldest interpretation, and it is that now generally accepted. It is in harmony with the general use of the term, and if we interpreted it to mean the pious Sethites, the daughters of men would be Cainite women, a limitation for which there is no warrant; moreover the mere intermixture of human races would not produce the Nephilim, who are obviously the offspring of unnatural unions. Certain angels then, spirit though they were, inflamed by the beauty of women, took them at their will in marriage. Thus a race of demigods was produced, the Nephilim (a name of uncertain meaning), the ancient heroes far-famed for their exploits. But this blending of spirit and flesh, of human nature with that of the Elohim, sets at nought the barriers fixed by Yahweh in the very constitution of things. At present the Divine substance, the property of the Elohim (hence called by Yahweh "my spirit") is dwelling in men. But this is not to continue since man is only flesh. How Yahweh proposed to retrieve the heavenly essence which had been mingled with the earthly is not said; the reduction of human life to 120 years, which is what the last clause of 3 seems to mean, would not secure its elimination, as it would be passed on with the propagation of the species. The clause may be a gloss. The blame apparently attaches to the angels only, the women being victims of their lawless lust, and the original story may have mentioned the penalty inflicted on them. Such penalties we hear of elsewhere (Is. 24 21f., Ps. 82, *cf.* Ps. 58) for the misrule of the angels and the consequent miseries of the world and Israel in particular. (For further discussion the editor may refer to his *Faded Myths*, chap. iv.)

3. Very difficult, and the text is corrupt. The rendering "strive" may be set aside; the sense required is that given by the VSS "abide in" (*mg.*), which may imply a different text. The clause "for that he also is flesh" yields no satisfying sense any more than the alternative "in their going astray they are flesh" (*mg.*). The simplest solution is to suppose that *basar*, the word for "flesh," was written twice over (dittography), and that our present text has arisen from this.—**4. and also after that:** apparently a gloss inserted by a reader who, remembering Nu. 13 33, points out that they were in the earth not only in those days but "also after that."

VI. 5–IX. 17. The Flood.—This section has been very skilfully composed from both J and P. There are numerous repetitions: 6 5–8 and 12f.; 7 7–9 and 13–16; 7 11 and 12; 7 17 and 18f.; 7 21 and 23; 8 2*a* and 2*b*. There are also differences of representation. According to 6 19f., 7 15f., the animals go in by pairs; according to 7 2f. the clean go in by sevens (or seven pairs), the unclean by pairs. In 7 11 the Flood is caused by the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep and the opening of the windows of heaven, in 7 12 by a long-continued rain. According to 7 12 the rain continued forty days, according to 7 24 the waters prevailed 150 days. There are also phraseological and stylistic differences, those characteristic of P being specially prominent. The analysis into two sources has been effected with almost complete unanimity. To P belong 6 9–22, 7 6, 11, 13–16*a*, 17*a* (except "forty days"), 18–21, 24, 8 1–2*a*, 3*b*–5, 13*a*, 14–19, 9 1–17. To J belong 6 5–8, 7 1–5, 7–10, 12, 16*b*, 22f., 8 2*b*–3*a*, 6–12, 13*b*, 20–22. In both cases some slight elements are due to the redactor. When the analysis has been effected, two all but complete stories appear, bearing the marks of P and J.

Difficult questions are raised as to the relation in which these stories stand to other Deluge narratives. A very large number exists, and of these many are independent. It is still debated whether the legends go back to the primitive period of history before the dispersion; this is not probable, for the date would be so early that oral tradition would hardly have preserved it. Presumably many were local in their origin, for such catastrophes on a small scale must have been numerous, and some of the stories may have been coloured and enriched by contamination with others. These parallels, however, must be neglected here, except the Babylonian accounts. Two of these are known to us, and fragments of a third have been recently discovered. The two former tell substantially the same story, though with considerable differences in detail. One is preserved in the extracts from Berossus given by Alexander Polyhistor. The other was discovered by George Smith in 1872. It comes in the eleventh canto of the Epic of Gilgamesh. It describes how the god Ea saved Utnapistim by commanding him to build a ship and take into it the seed of life of every kind. He built and stored it, and when the rain began to fall entered the ship and closed the door. A vivid description is given of the storm, and the terror it inspired in the gods. On the seventh day he opened the ship, which settled on Mount Nizir. After seven days he sent out a dove, and then a swallow, both of which returned; then a raven, which did not return. Then the ship was left and he offered sacrifice, to which the gods came hungrily. Bel's anger at the escape was appeased by Ea on the ground that the punishment had been indiscriminate, and the hero with his wife was granted immortality. The coincidences with the Biblical account are so close

that they can be explained only by dependence of the Biblical on the Babylonian story, though not necessarily on the form known to us. Probably the Hebrews received it through the Canaanites, and it passed through a process of purification, in which the offensive elements were removed. The Hebrew story is immeasurably higher in tone than the Babylonian. In the latter Bel in his anger destroys good and evil alike, and is enraged to discover that any have escaped the Flood. The gods cower under the storm like dogs in a kennel; and when the sacrifice is offered, smell the sweet savour and gather like flies over the sacrificer. In the Biblical story the punishment is represented as strictly deserved by all who perish, and the only righteous man and his family are preserved, not by the friendly help of another deity, but by the direct action of Him who sends the Flood.

The question as to the historical character of the narrative still remains. The terms seem to require a universal deluge, for all flesh on the earth was destroyed (6$_{17}$, 7$_{4,21-23}$), and "all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven were covered" (7$_{19}$f.). But this would involve a depth of water all over the world not far short of 30,000 ft., and that sufficient water was available at the time is most improbable. The ark could not have contained more than a very small proportion of the animal life on the globe, to say nothing of the food needed for them, nor could eight people have attended to their wants, nor apart from a constant miracle could the very different conditions they required in order to live at all have been supplied. Nor without such a miracle, could they have come from lands so remote. Moreover, the present distribution of animals would on this view be unaccountable. If all the species were present at a single centre at a time so comparatively near as less than five thousand years ago, we should have expected far greater uniformity between different parts of the world than now exists. The difficulty of coming applies equally to return. Nor if the human race took a new beginning from three brothers and their three wives (7$_{13}$, 9$_{19}$) could we account for the origin, within the very brief period which is all that our knowledge of antiquity permits, of so many different races, for the development of languages with a long history behind them, or for the founding of states and rise of advanced civilisations. And this quite understates the difficulty, for archæology shows a continuous development of such civilisations from a time far earlier than the earliest to which the Flood can be assigned. A partial Deluge is not consistent with the Biblical representation (see above). And an inundation which took seventy-three days to sink from the day when the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat till the tops of the mountains became visible (8$_{4}$f.) implies a depth of water which would involve a universal deluge. The story, therefore, cannot be accepted as historical; but it may and probably does rest on the recollection of an actual deluge, perhaps produced by a combination of the inundation normally caused by the overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates with earthquake and flooding from the Persian Gulf.

VI. 5–22. J gives no explanation of the universal wickedness which caused God to repent man's creation, but the previous narrative has prepared for it. Probably, however, the story, which begins abruptly, has lost something at the beginning. Observe the strong anthropomorphism in 6, characteristic of J but combined with a lofty conception of God. P's narrative begins with 9. This writer does not account for the prevalence of violence. The ark or chest is made of logs of gopher, *i.e.* probably fine cypress, though the word occurs only here, and its meaning is uncertain. It was divided into cells and the shell made watertight by the smearing of bitumen (Ex. 2$_{3}$*) on the inside and outside. The specifications in 16 are obscure. The rendering "roof" (*mg.*) is accepted by several, though generally the meaning, an opening for light and air, is preferred. The following clause is difficult. Wellhausen puts the words "to a cubit thou shalt finish it" at the end of the verse; the reference is in that case to the ark, which is to be accurately finished off. MT perhaps means that an opening for light, a cubit high, ran round the sides of the ark at the top. Since it is God's purpose to make a covenant with Noah, he and his family must be saved from the universal destruction the Flood is to accomplish. The covenant is not the present guarantee for security, but that recorded in 9$_{8-17}$.

9a. generations of Noah: *i.e.* the genealogy of Noah's descendants. The phrase is used by P to introduce a new section, which sometimes consists of a genealogy alone, sometimes of a more extended history. The Heb. for "generations" in 9*b* is different; the meaning is that Noah was blameless among his contemporaries.—**14. ark:** the word (Egyptian or perhaps Babylonian) means "chest." It is used of the ark in which Moses was entrusted to the Nile, but not of the Ark made in the wilderness.—**15.** The cubit was about 18 inches; the ark was apparently an immense box about 450 ft. long, 75 broad and 45 high, with a door in its side, and fitted up with cells in three tiers. The fondness for specifications is characteristic of P, so too are the formulæ of enumeration in 18 and 20, and the type of sentence in 22.—**17. flood:** Heb. *mabbul*, a foreign word, always used of the Deluge, except possibly Ps. 29$_{10}$.

VII. 1–5. From J, but touched by the redactor in 3*a*. J's account of the command to build the ark and its fulfilment has been omitted in favour of P's. J recognises the distinction between clean and unclean, which P regards as introduced by Moses; the same is true of the sacrificial system. A week is allowed for bringing in the animals. Whether seven or seven pairs of the clean animals were taken in is disputed; probably the latter. Unless 3*a* is struck out as a gloss, we must follow the LXX, which gives the same directions for birds as 2 gives for animals.

6–24. In this paragraph the dating assigns 6, 11, and 24 to P; to the same document 13–16*a*, 18–21 are assigned by stylistic considerations, 17*a* is a link, but "forty days" has been borrowed from J by the editor. J's narrative has been dovetailed very skilfully into P's, and has been expanded by glosses. Its original order was probably 10, 7, 16*b*, 12, 17*b*, 22f. But 7 and 23 have received editorial additions in the style of P. 8f. is from P because his account of the entrance into the ark is found in 13–16, and because of the distinction between clean and unclean. But several features cannot come from J, accordingly the redactor's hand must be recognised. Since, however, he is not likely to have written a doublet to 13–16, he may be working on J's text. According to P all the animals went into the ark in one day, and that the day on which the Flood came. And whereas J finds a sufficient cause in a forty days' rain, P traces it to a bursting up of the waters from the subterranean abyss and a simultaneous opening of the windows of heaven so that the waters of the heavenly ocean streamed through. Thus the work of dividing the waters effected on the second day (1$_{6-8}$ *) was partially undone, not completely, for it is clear from 8$_{2}$ that neither source was exhausted.

VIII. 1–24. The mention of the rain (2*b*) comes from J, and since 3*b* with its dating belongs to P, 3*a* may be assigned to J. With 6 we resume J's story; after the forty days' rain, he means, Noah sends forth a raven. This went to and fro till the waters abated, because being an unclean carrion bird it could alight on the floating trees or corpses and eat the latter. Then after seven days (as may be inferred from "yet other seven days" in 10) he sent forth a dove, but since it found no foothold to rest on, it quickly returned. After another week he sent it out again. This time the dove returned, but not till evening, for it had found a resting-place. The waters had evidently much decreased in the interval, for the dove brought an olive-leaf, and the olive did not grow on the highest mountains. So he waited a week longer and then sent it out again. This time the waters had so much decreased that it could provide food and rest for itself. Then Noah removed the covering of the ark and saw that the ground was dry. J's account of the abandonment of the ark is not preserved, but in 20–22 it is assumed that he had left it. Noah's first act is to build an altar and of the clean beasts and birds to offer whole burnt offerings, the most valuable of all types of sacrifice, since the whole victim was surrendered to God (Lev. 1*). Gratified by the sweet odour, Yahweh resolves not again to curse the ground on account of man: recognising the sinfulness of his nature from his youth onwards, He will treat it with forbearance, not extermination. Nor will He smite all living creatures. Henceforth the seasons shall move on in their regular rotation, uninterrupted by any catastrophe such as the Flood. There is no reference in 21 to any doctrine of "original sin," for which we should have had some such phrase as "from his birth." Nor is the phrase "smelled the odour of satisfaction" to be quoted as an example of J's anthropomorphism. It is a technical term from the ritual vocabulary to express the acceptance of a sacrifice. It is found in the Babylonian Deluge story ("the gods inhaled the fragrant savour"), in P which avoids anthropomorphism, and even in the NT. To P belong 1, 2*a*, 3*b*–5, 13*a*, 14–19, its characteristics being very plainly marked. God remembered Noah and the animals, closed the windows of heaven, and stopped the outlets of the abyss, so that no more water came to swell the mass. He also caused a wind to blow, and this, combined with the natural tendency of the waters to be absorbed by the earth, led to their rapid decrease. Their highest point was reached at the end of 150 days, and then they immediately began to abate. The ark rested on the mountains of Ararat, *i.e.* NE. Armenia. The waters still sank for seventy-three days before the tops of the ordinary mountains became visible. On the following New Year's Day the waters were dried up, but the ground was still saturated, and on the 27th of the next month the earth was dry. (On the chronological data of P, which are complicated, ICC, pp. 167–169, may be consulted.) Noah and the other occupants then leave the ark.

1. Skinner (p. 155) thinks that 1*b* may probably belong to J (apart from the Divine name), also that 4, apart from the dating, which must belong to P's chronological scheme, may belong to J. It is in favour of this that 5 naturally suggests that the highest summits were not visible till the date mentioned, whereas if 4 and 5 belong to P we must explain that the tops of the mountains were those of lower ranges, which is certainly not natural.—**3.** Read, "the end of the 150 days," *i.e.* those mentioned in 7 22.—**7.** Notice the difference in the Babylonian account. First a dove, then a swallow, are sent out and return. Then a raven, which wades in the water and does not return.

IX. 1–17. From P. The links between 1–7 and P's creation story are very close; the command to multiply, the dominion of man over the animals, the regulations as to food may be specially mentioned, as well as identities and similarities of phrase and style. A change, however, is made in recognition of the innate qualities of creation which have come to light in the interval. It had not been God's original intention that food should be obtained by slaughter; there is no provision in 1 29f. for carnivorous men or beasts. But in the light of history the failure of this ideal is recognised, and now slaughter is permitted for food and the animal creation is inspired with a new dread of man. And at this stage no selection is made of those who are eligible for the purpose; in the widest way every moving thing that has life is permitted as freely as "the greenness of herbs" in 1 30. According to P's theory as already noted (7 1–5 *) the distinction between clean and unclean was first introduced in the Sinaitic legislation. But he did not regard the sanctity of blood as one of the novelties of the Mosaic Law. While all animals and fish, and all winged and all crawling things were permitted for food, Noah was strictly enjoined that flesh must not be eaten with the blood still in it (4). It is not definitely stated, but *a fortiori* implied, that blood must not be drunk. The reason for this prohibition is given in the words "the life thereof." The life or vital principle (Heb. *nephesh*) was supposed to be resident in the blood. When a victim was killed, the blood drained from its veins still held within it the life of which it was the vehicle, the blood soul. The blood might be quick after the body was dead. This created in some cases a disposition to partake of it. By drinking the blood of an animal (or man) its qualities, most intensely present in the blood, might be acquired. A covenant was often formed by mutual participation of the parties in each other's blood (Ex. 24 6–8*). There was accordingly a tendency to partake of blood, especially that of a sacrificial victim, since the communion between man and the deity seemed thus best to be secured. The feeling grew up, however, that the blood was too sacred a thing to be drunk, too instinct with mysterious potencies, too dangerous since invasion by a parasitic soul of undesirable qualities was possible. And along with this there grew up the feeling that it belonged exclusively to God. Hence it was considered a grave sin to partake of it. In Israel this feeling was present probably from the first. We find it in the time of Saul (1 S. 14 32–34) and frequently in the later legislation (Lev. 3 17, 7 26f., 17 10–16 *, 19 26, Dt. 12 16,23f., 15 23). Ezekiel classes this offence with moral transgressions (33 25 and probably 18 6,11,15 in original text). Hence the blood was given to God at the altar, or after the centralisation of worship, when the only legitimate sanctuary was too far away, poured upon the ground. As a second prohibition, the shedding of human blood is forbidden. Man is made in God's image, human life is therefore sacred; the violation of its sanctity will be punished by death, be the offender man or beast, and is also opposed to the Divine purpose that man should multiply in the earth.

God then makes a covenant with all living creatures that He will not repeat the destruction by water. The covenant is not in this instance an agreement between God and man but a promise, and therefore the sign of it is not, as in the case of the covenant with Abraham, something to be performed by man; God sets His

bow in the cloud; when He brings clouds over the earth and the bow appears in the clouds, then He will remember His covenant. The rainbow is the battle-bow of God, just as the lightning flashes are His arrows (Hab. 3 9–11, Ps. 7 13, 18 14); when the clouds become threatening, God looks and sees the bow He has laid aside and hung there, and is reminded of His pledge. The passage naturally, though not necessarily, implies that the bow is now, for the first time, hung in the clouds. P was hardly aware of the physical laws which determine its appearance. It is not certain whether J contained an account of the rainbow; if it did, we are the losers by the omission of a treatment doubtless much more poetical. It is absent from the Babylonian story.

5. The Heb. is difficult and rather obscure, but the general sense is clear.—**15f.** Translate, "and the bow . . . that I will remember."

IX. 18–29. The Drunkenness of Noah; his Curse and his Blessings.—In this section 28f. belongs to P. If 5 32, 7 6, 9 28f. are read together, we have an account of Noah similar to the rest of the genealogy in 5. 18–27 is from J, but not entirely from the same stratum. 18f. belongs to J's genealogical table in 10. 20–27 has close points of contact with 4 17–24; Noah, like Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-Cain, is represented as a culture-hero, the first to cultivate the vine and make wine, thus vindicating Lamech's prophecy and the name he gave his son. And it similarly regards the history of the race as unbroken by the Flood. The representations of Noah as in the one case a husbandman, the discoverer of the vine, and in the other as the one man worthy for his piety to be saved from the destruction of the sinful race, do not necessarily conflict. But here he is represented as the ancestor of three distinct peoples, in the Flood story he is the ancestor of all nations. It is not easy to fit this narrative either into the period before or that after the Flood. If before the Flood, why should any accursed have been spared? When the Flood took place, Noah's sons were grown up and married; here they live with their father, and the offence is that of a boy rather than a man. Further, Noah's sons were originally Shem, Japheth, and Canaan, the last being guilty of the offence. Otherwise it is inexplicable that Canaan and not Ham was cursed. 24 describes the offender as the youngest son, and Japheth as the second son, whereas in the Flood story, Ham is the second son and Japheth the youngest. A comparison of 25 with 26f. shows that Canaan's brethren were Shem and Japheth. "Ham the father of" in 22 is, accordingly, a gloss, and similarly "and Ham is the father of Canaan" in 18. As to the identity of the peoples there is some dispute. Canaan probably represents the Canaanites, Shem the Hebrews, with kindred peoples, and Japheth the Hittites, rather than the Phœnicians or Philistines; though possibly the reference is to prehistoric peoples. Ham is a larger unity of which Canaan forms a part.

18f. Here the population of the whole world is derived from Noah through three sons whose names are given as Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the order being that of age.

20–27. While the discovery of wine is regarded as a blessing, since it refreshes and comforts man after his toil (529*), the narrator also saw its moral dangers. The description of Noah's posture and Canaan's shameless and unfilial act expresses the recoil of the hardy Hebrews from the filthy indecencies of the enervated Canaanites, to which the conduct of the two elder brothers is an emphatic rebuke. On learning of his son's deed, the father utters a curse upon him, followed by blessings on the culprit's brothers. In antiquity a curse was much more solemn than it is to-day. When the modern man curses, it is to give vent to his feelings, the only effect is the reflex one on himself. For the ancients (and among peoples of lower culture to-day) a curse was potent to achieve its own fulfilment. Once uttered, it could not be withdrawn. *Aylwin* supplies an excellent example in modern literature. So, too, with a blessing; it also had an inherent power of self-fulfilment, and could not be taken back (*cf.* 27 33). The curse dooms Canaan to be the slave of his brothers, *i.e.* the Canaanites are put in subjection to Shem and Japheth. It was infamous exegesis to find in this passage a justification for the enslavement of negroes. In MT of 26 not Shem, but Yahweh his God, is blessed. Probably we should read "Bless, Yahweh, the tents of Shem" (*bārēk* for *bārūk* and *'ohōle* for *ēlōhē*). This is confirmed by the reference to "the tents of Shem" in 27. God (not Yahweh here) is entreated to expand (*Yapht* —notice the play on the name) Japheth, and grant him to dwell in the tents of Shem, *i.e.* in friendly intercourse (not conquest).

20. Translate: "And Noah the husbandman began and planted."

X. The Table of Nations.—From P and J. To P we may assign 1–7, 20, 31f. The rest belongs to J, for the most part to its secondary stratum, with some elements from R. The genealogy, as was customary among the Semites, expresses national rather than individual relationships. The true character of the lists may be seen quite clearly from many of the names, which are names of countries (*e.g.* Cush, Mizraim, Ophir), or cities (*e.g.* Tarshish, Zidon), or peoples (*e.g.* Ludim). It is an attempt to explain the origin of the various nations, before the author proceeds to the special ancestry of Israel. It is of great importance for the Hebrew view of other peoples, alike in its extent and its limitations, and for the degrees of affinity which they believed to subsist between them. It raises problems too intricate for discussion in our space. It need hardly be said that the various races of mankind now existing cannot be traced back to a single ancestor at a period so near to us as the date to which the OT assigns Noah; nor indeed do peoples originate in the way here described.

5. Insert, "These are the sons of Japheth" before "in their lands" (*cf.* 20,31).

8–10. The name Nimrod has not been discovered in the cuneiform inscriptions, and the identifications proposed are most uncertain. That he was "a mighty one in the earth" is explained by 10, which should follow 8; he was a king who founded a large empire. In 9 his fame is explained in another way. He was a hero of the chase, and a popular proverb is quoted, in which he figures in this character. He was "a mighty hunter before Yahweh," *i.e.* (probably) in Yahweh's estimation.

14. The Philistines came from Caphtor, *i.e.* Crete (Am. 9 7*, Jer. 47 4; *cf.* Dt. 2 23); the parenthesis would, therefore, be in place at the end of the verse.

XI. 1–9. The City, the Tower, and the Confusion of Speech.—The section plainly belongs to J but not to the same stratum as the story of the Flood, nor is it consistent with the origin assigned to the various nations in 10. It is an ætiological story (p. 134), naturally not historical, answering the question, Why is it that though the races of mankind have sprung from a common ancestry they speak so many different languages? The Divine jealousy, which fears what a united humanity may achieve, whose first enterprise is planned on a scale so colossal, is like that shown in

the prohibition of the tree of knowledge, the guarding of the tree of life, and the displeasure excited in Yahweh's mind by the angel marriages. The narrative presumably originated in Babylon, though no cuneiform parallel has been discovered, and it may have expressed the attitude of the nomads towards the buildings of Babylon rather than that of the Babylonians themselves. It has been adapted by the Heb. narrator; the explanation that brick and bitumen (*mg.*) were used in the building would be unnecessary in Babylonia, and the name Babel is derived from the Heb. verb. *bālal*, "to confound." The story hangs fairly well together. Observe, however, that whereas in 5 Yahweh comes down to earth, in 7 He is still in heaven. Gunkel has suggested that two stories have been combined, one relating the building of a city, the other that of a tower. He has succeeded by skilful analysis in constructing two stories, the former of which narrates the project to build a city and make a name, which was defeated by the confusion of their speech, hence the name Babel; while the latter narrates that to avoid dispersion they began to build a lofty tower, but were scattered over the earth, hence he infers that the name of the tower was *Phīts* (*i.e.* Dispersion). This may quite well be correct, and the difficulty of harmonising 5 with 7 disappears. Otherwise, 5 perhaps originally recorded the descent of a heavenly messenger on whose report Yahweh comments in 6f.

The district from which the start was made is uncertain, but perhaps E. of Babylonia is intended, in which case they wandered westwards and reached Shinar, *i.e.* Babylonia. There they made bricks and set to work on the city and tower. The latter is what the Babylonians called a "zikkurat," *i.e.* an immense tower shaped like a pyramid, rising in terraces, and crowned with a temple, which was regarded as an entrance to heaven (*cf.* 4). Possibly some unfinished or dilapidated structure may have given rise to the story. The intention of the buildings was to provide a rallying point and prevent their separation.

3. Go to: an archaism; we should say "Come." Yahweh echoes it ironically in 7.—**7. let us:** Yahweh addresses the Divine beings (*cf.* 126*).—**9.** Babel really means "Gate of God"; the etymology here is popular.

XI. 10–26. The Descendants of Shem.—This section, like 5, is taken from P. Here the formula is abbreviated, but whether this was so originally or due to an impatient editor is uncertain. There is also great difference between the Heb., Sam., and LXX, but it cannot be discussed here. It is characteristic of P, where no information is available, to bridge over the gap by a genealogy rather than leave an absolute blank. The period from the Flood to the birth of Abraham is given in Heb. as 292, in Sam. as 942, and in LXX as 1172 (variant gives 1072). The period in Heb. is incredibly short, but the Sam. destroys the proportion between the period before and that after the begetting of the eldest son, and its text thus becomes suspicious.

XI. 27–32. The Sons of Terah.—Derived from P and J. 27 and 31f. are clearly from P, 28–30 probably from J (there are phraseological grounds), and 2220 (J) refers to 29.

28. Ur of the Chaldees: Heb. *Ur Kasdim*, is generally identified with Uru, one of the most ancient cities of Babylonia, where the moon-god was worshipped, now Mugheir. The Chaldees (Ass. *Kaldu*) lived on the SE. of Babylonia round the Persian Gulf (pp. 58f.).—**30.** The childlessness of Sarah plays an important part in the sequel.—**31.** Read with Sam., LXX, Vulg. "he brought them forth" or with Syr. "he went out with them." "They went out with him" (so Ball) would be simpler still.—**unto Haran:** Haran the place is not the same word as Haran the man; the initial letters are different in Heb. Haran was a very ancient and important city near Carchemish on the Belikh, a tributary of the Euphrates, and, like Ur, a seat of moon-god-worship.—**32.** Instead of 205 the Sam. gives 145 as the years of Terah's life. In that case Abraham leaves Haran just after his father's death (so in Ac. 74) instead of sixty years before it. [Our narrative represents Abram as the earlier form of the name, but it is simplest to use the familiar form throughout.]

XII.–XXV. 18. The Story of Abraham.—In this section the three main sources, J. E, P are present. Gunkel has given strong reasons for holding that J is here made up of two main sources, one connecting Abraham with Hebron, the other with Beersheba and the Negeb. The former associates Abraham with Lot. (For details, see ICC.) On the interpretation to be placed on the figures of Abraham and the patriarchs, see the Introduction. The interest, which has hitherto been diffused over the fortunes of mankind in general, is now concentrated on Abraham and his posterity, the principle of election narrowing it down to Isaac, Ishmael being left aside, and then to Jacob, Esau being excluded.

XII. 1–9. The Call of Abraham, his Migration to Canaan, and Yahweh's Promise to Him.—From J, except 4*b*, 5, which is clearly from P. Abraham is called to leave country, kindred, and home for an unnamed land. His faith is thus challenged at the outset (Heb.118); at the call of God, without question or demur, he abandons the tangible certainties of the present for a vague destination, and the hazards of travel and settlement in a new land. But he goes in confidence, staking his all on the faithfulness of God's promise, that He would make of him a mighty nation, the incarnation of blessedness, to such a degree that all nations would bless themselves by him, that is, use his name in the invocation of blessing on themselves, saying, "May we be as fortunate as Abraham." So he took his family and possessions and came to Canaan (p. 26), presumably by the usual route (described by Driver, p. 146), but no details of the journey are given. He then passed down the country from the north till he reached the "place," *i.e.* the sanctuary, of Shechem, where a "terebinth" (*mg.*) or turpentine tree grew. This is described in RV as "of Moreh"; but the Heb. means "directing" or "director"; it is, therefore, "the oracle-giving terebinth," or "terebinth of the oracle-giver." This was accordingly a sacred tree connected with the sanctuary at Shechem; the deity resident in the tree gave oracles to the inquirer (*cf.* Dt. 1130, Jg. 937). Shechem (p. 30) is Nablus to the SE. of Samaria, between Ebal and Gerizim, important in later history (1 K. 121 *). Here Abraham learns that the land, the promise of which had been suggested to him, is Canaan, and the promise is now definitely made that it will be given to his descendants. He moves on 20 miles further S., near to Bethel, where he builds an altar, and travels by stages thence towards the Negeb (p. 32).

3. be blessed: this rendering or "bless themselves" is permissible, the conjugation used (the Niphal), while properly reflexive, being often used as a passive. But in 2218, 264 the conjugation is the Hithpael, which must mean (cf. *mg.*) "bless themselves." The view that the religion of Israel was to become the religion of the world is not so early as this passage.—**6*b*** was written after the Canaanites had been displaced by the Hebrews.

XII. 10–20. Abraham, Sarah, and Pharaoh.—This section creates difficulties by its similarity to 20 and 26$^{6-11}$. The three are usually regarded as variants of the same story. In each case the patriarch makes his wife out to be his sister. That twice over a similar incident should have occurred with Sarah is improbable; the improbability would be heightened if we denied the documentary analysis, since in the former case she would be approaching seventy and in the latter ninety years old. Nor is it likely that Isaac should have repeated with Rebekah his father's experience with Sarah in the same place, Gerar, and with a king of the same name. The narrative in 20 is from E. Both the present story and that in 26 are Yahwistic, and their presence side by side is not easy to explain. Perhaps they belong to different strata or sources of J. Of the three, that in 12$^{10-20}$ is the most antique, the least refined in feeling.

In consequence of a famine in Canaan, due presumably to failure of rain, Abraham, as often happened in other cases, went to Egypt, which was fertilised by the overflow of the Nile, and therefore independent of rain. He anticipates that the beauty of his wife will rouse the desire of the Egyptians, who may remove the legal obstacle to possession by killing her husband. To save his life he is prepared to sacrifice his wife's honour, and indeed, as it would seem (13*b*), to enrich himself by so shameful a sacrifice, less shameful of course to the patriarch and the narrator than to us. He begs his wife to pass herself off as his sister. She does so, and matters turn out as Abraham anticipated. The Egyptians are struck by her beauty, the princes see her for themselves, and commend her to Pharaoh. He takes her into his harem and richly endows her husband. But Yahweh intervenes to restore her. Pharaoh is smitten with sickness and learns the truth, in what way the narrative no longer says. He upbraids Abraham for his lie, which there is no attempt to palliate; but realising that he is dangerous, has him conducted to the frontier, that he may leave the country where his misconduct has worked such harm, and that no evil may happen to him on the way to provoke fresh Divine reprisals. This is not intended as punishment but as precaution, and while the wife is returned the presents are not taken back.

XIII. The Separation of Abraham and Lot.—In the main from J, as is shown by the frequent mention of Yahweh, the reference to the garden of Yahweh, the preparation for the story of Sodom's overthrow in the mention of its exceeding sinfulness, and the phraseology. But 11*b*–12*a* ("and they . . . the Plain") belongs to P, which characteristically avoids all explanation of the separation as due to strife; it was occasioned rather by their abounding wealth. Wellhausen regards 14–17 as an insertion on the ground that J does not represent Yahweh as speaking to Abraham except in a theophany (but *cf.* 12$^{1-3}$); or make Abraham half a nomad as 17 does; nor can the whole land be seen from Bethel; we have also a similar promise in 15, but fuller and much more solemn, with no indication that the promise in our chapter had already been given. If 14–17 is removed 18 connects immediately with 12*b*, 13, which it should naturally follow. The addition, assuming it to be such, was probably made to supply a firmer basis for Abraham's right to Canaan. In the rest of the chapter this is based on Lot's choice of the Jordan Valley. Abraham is thus left with Canaan, and when Sodom is destroyed, Lot has to betake himself to the mountains. To the later writer this explanation presumably seemed not religious enough. The historical circumstances which lie behind the story are probably the fortunes of the settlers who were the ancestors of the Hebrews and Edomites on the one hand, and the Moabites and Ammonites on the other.

From the Negeb, Abraham and Lot return by stages to Bethel. But owing to the abundance of the flocks and herds difficulties arose between their herdsmen as to pasturage and water, the situation being complicated by the fact that the land was not otherwise unoccupied, but inhabited by the Canaanites and Perizzites. Abraham deals with it in a conciliatory spirit, and instead of insisting on his rights as senior and chief, offers Lot his choice of pasturage, since separation is inevitable. Lot, instead of imitating his uncle's magnanimity, chooses the well-watered basin of the lower Jordan Valley, fertile as Eden or Egypt, and the whole of it; but with the moral perils of contact with Sodom. To Abraham Yahweh makes a promise of the land for himself and his descendants. So while Lot camped in the neighbourhood of Sodom, Abraham had to take the poorer land, and dwelt by the terebinths in Mamre, here said to be in Hebron.

7. Perizzite: possibly the name of a people, but perhaps the dwellers in hamlets as distinguished from the dwellers in cities.—**10. Plain of Jordan:** the circle (*mg.*) of Jordan was the wide valley on the W. of the Jordan from about 25 miles N. of the Dead Sea down to, and apparently in the judgment of the narrator including what is now the Dead Sea itself (pp. 32f.). Zoar was in the neighbourhood of Sodom, and probably the cities of the Plain were on the S. of the Dead Sea. The meaning is that the district was "well watered as thou goest to Zoar," *i.e.* the writer thought of the Dead Sea as covering what in Abraham's time was fertile land, and as coming into existence and submerging this land when Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed. The Syr., however, reads Zoan, *i.e.* Tanis; if correctly, the inference just drawn would not necessarily hold good, though the reference to the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah implies that the character of the country changed after the catastrophe. The Heb. text should probably be retained.

XIV. Abraham Conquers the Four Kings and Rescues Lot.—This chapter is, as Wellhausen says, like Melchizedek, "without father, without mother, without pedigree." In other words, it cannot be affiliated to any of the three main documents J, E, P, though some believe that E supplied its basis, since it relates alliances with native princes (21$^{22-32}$) and records a military exploit of Jacob's against Shechem (48^{22} *mg.*). But the glorification of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and the mention of tithes as paid there, goes to prove a Judæan origin, nor does E contain any hint of Abraham's residence in Mamre. There is no reference, in J's narrative of Sodom's overthrow, to the events of this chapter. Nor do the phraseology and general characteristics permit us to assign it to any of the three sources. Some of its phrases occur nowhere else in the Pent., some nowhere else in the OT. Yet it has points of contact with the other sources. The writer knows of Lot's residence in Sodom, he uses J's phrase, "the terebinths of Mamre." He employs phrases characteristic of P. And from the first the narrative was designed to stand in its present position. It is accordingly very late, but critical opinion is divided as to whether it is a late revision of an old narrative, or a composition altogether late, or a late composition in which some historical materials have been utilised. In its representation of Abraham as a warrior and the linking of him with contemporary history it has no parallel in Gen. It has been cus-

tomary among opponents of criticism to assert that here archæology has decisively intervened to discredit critical views, and vindicate the accuracy of the Heb. narratives. This has no real foundation. Long before the discoveries were made, Nöldeke had (in 1869) granted that Chedorlaomer might be a historical character, and that the Elamite empire might have extended to Palestine. In 1884 E. Meyer pointed out that Kudurlagamar (Chedorlaomer) was a name of genuinely Elamite formation, and that an Elamite dominion in Syria was attested by the inscriptions. Both admitted the possibility of an invasion such as is here described. Yet they rejected the historicity of the narrative. What, then, have the inscriptions shown? That there was an Elamite dominion over Palestine at this period, and that the names of the four kings are not improbably mentioned on the monuments. All this and more was fully allowed for by those who disputed the historicity before the discoveries were made. So far the inscriptions have not even attested the fact of the invasion, and they are absolutely silent on the names of the five kings, the historical existence of Abraham or Melchizedek, or any of the incidents related in the narrative. Moreover, there is still considerable dispute among the foremost Assyriologists as to the identifications proposed for the four kings. Even if we accept the prevalent view that Amraphel is Hammurabi and that Arioch is Eri-aku, though the first of these is denied by some of the best authorities, the name Kudurlagamar, while presumably historical, has not yet been discovered, nor that of Tidal as a king. Granted, however, that the four kings here named really lived and were contemporaries, as is probable; granted that they stood in the relationship to each other described; we are no further advanced towards the proof of the historicity of the chapter than thirty years ago. The difficulties are created by the character of the narrative itself. Assuming that the object of the campaign was to crush the rebellion of the five kings, its course as described from 5 to 8 is very curious, especially when it is considered in detail, the ground traversed being often very difficult if not impracticable for an army. The defeat of the great army by Abraham's force, his pursuit of it to Hobah, his capture of all the spoil and captives, can hardly be historical. A night surprise of the rear-guard and recovery of some booty and captives is not impossible; but this does no kind of justice to the terms of the narrative, which affirm a defeat and pursuit of Chedorlaomer and his allies (15, 17). The names of the five kings seem artificial (the first two contain the words for "evil" and "wickedness"); Mamre and Eshcol (13) are elsewhere names of places; the number 318 is equivalent to the sum of the letters in the name of Abraham's servant Eliezer (152). The narrative apparently suggests that the Dead Sea came into existence at a later time, for it identifies the vale of Siddim where the battle took place (8) with the Salt Sea (3); but the geological evidence decisively proves that the Dead Sea existed as early as the Tertiary period, when, however, it reached up as far as Lake Huleh (p. 32), and its level was many hundreds of feet higher than at present (pp. 26f., Driver, pp. 168–171). To prove the historical existence of Melchizedek, the case of Abdi-khiba, a governor of Jerusalem in the Tell el-Amarna period, has been quoted. There is no proof that he was a priest-king, and the words he uses with reference to his position, "It was not my father, not my mother, who gave it me, but the arm of the mighty king gave it me," ought not to have been imagined to illustrate the words used of Melchizedek, "without father, without mother, without pedigree." This description does not occur in Gen. but in Heb. 7₃, and so far from having been read by the author in his copy of Gen. it is simply a characteristic Alexandrian inference from the silence as to Melchizedek's ancestry in a book which devotes such space to pedigrees as Gen. does. Besides, Abdi-khiba is simply asserting that he owed his position not to his parentage, but to his suzerain, "the mighty king" of Egypt, Amenhetep IV (pp. 54f.), and in view of his debt was not likely to be disloyal. Melchizedek may, of course, have been, like the four kings, historical; and the Hebrew priesthood and royal house at Jerusalem may have claimed him as their predecessor. Or, if not historical, he may have been an ancient legendary figure.

On the whole chapter we should probably conclude that it is very late, compiled with the other documents of the Pent. already before the author and brought together in their present form. The cuneiform document on which three of the four names in 1 are thought to occur is itself very late, and belongs to the fourth or third century B.C. The object of the chapter was to glorify Abraham as a military leader of the first rank, who, with a handful of men, defeated the victorious army of a great confederacy of kingdoms, and as too magnanimous to enrich himself by the spoil. It was also designed to glorify Jerusalem and its priesthood, and supply an ancient precedent for the payment of tithes to it (*cf.* the tithe at Bethel, 28₂₂).

1–4. The Four Kings Make War with the Five Rebel Kings.—The four kings of Lower Babylonia, Larsa, Elam, and (?) Guti, made war on the five kings of the cities of the Plain, who had formed a confederacy in the Vale of Siddim, a district now covered by the Dead Sea, and after twelve years' subjection threw off the yoke of Elam. Amraphel is by most scholars identified with Hammurabi (p. 51), in spite of serious objections which others regard as insuperable. The date of Hammurabi has been much disputed (pp. 119, 130). He threw off the sovereignty of Elam, then overthrew Rim-Sin, the brother and successor of Arad-Sin or Eri-aku, and created a united kingdom of Babylonia after the conquest of Sumer and Accad. He has become specially famous in recent times through the discovery of the legislation, known as the Code of Hammurabi, which, apart from its intrinsic interest for the student of jurisprudence, is important from its affinities with Hebrew Law, especially the Book of the Covenant. Arioch is probably to be identified with Eri-aku or Arad-Sin (not Rim-Sin), king of Larsa, now Senkereh, the son of Kudurmabug of Elam. The name of Chedorlaomer has not yet been discovered on the inscriptions. In Elamite it would be Kudurlagamar. Tidal has been identified by some with a Tudkhula mentioned in a late inscription, but this must be regarded as very uncertain. Goiim, in this context, should be the name of a country or people; it can hardly bear its usual Heb. sense, "nations" (*mg.*). It may stand for the Guti, a people on the Upper Zab in E. Kurdistan. Nothing is known of the five kings. The site of the cities was probably at the S. extremity of the Dead Sea.

5–7. The punitive expedition, instead of going straight for the rebel cities, makes a tour of conquest. It moves down the E. side of Jordan through Bashan and Moab to Edom and the Gulf of Akabah, then turning W. and N. it reaches Kadesh and the Negeb, Then at last the attack on the five kings is delivered. The apparent uselessness of much of these operations in the mountains and desert, not to speak of the difficulties and dangers, suggests that the narrator's object is to enhance the glory of Abraham's victory

over such conquerors. The Rephaim (Job 26 5*) were a race of giants, but of questionable historicity. The name is used for the shades of the dead (Is. 14 9*), and also connected with the Nephilim (*cf.* Dt. 2 11 with Nu. 13 33). The Zuzim are probably the same as the Zamzummim of Dt. 2 20f., a branch of Rephaim so called by the Ammonites; the Emim is the name given by the Moabites to another branch (Dt. 2 10f.). The Horites were the original inhabitants of Edom. Ashteroth-karnaim was presumably in Bashan, but two places may be intended; Ham is unknown, but perhaps Rabbath-Hammon, the capital city of the Ammonites; Kiriathaim is in Moab. El-Paran is perhaps Elath, the well-known port on the Gulf of Akabah, an arm of the Red Sea. En-mishpat is Kadesh-barnea, a sacred spring now known as Ain Kadish, famous as the headquarters of the Hebrews after the Exodus. The Amalekites lived in the Negeb; the name "Amorites" (p. 53) is used sometimes for the people ruled by Sihon on the E. of Jordan, sometimes, as here, for the predecessors of the Hebrews in Canaan. Hazazon-tamar is identified with En-gedi in 2 Ch. 20 2. The route this would involve is almost impossibly difficult; the descent to the Dead Sea from it is 1950 ft. and precipitous. Kurnub, 20 miles SW. of the Dead Sea, would provide an easier approach, but the identification is dubious.

8–12. The Battle of the Four Kings against Five, and the Capture of Lot.—At last the victors over so many peoples attack the confederacy of five kings. In the words "four kings against five" the author may be suggesting that the kings from the East fought on unequal terms. But, if so, he quite misconceived the situation; really it was five trumpery kinglets against an imperial force. There is much bitumen in the district, and masses of it used to float on the surface (pp. 32f.), hence the author infers that what is now the bed of the sea was once pitted with petroleum wells. In these the two chief kings perish, the rest (? of the kings or the survivors of the slaughter) escape to the mountain. The story is far from clear, and no account of the battle itself is given. The conquerors leave with the spoil and with Lot, with other captives also, as we learn explicitly from 21. Lot is named because Abraham's action is entirely for his sake.

13–17. Abraham Smites the Victors and Rescues Lot.—The fugitive, who is wont in such stories to bring the news, tells Abraham, mentioned here as if for the first time. He musters (Sam., LXX) his trained men, on whom as slaves born in his house he could rely more confidently than on purchased slaves, 318 in number (the sum of the letters in the name of Eliezer; see p. 148), and sets off in pursuit. He overtakes them at Dan, a name not borne by Laish till the age of Moses' grandson (Jg. 18 29). There, attacking on three sides (*cf.* Jg. 7 16, 1 S. 11 11, Job 1 17), he smites the army of the four kings by night and pursues them to Hobah. The site is unknown; it is placed by some in the neighbourhood of Damascus, by others twenty hours to the N. of it. Damascus itself is fifteen hours N. of Dan. It is no mere night attack on the rearguard that is meant (*cf.* 17). On his return he is met by the king of Sodom.

17. the king of Sodom: either Bera's successor, or the author has carelessly forgotten 10, or possibly the subject of "fell" in 10 is the people, not the kings.—**Shaveh:** here a proper name, not as in 5. For the King's Vale, see 2 S. 18 18.

18–20. Abraham and Melchizedek.—This section comes in a little awkwardly, for we should have expected 21–24 to have followed 17. It would be hazardous to infer that it is a later insertion. Melchizedek is a priest-king of Salem, *i.e.* probably Jerusalem, the name Uru-Salim being attested as early as the Tell el-Amarna correspondence (Jg. 19 10*). His name probably means "My king is Ṣidiq" (Jos. 10 1). The deity, whom he serves as priest, is described as El Elyon, *i.e.* God Most High. Whether a deity with this title was actually worshipped among the Canaanites we do not know; probably the narrator wished to represent the one true God as worshipped even then at Jerusalem, but was unwilling to put the name of Israel's God, Yahweh, into the lips of one who did not belong to the chosen people. Yahweh must be intended, for the priestly blessing would not be represented as uttered in the name of a heathen deity, moreover He is described as Maker (*mg.*) of heaven and earth, and therefore the only God. Abraham would not have sworn to any other, though the identification with Yahweh in MT of 22 is probably not original, LORD being absent in LXX and Syr. To the victorious little force Melchizedek brings out bread and wine to refresh them after their exhausting march, victory, pursuit, and return, and utters his priestly blessing on Abraham. The patriarch responds by paying him tithes of all, *i.e.* of the spoil. This is not necessarily inconsistent with his refusal in 22f. By right of conquest all belonged to him, he had, therefore, the right to dedicate the tithe to the sanctuary; for himself, however, he will take nothing.

21–24. Abraham's Magnanimity.—Captives as well as property belonged to Abraham. The king of Sodom appeals to his generosity for the former. But Abraham in reply lifts up his hand (render "lift" for "have lift") to heaven in solemn oath that he will take nothing even of the most worthless, not to mention the more valuable goods. He is too independent to be indebted to the king of Sodom. It is a strangely different Abraham from the man who can enrich himself with royal gifts at the price of his wife's honour (12 13,16). It is curious that he speaks as if all his spoil consisted of goods captured from Sodom, or the five cities, whereas that actually taken by the four kings must have been much more, to say nothing of what belonged to themselves. "That which the young men have eaten" he does not refund; it belongs to the "expenses" of the expedition. But he does not impose on others the high standard of self-abnegation he lays down for himself; he may waive his own right, but he has no title to waive the rights of his allies—they must have their share.

24. Read *mg.*

XV. The Promise to Abraham of an Heir and the Land.—The analysis presents well-nigh insoluble difficulties, and critics are much divided as to details. It is generally agreed that elements from J and E have been combined, this being the first instance where E can be definitely traced. The opening of E is no longer preserved; the editor began to draw on it at the point where he found it serviceable. The story in 7ff. is not a continuation of that in 1–6. The latter takes place by night (5), the former begins in the daytime and ends after sunset. Twice over we have a promise of great prosperity. In 6 Abraham trusts God's promise; it is strange that in 8 he asks for it to be confirmed. 7 is also more natural at the beginning than in the middle of a revelation. But 1–6 is not itself a unity. "Yahweh" points to J, "in a vision" to E. 2*a* and 3*a* are practically doublets of 2*b* and 3*b*. But no agreement has been reached as to the analysis. 7–21 exhibits slight traces of E, but consists for the most part of J and later expansions.

The chapter records how, in response to Abraham's misgivings, Yahweh promises him an heir and an innumerable posterity, and makes a covenant with him to assure him that his seed shall possess the land.

1–6. From some unnamed cause Abraham is afraid; Yahweh encourages him in a vision with the assurance of Divine protection; some deed is deemed worthy of the promise, "thy reward shall be exceeding great" (*mg.*). "But what reward," he answers, "O Lord Yahweh, wilt thou give that can be of value to me? since I go hence (*mg.*) childless, and my heir is a home-born slave." To die without a child was to have one's name rooted out on earth. In Sheol there was continuance of bare existence, but no life in any real sense of the term (Is. 14₉–₁₅*); hence the ancient Hebrew felt that if he did not live in his posterity death meant the end of life. Yahweh tells him that a son of his own begetting shall be his heir, and, bringing him out of his tent to look at the starry sky, affirms that his seed shall be similarly innumerable. The faith of Abraham rises to meet the promise, and this faith is counted to him for righteousness, a theme which Paul developed in his great expositions of justification by faith (Rom. 4, Gal. 3).

2. The closing words are, it can hardly be doubted, corrupt; the restoration is a matter of great uncertainty. No discussion is here possible; the latest emendation is by Procksch, "the son of the ruler of my house, Eliezer, will be my heir."—**5. tell:** *i.e.* count (*cf.* the tellers in a division in the House of Commons).

7–21. The Making of the Covenant.—In this scene Abraham is told that he is to inherit Canaan. He asks for confirmation of the promise. Yahweh bids him select three animals and two birds, such as were eligible for sacrifice, though they were not to be used precisely for this purpose. The animals were divided into two equal portions, but in conformity with later sacrificial usage (Lev. 1₁₇) not the birds. Presumably the turtle dove was placed on the one side, the pigeon on the other. The carrion birds, ominous of evil, descend on the carcases, but their attack is foiled. At sunset a trance-sleep falls upon Abraham, and a great darkness, or, as the companion document puts it, a horror. It is the coming of Yahweh that freezes him with supernatural dread, a state suggested here with concise power, but portrayed with incomparable skill in the description of Eliphaz's experience in Job 4. "The scene is a vivid transcript of primitive religious experience. The bloody ceremony just described was no perfunctory piece of symbolism; it touched the mind below the level of consciousness; and that impression (heightened in this case by the growing darkness) induced a susceptibility to psychical influences readily culminating in ecstasy or vision" (Skinner, p. 281). In 13–16 the inner meaning of 11 is laid bare. As the birds of prey swooped on the carcases, so the seed of Abraham should be oppressed four hundred years, but as Abraham succeeded in driving them away, so his seed should return in the fourth generation. When the sun had set, Abraham sees through the darkness a smoking stove and a flaming torch passing between the pieces (17). This was a manifestation of Yahweh (Nu. 9₁₅*, Bennett compares Ex. 19₁₈, 24₁₇, Ps. 18₈). His action gives us a clue to the meaning of the ritual. The cutting of the victim in two is not a form of imprecation symbolising the fate invoked on themselves by the parties to the covenant should they prove unfaithful (*cf.* 1 S. 11₇). The division into equal halves, the arrangement of each opposite to the other, above all the passing between the two, are not accounted for in this way. Robertson Smith (RS², 480f.) explains that originally the victim was divided and each party took its share. When it ceased to be eaten they stood between the portions to symbolise that they were taken into the mystical life of the victim (see on Jer. 34₁₈ in Cent.B). The terms of the covenant follow in 18–21. The land promised is defined as stretching from the Nile to the Euphrates, limits which were not actually realised; possibly we should read "brook of Egypt," the Wady el-Arish, the usual SW. limit. The chapter closes with an exceptionally long list (10) of peoples to be dispossessed by Israel. Briefer lists are numerous (Ex. 3₈*). The Kadmonites are not mentioned elsewhere; possibly they dwelt in the desert E. of Palestine; Kenites and Kenizzites lived in the Negeb and were absorbed by Judah. The Hittites were a great people in the N. (pp. 53, 55f.); here some branch must be meant. On the Perizzite *cf.* 13₇*, the Rephaim 14₅*, the Amorite 14₇*. The Girgashites are often mentioned in these enumerations, but we have nothing to fix their locality. The Jebusites were the people of Jerusalem (Jos. 15₈,₆₃*, Jg. 1₂₁, 19₁₀*).

13. The duration of the Egyptian bondage is here described as 400 years. Since in 16 the return is to take place in the fourth generation, it would seem as if a generation was reckoned as 100 years, *i.e.* if the two statements come from the same hand; but more probably 400 years is due to the editor, for P reckons the stay of the Hebrews in Egypt as 430 years (Ex. 12 40). Four generations are given from Levi to Moses in Ex. 6₁₆–₂₀.—**stranger:** sojourner (*gēr*) the technical term for resident alien (p. 110, Lev. 17₈f.*, Dt. 11₆*, Ps. 15*).—**16. Amorite:** used here for the inhabitants of Canaan as a whole; the delay in the fulfilment of the promise is due to the fact that as yet they have not filled up the measure of their sin to the point at which Divine punishment will be inflicted.

XVI. Hagar's Flight from Sarah's Tyranny and the Angel's Promise of Ishmael's Birth Fulfilled.—This is shown by stylistic indications to be in the main from J; E's parallel is contained in 21₈–₂₁. 1*a*, 3, 15f. belong to P. 9f. is probably an insertion designed to harmonise the two stories of Hagar's leaving Sarah. Originally, it would seem, our story said nothing about her return, Ishmael being born in the desert; but when J and E were combined, 9f. had to be inserted. Observe that there is no statement of the return, and that the awkward threefold occurrence of "and the angel of the LORD said unto her" (9–11), without any intervening answer by Hagar, points to some manipulation of the text, all the more that the literary art of the story is so masterly. Still, the two stories fill their present places well, and the narrative runs on quite smoothly. The object of both is to explain the desert life of the Ishmaelites; their ancestress, escaping from intolerable tyranny, betakes herself to the desert, with its glorious, untamed freedom, its independence, and its feuds. The story may well be of Ishmaelite origin. Since Ishmael's name means "may God (*El*) hear" rather than "may Yahweh hear," it is probable that the name of the deity was originally El-roi (13, *mg.*), and that he was the deity of the fountain Beer-lahai-roi (14).

1–16. Sarah has no children, so she hits on a plan of which we have other examples (30₃,₉). She hands over Hagar to Abraham, that the maid may compensate for the deficiency of her mistress. The maid is the wife's peculiar property, and therefore not, like ordinary slaves, at the master's disposal. Nor, presumably, would Abraham's child by one of his slaves have been a legitimate son. It is through the con-

nexion between mistress and maid that Hagar's child can be reckoned as Sarah's. Hagar succeeds, and shows in her bearing the contempt of an Eastern woman for the barren. Stung by her maid's insolence, Sarah turns upon Abraham and hotly demands redress for a "wrong" she had herself invited. He meekly abandons the maid, who had now a claim on his protection, to the vindictiveness of his unreasonable wife, who handles Hagar so harshly that she is driven to escape. But Yahweh's angel finds her by a well in the desert. He appears in visible form, and at first she is unaware of His nature. He knows her name and her situation, He recognises the injustice that has justified her flight (11). He comforts her with the promise of a son, who shall dwell in the desert with all the wild ass's splendid freedom (Job 395–8), boldly confronting all his neighbours and scorning alliance with them. The angel vanishes, and there bursts on Hagar a sense of His Divine nature. God is normally invisible, the sight of Him brings death, she has seen Him and lives (Jg. 623, 1322f.); He, too, has seen her and marked her wrongs. Hence the well bears its name, Beer-lahai-roi. 15f. gives P's account of Ishmael's birth when his father was eighty-six.

1. Hagar probably means "flight," and the name may have suggested the story. It is used for the Hagarenes or Hagarites (E. of Gilead) (Ps. 836, 1 Ch. 5 10, 2731). The rendering "Egyptian" is probably correct, though Winckler and others have thought Hagar belonged to a N. Arabian land called Musri.—**7. the angel of the Lord:** originally, when there was a Divine manifestation, the Deity Himself was thought to appear; when this was felt to be objectionable, His angel was substituted. But the language vacillates between identification with Yahweh and distinction from Him; *cf.* Ex. 2320–23, Jg. 21, 611–23, 133–23.—**Shur:** may be a border fortress at NE of Egypt.—**12.** The author sketches the character of the Bedouin. Ishmael is "a wild ass of a man," unbroken by servitude, disdaining the yoke of civilisation. What it is among animals Ishmael will be among men.—**13*b*.** Apparently corrupt. Read, with Wellhausen, "Have I seen God and lived after my seeing." (*'ĕlōhîm* for *hătom* and *wā'ehi* before *ahărē*). El roi, "god of seeing" means presumably God who is seen, as well as God who sees.—**14.** Beer-lahai-roi (p. 100) seems to mean, "The well of the living one who seeth me" (*mg.*). Michaelis suggested that we should read *lehi*, "jaw-bone" (*cf.* Jg. 1515–20). Wellhausen suggested further that "roi" was an obsolete name of an animal, probably an antelope, and supposed that the name "Lehi-roi," "antelope's jawbone," was originally given to a series of rocky teeth near the well, and that a misunderstanding of the name gave rise to the story. —**Kadesh:** 147 *.—**Bered:** unknown. The well is perhaps 'Ain-Muw-eileh, 12 miles W. of Kadesh.

XVII. The Covenant of Circumcision.—From P, as is shown by its characteristic phraseology and style, and its interest in the origin of religious institutions. It also uses the name Elohim throughout (apart from 1), but has none of E's characteristics. The use of Yahweh in 1 must be due to the redactor or a scribe, since it is carefully and deliberately avoided by P till the revelation of Himself as Yahweh by Elohim in Ex. 6. This narrative marks a new stage in God's self-manifestation, signalised by a new covenant; a new sign—circumcision; a new Divine name—El Shaddai; and in this case the change in the name of those with whom the covenant was made. The author's scheme recognises four stages, of which this is the third; Adam, Noah, and Moses inaugurate the rest. Gunkel suggests that this scheme, for which analogies are to be found elsewhere, may have a Babylonian origin; history being conceived as a great year with four seasons. Circumcision (pp. 83, 99f.) is not a rite confined to the Abrahamic peoples. It is very widely diffused, of enormous antiquity, and found, sometimes associated with ordeals still more severe, among savages of the present day. Originally it was an initiation ceremony by which the youth was admitted to partial or full participation in the prerogatives and duties reserved for the male adults of the tribe, from which women and boys were rigidly excluded. Among the Jews it was practised in infancy, because its significance was changed, and the sooner the child was brought under the protection of the covenant the better. In the earlier period, the surrounding nations seem generally to have practised it, for the Philistines are singled out as uncircumcised, so that they were apparently an exception to the rule. Later the custom seems to have largely lapsed, so that it became specially characteristic of the Jews, who clung tenaciously to it as a mark both of dedication to Yahweh and distinction from the heathen.

1–8. The Covenant Promises.—The name El Shaddai is that by which Elohim, when He reveals Himself to Moses as Yahweh, says that He had revealed Himself to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Ex. 62f.). P's account of the revelation to Isaac is not preserved, but he uses the name in 283, while that to Jacob is recorded in 3511 (*cf.* 483). The meaning of Shaddai, which occurs thirty-one times in Job, is much disputed; perhaps it means "Destroyer" (Jl. 115*). He bids Abraham live as in His presence a blameless life. At this appearance the patriarch prostrates himself, and God, in pledge of His promise that he shall be father of a multitude of nations, changes his name from Abram to Abraham. He makes a perpetual covenant with him and his posterity, and promises lasting possession of Palestine.

5. Abraham: the etymology suggested is philologically impossible; perhaps no more than an assonance is thought of. The real meaning is unknown. Abram means "the Father is exalted."

9–14. Circumcision to be the Token of the Covenant. —The covenant involves for all time the circumcision of every male when it is eight days old, including all those in the household, whether of Hebrew origin or not. Neglect involved the cutting off of the offender—whether by death or excommunication, by Divine or human act, is not clear.

15–22. Promise of a Son to Sarah.—The name Sarai is now changed to Sarah, "princess," for she is to be a mother of nations and kings. Abraham laughs at a promise so contrary to nature, and utters the wish that Ishmael might be the object of God's choice. But God has some other purpose in store for His incredulous servant; his wife is to have a son, whose name, in allusion to Abraham's laughter, is to be Isaac, "he laughs." As for Ishmael (=May God hear), God has already heard; he shall be abundantly blessed, but the covenant will be made not with him but with Isaac.

23–37. Abraham, Ishmael, and the Men of his Household are Circumcised.—Though Ishmael stands outside the covenant, he is circumcised as a member of the house. He is thirteen at the time, the age at which the rite is said to have been practised among the ancient Arabs.

XVIII.–XIX. Abraham's Hospitality Rewarded by Promise of a Son; his Intercession for Sodom; the Vileness of the Sodomites and the Deliverance of Lot when Sodom is Destroyed; the Desperate Strategy of

Lot's Daughters.—This long and admirably-told narrative belongs to J, apart from 19^{29} (P). But it presents complicated critical problems. 18^{22b}–33^{a} seems to be a later insertion. In 22^{a} "the men" go on toward Sodom, presumably including Yahweh, who has just said He will go, and who seems from 19^{17}–^{22} to be in Sodom. In 18^{22b}–33^{a} He stays behind with Abraham. In 18^{20}f. He is going to investigate on the spot the guilt of Sodom, in 22^{b}–33^{a} its guilt has become clear enough for judgment to be passed upon it (similarly in 17–19, which accordingly seems to be an insertion). In the main story the conception of Yahweh is intensely anthropomorphic. He even eats the meal prepared for Him, and has to learn by personal inquiry on the spot whether Sodom deserves what He has heard about it; in the episode of Abraham's intercession, He is the judge of the whole earth. We have also a perplexing interchange of the singular and plural, sometimes "they" or "the men," sometimes "he." This may point to the origin of the main narrative by combination of two sources; or perhaps the original story spoke of three gods, and the necessary transformation has not been carried through so thoroughly as to obliterate all traces of its polytheistic origin. The story has not a few parallels, and it may be a variant of a widely-diffused account of a visit paid to earth by celestial beings, who rewarded with a child those who had hospitably entertained them, but destroyed those who were churlish and their homes with them. It does not follow, however, that our story is simply the application to this district of a legend originally located elsewhere. The overthrow was probably not wrought by volcanic eruption, but by an explosion in the bituminous soil, the matter flung skyward by the explosion falling back on the cities as a fiery rain ("brimstone and fire"). An earthquake may have taken place at the same time. The phenomena are quite suitable to the district (p. 33). The conduct of the Sodomites has a parallel in the hideous story of Jg. 19.

XVIII. 1–15. At the midday siesta Abraham suddenly becomes aware that three men are standing near his tent. That they appear with such mysterious suddenness does not, however, suggest their true character to him. He sees in them wayfarers, and treats them with prompt and generous hospitality. Addressing the leader, he proffers an invitation to rest and modest refreshment. He bids Sarah prepare cakes, kills a calf, procures soured milk and new milk, and sets this improvised meal, such as a Bedouin chief would offer to-day, before his guests, and while they eat stands in attendance. They ask after Sarah, and learn that she is in the tent. Yahweh promises that He will return and Sarah shall have a son. She is listening and laughs inwardly in incredulity. The visitors, who had shown themselves familiar with her name and childlessness, and who have promised a child, give a further proof of their mysterious powers to Sarah's dismay in detecting her unuttered thought, and repeat the promise, with a rebuke for her denial.

3. My lord: the margin "O Lord" implies that Abraham recognised the Divine character of his guest, but this is incorrect.—**6. fine meal:** literally "meal, fine flour"; the words "fine flour" are added by an editor, because meal offered to God must, according to P, be fine flour.—**12. laughed:** the name "Isaac" means "he laughs"; at the promise of a child Abraham laughs (17^{17}), and now Sarah. She refers in 21^{6} to the laughter with which Isaac's birth will be greeted. She is roused to jealousy by seeing Ishmael's "sporting" (a participle from the same root) with him on equal terms when he is weaned (21^{9}); in 26^{8} Abimelech sees Isaac "sporting" with his wife.

16–33. Apart from the insertions (17–19, 22^{b}–33^{a}) the story went on to say that Abraham accompanied his guests, and Yahweh told him that he was going down to Sodom to ascertain if it was really as wicked as rumour declared; then the men went on towards Sodom and Abraham returned home. In the inserted passages judgment is already settled. Yahweh soliloquises and decides to take Abraham into his confidence in view of the great destiny reserved for him. After "the men" have gone on, Yahweh remains, and Abraham pleads that if a certain number of righteous persons be found in Sodom, a number which he brings down from fifty to ten, the city may be spared for their sake. To this Yahweh assents. The principle which Abraham lays down is that the righteous should not be slain with the wicked, but his actual proposal is not that the righteous should be permitted to escape, but that the wicked city should be spared if it contained ten righteous persons. It is noteworthy how the author, having to put six proposals in Abraham's lips, identical except for the numbers, contrives to introduce so much variety of form.

19. known: *i.e.* chosen (*cf.* Am. 3^{2}).—**20.** We should perhaps render, with the omission of one letter, "There is a report about Sodom and Gomorrah, that their sin is great, that it is very grievous."

XIX. 1–11. The men reach Sodom at even, and Lot, sitting as was customary in the spacious city gate, invites them, with the same courtesy and hospitality as his uncle, to stay the night in his house. They at first refuse, saying that they will pass the night in the city square. Although this was no special privation, Lot urges his offer, all the more perhaps because he knew the character of the citizens, who, before his guests retired, without exception justified their vile reputation. Lot faced them bravely and alone, pleading with them to desist from the outrage they meditated, and proffering his two virgin daughters to glut their lust. His plea only angered them as coming from an alien, but the men rescued him from their violence, and baffled their attempt on the door by "blindness," apparently a form of perverted vision which prevented them from finding it.

1. the two angels: substituted for "the men," when 18^{22b}–33^{a} was inserted.—**4.** The men without exception join in the assault, so the depravity of all is made clear, and the object of the investigation is attained.—**8.** The obligations of hospitality are so stringent in the East, that Lot's conduct, different though it seems to us, is probably regarded as creditable. At all costs he must protect his guests. Moreover he risks himself by going out alone and unarmed to face an ugly, unscrupulous mob, on fire with perverted passion, and cuts off his own retreat, that he may the more effectively shield his guests.

12–29. The men have learnt all they need to know of Sodom's character, and tell Lot of its impending fate that he may be rescued with his household. His prospective sons-in-law (*mg.*) do not heed his warning, so, as the morning is drawing on, the angels urge him to escape with his wife and daughters. As he lingers, they hurry them out of the city and bid them escape to the mountain, not looking behind or loitering. Lot fears to do this, and is permitted to find refuge in Zoar, spared for this purpose since it was but tiny. Nothing could be done till he was safe, though his wife disobeyed the prohibition to look back and was turned into a pillar of salt. The sun had risen when Lot reached his refuge, and then fire and brimstone

were rained on Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities and all the Plain with its inhabitants were overturned, apparently by earthquake. Abraham, remembering what his guests had said, goes out in the morning to the place where he had talked with God in sight of Sodom, and where the cities had been he sees only dense volumes of smoke. In 29 we have P's reference to the catastrophe, the stress being laid on the deliverance of Lot for Abraham's sake. In J's narrative he seems to be saved for his own.

12. Read probably "thy sons-in-law and thy daughters."—**17. look not behind thee:** the reason is not clear, whether with hankering for what he is leaving, or because of the delay involved, or because man must not see God at work (221).—**20–22.** An explanation why the district of Zoar (at the S. end of the Dead Sea, *cf.* 1310) was not involved in the catastrophe, and why the city bore its name (=little); it was so insignificant that an exception might be made in its favour.—**25. overthrew:** the verb and the cognate noun are regularly used to describe this catastrophe.—**26.** An explanation of the origin of a salt column in the district. Josephus says that he had seen the pillar, and there is one in the district now, forty feet high, though whether that seen by Josephus is uncertain.—**28.** A vapour often hangs over the Dead Sea.

30–38. Lot's daughters, fearing that, with the exception of their father and themselves, mankind has perished, feel that upon them rests the responsibility of perpetuating the race. Their father alone is available, and he is old; prompt action is therefore necessary. But since they realise that he will not feel the pressure of the situation with its responsibility so keenly as voluntarily to transgress the normal limits of morality, they make him drunk that they may secure his unconscious co-operation. The plan succeeds, and to it Moab and Ammon owe their origin. The story testifies to the kinship which the Hebrews felt to exist between themselves and these peoples, It is told without comment, but the Hebrew narrator would hardly approve. If, as is not unlikely, it is the story told by the Moabites and the Ammonites, it is told in honour of themselves and the two women. They are of the purest stock, and in a desperate emergency Lot's daughters rose to this desperate device. There is no hint of shame or desire for concealment; they themselves give their sons the transparent names, Moab, "from a father," and Ben-ammi, "son of my father's kinsman." There is an interesting parallel (also noticed by Bennett) in Morris' *Sigurd the Volsung*, Book I, where Signy secures in disguise the birth of Sinfiotli, his father being her own brother. Since Zoar was spared it is curious that the women despaired of a non-incestuous union; the story may, therefore, have been originally independent of 1–28, and told of a catastrophe as universal as the Flood.

XX. Abraham Passes off Sarah as his Sister at Gerar.—The first complete narrative from E. The writer uses Elohim, but P's characteristics are absent. Phraseology as well as the use of Elohim instead of Yahweh forbid us to assign it to J, who has also a variant of the story (121–20); contrast 13 with 1211–13. Features which point to E are the phraseology, the representation of Abraham as a prophet (7) and his home as in the Negeb (1), also the speaking of God in a dream; Sarah is obviously of an age and beauty to attract royal attention, therefore not ninety years of age (1717). E presumably placed the incident soon after Abraham's entrance into Canaan; he is not, of course, responsible for the ages given in 124, 1717. As compared with 1212–20 our story exhibits a more refined moral feeling. In 1212–20 Abraham saves his life at the cost of his wife's honour, and gets rich by the price he receives for her; Pharaoh discovers the truth by the plagues on himself and his household, and Abraham has no explanation to offer; he is accordingly deported. In 20 Sarah is taken into the harem but her honour is preserved by Abimelech's illness (17). He learns the truth through Divine communication, and Abraham's lie is reduced to a mental reservation. His wealth is acquired as a compensation for the injury, not to his wife's honour, but to her reputation, and he is encouraged to remain in the country. In 261–11 there is no actual peril to Rebekah, but Abimelech points out that Isaac's lie made such peril possible. The king has no thought of appropriating her, and Isaac's prosperity is due to Yahweh's blessing on his crops. Gerar is also represented as a Philistine city, which is not the case here.

1. Gerar: site uncertain, perhaps the Wady Jerur, 13 miles SW. of Kadesh.—**4. nation:** perhaps indefinite, "righteous folk." King, not nation, was threatened (3). Observe the ancient view that the act, however innocently done, might involve guilt and penalty (3), which might be averted by intercession (7), struggling with the sense that this was unjust where the act was done with pure motives and in ignorance. The prophet is a sacred person who may not be touched with impunity; his wife should therefore be restored. And as a prophet, he can offer prevailing intercession for the king's recovery. The use of the term is a sign that the narrative is later than Samuel (1 S. 9 9).—**10. What sawest thou:** rather, "What possessed thee."—**12.** No hint of this is given in 1218f. It may be E's alleviation of Abraham's lie. Marriage with a half-sister is regarded as possible in 2 S. 1313, though forbidden in Dt. 2722, Lev. 189,11, 2017.—**13.** In 1211–13 the deceit is concocted for use in Egypt, not a scheme devised for general use in their wanderings.—**16. thy brother:** a delicate reproof.—**a thousand pieces of silver:** this amount of silver would now be worth about £137 10*s.*, but its purchasing power would be vastly greater then than now.—**behold . . . righted:** the text is corrupt. The general meaning seems to be that Sarah's reputation has been re-established and adequate compensation made.—**17.** The barrenness of the king's wife and harem is adequately explained by Abimelech's malady; possibly they were inserted by the hand to which we owe 18; this verse is a gloss—it uses the name Yahweh and misunderstands 17.

XXI. 1–7. Birth of Isaac.—1*b* and 2*b*–5 belong to P, the editor having changed Elohim into Yahweh in 1*b*. To J 1*a*, 2*a*, 7 may be assigned, and 6*a* to E. 6*b* should probably be placed in 7 before "for," and assigned to J. It supplies a better reason than 7*a* for 7*b*. 6 contains two suggestions as to the origin of Isaac's name—Sarah's own glad laughter at the birth of a son, and the kindly amusement of the gossips that two such old folks should at last have a baby. Not indeed that either J or E thought of Abraham as a centenarian and Sarah as ninety.

6. with me: rather "at me," but not maliciously.

XXI. 8–21. Sarah Forces Abraham to Send Hagar and Ishmael away.—The narrative is from E. Note the use of Elohim, the revelation to Abraham by night, the voice of the angel from heaven, Abraham's residence in the Negeb. The story is told with wonderful literary power and pathos. The writer deeply feels and conveys to his readers the brutality of the treatment accorded to Hagar and her son, the mother's helpless agony, and the child's pitiful torture by thirst.

As was customary, a feast was made when Isaac was weaned, about the age of three. Sarah saw Ishmael and Isaac playing together on equal terms (RV "mocking" is quite misleading). She resents this, and sees that if they grow up together her son's prospects may be injured. Presumably the children of a concubine had a claim to some share in the property. Sarah is determined that Ishmael shall have nothing. She leaves nothing to chance; Hagar and Ishmael must be driven away at once; what will become of them she neither knows nor cares. Abraham comes out better than his tigerish wife; not so much indeed—he betrays little concern for Hagar, whom yet he had made the mother of his son; for the son himself he has some compunction. Perhaps he would not have consented but for God's bidding. That He should bid him acquiesce does not represent Him in an unfavourable light, for mother and child are in His care, and from the son a nation will spring. So with scanty provision, though more than our "bottle" suggests, Hagar is turned out early next morning, with her child on her shoulder (so LXX). Her hoarded water spent, with no prospect of replenishing her waterskin, she puts down the child she has wearily carried, under a shrub to shield him from the sun. She leaves him that she may not watch his death agony, but still keeps him in sight as she sits in dumb despair. The child is not dumb but lifts up its voice and weeps (so LXX). Man's extremity is God's opportunity; He hears the lad's voice, bids her be of good cheer, for He will make him a great nation. She sees a well of water, to which her eyes had been sealed, and gives her child water. He thrives and becomes an archer, like his descendants. He dwells in Paran (146) W. of Edom, and marries a wife of his mother's country (9, 161).

9. playing (*mg.*): add with LXX, Vulg., "with Isaac her son."—**10.** Quoted Gal. 430. Paul's reference to Ishmael as persecuting Isaac rests on Rabbinical exegesis of the word rendered "mocking."—**12. in Isaac . . . called:** quoted Rom. 97, Heb. 1118. Isaac alone is to be reckoned as Abraham's seed.—**14. Beersheba:** (p. 32) 28 miles SW. of Hebron.—**19.** Presumably E added at this point "Therefore she called the name of her son Ishmael" (God hears), as 17 leads us to expect. It would be omitted by the redactor of JE as it would clash with the explanation in J's story (1611).

XXI. 22–34. Abraham and Abimelech Make a Covenant at Beersheba.—Probably from JE. The analysis is uncertain; perhaps 25f., 28–30, 32–34 belong to J, the rest to E. One narrative represents Abraham as making a covenant of friendship with Abimelech at the king's request, the other as securing a recognition from Abimelech of his claim to the wells of Beersheba. The point of 25f. is probably that whenever Abraham reproved Abimelech, as he did on various occasions, he could get no satisfaction from him. It does not continue 24, but begins an independent narrative, which is continued in 28–30. The variant in 2613–33 should be compared. There are two suggestions as to the origin of the name Beersheba. One is that it refers to the seven ewe lambs (28–30), the other that it means "well of the oath" (31). The true meaning is probably "well of seven," the reference being to the seven wells at Beersheba. A dispute about wells is very common in those regions (p. 32). For seven as a sacred number *cf.* Nu. 2241–236 *.

XXII. 1–19. Abraham Obeys the Divine Command to Sacrifice Isaac, and is Rewarded by the Sparing of his Son.—The main narrative (1–13) is from E, and the story, which is a literary masterpiece, is told with a reticence more effective than any detailed exposition of the tragedy implicit in it could have been. The pathos of the son's question in 7, the father's answer in 8, is unsurpassable. And the racked feelings of the father, the unconsciousness of the son, are left to the reader's imagination. The point is that Abraham accepts, with unfaltering obedience, the demand for the costliest offering, recognising God's right to make it. The view that the writer intended to teach that human sacrifice was repugnant to God is a modern expedient for making the narrative more palatable. It is not really suggested by anything in the story. The substitution of the ram is not an indication that animal should replace human sacrifice. Isaac is spared, not because the offering of a human victim is intrinsically hateful, but because the purpose of the test had been fulfilled, and the consummation of the sacrifice was therefore unnecessary, while obedience so complete deserved such a reward. But probably behind the tale as we have it there was an earlier legend, explaining why rams were offered at the sanctuary where the tale was told. Originally men offered their children, but the god once directed that a ram should be substituted, and so ever afterwards rams, and not children, were sacrificed. The similar story of Iphigenia at Aulis will occur to many readers. (On human sacrifice see pp. 83, 99.)

2. Note the description of Isaac, bringing out the greatness of the sacrifice demanded.—**only son:** 2112.—**the land of Moriah:** Jerusalem may be intended (2 Ch. 31), but it could hardly have stood in the original text. There was no "land of Moriah," and "Moriah" was not commonly used for the Temple hill. Nor would E be likely to represent Abraham as coming to the capital of the S. kingdom. Jerusalem was an inhabited city, here apparently we have to do with a lonely spot. The original text may have been "the land of the Amorites" (Syr.). Moriah would be substituted because it seemed to contain the same elements as the name "Yahweh yireh" (14). —**6.** Isaac bears the wood, as Jesus bears His Cross. "The lad bears the heavy, the father the more dangerous burden" (Gunkel).—**11.** Read "angel of God" (Syr.).—**14.** Very difficult. E cannot have written it in its present form, for he cannot have used Yahweh. Yet he must have recorded the giving of the name. Yahweh presumably was originally Elohim or El, and Gunkel has brilliantly suggested that the name was Yeruel (2 Ch. 2016). This is corroborated by the presence in the context of several similar words (*'elohim yireh* in 8, *yere 'elohim* in 12, *yar 'ail* in 13). He emends 14*b* "for he said, To-day in this mountain God provideth."—**15–18.** Probably an addition by a redactor (note Yahweh in 15f.).—**19.** Close of E's story.

XXII. 20–24. The Sons of Nahor.—From J, touched by the redactor, and inserted to prepare for 24. The names are, partially at any rate, tribal. Discussion of them may be seen in the larger commentaries.

XXIII. Abraham Purchases the Cave of Machpelah as a Burying-place of Sarah.—This chapter belongs to P, as is shown by its legal precision and the wordiness of its style, by numerous characteristic expressions, and by the later references in P (259f., 4929–32, 5013). It shows how Abraham acquired property by purchase in Canaan, an earnest of ultimate possession of the whole, and perhaps inculcates by his example the duty of acquiring a family grave, to which importance was attached. Gunkel thinks that the story is old, and its original form was designed to emphasize that

the sanctuary at Machpelah belonged, not to the Canaanites who claimed it, but to Israel, since Abraham had purchased it with full legal formalities and for the full price. P incorporated it because the Edomites, who had been pushed by the Arabs into S. Judah, were contesting the claim in his day. Since he could recognise the legitimacy of no sanctuary but Jerusalem, he emphasizes the point that Abraham acquired it simply as a family grave. The cave is now covered by a mosque, which is itself in a sacred enclosure. No Christians have entered it in modern times save royal personages accompanied by members of their suites. The cave itself is quite inaccessible. The reference to Hittites, children of Heth, so far S. as Hebron creates difficulty. Possibly the Hittite empire reached so far; possibly these Hittites are quite distinct from their famous namesakes; possibly we have simply to do with a vague use by P of Hittites in the sense of Canaanites.

The wailing for Sarah past, it remains to dispose of her body. Abraham asks the Hittites for a burying-place. They offer to this "prince of God" (*mg.*) the choicest sepulchres. Often it is thought that the extreme and long-winded politeness is but the Oriental way of conducting a bargain. This is to some extent correct, but it is not unlikely that the reluctance to sell was sincere. They do not want this stranger to have any of their land in his own legal right; they prefer that he should simply have the use of one of their own sepulchres. Abraham presses his point, and names the place. He wants the cave merely, but Ephron, if he is to sell it, means to have the whole field taken with it. He offers it in the conventional way as a gift. Abraham, of course, insists on paying the price, which by once more offering it freely Ephron contrives to let him know! Accordingly the money is paid and the purchase executed with all due formalities, and in the cave Sarah is buried.

2. came: *i.e.* into the room where the dead body lay.—**9. Machpelah** is not the name of the cave simply (*cf.* 17, 19).—**10. that went in at the gate:** the citizens who are entitled to sit in the city gate and discuss its affairs.—**15. four hundred shekels of silver:** this weight of silver would now be worth about £55; but its actual purchasing power would be very much more (*cf.* 2016). The description of it as "current with the merchant" is not quite clear. It may refer to the quality of the silver or to the weight of the ingots, or perhaps even to coined shekels, which seem to have been in use as early as this time.

XXIV. At his Master's Command, Abraham's Slave Brings Rebekah to Canaan as a Wife for Isaac.—The chapter has generally been assigned to J, but it is probably composite, and has been put together from J and E rather than from two J sources. Close scrutiny discloses features which negative its unity, but the combination has been skilfully effected and the story reads admirably. It is told with great literary skill.

Feeling the approach of death, Abraham summons his senior slave and extracts from him a solemn oath, in contact with the organs which are the sacred seat of life, that he would not take a Canaanite woman as wife for Isaac, but would bring one from Abraham's own country. If the woman would not come, he was by no means to defeat God's purpose by taking Isaac to her. God would prosper His mission, but if the woman would not come, the oath would bind him no longer. After taking the oath the slave made up a caravan of ten camels and came to Nahor's city. Arriving at the time when the women draw water, he halts by the well and prays that he may know Isaac's appointed bride by this sign, that she will satisfy his request for a drink of water, and spontaneously offer to water his camels. Rebekah, Nahor's granddaughter, fair and unwedded, fulfils the conditions, and he gives her a golden nose-ring and golden bracelets. He discovers her lineage and craves hospitality. This is cheerfully promised, and he thanks Yahweh who has led him to his master's kinsfolk. On hearing her news and seeing her jewels, Laban, her brother, welcomes the slave and his retinue. The slave refuses to eat till he has told his errand, which he does at great length, closing with the request for a definite answer. Laban accepts the offer of marriage for his sister; the leading of Providence is too clear to be ignored. So the slave makes costly presents to Rebekah, her mother, and her brother, and next morning asks leave to depart at once. The brother and mother wish to keep her with them for a few days, but the slave is urgent to return that he and the bride may see Abraham before he dies. They find that Rebekah is willing to go, and she goes with their blessing. On their arrival they meet Isaac, and she alights from her camel (*cf.* Jg. 1 14), and when she learns that it is her destined husband veils herself. After hearing the slave's report, Isaac conducts her to his tent. The veiling is part of the marriage ceremony, the bringing to the husband's tent "is the essential feature of the marriage ceremony in the East" (Skinner). So Isaac was comforted after his father's death (see below).

10. Mesopotamia: by Aram-naharaim the region known in the Tell el-Amarna tablets as Naharina is intended. The rendering in *mg.*, "Aram of the two rivers," presupposes that Naharaim, which has a dual termination, is dual. If correct, the rivers are not the Euphrates and the Tigris but the Euphrates and the Khabor. It is questionable whether it is a dual; the Egyptian and Canaanite forms are not. The district is that which lies on both sides of the Upper Euphrates, and is not to be identified with what the Greeks meant by Mesopotamia.—**14.** The test of unselfish good nature was not a slight one, for the camel is a heavy drinker, and there were ten of them. Thomson speaks of such kindness as quite unusual.—**30.** The wealth implied in the gift of the jewellery and the maiden's story appeals to Laban. Obviously such a guest deserves to be cultivated, an impression deepened by what he hears in 35f.—**49***b*. Tell me, so that I may know what to do.—**50. and Bethuel:** should probably be omitted; Laban, and in a less degree, his mother, arrange the affair and receive the presents; Bethuel was probably dead.—**53.** The presents to Rebekah are the bridegroom's gifts to the bride, making the engagement binding, those to the mother and brother are the bride-price.—**62.** The text is corrupt, and many emendations have been proposed.—**63. meditate:** an uncertain rendering. Perhaps it means "to lament." Pesh. reads "to walk."—**67.** The Heb. is ungrammatical; we should read "the tent" for "his mother Sarah's tent"; into his own tent is probably intended. The closing words are also changed. They are literally "and Isaac was comforted after his mother." Sarah's death lay some time in the past, moreover there are various indications that Abraham had died before the slave's return. Probably his death was mentioned after 61 in the original story, but omitted by the editor in favour of P's account (257-10). We should probably read "and Isaac was comforted after his father's death."

XXV. 1-6. The Descendants of Abraham and Keturah.—The section belongs apparently to a late stratum of J. The obvious meaning is that Abraham

married again and had six children after Sarah's death. This is remarkable in view of the fact that the birth of Isaac was effected only by the miraculous intervention of Providence. Midian (Ex. 215*) is the best known of the peoples mentioned, the Dedanites and Sabæans also occur several times.

XXV. 7–11. The Death and Burial of Abraham.—This is from P except 11*b*, which is from J and should follow 5.

8. his people: better "his father's kin," *i.e.* in Sheol.—**9.** P ignores scandals in the story of the patriarchs, and makes no reference to the treatment of Ishmael.

XXV. 12–18. Ishmael's Posterity and Death.—12–17 is from P; 18 is a fragment of J, but its original context is uncertain. Twelve tribes are said to be descended from Ishmael. The identification of Nebaioth (289, 363, Is. 607) with the Nabatæans, famous in the period after the Exile, is now generally given up. It and Kedar (Is. 2116f.*, 4211, 607, Jer. 210, 4928, Ps. 1205*) lay probably to the E. of Edom. The other tribes are of less importance. Tema was a N. Arabian tribe about 250 miles to SE. of Edom, coupled with Dedan in Is. 2113f., Jer. 2523, and with Sheba in Job 619. The problems raised by 18 are too complicated to be discussed here.

XXV. 19–34. The Birth of Jacob and Esau. Jacob Takes Advantage of Esau to Secure his Birthright.—At this point we pass to the story of Jacob. In the present section 19f., 26*b* belong to P, the rest to JE. 21–28 is from J, and so in the judgment of most critics 29–34, though some assign it to E.

Like Sarah and Rachel, Rebekah is for long without a child. P fixes the interval from marriage to motherhood as thirty years, but in view of the untrustworthiness of his chronological statements elsewhere no dependence can be placed on them here. Before their birth the mother's life is made intolerable by their struggles (*cf.* 2746 for a similar outburst of petulance), and on inquiry at the oracle Yahweh tells her that two nations have already begun a struggle which will issue in the subjection of the elder. When the twins were born the first was a redskin (*'admoni*, hence Edom, though another reason is given for the name in 30) and hairy (*se'ar*, hence Seir), and his name was called Esau, for which no etymology is suggested; perhaps it means "shaggy." His brother follows hard at his heels, indeed with his hand on Esau's heel, vainly attempting to hold him back. Him they call Jacob, connecting it with the Heb. word for "heel" (*cf. mg.*). Jacob is perhaps a contraction of Jacob-el (pp. 248f.), which is both a personal and place name, of disputed meaning. The story continues as it began. The dissimilarity in appearance is matched by difference in disposition and occupation. Esau loved the hunter's adventurous life, and grew skilful (EV "cunning") in it, Jacob was a quiet (*mg.*) stay-at-home lad and followed the occupation of a shepherd. The difference was accentuated, and tragedy invited, by the favouritism of the parents—of Isaac for Esau, whose venison he relished, of Rebekah for Jacob, whose feminine traits perhaps made him more congenial to his mother. Jacob grows up with the galling sense that he is the younger, and that his brother possesses the birthright and does not even value it as he should. The birthright conferred leadership in the family and a double share of the inheritance, and political and material superiority when transferred to the nation from the individual. Jacob had probably laid schemes to secure it. His chance comes when, making lentil stew, he is asked by the famished Esau for some of that red stuff: he is too ravenous to give it its proper name, and in his impatience repeats the word (*mg.*). Jacob drives his brother mercilessly; first of all (*mg.*) he must sell him his birthright. Esau does not stop to think "so much for so little," or to soften his cold brother. He fancies himself dying! anything for a good meal! But Jacob is too astute to take his brother's bare word, he was himself an unscrupulous liar. He insists on the guarantee of an oath, which is given without hesitation. Then, having satisfied his hunger, Esau went away without regret, and at least justified Jacob so far, that the birthright had passed to one who knew how to value it. The narrator betrays no repugnance for the meanness of his ancestor. Esau "was a man with no depth of nature and no outlook into the eternal. He was not a man of faith who postpones present gratification for future good, but one who lived like an animal 'tame in earth's paddock as her prize,' with no spiritual horizon. He was thus, engaging though he might be, a character of less promise than his selfish, calculating, cold-blooded brother, who had spiritual vision and numbered Bethel and Peniel among his experiences. The contrast comes out in Esau's selling his birthright, and all its spiritual privileges, in a fit of impatient hunger, and Jacob's grim tenacity in holding on to the angel with dislocated thigh, till he blessed him" (*Hebrews*, Cent.B, p. 230).

XXVI. Isaac and the Philistines.—Apart from 34f. this chapter belongs to J. The original has been expanded in 1–6, and 15, 18 are harmonistic insertions. Apart from 12–17 the incidents are parallel to incidents recorded of Abraham. On the relation to the earlier adventures of Sarah in Egypt and Gerar, see 20*. The incident is misplaced; obviously it is earlier than the birth of Esau and Jacob. The dispute about the wells and covenant with Abimelech are doublets of the similar events in Abraham's life.

Like Abraham, Isaac is forced to migrate by famine, but he goes to Gerar, not Egypt, whose king, like the king of Gerar in 20, is named Abimelech, but is styled "king of the Philistines." Yahweh bids him remain in the land and not remove to Egypt as his father had done, renewing to him the promise made to Abraham (1–5). He passes off Rebekah as his sister, till the king surprises them in their connubialities and rebukes him for the guilt of unconscious adultery that his people might have incurred through his poltroonery. Although a semi-nomad, Isaac practises agriculture, as is to-day done by the Bedouin (at Beersheba among other places), and so successfully that seed produces a hundredfold, an exceptional but not an impossible yield (*cf.* Mk. 48). His flocks, herds, and slaves multiply, the Philistines envy him, and the king bids him depart. His slaves discover water, but the herdmen of Gerar contest the well with them, and similarly with a second well, and only with the third (Rehoboth) do they leave him in possession. This was probably at Ruhaibeh, about 20 miles SW. of Beersheba. He went from there to Beersheba, where, Yahweh appeared to him and renewed his promise, whereupon Isaac built an altar and invoked Yahweh's name. Thus the origin of Beersheba as a sanctuary is traced back to Isaac as well as to Abraham (2133). Abimelech, recognising Yahweh's blessing on Isaac, proposes a covenant which he accepts, and which is made by a feast and an oath. Learning the same day from his slaves of a well they had sunk there (*cf.* 25), he gives it the name Shibah (swearing), from which the city derived its name Beersheba, a variant of the account in 2131.

The chapter closes with two verses from P about Esau's two Hittite wives, which prepare the way for Jacob's dispatch to his mother's family to secure a wife, since his parents are grieved that by intermarriage with the natives Esau should have tainted the purity of the stock.

XXVII. 1–45. At his Mother's Instigation, Jacob Cheats Esau of his Father's Blessing.—Probably compiled from J and E. Since both presuppose it later, both must have told the story. There are doublets which point to the use of two sources. We naturally expect the blessing to follow at the end of 23, but it comes only in 27*b*. Twice Jacob is questioned as to his identity, and Isaac is in one place deceived by touch (21–23) in the other by smell (27). The analysis is, however, very uncertain, and may be neglected as the chapter reads fairly connectedly. The main thread of the story seems to come from J. Isaac, in anticipation of death, bids Esau go hunting and bring him venison prepared as a savoury meal, that thus the prophetic spirit may be induced (as later the prophets induced ecstasy by music, 1 S. 10 5f.*, 2 K. 3 15), and he may utter the prized blessing on his firstborn son. Rebekah overhears the command and, as soon as Esau has gone, schemes to outwit her blind husband and secure the coveted, irrevocable blessing for her favourite son. Jacob's objections are overruled, and Rebekah cooks two kids which he will pass off for venison, dresses him in the raiment Esau used for sacred occasions, and conceals with the goatskins the tell-tale smoothness of Jacob's skin. Isaac is struck with the speed of the return, Jacob piously attributes it to the good hand of his father's God. Isaac notes the Jacob-like ring of the voice, but is reassured by the hairiness of the hands. He eats the meal, and, thus inspired, pronounces the blessing on his son, redolent as he is of the smell of a field which Yahweh has blessed. Fruitful lands, abundant harvest and vintage, political supremacy—with such blessings in his ears, and the knowledge that no discovery of his deceit can deprive him of them, the trickster leaves his father's presence, undetected by the father, nor surprised by the brother. He and his mother had played a daring game, and had won it. Only just won it; a little later and he would have been caught by his brother, cursed by his justly-incensed father. The scene between Esau and Isaac is among the most pathetic in literature. To his consternation the father discovers the justice of the suspicions which had too easily been allayed, yet a blessing once uttered cannot be taken back (25–27*). And Esau, not the same man as when he lightly sold his birthright, is stricken with bitter grief that he should have been cheated of his blessing by one who has thus doubly justified his sinister name. "All the primitive wildness of Esau's nature bursts out like a stream of lava" (Procksch). But has the father no blessing? What can he have, when to a fruitful land he has added Jacob's lordship over Esau? But with passionate tears Esau urges his entreaty. So Isaac announces the destiny of Edom. There is an ambiguity in the preposition (RV "of," *mg.* "away from," *cf.* Job 19 26*) which may be intentional, but which makes it uncertain whether 39*a* is a blessing like 28, or dooms Edom to a sterile land. Actually Edom had a fertile land, but the reference may not be to the whole of the territory it held at a later period, and the general impression of the whole passage favours *mg.* Edom is to dwell in a barren land, live by plunder, and be in servitude to Israel. Yet the prediction of Israel's suzerainty (29), though it must be fulfilled, leaves a loophole. Esau's subjection will not be permanent. The people will become restive and then snap their yoke. Esau decides that he will not disturb his father's last days by summary vengeance on Jacob; the funeral rites for Isaac are at hand, and then he will kill Jacob while the seven days' mourning is in progress. Rebekah learns of his design and counsels Jacob to visit Laban till Esau's anger is past. Only a short time and with a character so shallow, the storm will have blown over, and Jacob will be back. Why, then, should Esau kill him and die for the fratricide and she lose both her sons at a stroke? Jacob, however, met Rachel and stayed with Laban for twenty years.

XXVII. 46–XXVIII. 9. Jacob is Sent from Home to Marry into his Mother's Family.—The reader may readily suppose that Rebekah uses the unfortunate marriage of Esau as a pretext to hide her real reason for sending Jacob away, which was to baulk Esau of his revenge. But this section comes from P and links on to 26 34f. Intermarriage with Canaanites was contrary to the ideals of Judaism; Edom may do such things, but not Israel. When Esau learnt that his father was not pleased with his wives, and in sending Jacob to Laban had given him the blessing of Abraham, he married the daughter of Ishmael, his cousin, though not so pure in breed as his own family, since her grandmother was Egyptian. It is noteworthy that if Genesis is a unity, Jacob is sent off to marry at the age of seventy-seven, when Rebekah had put up with her unwelcome daughters-in-law thirty-seven years. He is eighty-four when he actually marries! The documentary analysis saves us from such absurdities.

XXVIII. 10–22. Yahweh Reveals Himself to Jacob at Bethel.—This section is taken from J and E. To E 11f., 17f., 20, 21*a*, 22 may be assigned, to J 10, 13–16, and perhaps 19*a*. This may be an insertion, so perhaps 19*b*, 21*b*. The fuller and finer story belongs to E, who as a North Israelite was much more interested than J in the great northern sanctuary, Jerusalem's chief rival. He tells how Bethel came to be a shrine for the children of Jacob, and why tithes (Am. 4 4) were offered at it. Jacob chances on a place and lies there for the night with a stone for his pillow. He dreams of a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, with the angels passing up and down upon it. In terror he recognises that this is God's house, earth's entrance into heaven. He sets up the stone as a pillar (*maṣṣebah*, pp. 98f.) and anoints it with oil. This stone was presumably the most sacred object in the later sanctuary. Then he vows that in return for food, raiment, and safe return, this stone shall be God's house, and he will give back to God a tenth of all that God has given him. The narrative reflects very ancient ideas. Earth and heaven are close together, connected by a stairway, with heaven's gate at the foot; the angels are not winged (unlike the seraphim or cherubim), and need the stairway to pass from one to the other. The stone is a house of God, as Jacob learns by the dream; it was a very widespread belief that certain stones were inhabited by a deity. It was also customary for people to sleep at sanctuaries that they might receive oracles in their dreams. Jacob practises "incubation" unintentionally; he shudders at his involuntary trespass on sacred ground and unconscious desecration of God's house into a pillow. The stairway may have been suggested by the terraces of stone in which the hill rises near by.

J's story has not been fully preserved. It must have told how he lay down to sleep. In his sleep Yahweh stands by him (*mg.*), reveals Himself by His name, promises him the land, personal protection, and

a safe return. He wakes and recognises that, all unknown to him, Yahweh was in the place, to which (if 19*a* belongs to J) he gives the name Bethel, formerly Luz (Jg. 123).

XXIX. 1–30. Jacob Serves Seven Years for Rachel. Laban Substitutes Leah and Secures Fourteen Years' Service in Exchange for the Two.—Apart from bits of P (24, 28*b*, 29) the section belongs to JE. Analysis is very uncertain. Probably 1 is from E, 2–14 from J. Opinions differ as to 15–30; for our purpose further analysis is unnecessary.

Jacob comes in his journey to a well, and finds three flocks waiting to be watered. It was the custom when all the flocks were gathered, for the stone to be rolled from the well's mouth and replaced after watering. Jacob has discovered that the place is Haran, and that Laban is well known to the shepherds, when Laban's daughter Rachel is seen approaching with her sheep. Fretting at the waste of time, he remonstrates with the shepherds for waiting; much of the day is still before them, let them water the sheep that they may go on grazing. That, they explain, would violate their custom. Meanwhile Rachel comes up, and Jacob, single-handed, removes the immense stone and waters her flock (*cf.* Ex. 216–21), the shepherds not interfering with a stranger capable of such a feat. Then he kissed his cousin, burst into tears, and, when his emotions had calmed down, disclosed his identity. Rachel ran back (2428) and told her father, who with characteristic effusiveness (2429–31), ran to welcome his nephew, and, having heard his story, accepted him as his kinsman. After the lapse of a month, during which Jacob had made himself useful (15), and Laban had detected and measured his love for Rachel, Laban offers him a situation and inquires his terms. Jacob wanted Rachel, but he had no bride-price with which to buy her. He offers accordingly seven years' service. This Laban accepts, congratulating himself on getting so strong and efficient a servant without pay, but professing that he would prefer Jacob to any other son-in-law. It was, in fact, and is still customary, for the first cousin to have the first claim; *cf.* "Great is the perfection of the next-of-kin marriage," quoted from the Dinkart ix. 385 by J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 337. The seven years pass, for the deeply-enamoured Jacob, like a few days, a picture of romantic love as rare in the OT as it is exquisite. At the end of the period, Jacob claims his bride. The drinking-feast was held in celebration of the wedding, the bride was brought to Jacob veiled at night; only in the morning does he learn the bitter truth that Laban had foisted on him his elder daughter, the unattractive, weak-eyed Leah, in place of the lovely Rachel with flashing eyes. The smooth swindler has his excuse ready; custom forbade the younger daughter to be wedded first, a custom studiously concealed from Jacob. He relies on the injured bridegroom to make the best of it, to create no scandal by repudiating Leah, and breaking up the feast; besides, he shall have Rachel after all when the week of Leah's festivities is over, only, of course, he must serve another seven years for her. Jacob acquiesces—what else could he do? At all costs he must have Rachel, and at the end of the week he attains his desire, and takes up once more the drudgery of service without payment. Whether he felt he had been paid in his own coin we cannot say.

XXIX. 31–XXX. 24. The Birth of Jacob's Children.—This section is from JE, with slight touches from P. Roughly 2931–35, 309–13 is from J, 301–6,8 is from E, 3014–24 mainly from JE, the two strands here being hard to unravel. It records the origin of the tribes of Israel. It reflects conditions a good deal earlier than those known to us in the history of Israel. In the later period Reuben dwindled into insignificance, Simeon and Levi were largely exterminated, Judah was detached from the other Leah tribes, Joseph closely associated with them. The rivalry between the sisters plays an important part. The less favoured wife is compensated by the blessing of children, barrenness redresses the superiority of the more fondly loved (1 S. 1). It drives her to the device, chosen by Sarah (161–3), of yielding her maid to her husband, and, by receiving the child on her knees as it was born, of making it her own. Apparently by this means Rachel secured two sons, while her sister had only one, for when Naphtali is born she gives him a name claiming to have beaten her sister in her mighty wrestlings with her. The names play an important part in the story, reflecting for the most part the struggle between the wives. The etymologies are not scientific, they are based on similarities of sound (see *mg.*, which, however, does not bring out all the assonances); in several cases, two etymologies are suggested, one by E, the other by J. Some of the names in the story are those of animals; Rachel means "ewe," Leah perhaps "antelope," Reuben possibly "lion" or "wolf," Simeon "the mongrel of wolf and hyæna"; they may point to an earlier prevalence of totemism. In its original form the story of the mandrakes (Ca. 713*) presumably explained the fruitfulness of Rachel. They were a plum-like fruit ripening at wheat harvest in May. They are regarded as aphrodisiacs (*cf. mg.*) and as promoting conception. Rachel does not require the former; she has all her husband's love, but she longs for children, and offers to surrender her husband (for one night!) to the neglected Leah, in return for some of the mandrakes. Opportunity is thus given for the "hired" (16) husband to become the father of Issachar. The mandrakes, the earlier form of the story probably went on to say, removed the disability from which Rachel, like Sarah (161f.) and Rebekah (2521), suffered, so that Joseph was born. It is to be noted that the chronology does not permit more than about three years between Judah and Joseph, so that Joseph and Issachar may well have been about the same age. This is not the general impression left by the narrative, but the whole of 2932–3024 has been crowded into the first seven years of Jacob's married life, too short an interval for the events, it is true, Leah having six sons in the period (unless Zebulun is put later), not to speak of Dinah, who seems to be interpolated to prepare for 34, and an interval of barrenness (2935), during which Zilpah has two sons.

XXX. 25–43. Jacob Grows Rich by Overreaching Laban.—This is a difficult section. It is taken from JE. The analysis is uncertain. To J may be assigned 25, 27, 29–31, 35f., to E 26, 28, 33f., while 32 is to be divided between them. 37–45 is in the main from J, but in its present form is barely intelligible. Two accounts of the bargain seem to be combined, though the fragmentary character and the state of E's text make reconstruction uncertain. According to E, Jacob takes out of Laban's flock all the parti-coloured animals, and they are his pay. If at any time Laban finds animals of the normal colour in Jacob's flock, they may be taken as stolen. According to J, Jacob stipulates for no share in Laban's present flock, but presumably for any abnormally coloured that may be born hereafter in the flock he tends for Laban. So Laban takes away all the abnormally coloured he has

at present, and sends them right away three days' journey from the flock Jacob has in charge, leaving him with the normally coloured animals only, thus, since they might be expected to have normally-coloured offspring, reducing Jacob's prospective share almost to vanishing point. In either case the proportion of abnormally coloured would be small, and Jacob's commission would appear to be paltry. Jacob then sets himself to defeat the ordinary course of nature on which Laban counted, and by placing the parti-coloured rods in the drinking-troughs before the females at coupling-time, secure parti-coloured offspring. The plan succeeded admirably; and as he employed it only in the case of the stronger animals, his flock grew sturdier and Laban's more delicate.

27. divined: perhaps literally meant, perhaps simply discerned by observation.—**32.** The sheep in Syria are almost all white, the goats brown or black.—**37ff.** "The physiological principle is well established" (Driver).—**40.** The Heb. is obscure and the text corrupt; "and set . . . of Laban" should probably be omitted as a gloss.

XXXI. 1–21. Jacob's Flight.—This section is, for the most part, from E, 1, 3 are from J, 18 (after "cattle") from P.

Jacob realises from the words of Laban's sons (J) and the altered demeanour of Laban himself (E) that his enrichment at Laban's expense is deeply resented. Yahweh also bade him return (J). To his wives he complains of the treatment he has received from their father, which God has nevertheless overruled for his advantage, the God of Bethel who is now summoning him home. They side with Jacob, embittered by Laban's meanness in giving them no part of the bride-price (*mg.*). So, with their warm encouragement, he sets out with family, flocks, and property, outwitting Laban, who was sheep-shearing. Rachel, without Jacob's connivance (32), also stole Laban's teraphim (p. 101), thus securing the family "luck." They crossed the Euphrates (*mg.*) and headed towards the hill-country of Gilead.

7–12. The difference between this and the representation in 3031–42 darkens the obscurity which already invests that passage. Here the representation is that Laban kept changing the conditions, finding, to his mortification, that every arrangement turned to Jacob's profit.—**20. the heart** (*mg.*): the understanding.

XXXI. 22–XXXII. 2. After Mutual Recriminations, Jacob and Laban Make a Covenant to Refrain from Aggression on each other's Territories.—The analysis is uncertain; Gunkel assigns 22–24, 26, 28–31*a* (to "Laban"), 32–35, 36*b*, 37, 41–43, 45, 49f., 53*b*–332 to E; the rest, apart from 47, to J. According to E, Laban learns of Jacob's flight on the third day, and overtakes him seven days later, but is warned in a dream the night before their encounter to say nothing to him, a command which he interprets as forbidding him to take hostile measures. He reproaches Jacob with his sudden flight, depriving him of the opportunity of saying adieu to his children. He could hurt him but for God's prohibition. And if sore home-sickness excused him, why has he stolen his gods? Jacob, ignorant of Rachel's theft, replies that the thief shall die (*cf.* 449), and gives him full liberty to search. Laban searches the tents of Jacob, the maids, and Leah, without discovering the teraphim. Last of all, he enters Rachel's tent. She had concealed them in the camel's howdah, in which she travelled, and alleges her condition of ceremonial uncleanness as the reason why she cannot rise (a stolen god protected from discovery in so ignominious a way!). Jacob concludes that Laban's charge was a pretext for ransacking his property to see if he can find anything of his own, and challenges him to produce it. Then (41f.) he carries the war into the enemy's camp. Fourteen years he had served for the daughters, six for the flock; but for God's care Laban would have turned him away penniless. God's rebuke shows that he had marked Jacob's wrongs. Laban replies, "Daughters, children, flocks, all you have is mine, yet I must part with them; what kindness can I show them?" Then he (not Jacob) sets up a pillar, to indicate that God will watch between them, to see that Jacob, when no longer under his father-in-law's eye, does not illtreat his daughters. Jacob swears by the Fear of Isaac, offers a sacrifice, and partakes with his brethren of a sacrificial meal. In the morning Laban bids his children adieu, and returns home.

According to J, Laban overtakes Jacob and reproaches him for leaving without the customary "send-off." He replies that he feared that Laban might rob him of his daughters. (Laban's reply is not preserved; it aroused Jacob's hot anger (36*a*), and from the tenor of Jacob's reply Gunkel conjectures that he charged him with stealing his flocks.) Jacob replies in wrath that he had served him twenty years, there have been no miscarriages in the flock, he has not eaten the rams, if beasts had devoured he had not brought the mangled remains for inspection to prove his honesty (Ex. 2213, Am. 312), but had borne the loss; pitiless heat by day, biting frost by night, scanty sleep, such had been his thankless lot. Laban proposes a covenant (and (?) the making of a cairn) to witness between them. He (not Jacob) bids his brethren collect stones, and they celebrate the covenant feast on the cairn. This cairn is to be a witness that neither will pass it in hostile aggression against the other.

In 32f. (E) we have apparently a fragmentary explanation of the name Mahanaim. The incident is so curious that probably something objectionable to later piety (possibly a conflict between Jacob and the angels; *cf.* 3224–32) has been struck out.

25. the mountain: apparently different from "the mountain of Gilead"; perhaps Mizpah stood in the text (49).—**42. the Fear of Isaac:** *i.e.* the deity feared by Isaac, not the terror inspired by the god Isaac (E. Meyer) or a sacred object belonging to and reverenced by Isaac and now in Jacob's possession (Eerdmans).

XXXII. 3–21. Jacob Takes Precautions to Appease Esau.—3–13*a* seems to be from J, 13*b*–21 from E. 9–12 may be an expansion. According to J, Jacob divides his company into two camps, so that one may escape if Esau attacks. E represents Jacob as making up a very valuable present to win Esau's favour. This consists of goats, sheep, camels, cattle, and asses. He hits on the plan of arranging them in separate droves, with a space between each. Each drover is to say that it is a present for Esau, and that Jacob is behind. Thus Esau, when he expects to see Jacob, is to be again and again surprised with a fresh present; so it is hoped that his anger will have vanished by the time he meets his brother.

7. two companies: the word is the same as that rendered "host" in 2; it is a second explanation of the name Mahanaim, the writer taking the word as a dual; probably it is not really such, though it has a dual termination.—**9–12.** A beautiful prayer, but the absence of any confession of sin is remarkable, considering the root of Jacob's well-grounded fear.

XXXII. 22–32. The Wrestling of Jacob.—The narrative, for which Hos. 12₃–₅ should be compared, is distributed between J and E by recent critics. Gunkel attributes 23, 24*a*, 25*a*, 26–28, 31*a* to E; 22, 24, 25*b*, 29f., 31*b* to J. The older critics treated the section as a unity, generally attributing it to J. So much uncertainty hangs over the analysis, that it is best to take the story as it stands. It has been so filled with deep, spiritual significance (Charles Wesley's "Come, O Thou traveller unknown" is a classic example) that it is difficult for the modern reader to think himself back into its original meaning. Like the story of the angel marriages (6₁–₄), it belongs to a most antique stage of religious belief. It is no wrestling in prayer with God for His blessing, nor in the primitive form of the story was Yahweh the superhuman antagonist. It is a literal physical wrestling, in which one of the wrestlers puts the thigh bone of the other out of joint, in which the human combatant holds his adversary in so firm a grip that he fears the day will dawn before he is gone. It is a local deity, whether a god of the border who seeks to prevent entrance to the land, or of the Jabbok ("wrestled," in 24 is *ye'abek*) who, like other river gods, as Frazer has pointed out, resisted the crossing and sought to kill those who attempted it. The two are not unequally matched, the wrestling continues long; in 26*a* Jacob's thigh is dislocated by a stroke of the foe, in 26*b* by the efforts he makes himself. We have no reason to suppose that Jacob guessed the supernatural character of his opponent till he begged to be released since dawn was at hand. It is a widespread, primitive belief that gods or spirits must disappear at daybreak. Jacob therefore, had him at a disadvantage, and lamed and in agony though he was, he nerved himself to hold on just a little longer, to wring from him the blessing which, as a superhuman being, he was able to bestow. He learns Jacob's name (apparently up to that point he was unaware of it), and changes it to Israel in token that he had persevered (so Driver renders) with God. (Perhaps LXX, Vulg. should be accepted here, *mg.*) So Jacob asks his adversary for his name (29). The name is, to primitive thought, an essential part of the personality; to know it is to get its bearer into one's power. Hence great precautions are taken that it shall not be known, and it is not uncommon for savages to pass under an assumed name, the true name being hidden. This applies to gods as well as men. Great pains are taken in prayer to secure that right names shall be employed, not simply that the deity intended shall be reached, but that pressure may be brought upon him by the efficacy of their use. This crude conception gave place to ideas more refined, but after the name was no longer used as a spell to coerce the deity, the old thought of the wonder-working power inherent in it still lingered. It was attached in Judaism to the Ineffable Name, and similar thoughts naturally gathered about the name of Jesus. The invocation of His name, or the prayer offered in His name, carried with them His power, so that demons were cast out, diseases healed, baptism administered, and discipline exercised (1 Cor. 5₃–₅ *) in His name. The terminology still survives, especially in hymns. But as to Manoah (Jg. 13₁₇f.) so to Jacob, at least in the present form of the story, the name is not disclosed; yet he receives the blessing. The origin of the name Peniel is explained; Jacob has seen God face to face, yet the sight has not been fatal; he bears the mark of the struggle, but his life has not paid the forfeit. The story also accounts for the abstinence of the Israelites from the sinew of the thigh socket, *i.e.* probably the sciatic nerve, a taboo which curiously, is not mentioned elsewhere in the OT. It is known among other peoples.

22. Jabbok: the Zerka (p. 32), a tributary which discharges into the Jordan about 25 miles N. of the Dead Sea. The ford is probably 3 miles to the E. of this point. —**28. Israel:** strictly "God" is the subject; *cf. mg*[2].

XXXIII. The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau.—1–17 is in the main from J, but bits of E have been woven in (5*b*, 10*b*, 11*a*). The actual course of events, however, is not clear. According to E, Jacob had prepared a very costly present for Esau, and reading our narrative as if it carried on 32₁₃*b*–₂₁, we should gain the impression that at the point reached in 33₁ Esau had already received the gifts enumerated in 32₁₄f. But 33₁ rather carries on 32₇f. J represents Esau as having already met (8) and passed one of the two camps into which Jacob had divided his company (32₇f.). Jacob is with his wives and children in the second camp, and pacifies Esau by the grovelling prostrations with which he honours him (3). Then after the reconciliation and the prostrations of the family before him, Esau inquires as to the object of the camp he had already met. On the spur of the moment, Jacob offers it to Esau as a present. He had already written it off in his mind as probable loss (32₈); Esau had, it is true, forgiven, but his question (8) was a broad hint; and then there were the four hundred men. Esau declined, with conventional courtesy (*cf.* 23₁₅), but, of course, took it. Jacob paid a heavy price, but well worth it. His brother appeased, half his property left him, his family secure, his own skin safe, he had come out of a perilous situation better than he could have hoped. Now if Esau would only go! But Esau is in no hurry to leave his long-lost brother. He proposes that they shall travel together, but Jacob has a reason against this—his pace will be too slow. At any rate, let him leave Jacob an armed escort. Jacob pleads that there is no need, and desires his brother not to press it. Perhaps he foresees difficulties between Esau's men and his own (*cf.* 13₆f.). He preferred to be let alone; above all if the escort remained, he would have to go to Seir, not merely promise to go. So Esau left the same day, and Jacob journeyed to Succoth (site unknown), still on the E. of the Jordan, and settled there for a time. E. Meyer thinks that J represented Jacob as actually going to Seir and thence to Hebron without crossing the Jordan at all. But one cannot build any conclusions on the truthfulness of Jacob's implied promise to visit Seir. The rest of the chapter (18–20) throws no light on J's account of Jacob's movements after leaving Succoth. It is taken from E, and presupposes that Jacob had already crossed the Jordan. It records how he reached Shechem (12*b**) in safety, and purchased land. In this plot Joseph's bones were buried (Jos. 24₃₂), thus the grave of Joseph, like the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23 *), belonged to Israel by purchase.

XXXIV. Shechem's Outrage on Dinah Avenged.—It is generally agreed that two sources have been used, but much uncertainty prevails as to their identity and extent, while in view of the priestly phraseology in one of the narratives, it is probable that the compiler has left his mark rather deeply upon it, unless we assign it directly to P, who may have employed an earlier story. According to one story, perhaps J, Shechem seduces Dinah and keeps her in his house. Jacob announces the news to his sons on their return from the field, and they are greatly angered. Shechem offers to accept any financial terms they may impose

if only he may marry her. Thay reply that his uncircumcision is a fatal barrier. He accepts their conditions (not now recorded). Simeon and Levi, however, enter the city, kill him, plunder the house, and take Dinah away. This action arouses Jacob's consternation as to the possible consequences, but they retort that Shechem deserved his fate for the outrage to their sister. The other story, whether E or P, represents Dinah as violated by Shechem, but not detained by him. He requests his father, Hamor, to secure her for him as his wife. Hamor, accordingly, offers general intermarriage and liberty to settle and trade. The sons of Jacob deceitfully demand, as a condition of acceptance, the circumcision of all the Shechemite males, then they will become one people with them. He persuades the Shechemites to accept, by enlarging on the advantages of the alliance. But when the inflammation was most acute, the sons of Jacob fell on the disabled Shechemites, killed all the males, and sacked the city. It is commonly assumed that 495–7 also refers to the same event; their excessive vengeance is severely reprobated, and the scattering of the tribes of Simeon and Levi said to be its punishment. Skinner, however, thinks (ICC, p. 516f.) that the habitual character of the tribes is denounced rather than any particular action. The incident is usually interpreted as tribal rather than personal history, Shechem being the city, Hamor the tribe inhabiting it, Simeon and Levi the tribes that conquered it, and their overthrow and dispersion (497) due to retaliation by the Canaanites. Dinah may then be a feeble tribe, in danger of subjection to Shechem; or her story may be the account of an actual outrage on a Hebrew maiden (*cf.* the parallel story in Cent.B, pp. 318f.) for which the tribes of Simeon and Levi took vengeance. The date of the event is usually placed after the Conquest; some who accept the tribal interpretation take it to be pre-Mosaic, since Joseph held Shechem in the post-Mosaic period, while Simeon and Levi were at that time broken up. (See pp. 65, 248, 258.)

3. spake kindly: comforted her (see *mg.* and *cf.* Is. 402) in her distress at what had happened.—**7. wrought folly:** perpetrated a scandalous deed, here and in some other places of unchastity, sometimes of impiety.

XXXV. 1–15. Jacob Goes to Bethel, where Elohim Appears to him as El Shaddai and Gives him the Name Israel.—This section is mainly from E and P. To P belong 6*a*, 9–13, 15, the rest to E, though some assign 14 to J. 5 is the close of the Dinah story; the neighbouring cities were restrained by Divinely sent terror fron avenging the fate of Shechem. 1–4, 6*b*, 7 relate how Jacob returns at God's bidding to erect an altar at Bethel. He commands (2) due preparations to be made by the surrender of all strange gods, purifications of the person, and change of clothes, that the impurities attaching to both may be removed. The reason for the change of garments is that clothes contract an uncleanness, when worn in ordinary life, which unfits them for use in religious ceremonies. They who draw near to God must be ritually clean, and lay aside all the contamination of the world that renders them ceremonially unclean. It was possible to wear special clothes as in the present case (*cf.* 2715, 2 K. 1022), or to perform the rites divested of clothing altogether, as we find among the Arabs. Washing the clothes also removes uncleanness (Ex. 1910). It is an attenuated form of cleansing as going barefoot (Ex. 35, Jos. 515) is of ritual nakedness. Conversely, clothes used in religious rites contract a holiness which renders them unfit for ordinary use, and capable of infecting with holiness those with whom the wearer is brought in contact. This might presumably be removed by washing; but it was sometimes more convenient to reserve special garments for religious use (Ezek. 4214, 4419*). Along with the gods, earrings, regarded not as ornaments but as amulets, are given up and buried under the terebinth near Shechem (126, Jos. 2423–27). The company then proceeds to Bethel, where Jacob builds an altar, and names the place El-beth-el. According to 14 he sets up a stone obelisk, pours a libation on it, and anoints it with oil. Since E has already a similar story as to the origin of the *maṣṣebah* at Bethel (2818) it is natural to infer that 14 belongs to J. But J does not recognise the standing stone; perhaps 14 was originally the continuation of 8, the libation being offered to the dead. 8 contains a strange statement, since we have no indication how Jacob's mother's nurse could have been with Jacob's company; moreover, Deborah must have been very old, even if we disregard the chronology of P, which would make her over 150. There may be some confusion with Deborah the prophetess (Jg. 45*). The statement is inserted here, because it relates to the same locality. As to P's narrative, Gunkel suggests that 9f. refers to a theophany after Jacob's return, not necessarily at Bethel, containing P's account of the origin of the name Israel, while 6*a*, 11f., 13*a*, 15 give P's account of the same incident as that recorded in 2810–22, and are, therefore, out of place here. 11 would be much more appropriate when Jacob had no children, than when his family was complete.

XXXV. 16–22a. Rachel Dies at the Birth of Benjamin.—16–20 is assigned by some to J and by some to E. There is no decisive reason for either. 21, 22*a* is from J. The use of Israel as Jacob's name is characteristic of J. The pathetic story of Rachel's death is often explained to mean that, when the tribe of Benjamin was formed in Palestine after the Conquest, the earlier tribe of Rachel was broken up. This may be correct, but is very uncertain. Ephrath is identified in 19, 487 with Bethlehem. This is probably an incorrect gloss (see Cent.B on Jer. 3115), and an otherwise unknown Ephrath near Bethel in the border between Benjamin and Ephraim (1 S. 102f.) is intended. The mother "refuses to be comforted" with the cheering news that her prayer of 3024 has been answered, as later she wails from her tomb and refuses to be comforted when her children have gone into exile (Jer. 3115). She calls the child Benoni, born in bitter and fatal anguish (*cf. mg.*); but Jacob for this ill-omened name substitutes Benjamin, son of good luck, the right (*mg.*) being the lucky side. The real meaning is probably "son of the south," Benjamin lying to the S. of Ephraim and Manasseh. The fragmentary reference to Reuben's intrigue with Bilhah (*cf.* 494) may be explained as a reminiscence of some alliance of Reuben with Dan and Naphtali against the other tribes, or an encroachment of Reuben upon the Bilhah tribes. But it is too brief and obscure to warrant any confident interpretation (*cf.* Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 449–452, where Phoenix, at his wronged mother's request, avenges her by an intrigue with his father's concubine, and is cursed by him for it). Presumably the original story explained how Reuben lost the birthright for his misconduct.

21. Eder: the flock; a watch-tower for the protection of the flocks is intended.

XXXV. 22b–29. List of Jacob's Sons; Death and Burial of Isaac.—From P. Observe that Benjamin is included among the sons born in Paddan-aram. With 29*b*, *cf.* 259.

XXXVI. Edomite Genealogies, Chieftains, and Kings.—This chapter is not a unity but a compilation with a very complicated literary history behind it. There is an element of P in it, but its extent, the degree in which it is a revision of earlier sources, and the allocation of the other matter, is very uncertain. The historical value of the chapter is great, but the genealogies and lists cannot be discussed here. Some points of interest may be mentioned. There is a strange discrepancy as to Esau's wives between 2–4 and 2634, 289. The same names largely recur in both lists, but in different relationships. In 6–8 the reason assigned for Esau's residence in Seir is identical with that which led to the separation of Abraham and Lot (135–12), whereas 323, 3314–16 represents Esau as living in Seir while Jacob was yet in Paddan-aram. The term "duke" would be better rendered "chieftain" (*cf. mg.*). The kingship was not hereditary; the new king is not the son of his predecessor. The fact that their cities differ has also led some to think that the kings were more like the Hebrew judges, and ruled over parts of Edom rather than over Edom as a whole.

XXXVII. Joseph Excites the Hatred of his Brothers, and is in consequence Carried away into Egypt.—With this chapter we begin the story of Joseph and his Brothers which (apart from 38, 491–28) fills the rest of the book. It is "at once the most artistic and the most fascinating of OT biographies" (Skinner). On its literary qualities see p. 22. More than any other of the patriarchal stories, it contains a "plot," and of a somewhat complicated kind. It has been compiled with great skill from J and E. The parts that belong to P are trifling. Some tribal history may be preserved in the story, but in the main the figures are individual, not tribal. It is by no means impossible that it may contain an element of authentic biography, though mingled with this are other strands of folk-romance.

1–11. Joseph Hated by his Brothers on Account of his Talebearing, his Father's Partiality, and his Dreams of Supremacy.—1, 2*a* is certainly from P, but probably 2*b* also. It gives a third reason for the hatred which Joseph excited; the rather priggish Joseph tells tales to Jacob about the children of his concubines. Nothing more is preserved from P till we reach 4146*a*. J's story (3f.) lays the blame on Jacob's partiality: he loved him because he was the son of his old age—a curious statement in view of the fact that some of his half-brothers were younger than himself. Presumably he loved him because he was the son of his favourite wife. He made him "a long garment with sleeves" (*mg.*). Such a tunic was not worn by people who had to work (2 S. 1318 *mg.*); the sleeves would be in the way, and the length, reaching to the feet instead of the knees, less convenient. E characteristically explains the envy as occasioned by Joseph's two dreams (the duplication indicating the certainty and speed of accomplishment, 4132), which he could not keep to himself. The second, foretelling that father and mother will bow down, brings him reproof from Jacob, who, however, like Mary (Lk. 219,51), ponders the omen in his heart. Observe that Jacob is here represented as practising agriculture (*cf.* 2612).

12–17. Some assign to J; more probably it belongs to J and E. To J 12, 13*a*, 14*b*; to E 13*b*, 14*a* may be allotted. 15–17 may belong to either. Shechem has fine pasturage, Dothan (p. 30, 2 K. 613–15*), 15 miles N. of it, still finer.

18–30. To J we may assign 18*b* ("and before," etc.), 21 (substituting "Judah" for "Reuben"), 23, 25, 27, 28 ("and sold" to "silver"), to E 18*a*, 19f., 22, 24, 28 ("And there . . . pit," "And they . . . Egypt"), 29f. According to J the brothers, seeing Joseph coming, conspire to murder him. Judah dissuades them from actual murder. When Joseph arrives, they strip off his hated coat. While at food, they see approaching an Ishmaelite caravan, travelling to Egypt with gums (used for embalming). Judah urges the tie of brotherhood and the more profitable course of selling him for a slave than killing him, and then covering the blood to stifle its cry for vengeance (410*). So they sell Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty shekels, and the Ishmaelites take him to Egypt. According to E, the brothers, seeing Joseph in the distance, plot to murder him and cast him into a pit, and ascribe his death to a wild beast, then they will see what will become of his dreams. Reuben proposes that they should put him in a pit and leave him to die, to avoid the risk they will incur by shedding blood, intending to return when his brothers had left, and to rescue him. So Joseph was put into the pit [and the brothers abandoned him to his fate. After their departure] Midianite merchants pass by, discover Joseph, lift him out of the pit and take him to Egypt, where they sell him to Potiphar, (36). Reuben returns that he may rescue Joseph, only to find him gone, and then goes back to his brothers with a despairing cry. Observe that this representation of Joseph as kidnapped rather than sold by his brothers is confirmed by 4015, "I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews."

31–36. The analysis is uncertain. According to one narrative, the brothers seem to have sent Joseph's coat to Jacob, after dipping it in goat's blood, according to the other to have brought the coat to him as it was; but possibly, according to one, they brought the stained coat, according to the other sent the unstained. On 34 see p. 110. 36 concludes E's narrative; the Midianites sold Joseph into Egypt to Potiphar. If the text were a unity "the Midianites" would have been "the Ishmaelites" (28). The Ishmaelites are mentioned as selling him in 391. Potiphar probably represents the Egyptian *Pedephrē*," He whom the sun-god gives." He was a eunuch (not "officer" as RV), and chief of the court cooks or butchers. They seem to have become the royal bodyguard.

XXXVIII. Judah and Tamar.—The source is J, but not the same stratum as that to which the Joseph story belongs. There is not room for the events either before or after the events of 37, nor does the Joseph narrative suggest that Judah left his brothers and lived the independent life here described. The chronology is quite inconsistent with the view that Genesis is a unity. Judah was roughly about twenty when Joseph, at the age at least of seventeen (372), went into Egypt. The interval between that event and the journey of Jacob into Egypt was not more than twenty-two years. Within that period the whole of the events of this chapter have been crowded; moreover, Perez has two sons by its close (4612). To a certain extent the chapter contains tribal history. Judah at first consisted of the clans of Er, Onan, and Shelah, half-Hebrew, half-Canaanite. The two former largely died out; later, by a further fusion with Canaanites, the clans of Perez and Zerah arose. It is probably true that Judah had a large Canaanite element, and certainly till the time of David its ties with Israel were very loose. Tamar, however, is hardly the name of a clan. She is the clan-mother, whose desperate device for securing posterity for her first husband would be celebrated by her descendants

whose existence it made possible, as the even more drastic measures of Lot's daughters were celebrated by Moab and Ammon (1930–38*). To us the whole story is extremely repulsive, but it is a mistake to impute our standards to the early Hebrews. It is surprising that Tamar lays the trap for Judah rather than Shelah, to whom she had a right. Partly it would be to bring home to Judah his fault in withholding Shelah from her (3826), partly to secure sons from the tribal fountain head. Judah was naturally chary of risking his last son with a woman who, as he would think, had proved fatal to his two brothers (*cf.* Sarah and her seven husbands in Tobit iii. 8). On the levirate marriage, see p. 109. The offspring of such a marriage was reckoned to the dead man, hence Onan's evasion of his duty.

XXXIX. Joseph Repels his Master's Wife, and is Imprisoned on her False Accusation.—This section is from J with touches from E. It is generally agreed that "Potiphar . . . guard" is an insertion in 1. J represents Joseph as sold to an unnamed Egyptian; the governor of the prison is also unnamed. According to E, Joseph is sold to Potiphar the captain of the guard, and attends, not as himself a prisoner, but as Potiphar's slave (*cf.* 4112), to the officers who are in custody in the house. Clearly, Joseph's mistress cannot have been the wife of Potiphar the captain of the guard, who entrusts him with the service of Pharaoh's officers (404). The identification is made in 39 to harmonise the two accounts. The story has a striking Egyptian parallel in *The Tale of the Two Brothers*. The younger brother, tempted by the elder brother's wife, wrathfully rejects her proposals in affection for his brother and horror at her wickedness. Securing his silence, the wife accuses him to her husband, confirming her tale by wounds she has made on her body. The husband goes out to kill his brother, but, receiving proof of his innocence, kills his wife. A Greek parallel is the love of Phædra the wife of Theseus for Hippolytus, her husband's son, and several other peoples have similar stories.

XL. Joseph Interprets their Dreams to Pharaoh's Two Imprisoned Officers.—This chapter is from E, with harmonistic additions and touches from J (3*b*, 5*b*, 15*b*). The two officers are in custody, till their case is decided, in the captain's house (not in the prison or Round House as 3*b* states). Joseph waits on them, not as a prisoner but as the captain's slave. They attach great importance to dreams, and with their fate hanging in the balance, are troubled that they can consult no interpreter. Joseph piously reminds them that interpretations belong to God, and interprets their dreams, rightly as the sequel proves. Observe the unsuitable designation of Palestine as at that date "the land of the Hebrews."

17. bakemeats: pastry.—**19.** Joseph uses the same phrase, "lift up thine head," as to the butler, and with the sense that he was to be beheaded. His body was then to be impaled and exposed for the birds to eat. In his dream, with the paralysis which is often so agonising in dreams, he had been unable to hinder the birds from pecking the pastry, nor would he be able to keep them from devouring his body, a gruesome prospect to an Egyptian, who took such pains to preserve it after death from decay. His horror would be like the horror of Hindoos at being blown from the guns.

XLI. Joseph Interprets Pharaoh's Dreams and is Made Viceroy of Egypt.—This is mainly from E, 1–28 apart from 15*b*, and perhaps 9*b* entirely so. But J has been used as well in the later part. It is not worth while to attempt analysis since the two narratives must have been closely parallel. 46*a* belongs to P.

The two dreams are modelled on the same lines, and mean the same thing (*cf.* 375–11 and Peter's triple vision, Ac. 1016); the second is more bizarre than the first, for cows do at least eat, if not each other. Cattle were used in agriculture, hence their symbolic fitness. All the magicians are called that Joseph's success may stand out against the background of their failure. The narrative, which is rather diffuse, for the most part needs no comment.

9. my faults: either against Pharaoh, which excited the king's anger, or his forgetfulness of Joseph (4023). —**43.** *mg.* **Abrech:** probably an Egyptian word; the meaning is very uncertain, perhaps a summons to "Attention!"—**45. Zaphenath-paneah:** another Egyptian expression of very uncertain meaning. That most generally accepted is "The god speaks and he lives."—**Asenath:** perhaps "belonging to Neith" (a goddess).—**On:** Heliopolis, 7 miles NE. of Cairo, the chief seat of worship of Ra the sun-god. It contained a college for priests, and the high priest was a dignitary of exalted position in Egypt.—**51.** If Joseph was seventeen when sold, thirty when he stood before Pharaoh, thirty-nine when he disclosed his identity, he had been twenty years in Egypt without troubling to let his father know that he was alive.

XLII. Joseph's Brothers Come to Egypt to Buy Corn, and Unwittingly Encounter Joseph.—The greater part is taken from E, but 2, 4*b*, 5, 7, 9*b*–11*a*, 12, 27, 28*ab*, 38 may be assigned to J. The treatment accorded to the brothers was not less than they deserved, and Joseph meant to punish them. But he meant also to test them and see if they had become better men. Presumably he intended all along to disclose his identity, for there was his father to be considered, but to have done it at once would have made it impossible to find out the real character of his brothers. Hence he racks them with suspense, treats them now harshly, now generously, holds firmly to his predetermined line of conduct though it costs him a hard struggle with his affections, and at last is convinced that love and forgiveness may have free course.

The brothers come down at Jacob's behest, and fulfil Joseph's dreams by prostrating themselves before him, as he personally sells the corn. He recognises them, and charges them with being spies, bent on discovering the weak places in the fortified and jealously-guarded frontier. They meet this with the statement that they are all sons of one man, therefore the rather large number in which they have crossed the frontier is due to kinship, not to political or military combination. They go into detail, and thus not only tell Joseph that he is dead but that they have a younger brother, which gives Joseph the opportunity on which the future development hinges. (According to J the statement is not volunteered but secured in answer to his own inquiry.) Reiterating his charge, he proposes that nine shall be detained and one sent to bring Benjamin, but after three days' suspense in custody he allows nine to take back corn and one to be detained. The brothers own among themselves the justice of the retribution for their callous deafness to Joseph's anguished plea, and Reuben reminds them how he had vainly counselled them against harming him. (They had taken the advice he actually gave, but his real intention had been frustrated.) Joseph now learns, for the first time, of Reuben's intervention, and cannot control his feelings; still he steels himself to carry out his plan, and passing over Reuben, selects Simeon and binds him as a hostage. Their money is

put into their sacks with the corn, and provisions for the journey are given them, so that their sacks need not be opened till they reach home. So it fell out according to E (35), but according to J first one (27f.) then all (4321) discovered it at the lodging-place. On their arrival, they report to Jacob, who replies that they have bereaved him of two sons and want to take away a third, to which Reuben replies that his own two sons shall be forfeit if Benjamin does not return. They wish to take him at once that Simeon may be released. 38 belongs rather to the next chapter.

XLIII. The Brothers Return to Egypt with Benjamin.—It is generally held that this chapter is from J except for the references to Simeon in 14 and 23*b*. According to J, Simeon seems to have played no special part, and there is not the same urgency for return as in E; the discussion as to Benjamin is postponed till the corn is spent. 4238 perhaps originally stood after 432. In the conversation Judah takes the part taken by Reuben in E (as in the discussion as to the killing of Joseph), and we learn that Joseph had ascertained Benjamin's existence by inquiry. Arrived in Egypt, they are taken into Joseph's house for dinner, since they have brought Benjamin and cleared their characters. But they suspect that Joseph intends to accuse them of theft and seize them for slaves. They put themselves right with the steward, who bids them be at peace. On Joseph's return for dinner, they prostrate themselves once more, and give him the present sent by Jacob. The sight of Benjamin overpowers him, and he retires to weep. Mastering his emotion he returns to them. Joseph eats by himself, the Egyptians and the brothers also in separate groups, since the Egyptians could not eat with Hebrews without violating their religious scruples (4634). To their astonishment, the brothers were seated according to their age. How, they would ask, could the governor arrange it so accurately? And while all were honoured with tit-bits from his table, Benjamin's portion was five times as much as any of theirs.

14. El Shaddai (*mg.*) occurs nowhere else in JE. It is characteristic of P, and is probably due to the redactor here.

XLIV. Benjamin is Accused of Stealing Joseph's Silver Cup, and Judah Pleads with Joseph to Punish him instead of Benjamin.—The narrative is from J. Joseph arranges this final test that he may be fully assured as to the true disposition of the brothers. At the same time, it is skilfully planned to prolong their suspense, swing them to and fro between hope and despair, and harrow them in their tenderest feelings. They have come safely through a rather perilous situation, Simeon has been restored to them, the trouble about the money cleared away, Benjamin is safely on the road for home, the Viceroy finally, it seems, convinced of their honesty and friendly in his attitude. But they have not left the city far behind when the steward overtakes them, and confronts them with a new and horrible complication: they have stolen Joseph's cup, his drinking cup, but also used for divination. Indignantly repudiating such an abuse of hospitality, appealing to their return of the money, they offer, conscious of their innocence, to accept death for the culprit and slavery for the rest. The steward replies that it shall be slavery for the culprit, freedom for the others. He knows where the cup is, for he has hidden it, and therefore leaves Benjamin's sack till the last. Sack after sack is opened and searched, time after time, with no result, while the spirits of the brothers rise. Then, when it seems as if their innocence was to be established, for one sack alone remains, and that Benjamin's, they are suddenly plunged into the blackest despair. It could not be worse: Benjamin was the most favoured of Joseph's guests, and Jacob's happiness, perhaps his life, hung on his return. Not accepting the freedom promised (10) (for how could they go back without Benjamin?), they all return, and Judah offers, not now that the culprit shall die, for it is Benjamin, and the rest be slaves, but that Benjamin shall be a slave and they forfeit the liberty pledged to them. Joseph reaffirms the steward's conditions (10). Not that he desired to keep Benjamin and dismiss the others (it would have been unfilial to inflict this bereavement on Jacob), but to ascertain their response to this demand. It comes in a plea from Judah, unequalled in the OT for its blending of skilled presentation of the case, pathos, persuasiveness, and eloquence, culminating with the noble offer to remain as a slave in Benjamin's place, that his father may be spared the agony of losing Rachel's only surviving son.

5. That it is a divining cup adds the guilt of sacrilege and the peril of meddling with the uncanny. Whether Joseph really used it in divination (*cf.* 15) or merely heightened their terror by claiming to do so is not clear.—**20. a little one:** in 4621 he is at the time father of ten sons, and assuming that Joseph had been twenty-two years in Egypt (372, 4146,53, 456) and that Benjamin was born before Joseph was sold, he must have been more than twenty-two. The difficulty is greatly mitigated if P's chronology is set aside, and J may have regarded Benjamin as born after the sale of Joseph.—**30.** Read *mg.*

XLV. Joseph Discloses his Identity and Sends for Jacob.—J and E are here closely united, E being the leading source. It is not worth while to discuss the analysis. Profoundly moved by Judah's noble plea, Joseph can no longer mystify his brothers, or repress his longing to reveal his identity. But this self-disclosure is too intimate, too sacred, to be made while others are present. When they have obeyed his order to depart, he bursts into uncontrolled weeping, and then, to the consternation of the brothers, declares that he is Joseph. In a fine and reassuring speech he bids them not be troubled, for God's hand was in it all, to save them in the famine. Then he tells them to return, inform Jacob, and invite him to come with all his family and possessions. This invitation was endorsed by Pharaoh in most cordial and generous terms. So they go with handsome presents for themselves and their father. The news is too good for Jacob to believe it till he sees the waggons Joseph has sent, and then he is reassured, happy that he will see his long-lost son before his death. It is assumed in 5017 that Jacob learnt of the wrong Joseph had suffered from his brothers.

10. Goshen: a fertile district E. of the Delta and near the frontier, part of what is now known as Wady Tumilat. It is mentioned only in J.—24*b*. Do not dispute about the apportionment of blame for your treatment of me.—**26. his heart fainted:** his mind was too numb to grasp it.

XLVI. 1–XLVII. 12. Jacob and his Descendants Go down into Egypt and Settle in Goshen.—The list in 468–27 with the introductory verses 6f. is from P, as are 475,6*a*,7–11. The rest is JE. To E belong 461–5 (in the main) and perhaps 4712, the rest to J. Jacob visits the sanctuary at Beersheba, where he has a vision dispelling the fears which he naturally feels at leaving his native land and settling in Egypt so late in life. He will not leave his father's God behind him; He will go with him and bring him back in the

great nation that will spring from him, though he himself will die in Egypt, and the dearly-loved Joseph will close his eyes. The catalogue inserted from P raises critical and material problems, which must be passed over here. According to J's story it looks as if Pharaoh had no knowledge about Joseph's family till they were actually in Egypt. Joseph is obviously anxious that they should be permitted to live in Goshen, perhaps because it was near the frontier, so that they could more easily leave the country if they wished, and also that they might retain their distinctive nationality. He is apparently doubtful of the king's permission, for the frontier was vulnerable in that district, and foreigners might prove dangerous. So he carefully instructs his brothers to ask permission to remain in Goshen, whither they had come driven by lack of pasture in Canaan (no reference is made to the invitation of Joseph and Pharaoh recorded in E). Their request is all the more plausible that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, and should, therefore, not live in their midst. We have no evidence for this, though cowherds and swineherds were despised by the Egyptians. All went well. Pharaoh gave permission, and even offered to take any who were specially competent into his service. Jacob's introduction to Pharaoh is then inserted from P, with its pathetic summary of his career; his days both few (130 years) and evil, long exile, hard life, the death of Rachel, the bitterness of Joseph's loss, pass before his mind.

XLVII. 5f. The LXX has here a more original text, whose discrepancies are smoothed out in MT. See the larger commentaries.

XLVII. 13–26. Joseph Takes Advantage of the Famine to Secure for the Crown the Money, the Cattle, and the Lands of the Egyptians.—If this belongs to one of the main documents, J is the most probable. But it may be an independent piece. It is an ætiological story (p. 134). The system of land tenure in Egypt must have struck the Hebrews as strange; they accounted for it in this way. The system is not attested in the inscriptions, but there is confirmatory evidence, and it probably existed much as represented. Apparently the events described belong to the closing years of the famine, for the distribution of seed was of no avail till the seven years of famine were drawing to an end (456). The money presumably lasted for about five years, the cattle paid for corn in the sixth, in the seventh year they sold their land and became serfs, on their own suggestion, the need was so desperate. The priests were exempt because Pharaoh supported them, so they had no need to sell their lands. Joseph allows the people to farm their lands on a 20 per cent. rental.

21. Read with VSS (*mg.*), "he made bondmen of them, from," etc.

XLVII. 27–XLVIII. 22. Jacob Extracts an Oath that Joseph will Bury him in Canaan, and Blesses Ephraim and Manasseh.—4722f., 483–6 belong to P. To J 4729–31 may be assigned. 481f.,8–22 was formerly attributed to E, recent critics assign it to JE. The analysis is somewhat as follows: E, 481,2*a*,8,9*a*,10*b*,11f., 15f.,20 (from "In thee"), 21f. J, 482*b*,9*b*,10*a*,13f., 17–19,20*a* (to "day"). The origin of 7 is uncertain, it is out of place here. It may have led up to a request for burial in Rachel's tomb, which had to be suppressed as it was in conflict with P's statement that he was buried in Machpelah (5013). But if so, the tomb would hardly have been called Rachel's sepulchre (1 S. 102) but Jacob's. From 505, however, it would seem that J represented Jacob as buried in a grave he had himself digged, rather than in the family grave. The blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh explains how it is that the two sons of Joseph ranked as two independent tribes; Jacob had adopted them by the ceremony of taking them between his knees (12); also why Ephraim the younger was a mightier tribe than Manasseh the firstborn.

XLVII. 29. *Cf.* 242*.

XLVIII. 7. *Cf.* 3516–20*.—**by me:** read *mg.*—**8.** Here Jacob can see, whereas in 10*a* he is blind, like Isaac. In this story Jacob seems not to have seen them previously, so his death happened soon after his arrival in Egypt.—**22.** *cf. mg.* The reference is to Shechem, where Joseph was buried (Jos. 2432). We have no other account of any such capture by Jacob, who is nowhere represented as a warrior. Moreover the passage implies that Jacob had distributed their territory to all the tribes.

XLIX. 1–28. The Blessing of Jacob.—This poem had an independent origin, but if it was incorporated in one of the main documents it would be in J. It is not a mere collection of originally isolated utterances on the tribes, but was from the first put in the lips of Jacob, though expansions and alterations have, no doubt, taken place. It need hardly be said that it is not the utterance of Jacob himself. It would be inexplicable that his vision should fix just on the period here covered. The oppression of Egypt, the Exodus, the wandering are all passed over, though they lay nearer to Jacob's day, and were momentous in character. And beyond the time of David or Solomon the author's vision does not range. Why should Jacob, who can see the period of the Judges and early monarchy, see only this, especially as he claims to foretell what is to happen "in the latter days"? The period is so restricted because it is that in which the poem grew up. Along with the Song of Deborah it is our most important source for the history of the tribes after the settlement in Canaan. It is certainly older than the Blessing of Moses (Dt. 33). It represents different periods and stages of development. But in the main it is quite early. Some elements in it are as late as the reign of David, but nothing need be later. It presents several difficulties for which the larger commentaries must be consulted. It should be compared with the Blessing of Moses and the Song of Deborah. Plays on the names of the tribes are frequent, and the representation of the tribes under animal symbols.

Reuben, as the eldest, heads the list. In the firstborn it was thought that the father's undiluted vigour was manifest (Nu. 312f.*). In Reuben's tumultuous nature it was in excess, and manifested itself in the transgression of his father's marriage rights (3522*), hence he is cursed with the loss of pre-eminence, *i.e.* the firstborn's privileges. In Dt. 33 Reuben is on the verge of extinction. Israel next denounces and curses **Simeon** and **Levi** (5–7) for their violence and cruelty to man and beast, dooming them to dispersion among the other tribes. It is usually thought that the reference is to 3425*. Both lost their tribal status. Simeon is not even mentioned in Dt. 33, and Levi became an ecclesiastical and ceased to be a secular tribe. The transition was effected apparently in the period between Gen. 49 and Dt. 33, where Levi's priestly position is the subject of warm panegyric; from an early period Levites, as members of Moses' tribe, were preferred for priestly functions, but only later probably organised into a priestly caste.

Judah (8–12), the fourth Leah tribe, in happy contrast to the three elder brothers, is praised with unrestrained enthusiasm; no jarring note is struck in the pæan. The historical background is the time of

David or Solomon, when Judah had the praise and submission of the other tribes, and his enemies were subdued (8). In his early days a lion's whelp, he has gone up from his prey to his den in the rocks; there, now full-grown, he crouches, none would dare rouse him. The next verse is extremely difficult, and has led to interminable discussion. Here few words must suffice. Judah is to retain the sovereignty, and the wand of office held upright between his feet. The next line seems to name a period when this shall cease. Shiloh has been popularly regarded as a title of the Messiah. Neither the Jews nor the VSS so explained it, till that of Seb. Münster in A.D. 1534, nor does the view possess any intrinsic possibility. RV may, therefore, be set aside without hesitation. Less improbable is *mg.*, "Till he come to Shiloh"; still it is highly improbable, for it cannot be fitted into the history, Judah having nothing to do with Shiloh. The LXX is better (*mg.*), but less acceptable than the last *mg.*, "Till he come whose it is." The point would then be that Judah was to hold the sovereignty till its true possessor, *i.e.* the Messiah, comes, and then relinquish it into his hands. This is probably the best that can be done with the text, though it is open to philological objections. A simple emendation (*mōsheloh*) would give "Until his ruler come." In either case the passage is probably Messianic, and is for this reason regarded as an interpolation by many, the idea of Messiah being much later. This is repudiated by Gunkel, who says in an important passage, "Modern scholars are of the opinion that the eschatology of Israel was a creation of the literary prophets, hence they strike out the verse since it contradicts this fundamental conviction. The author of this commentary does not share this conviction; he believes, on the contrary, that the prophets can be understood only on the assumption that they found an eschatology already in existence, took it over, contested it, transformed it. This pre-prophetic eschatology is here attested." He is followed by Gressmann, Procksch, and others. It is argued in favour of striking it out that it interrupts the connexion between 9 and 11. But this connexion is not itself good; in fact, 10 would link on much better to 8. The last line predicts for the Messiah dominion over the nations. 11f. describes the abundance of wine and milk with which Judah is blessed: the vines are so numerous and luxuriant that the stems are used for tethering animals, and the wine for washing clothes, and the eyes are dull with heavy drinking (happy land! the writer means, where drink is so plentiful; *cf.* for this attitude 529*, Jg. 913, Ps. 10415, Ec. 1019), while the teeth are whitened with milk.

Zebulun (13) is situated on the coast, and reached up to the border of Phœnicia. We do not learn of this except here and Dt. 3319; in Jg. 517 Asher occupies this position; presumably Zebulun was not able to maintain its position on the coast. **Issachar** (14f.) is described as a bony ass, which, in spite of its strength, sacrificed independence for ignoble peace. To **Dan** (16f.) two oracles are devoted. He is to judge the people of his own tribe, *i.e.* maintain his independence alongside of the other tribes. He is also compared to the cerastes, or horned snake, small but very venomous, which snaps at the horse's heels (*cf.* 315) and unhorses the rider. Hence Dan, while weak, may by skilful guerilla warfare do what it could not do in open battle. **Gad** (19): the plays on the tribe's name are specially noticeable here, *gad gedūd yegūdennū wehū' yāgūd 'āqēb*. Gad is exposed to attacks by marauding nomads ("troop" means raiders), but he will turn upon and pursue them. **Asher** (20) has a fertile land (Dt. 3324), and exports dainties for monarchs; those of Phœnicia will be intended, but also foreign monarchs served by Phœnician ships. Whether the Israelite king also, depends on the date of the verse. Much oil is still exported from the district. The blessing of **Naphtali** (21) is obscure. The lack of connexion between 21*a* and 21*b* is evident: 21*a* may be rendered also "Naphtali is a slender terebinth"; we should then read in 21*b*, "He produces goodly shoots." If we take 21*a* as in RV, 21*b* should read, "He yields goodly lambs." In neither case is the meaning clear.

To **Joseph** (22–26) a glowing, lengthy eulogy is devoted, which is often corrupt and incapable of translation. 22 is quite simple in RV, but the text and rendering are dubious. 23 is important for the date. It is often explained as referring to the attacks of the Syrians against the Northern Kingdom, under the dynasties of Omri and Jehu. But archers suit bands of raiders such as the Midianites better, and it is unsuitable in blessings on the tribes to take Joseph as a name for the Kingdom. Besides, the inclusion in J of so enthusiastic a panegyric on the Northern Kingdom is very unlikely after the Disruption. The time of the Judges, perhaps that of Gideon, is suitable. In 24 we learn that his bow remained strong and steady, and the arms were nimble, rapidly discharging the arrows, in a strength drawn from the strong God of Jacob, through the name (*mg.*) of the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel. 24*d* is extremely obscure; the text may be incurably corrupt. More usually Yahweh is spoken of as a Rock. The Stone of Israel may have special reference to the Stone, God's dwelling, set up at Bethel by Jacob. 25*ab* continues the description of God as the source of strength, and effects the transition to the blessings, in the first place from the sky, rain, and sunshine, then abundant waters springing from the inexhaustible subterranean abyss (12,6–8*), thus ensuring the fertility of the land, finally fertility of animal and human kind. 26*a* is quite corrupt; *mg.* should be read in 26*bc*, and in 26*e* for "separated from" read "consecrated among," the point being not that Joseph was the royal tribe, but that it took a leading part in the Conquest. The other Rachel tribe, **Benjamin**, is depicted as a warlike tribe, living by plunder, especially perhaps of the caravans. The precise meaning is not clear, whether morning and evening alike he is active in his pursuit, or he devours the prey in the morning but at eventide has still some left to divide, or in the morning he is still eating what he has taken the evening before, and by evening has fresh booty to share.

1. the latter days: an eschatological expression, but not necessarily so here; it means in the distant future. —**6. houghed:** cut the sinew of the hind-leg (Jos. 11 6,9, 2 S. 84).—**14. sheepfolds:** perhaps we should read "panniers."—**18.** No part of the poem; a pious ejaculation by the scribe when he is half-way through.—**19f.** Omit "out of" in 20 and read "their heel" in 19. —28*a* (to "unto them") is the close of the Blessing; with "and blessed them" P is resumed.

XLIX. 28*b*–L. 13. Death and Burial of Jacob.—4928*b*–33, 5012f. are in the main from P; 501–11 in the main from J. The dying charge requires no comment. The body is embalmed simply because burial could not be immediate; the motive for the Egyptian practice was that the body might be preserved for the *ka* or double to reanimate it. Joseph does not make his request for leave of absence direct to Pharaoh, possibly because as a mourner, he was unclean, hardly because absence might seem to veil some traitorous design, though Joseph explicitly

promises to return (5). To do his father honour, an immense company of Egyptians of high rank accompanies the body. The way to Machpelah did not pass E. of the Jordan, so that if the text of 10f. is right, it is possible that in one tradition the tomb was located on the E. of Jordan. Abel-mizraim means "meadow" (not "mourning") "of Egypt." The actual account of the burial is not preserved in J or E.

L. 14–26. Joseph Reassures his Brothers. Joseph's Death.—14 belongs to J, 15–26 to E. The request for pardon put in Jacob's mouth (17) is not elsewhere recorded. 20f. suggests that the famine was over. According to P Jacob was in Egypt seventeen years (4728), in 4511 we learn that the famine lasted five years after his arrival. Joseph survives to see the great-grandchildren of his younger son, but the VSS read "grandchildren." Machir was a powerful Manassite clan; his children are adopted by Joseph. The length of Joseph's life, 110 years, was regarded in Egypt as ideal. Convinced that the Israelites will go back to Canaan, he extracts an oath from them to take his bones with them, that he may participate in the return and rest in the promised land. So he, too, was embalmed and the body placed in a mummy case. The fulfilment of the pledge is recorded in Ex. 1319, Jos. 2432.

EXODUS

By Canon GEORGE HARFORD

"The second Book of Moses" is hardly "second" to any in the OT for the varied interest, historical importance, and religious value of its contents. Its material is drawn from the three well-known Pentateuchal sources, J, E, and P, each the result of a process involving more than one author (pp. 124–130). The union of J with E and the much later incorporation of JE with P naturally left traces of editorial modifications and additions, and in the legal passages of JE a Deuteronomic expander can occasionally be detected. The analysis, though much more difficult to effect than in Gen. because of the many parallel variants, the wholesale displacements, and the editorial expansions and linkage-work, is yet upon the whole based upon a sound structure of observation and inference.

History, Legend, and Ideal.—The alternative was often, in days gone by, crudely pressed, "Either legend or history." It is now seen that most surviving ancient history, outside contemporary inscriptions, is in legendary form, or at least encrusted with legend (7$14$*), and yet may yield sure and valuable evidence as to the past. At worst it witnesses to the tastes, customs, and beliefs of the far back time when the legends were orally current. At best it enshrines some kernel of fact that would have been lost but for its protective husk of unconsciously imaginative form. The saga or folk-tale, if it is to float its kernel of fact far down the river of time on the waves of oral tradition, must contain few and simple elements. The elaboration of detail, in tales of long ago, is a mark of their later development. So at first the tales are told one by one, and connecting links of time and place and name are rare and variable. And when the tales come to be lovingly edited and re-edited as we find them in the OT, it is their contents and spirit that are important, rather than their correct arrangement in order of time and place. Stories that have "character," that shed light upon the present from the past, and, above all, that possess religious interest, must find a place somewhere. If, then, to reverence for God and kin and country we of this age add reverence for the very past as it was, we owe it to these memorials of an eventful period of the pre-Christian age to sift out those that have more of fancy, to appreciate in them the good that is there instead of reading into them what we think better but which only came later, and to set them, as best we may, in their true order and their right relations.

Many of the stories deal with **persons**, and of these Moses stands out pre-eminently, the mass and variety of material showing how deep a mark he left on his time, and reducing other figures, Aaron, Miriam, Jethro, Hur, Joshua, Nadab, and Abihu, to relative insignificance. His cradle in the bulrushes (2$1$–10) preaches God's care for His own. His early championship of the oppressed (2$11$–14) proves his impulsive sympathy. His flight to Midian (2$15$) betrays his spiritual ancestry. His courtesy to women wins him (2$16$–22) home and wife. And so the list might run on. Other stories deal with Israel, or its component **tribes**. Their increase, enslavement, and persecution are told (1$8$–22); their harsher treatment (5), and eventful escape (12$37$–15); their entry into covenant at Sinai (19 and 14); their heathenish impulses (32); their disputes (18) and complaints (15$22$–17$7$); and their early conflicts (17$8$–16),—all these come in. Yet other stories, though not so many as in Gen. and Nu., are linked with **places**: Pithom and Raamses (1$11$), Sinai and Horeb (3$1$ff., 19, 24), the springs (at Kadesh ?), Marah (15$22$–25), Massah and Meribah (17$1$–7, *cf.* Nu. 20$4$–8). Many are concerned directly with **religion**: its **rites**—Mazzoth and Passover (12), circumcision (4$24$–26); its **instruments**—the altars at Rephidim (17$15$) and Horeb (24$4$), the sacred rod (4$2$*), and the tent (33$7$–11, *cf.* 25, etc., P); its **agents**—Moses and Joshua (33$11$), young men (24$5$), "the priests" (19$22$,24), the Levites (32$25$–29), the seventy elders (24$9$), and judges (18$25$); God's **name** (3$13$ff., 6$2$ff.) and face (33$17$–22), His signs and wonders (7–12), His pillar of fire and cloud (13$21$*), and His angel (14$19a$, 23$20$, 32$34$). Many of these might also be classified as stories of **origins**, explaining how customs and institutions had arisen (p. 134). In all *naïveté* later developments are assigned to the time and place of their first germs. For example, all Hebrew codes of law are collected in the Pentateuch and connected with Moses; but the discovery that these are all of later codification than his time must not involve us in the error of doubting that much of his work as lawgiver was fundamental, and that much of the contents of these codes may go back to him.

What has been said hitherto bears mostly upon JE. But though the matter of P has been entirely rewritten, and in most parts much elaborated, by the post-exilic editors, they were devoid of creative power, and had to fall back on existing tradition for their groundwork. So sometimes we may guess at an old tradition lying at the back of P. For example, there is little doubt that the account of the construction of the sacred tent in JE has been sacrificed for that of P. And the very artificiality of their system may have led these writers to preserve crude elements, like the feats of the magicians, which would have been dropped by such a writer as J. But the cardinal feature of P is the habit of reading back the **ideal** of the present into the actual of the Mosaic era. Whether the writers really believed their own statements to be literally true, or simply adopted as a literary convention the existing practice of referring all legislation to Moses, may be doubted. But it is certain that, except in rare cases and with due caution, it is not safe to use P as evidence for ancient practice. How

rapidly development went on is shown by the analysis of 25–31, 35–40 in Heb. and Gr.

Divisions.—The book falls naturally into three parts. In the first (1–12$_{36}$) we hear of Israel's plight in Egypt, and of Moses's mission and the wonders that authenticated it. In the second (12$_{37}$–18) we hear of the Exodus and the crossing of the Red Sea, this division including in 15$_{22}$–18 a series of accounts of wilderness trials which are probably all misplaced here, and belong to the period after leaving Sinai for Kadesh. Lastly, in 19–40 we have the scenes of the giving of the Law at Sinai, the making of the Covenant, and the construction of a portable sanctuary. Difficulties thicken here, just because at so many epochs so many individuals and groups were impelled by the fundamental importance of the subject matter to collect, revise, rewrite, recombine, and supplement the old.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Driver** (CB.), Bennett (Cent. B.), M'Neile (West, C.); (*c*) Dillmann-Ryssel (KEH), Holzinger (KHC), **Baentsch** (HK), Gressmann (SAT). *Other literature:* Bacon, *The Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, Volz, *Mose*, Gressmann, *Mose*. Discussions in Dictionaries, works on OTI and OTT and the History of Israel. See further bibliography on p. 132.

I.–XII. 36. Israel in Egypt: I. Increase and Oppression.

I. 1–5 P, 6 J, 7 P. The Sons of Israel.—The transition from the fortunes of a family, such as were the subject of the narratives of Gen., to the events of a people's history, such as Ex. is concerned with, is happily marked by the altered rendering "children of Israel" (7) for the Heb. phrase rendered "sons of Israel" (1). **1–5** gives the size of the group from which all the increase came. The round number 70 was a part of the older tradition (see Dt. 10$_{22}$) which the later writers tried variously to justify. Sometimes Jacob is counted in (as Gen. 46$_{8,27}$) and sometimes left out (as here). These lists all belong to P. The free handling of the material, which was customary in those times, is illustrated by the addition, in the Gr. of Gen. 46, of Joseph's three grandsons and two great-grandsons, making 75, the number also given in Stephen's speech, Ac. 7$_{14}$. It is unlikely on several grounds that *all* the tribes were in Egypt (p. 64). But that the ancestors of the bulk of the nation shared the bitter experiences of Egyptian bondage is the convergent testimony of all our sources, and may be taken as assured fact. While the older Biblical writers, though venturing on a gigantic total (12$_{37}$ and Nu. 11$_{21}$, *cf.* 1$_{1}$*) equivalent to two millions, leave their estimate in round numbers, the post-exilic tradition professed to give precise figures of the distribution among the tribes, and the later rabbis solved the riddle by supposing the Hebrew mothers to have had from six to sixty children at a birth. Those who insist on the accuracy of the various enumerations only make the narrative less credible and less intelligible.

6. Between **1–5** and **7**, which belong to P, this verse from J is introduced, which is not required by its immediate context, but leads up to **8**, and follows on Gen. 50$_{14}$.—**7. increased abundantly:** the word (peculiar to P) is "swarmed," and recalls the account of the creation of the swarming water-creatures in Gen. 1$_{20}$f. (same Heb.). Perhaps, however, the similar word "spread abroad" (12) should be read. The words "multiplied and waxed mighty" (9$_{20}$) are borrowed from J's account.

8–12 J, 13 P, 14a (to "field") J, 14b P. Repression of Israel.—Forced labour was the first device for checking Hebrew increase. The "new king" is probably Rameses II (1300–1221 B.C., pp. 56, 63, so Petrie). The phrase has no reference to a change of dynasty, as some have supposed, but to the beginning of an epoch affecting Israel. In **9** read *mg.*; to represent Israel as stronger than the Egyptians would have been absurd, but such a people might easily grow too strong for their dependent position and close proximity. Brugsch estimates the proportion of foreigners in that reign as one-third. The risk foreseen in **10** (read, with Sam., LXX, etc., "when any war befalleth us") was, as the monuments show, constantly in view. The large, virtually slave, population was ready to take advantage of any Hittite or other invasion. Under the 12th dynasty (*c.* 1980 B.C.) a line of forts had been erected against the Bedawin incursions. Most of the great palaces and temples of antiquity were built by help of the *corvée*. Solomon used such labour-gangs or "levies," and the fate of Adoniram (1 K. 12$_{18}$) showed their unpopularity. Pithom (11*b*), "dwelling of Tum," was identified by Naville in 1883. It lies about 60 miles N.E. of Cairo, and about 20 miles E. of *Tel el Kebir*, which stands at the N.E. corner of Goshen as traced by Petrie. Inscriptions show that Pithom was built by Rameses II. It had huge, thick walls of brick, and contained sunken magazines, with brick walls also very thick. The Hebrews are not named as its builders. It is properly called a store-city, though it was also a fortress (*cf.* LXX) and the site of a temple. Raamses has been plausibly located by Petrie (1906) at *Tell er Retabeh*, 10 miles W. of Pithom, half way to the border of Goshen along the narrow fertile valley of the *Wady Tumilat*. The scheme may have made Egypt stronger against external attack, but it failed to repress the Israelites, and only made the Egyptians "abhor" (*mg.*) or "loathe" (Nu. 21$_{5}$) them. The graphic details in **14** (*cf.* 5 and Gen. 11$_{3}$) are perhaps from J. The building tasks are distinguished from the agricultural toils, *i.e.* making canals and dams, and drudging at the irrigation poles, with their heavy buckets, day by day (*cf.* Dt. 11$_{10}$*). The black Nile mud was used for mortar as well as for brick-clay. Josephus and Philo specify canals, and Josephus pyramids, as made by Israel. The tradition of the "house of bondage" was ground into the very bones of the Hebrews.

10. deal wisely has a sinister meaning, *cf.* LXX, followed by Stephen ("dealt subtilly," Ac. 7$_{19}$).—**11. taskmasters:** better "gangmasters."

15–22 E (20b J). Attempt to Destroy Male Children.—From another source we learn of two more ineffectual measures to restrict population. The two midwives, whose names tradition loved to recall for their heroism (while careless about the Pharaoh's name!), were, according to Josephus, Egyptian. Though commentators differ, the tone of the passage confirms that view, which requires the rendering, "the midwives of the Hebrew women" (lit. those women who help the Hebrew women to bring forth). Humanity and natural religion ("they feared God," *cf.* Gen. 20$_{11}$, 42$_{18}$) outweighed the royal command. The procedure is held by Driver to parallel closely Egyptian usage. The process of delivery is known to be very rapid among Arabian women. This would also be a sign of racial vigour, which would help to account for the supplanting of the Canaanites. The third device of Pharaoh was a command to all the Egyptians to cast all Hebrew boy babies into the Nile. This now leads up effectively to the next paragraph. Observe that both the last two devices imply only a small group of people, and these near the Nile.

21. made them houses: the word "house" is con-

stantly used for household or family, as in 20$_{17}$. This precise phrase is found, of David's house, in 2 S. 7$_{11}$. While involving risks of its own, the strong social consciousness of early times, each person finding his or her completion in the group, was a valuable safeguard against a premature individualism.—**22.** Insert, with Sam., LXX, etc., "to the Hebrews" after "every son that is born." The rabbis argued from the Heb. text that even Egyptian boys were to be killed.—**the river:** the word used here and in all this Egyptian section is not the word *nahar* regularly used for other great rivers, but *Yeor*, apparently derived from an Egyptian word which had come to serve for the Nile in place of the older and more venerable *Hapi*.

II–IV. 31. Preparation and Call of Moses.

II. 1–10 E. His Birth and Upbringing.—If the text can be trusted, we are informed that "a man of the house of Levi took (to wife) the (only) daughter of Levi" (*cf.* 6$_{20}$, Nu. 26$_{59}$ P), who would thus be, according to the genealogy of P, his aunt, or the sister of his father Kohath. Possibly, however, the text has been abridged, and ran, as LXX with some variations suggests, "took one of the daughters of Levi to wife and made her his own" (lit. had her). It is implied in 2 that Moses was the firstborn. But in **4, 8** he has a grown-up sister. Moreover, in 15$_{20}$ Miriam is called pointedly "the sister of Aaron," and in Nu. 12 complains with him against Moses. This would all be explained if E had related the birth of Aaron and Miriam from Jochebed, and of Moses from a second wife having another name, and if the editor had by abridgment removed the discrepancy with P. Another suggestion has been that Moses was in the oldest tradition of unknown parentage, and Aaron and Miriam unrelated to him. Maternal love and pride would sufficiently explain the three months' concealment. In Heb. 11$_{23}$, where LXX (*cf.* Syro-Hexaplar) is followed in ascribing the action to both parents, a deeper motive is found in an intuition of faith in the child's future, based on his comeliness (*cf.* Ac. 7$_{20}$). The "ark" (3) or chest, in which the child was laid was made of papyrus (*mg.*) strips, cut from the pith of the tall reed-like plant which then grew along the lower Nile, though now only found higher up the river. *Cf.* Is. 18$_{2}$ for light boats or canoes made of this material. The ark was made watertight with asphalt ("slime"), which was imported into Egypt from the Dead Sea (pp. 32f., Gen. 14$_{10}$) for embalming and other purposes, and with pitch. It was then placed in the reedy growth by the river's brink. It is not clear whether *suph*, which furnished the Heb. name for the Red Sea (*Yam Suph*) denoted any specific plant. The Nile banks in the S. half of the delta are now bare, but so late as 1841 were thickly fringed with reeds. That the Divinely-called hero or heroine must overcome all obstacles in the path of destiny was a widespread faith in antiquity, as shown by the stories of Semiramis, Perseus, Cyrus, and Romulus. What Driver calls "the singularly similar story of Sargon, king of Accad (3800 B.C.), is worth quoting. "My lowly mother conceived me, in secret she brought me forth. She set me in a basket of rushes, with bitumen she closed my door; she cast me into the river, which rose not over me. The river bore me up; unto Akki, the irrigator, it carried me Akki, the irrigator, as his own son . . . reared me" (Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels*, 1912, p. 136). In spite of E's fondness for naming, the princess has no name in the text. Later traditions supply the lack with Tharmuth, Thermuthis, Bathja, and Merris. The last, given by Eusebius, recalls Meri, the name of one of the 59 daughters of Rameses II, her mother being a Kheta princess. Of this the first two may be variant forms. While the princess bathed, perhaps from a bath-house, her ladies-in-waiting guarded her privacy from the bank. From the water she saw the chest, and sent the female slave who was in attendance on her in the water to fetch it. Josephus suppresses the circumstance of the bathing. Compassion for the little foundling, whose exposure proved his Hebrew parentage, led the princess to evade her father's edict. The sister intervened at the psychological moment with her offer to find "a woman giving suck," and the child's mother is bidden to "suckle" it under the guise of a wet-nurse or foster-mother. An Egyptian woman would hardly have undertaken the task. So he "grew," *i.e.* (*cf.* Gen. 21$_{8}$) till he was weaned, which would be at three or four years, and "became a son to her." On this slender statement tradition built largely, Josephus and Philo much amplifying the modest inference of Stephen that he was "instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" (Ac. 7$_{22}$). Driver points out that if, according to Erman, a good Egyptian education "comprised such things as moral duties and good manners, reading, writing, composition, and arithmetic," it also included such undesirable items as "mythology, astrology, magic, and superstitious practices in medicine." It is safer to say that the most certain historical inference from 1$_{15}$–2$_{10}$ is that Moses had an Egyptian name (meaning "born," *cf.* *Thutmosis*, "Thoth is born," Ra-mses, etc.). If he had been invented he would have had a Heb. name. The derivation (10) is a purely popular play on the sound of the word in Heb.

6. Render, "And she (the princess) opened it and saw him." "The child" is an ungrammatical gloss not found in LXX. The next words, "and, behold, a boy weeping," may be derived from J, the *sound* of the child weeping being in his narrative the clue.

11–22 J. Moses's Flight to Midian.—Here is interposed an incident from J, who uses the same word "grow" (contrast 10) of Moses reaching man's estate, interpreted in Ac. 7$_{23}$ as 40 years of age (*cf.* 42 years in Jubilees). The "Egyptian" slain by Moses may have been some bully of a gangmaster (*cf.* 3$_{7}$). The well-intentioned but unjustifiable assumption of the authority to punish committed Moses to the career of a patriot (*cf.* Heb. 11$_{24–26}$). But the incident was distorted by rumour, and not only aroused the king's anger, but set his own countrymen against him. Midian, whither he fled, is on some maps placed in the S.E. of the Sinai peninsula on the W. of the Gulf of Akaba. But the evidence of Ptolemy and the Arabic geographers, confirmed by Burton, locates it on the E. Its people, regarded in Gen. 25$_{1–6}$ J (*cf.* 1 Ch. 24$_{6}$f., 4$_{17}$) as distant blood-relations of Israel, had, at the time when this story took shape, apparently not yet come to be regarded as the bitterest of national foes (as in Nu. 31, perhaps based on Nu. 6f.). The later view has led to "the troops of Midian" being taken as symbolising the enemies of the soul. "The priest of Midian" is introduced without explanation or apology; and in 18 he becomes the counsellor of Moses. It is possible that a real religious connexion existed between the Kenites (to whom the family of Jethro belonged, *see* Jg. 4$_{11}$) and early Israel (*cf.* 18*).—Burckhardt found that the pasturing of flocks was still "the exclusive duty of the unmarried girls" (*cf.* Rachel in Gen. 29$_{9}$). M'Neile renders **19b,** "and he actually drew water for us," pointing out that "Moses and Jacob drew water for women, while a slave (Gen. 24$_{19}$f.) allowed a woman to draw for him." The tradition that Moses married

a Midianitish woman would hardly have been preserved unless it had been widespread, for in Nu. 25 6ff. (P) such an act is regarded as worthy of death. Zipporah means "bird," and is the feminine of Zippor, the name of the father of Balak. In Jg. 7 25 the Midianitish chiefs are named Oreb (raven) and Zeeb (wolf). It has been suggested that this points to a primitive totemistic belief, betrayed when obsolete by the ancient names (Gen. 29 31–33*). A family or clan is by this system linked as having the same totem animal.

18. Reuel: the name, meaning "God's friend," which, if original here, would have been given in **16**, is oddly inserted by the editor from Nu. 10 29*. Possibly, like some Sabæan kings and priests, he had two names. The LXX has Jethro twice in **16**. The AV "Raguel" reproduces the same Heb. differently, following LXX.—**22. a sojourner in a strange land.** Driver notes that "strange" is no longer in English an equivalent of "foreign," and gives instances. The word "sojourner" implies a popular play upon the first syllable of the word Gershom. In Jg. 18 30 the priests of Dan claim descent from Moses through Gershom.

II. 23–III. The Call of Moses (first account). *23a*, J, *23b–25* P, 31 E, *2–4a* J, *4b* E, 5 J, 6 E, *7–9a* J, *9b–14* E, 15 Rje.

II. 23a J. many will refer to the 67 years' reign of Rameses II, unless it is a gloss by a scribe (Old Latin omits) or editor (so Baentsch) to suit P's view of Moses as 80 years old (7). In J (4 20,25) Gershom is still an infant at the return. It is likely that 4 19f., 24–26, should follow here but have been displaced by the compiler. The death of the king is clearly mentioned as removing the obstacle to Moses's return. But *after* the solemn call a merely negative reason seems inadequate. If this view be correct, the appearance at the bush will have been placed by J (3 2) on the way back to Egypt or in Goshen itself.

23b–25. The sequel in P of 1 14. God's "remembering" and His "covenant" are favourite ideas with this writer, and have passed into the devotional language of the Church. In Gen. all the sources agree in linking the patriarchs by bonds of purpose and promise with a God who was their faithful and watchful friend.

25. The last words are strictly "and God knew," and are usually taken in an intensified sense of interested and sympathetic knowing, as frequently (*cf.* 3 7 below). But the omission of the object is strange, and has led some to correct the text. The LXX "and made Himself known unto them" only requires a slight alteration of the vowel points (p. 35), and gives a good sense.

III. 1–10. The Revelation at the Bush.—According to E (1, *4b*, 6) Moses had "led the flock to the back of the wilderness," *i.e.* the W., since the E. was always regarded as being in front (as the N. is with us), N. and S. being left and right. The flock belonged to "the priest of Midian," a term not used elsewhere by E, but which suits the representation of Jethro in 18 (E), and need not be a gloss from 2 16 J. Thus, accidentally, Moses "came to the mountain of God," and learnt that it was such by the voice of God ("out of the midst of the bush" is probably a gloss from J). By this discovery, it is implied, Horeb became a sacred mountain, *i.e.* a place where God was peculiarly at home, and, therefore, where man was specially susceptible to Divine influences, even as the mediæval candidate for knighthood would be most likely to see visions or hear voices during his midnight vigil before the altar. In primitive thought the tie with locality was no doubt crudely conceived, but not a few OT references show that the association of places with God's special presence long retained its value, as symbolising and concentrating an aspect of reality to which the abstract doctrine of omnipresence fails to do justice. Moderns, who reckon it unspiritual to call any place sacred, because God is everywhere, may condemn themselves to finding Him nowhere. It has been usual to identify Horeb (1) with Sinai, or at most to distinguish the former as covering the district in which the latter was placed, and to locate the whole region in the Sinaitic peninsula, where Christian tradition has loved to find it. Recently, however, it has been sought by Sayce and others to prove that Sinai was not in the peninsula at all, but N.E. of it, near Edom; and by M'Neile to show that, as in regard to other places, the sources differ, and that while Sinai was near Kadesh, N. of the head of the gulf of Akaba, Horeb was S.E., on the E. shore of the gulf. Horeb is mentioned only by E (here and in 17 6, 33 6) and by D, while J and P refer only to Sinai. Really the evidence is conflicting and obscure, and it matters little which identification is adopted (p. 64).—As E told how Horeb became sacred, so—we must suppose—originally J related here how Sinai also was shown to be holy by the revelation at the bush (*Seneh*). Fire is constantly a symbol of God's presence (*cf.* 13 7, "the pillar of fire," 19 18, 24 17, Ezek. 1 27, 8 2). In view of the large number of undoubted cases, like that of Joan of Arc, in which visions and voices have been authentically reported by the original subjects of the abnormal experiences, it is reasonable to suppose that it was so in this case, though, in view of the long oral transmission, it would be rash to assert it positively. In any event the story embodies a lofty and suggestive symbolism. The unconsumed bramble bush may signify Israel, burnt by the Divine wrath yet spared destruction (*cf.* Keble, quoted by M'Neile); or Moses, the fleshly pole or contact-point for the transmission of the stream of redemptive energy, unclean (like Isaiah), yet not slain by the Divine holiness, which was then conceived under quasi-physical representations. Only once (Dt. 33 16) is the sacred bush again mentioned in OT (*cf.* Mk. 12 26).—"The angel of Yahweh" is sometimes distinguished from Yahweh and sometimes (as here, 2) identified with Him (Gen. 16 7*). But the phrase always marks some sensible manifestation of the Divine. As the term is missing in **4** and **7**, probably "the angel of" is here a gloss due to the reverence of a later age. It is never found in P.—The removal of the "shoes" or sandals (5) was a traditional mark of reverence, arising more probably from ancient custom than from fear of soiling the sanctuary, and is maintained by Mohammedans (Gen. 35 2*). The place was already holy "ground," and did not merely become so through the manifestation. So now worshippers do not wait for service to begin before removing their hats.—Moses is sent by no new God, but by the God of the patriarchs (6). Each advance in revelation or redemption is due to the same Being; and the religious experience of to-day is continuous with the experience of yesterday out of which it has been developed. In Mk. 12 26 Christ further draws from this verse the inference that God will not allow death to break the conscious fellowship He has established with His creatures.—That Moses "hid his face" (6) was a sign of reverence parallel with the baring of the feet noted in **5** (J). In this source (*cf.* 7) there is a fearless use of human terms ("seen," "heard," "come down") to make God's relations with man real and intelligible. Such language is for plain people more effectively true than coldly abstract words.—In **8** we first meet with the phrase, so frequent in J and D, "a land flowing with milk and honey," *see* RV references. "Honey," like the present-day

Arabic cognate *dibs*, probably includes the grape-juice syrup, used with food, like jam. The lists of Palestinian peoples (as in 8, *cf.* Gen. 15$^{19-21}$*, and RV references). are common in JE and D, but have probably often been amplified. The term Canaanite is used (*cf.* Gen. 126 J) generally of the pre-Israelitic inhabitants of Canaan, but has a narrower sense, of the dwellers on the sea coast and in the Jordan valley. It is a question whether the inclusion of the Hittites among the peoples conquered by Israel is justified by victories over some Hittite colony (*cf.* Nu. 13^{29} JE, Gen. 23* P); for the main body of the nation was established N. of the Lebanon and was never subject to Israel. Amorite (p. 53, Gen. 147*) also is used as a comprehensive term, but properly refers to a distinct people, ruled by Sihon, N.E. of the Dead Sea, and settled early N. of Canaan (Tell el-Amarna Letters, 1400 B.C.). For the Perizzites, *see* Gen. 137*. The Hivites belonged to the centre, and the Jebusites held Jerusalem till David took it (2 S. 56–9).

4a. The Heb. is "And Yahweh saw . . . and God called," so that the division of the verse between J and E is grammatically natural.

11f. Moses's First Difficulty—personal unfitness (*cf.* the cases of Gideon, Jeroboam, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel). Once Moses was rash and impulsive. Now he is older and sees the difficulties. All the sources agree in this representation. A fugitive, a shepherd, and unknown, how shall he interview the Pharaoh, or lead Israel? The promise, "I will be with thee" (omit "certainly"), draws aside the veil and shows him his Unseen Divine Companion; *cf.* RV references.—The "token" or sign (12) is but a further promise that on the sacred mount (1*) the people should offer God worship; unless a reference to the "rod" or the "pillar" has been displaced.—The awkward "ye shall serve" (12) becomes, by changing the Heb. initial *t* to *y*, "they shall serve."

13–15. Moses's Second Difficulty—ignorance of the Name under which Israel was to worship God. This is expressed in two of the sources (E here, and P in 6). He must learn the *name* of the God who was sending him. In ancient religions generally the knowledge of the name was a necessity for prayer or sacrifice (Gen. 32^{29}*), and its meaning was sometimes an indication of the nature of the God. Four points arise here: (i) the original pre-Mosaic meaning of the name Yahweh; (ii.) its meaning for Moses; (iii.) the idea of it in the mind of the author; (iv.) the identification of the author. As to (i.) there has been much discussion, but little agreement. Possibly it may have had reference to nature processes—"He who comes down as the rain or the lightning-flash," or He who makes these come down. But the solution of this problem matters little. The greatest words may grow in meaning from the humblest seed of suggestion. Driver considers that there is enough Assyriological evidence "to show that a West-Semitic deity, Ya-u, was known as early as *c.* 2100 B.C." Taking (iv.) next, it is clear that, for the prophetic writer E, the name Yahweh was regarded as unknown both to the Israelites in Egypt and also to the patriarchs. The text here and the usage of this source in Gen. prove this. Indeed, it is possible that the identification of Yahweh with the God of the fathers is due to a later editor, and that the contrast between old and new was originally thought of as a revolution, a passage from the worship of Elim ("gods") to the worship of one God, Yahweh, greater than all else, and alone revered in Israel. Besides the link with the past through Jethro (18^{12}*) it has been suggested that one or more of the tribes may have been worshippers of Yahweh. (iii.) The diversity of views on the point of translation is shown by the four renderings of RV. For other alternatives, *see* M'Neile, Ex., p. 22, or HDB ii. 199 (Davidson), or EBi. 3320 (Kautzsch). The third *mg.*, "I will be that I will be," is supported by Robertson Smith, Davidson, Driver, M'Neile, and others. [The meaning would be more clearly conveyed to the English reader by the translation, "I will be what I will be." —A. S. P.] It brings out the implications both of the root and tense of the verb *hayah*. The root denotes rather becoming than being, and the tense (imperfect) marks uncompleted process or activity. AV and RV rendering ("I am that I am"—the unnamable and inexpressible One) involves an amount of reflectiveness alien to the Hebrew mind. And so with others: "I am because I am," "I am who am." Heb. syntax and thought analogies favour decisively the beautiful rendering adopted above, found as early as Rashi (A.D. 1105), and now preferred by British scholars. The temper of noble adventure which belongs to faith is here shown to spring out of the very Name (*i.e.* Being) of Yahweh (="He will be"): no one can limit the inexhaustibly fresh possibilities of One so named. The question (ii.) of the meaning of the name for Moses is too large for treatment here; but his must have been the parent conception which the historian has so grandly expressed here. In **14** read the last clause, "I-will-be hath sent me." The spelling "Jehovah" (at least as early as A.D. 1278) arose from misunderstanding the Jewish practice of placing under the four-lettered word (or tetragrammaton) **Yhwh** (or **Jhvh**) the vowels of the word *Adonay* ("Lord") which they pronounced in place of it, out of mistaken reverence based on Ex. 207 or Lev. 24^{11,16}. The correctness of the form here adopted, Yahweh, is established, not merely by analogy with other names derived from verbs (Isaac, Jacob, etc.), but from the transliterations used by early Christian Fathers, before the tradition of substituting *Adonay* had become established: Theodoret, reporting Samaritan speech, and Epiphanius have Ἰαβέ, and Clement of Alexandria has Ἰαουαι (or Ἰαουέ, the occurrence in which of all the five vowels prompted certain magical uses).

15. Observe that in **14, 15,** and **16** there are three instructions of identical or similar scope in regard to the announcement of the Divine Name. The simplest explanation of the repetition is that **16** comes from **J**, and **14** from E, **15** being a link verse by the redactor of JE.

III. 16–18 J. Message to the Elders.—This paragraph, which overlaps the last, contains J's account of Moses's instructions, which are to be passed on (not as in **15** E, to the people at large, but) to "the elders of Israel." We here first touch on an important Hebrew institution which both preceded and outlasted the monarchy. The tribal "elders" (p. 112) or sheikhs were themselves a development from the heads of families, and gave place, after the settlement, to a localised aristocracy, "the elders of the city." In any case their authority was wide, but somewhat undefined and lacking in coercive power. They were official representatives of weight and character, but they needed to carry with them the body of men who stood behind them, and they admitted of a chief sheikh (such as Moses) or a judge or king over them, whose senate they formed. The message assures them that Yahweh, their fathers' God and their watchful Friend, would "bring them up" from low-lying Egypt to the high Canaanite table-land, and bids them join Moses in asking permission to leave Egypt for sacrifice to "Yahweh, the

God of the Hebrews." This demand, seven times urged in J, was a natural one in an age of national rites. At this juncture such sacrifice was a fitting response to the Divine revelation. "Three days' journey" would not bring them to any of the supposed sites of Sinai, only to some nearer shrine in "the wilderness," *i.e.* of *Et-Tiy*, the limestone plateau S. of Palestine. The proposal may have been meant as a feeler, or it may have been a ruse to deceive the national enemy, the Pharaoh.

16. visited . . . Egypt should rather be "taken notice of you and that which is done to you in Egypt." —**17.** Perhaps read with LXX, "And he hath said (moreover)," a more natural way of referring to **8**. So Baentsch. On the list of peoples, *see* **8**. Here its omission improves the connexion.

III. 19–22 E (**19f.** amplified). **First Announcement of Plagues.**—For the spoiling of the Egyptians, *see* 12^{36}. —Read in **19**, "except by a mighty hand."

IV. 1–9 J (following 3^{18}). **Moses's Third Difficulty**—Israel's unbelief. To overcome it, he is enabled to authenticate his mission by three signs—the rod that became a serpent and again a rod (2–5), the leprosy of his hand that came and went (6–8), and the turning of water into blood (9). The first is in P a sign to Pharaoh (7$^{8–12}$), and the third is in E and P the first plague (7$^{14–25}$).—The rod, in J, is Moses's ordinary shepherd's staff, turned to a special use; in E, it is "the rod of God," given him to use as a miraculous instrument; in P, it is Aaron who uses it. All three sources must mention the rod, so firmly was it entwined in the thread of tradition (17$^{15f.*}$). In **9**, "river" should be "Nile."

IV. 10–16 J. Moses's Fourth Difficulty—slowness of speech. This is met by a promise of prophetic inspiration, the fulfilment of which not only Dt. 34^{10}, but the whole representation of J, endorses. It is followed here by a further exhibition of unreadiness, which evokes Yahweh's wrath. The association of Aaron with Moses has been compared to Deborah's co-operation with Barak. But since Aaron may only say what Moses tells him, this arrangement is no very clear mark of Divine anger. Moreover, in J, Moses habitually acts and speaks alone, and not by the mouth of Aaron, except in 29f.*, which obviously follows this passage. Perhaps, therefore, the reference to Aaron has been inserted by a somewhat later hand to explain the undoubted sacredness of the teaching office of the priest (*cf.* Priests and Levites, HDB, iv.). Aaron is in **14** called "the Levite" (p. 106). But Moses himself was (21) traditionally descended from Levi. So here, as elsewhere (*cf.* Jg. 17, "a young man . . . of the family of Judah who was a Levite"), "Levite" "was a term which connoted not ancestry but profession; it was equivalent to clergyman" (M'Neile, Ex., p. lxvi). **14b** may be due to an editor, who thus led up to **27** E. —That Moses was to be to Aaron "as God" (16) was a particular case of what may be called the Divine policy of mediation. Parents are to young children in the place of God, and like relations to superiors are frequent; but such a phrase may not be pressed to cover the Jesuit claim to override a subordinate's conscience.

IV. 17f. Moses obtains from Jethro leave of absence. For "this rod" in **17**, *cf.* **2*** and **20b**; also Jg. 6^{21}.

IV. 19–20a J. Moses is Recalled by Yahweh to Egypt. —This piece probably originally followed 2^{23a}, the narrative of the revelation at the bush having been antedated by the compiler, to dovetail in with E's story. The pl. "sons" is probably due to the editor, to fit 18$^{2–4}$: in J (2^{24} and 4^{25}) only one "son" is mentioned.—**20b** E continues **17**.

IV. 21–23 J. The Death of Pharaoh's Firstborn is Threatened.—**22f.** seems to have been moved back hither from before 10^{28} to serve as a general introduction to the Plagues, receiving **21** as preface. The "portents" of **21** are not the "signs" of **2–9** J, to be done for Israel's benefit, but those of **17** E, to be done with the rod before Pharaoh.—With **22** *cf.* Hos. 11^{2}. The prophetic intuition which saw Yahweh's love for Israel as a father's for his firstborn became one of the grand commonplaces of Heb. religion. We find it "christened" in Gal. 3$^{26–4}$. It may have had its root in a cruder notion, found outside the OT, of a physical relation between a people and a divine ancestor, but in Israel, as Driver points out, the idea was spiritual.

IV. 24–26 J. Moses Threatened with Death because Uncircumcised.—This is an old and strange "boulder" of tradition. The incident here follows **20a**. It appears to relate in strongly anthropomorphic phrase a grave illness which Moses's wife interpreted as a punishment for neglect of the rite of circumcision, and remedied by symbolically substituting the circumcision of his son. The rite appears here as one preliminary to marriage, and not in the milder form of Gen. 17*, administered in infancy (*cf.* pp. 83, 99f.). The use of "flint" is, no doubt, a survival of an archaic practice, begun before metal knives were in use (Jos. 5^{2}*). Ritual is ever conservative.

IV. 27f. E. 29–31 J. Aaron meets Moses, and together they meet the elders of Israel.—**27f.** E, which tells of Aaron being called to meet Moses at Horeb, is independent of **14–16** J, for it ignores the part there assigned to Aaron, whereas **29–31** J is the obvious sequel of that passage, though the Heb. rather suggests that even in this passage Aaron was not originally mentioned. In **30a** read, "And he (Moses) did the signs." Aaron was not to have done them. With **31** *cf.* 12^{27b}*.

V. 1–VI. 1 (**1f.** and **4** E, the rest J). **Pharaoh's first refusal** to let Israel go, and his increase of their burdens. —The bulk of the story is taken from J, but part of the opening shows that E told it too. One spoke of "the God of Israel," the other of "the God of the Hebrews": both related the demand for leave of absence in order to worship. Observe in J the primitive dread of an approach of the Divine Being unless an acceptable offering be at hand (3, *cf.* Nu. 23^{3}, "met him," as here; and Jg. 13$^{15f.}$).

1–5. In **1**, "hold a feast" (Heb. *ḥag*) is, more exactly, "make a pilgrimage" to a sanctuary, as pious Mohammedans make the *ḥaj* to Mecca (*cf.* 23$^{14ff.}$ and p. 103). The Pharaoh, who by the custom of the time was often approached by suitors with private grievances, professes blank ignorance of Yahweh, and treats the request as a mere pretext for a holiday.

6–19. Increase of Burdens.—The brickmaking was organised by Egyptian "taskmasters" working under Pharaoh, very much as a "clerk of the works" superintends a building in progress to watch the interests of the owner and to see the instructions of the architect fulfilled. These in turn chose Hebrew "officers" or foremen who were responsible for the work of their gangs. At Pithom (1^{11}) some of the bricks that have been dug up contained chopped straw and some did not. But elsewhere such use of straw is unusual. Perhaps it was needed, Petrie suggests, to separate the soft bricks. In any case the refusal to provide a necessary imposed more work. Driver (CB, p. 39) reproduces illustrations from the monuments of the processes of brickmaking and building by Asiatic captives under supervision, and quotes an inscrip-

tion (p. 31), "The taskmaster says to his labourers, 'The stick is in my hand, be not idle.'" The Nile mud had to be dug, carried in baskets, kneaded with water, moulded, dried, carried to the site, and built into the walls. Nu. 115 warns us that, for slaves, "the Hebrews were on the whole well treated" (M'Neile). —**8. tale:** *i.e.* set amount. To "tell" used to mean to "count" (Gen. 155*).—**9.** Read (with LXX, Sam., Pesh.) "that they may attend to it (their work), and not attend to lying words."—**14. task:** in this verse should be "prescribed portion."—**16.** Read (with LXX, Pesh.) "and thou shalt sin against thy people." The Heb. is corrupt, and the EV is false to the facts.

20–VI. 1. Moses, reproached for the failure of the appeal to Pharaoh, casts himself on God, and wins promise of effectual aid. Dawn follows the darkest hour.

21. "Ye have brought us into ill odour with Pharaoh" would be a more modern rendering.—**22. evil entreated:** *i.e.* ill-treated.

VI. 2–12. P's Second Account of Moses's Call.—Till the method of Hebrew compilers was understood, it was natural to take this as the account of a second call. It is now seen to be the account of his call in the latest source, as written by priestly annalists after the Exile. Moreover, it was this passage which put in the hands of the French physician, Jean Astruc (p. 122), the clue to the criticism of the Mosaic books. For the writer who says that God was known to the patriarchs as "God Almighty" (El Shaddai, Gen. 171*, Jl. 115*), but was not known to them by His name Yahweh, could not be the same who declared (Gen. 426) that man began to call upon the name of Yahweh in the days of Seth, and who used it freely in connexion with all the patriarchs. Observe that the analysis which began with distinguishing the Divine Name has revealed so many fresh clues as to become virtually independent of its original starting-point (p. 123). The great idea of a Divine covenant, a Testament conditional upon moral and spiritual terms, is dominant in P (Gen. 17*). It involved remembrance (5), redemption (6, *cf.* Is. 4114, etc.), fellowship (7*a*), and the assurance of faith (7*b*), as well as the settlement in Canaan (8). The summary of the Divine programme closes with "I am Yahweh," the "Everlasting Yea" which sounds out again and again, like the deep boom of a church bell, in the Law of Holiness (Lev. 185, etc.). But the people (9) "hearkened not for impatience" (*mg.*). Here the priestly abridgment disregards the first expressions of popular conviction in 431 J, and Moses (12) quails before the harder task of making Pharaoh hear (contrast 410 J).

8. The covenant had been confirmed by an oath in Gen. 247—"I lifted up my hand" (*cf.* Gen. 1422, Nu. 1430), the hand being raised to heaven by one taking an oath.—**12. uncircumcised lips:** as though needing a surgical operation for dumbness.

13–30. An insertion by the editor, who in **13** anticipates the mention of Aaron (7ff.), and in **14–27** compresses a wider genealogy to give the pedigree of Moses and Aaron, and in **28–30** recapitulates 6–12. From Gen. 5 onwards genealogies, original and inserted, abound in P, reflecting the post-exilic interest in pedigrees (Ch., Ezr., Neh.). A Canaanite strain is indicated for Simeon (15), as well as for Judah (Gen. 38), by the mention of Shaul's Canaanite mother. The post-exilic tradition found sanction for the current distribution of duties about the Temple among certain hereditary guilds in tracing back their descent to Levi (16–19), and their appointment to Moses (Nu. 311–449*), their duties being revised by David (1 Ch. 236–24*). For the writer's purpose Kohath's descendants are important. To his first son, Amram, "Aaron and Moses" (Nu. 2659 and 1 MS, Sam., LXX, Syr. here add "and Miriam their sister") were born (20), Jochebed his wife (22*) being his aunt. As Lev. 1812 forbids such a marriage, we may infer that an old tradition is here preserved.

VII. 8–13 P. Aaron and the Magicians: Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart.—Magic and religion are, in the last analysis, fundamentally diverse; for, while magic claims to put a compelling constraint upon occult powers, religion implies a relation and dependence upon a personal Being of which prayer is the characteristic expression (p. 187). But the two have been, and are still, almost inextricably intermingled. It is not surprising, therefore, to find magical powers, in all good faith, claimed for the servants of Yahweh, and allowed, in inferior degree, to exist among His enemies. Magic has been called the science of primitive times, and its obvious success is due to a mixture of bluff, shrewd prognostication, cunning contrivance (*cf.* "secret arts," 11 *mg.*), and sleight-of-hand. Serpent-charming still persists in Egypt, and experts can stiffen serpents by hypnotic devices into rods. What is peculiar in the present story is that the rods become serpents, and Aaron's rod swallows up the rest. The *mg.* on "serpent" distinguishes the term, meaning a reptile, perhaps a young crocodile, from the ordinary word used in 43 J, where the sign was to convince Israel, not Pharaoh. The word for "magicians" is used only of Egyptian wizards. Jewish tradition (2 Tim. 38) knew the names of the two leaders, Jannes and Jambres. Though their success was marred by the swallowing up of their rods, "Pharaoh's heart was hardened" (13). Here is one of the leading ideas of this part of the Bible. Three words are used—one only in 73 P, another (*mg.* "strong") by P and E, and the third (*mg.* "heavy") by J. The various forms of expression, hard (in fact), self-hardened, and God-hardened, together with Paul's treatment in Rom. 915–18, raise difficult questions. A little reflection lightens the difficulty. In all human conduct there is a mysterious combination of man's choice and God's enabling. And God uses events to produce opposite effects upon different characters, as fire melts wax but hardens clay. Assertions of God's sovereignty must not be isolated, but interpreted in harmony with His moral rule. Thus read, the cumulative assaults upon Pharaoh's resolution call forth one of the most dramatic exhibitions in literature of the merely politic vacillations of a man whose conscience has been weakened, or silenced, by self-will.

VII. 14–XII. 36. The Ten Plagues.—How deeply this series of events imprinted itself on the mind and heart of the nation is shown by the fulness with which the three sources report them.

J	1°	2°	—	4°	5°	—	7°	8°	9°	10°
E	1°	—	—	—	—	—	7°	8°	9°	10°
P	1°	2°	3°	—	—	6°	—	—	—	10°

1°, river turned to blood; 2°, frogs; 3°, lice (gnats); 4°, flies; 5°, murrain; 6°, boils; 7°, hail; 8°, locusts; 9°, darkness; 10°, death of firstborn.

A sound historical judgment will conclude, both from this fact and from the nature of the occurrences mentioned, as well as from the need for *some* such group of causes to account for the escape of the tribes, that the traditions have a firm foothold in real events. But since not less than four centuries intervened between the events and the earliest of our sources, it is not to be expected that the details of the narra-

tives can all be equally correct. And there are not only literary distinctions between the sources, but differing, and in some points contradictory, representations of matters of fact. The Great European War illustrates the difficulty of weighing even contemporary testimony. But it is important to observe that even such a legend as that a force of Russians was brought through England, though it stated what was incorrect, yet would have conveyed to posterity a true reflection of two fundamental features in the European situation of 1914, viz. that Russia was allied with England, and that powerful reinforcements were needed to meet an enemy across the English Channel. So the general situation in Egypt in 1220 B.C., and the contrasted characters of Pharaoh and Moses, may reasonably be taken as rightly given, while the order, details, and precise nature of the events in which they were concerned may have been more or less distorted by tradition. One of the marks of the shaping power of the reporting process is that each source can still be seen to have had its own uniform skeleton of narration in this section. This phenomenon may be concisely exhibited. It should be contrasted with the form of narratives (such as those in 2 S.) which are more nearly contemporary with the events they relate.

a. JEP: and Yahweh said unto Moses,

b. J: Go unto Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith Yahweh, *the God of the Hebrews*, Let my people go that they may serve me. And if thou refuse to let them go, behold I will . . .

E: Stretch forth thy (*i.e.* Moses's) hand (with *thy rod* toward . . . that there may be . . .

P: Say unto *Aaron*, Stretch out *thy rod*, and *there shall be* . . .

c. J: And *Yahweh did so*, and there came . . . (or "and he sent")

E: And *Moses* stretched forth *his* hand (or *his rod*) toward . . . and there was . . .

P: And *these did so*: and Aaron stretched out *his rod*, and there was . . .

d. P: And the magicians did so (or, could not do so) with their secret arts . . .

e. J: And Pharaoh called for Moses, and said unto him, Entreat for me, that . . . And Yahweh did so, and removed . . .

f. J: But Pharaoh made his heart heavy.

E: But Yahweh made Pharaoh's heart hard.

P: But Yahweh's heart was hardened.

g. J: And he did not let *the people* go.

E: And he did not let the *children of Israel* go.

P: and he hearkened not unto them as Yahweh had spoken.

The reader who will mark with letters in the margin of the text the parts assigned to J, E, and P will discern for himself, more fully by the help of the RV references, the points of contrast and resemblance, or he can consult the larger commentaries. In any case he should note that J is fullest and most graphic, and describes the plagues as natural events providentially ordered, Yahweh bringing them after the prophet's mere announcement; that E is briefer, has not been so fully preserved by the editor, heightens the miraculous colouring, and makes Moses bring on the plagues with a motion of his wonder-working rod, or a gesture of his hand; and that P makes Aaron the spokesman and wielder of the rod, and introduces the magicians, the supernatural element transcending the historical throughout. Another feature is that in J the Israelites are apart in Goshen, but in E are mixed up with the Egyptians in Egypt. Each source has its own word for "plague" (9^{14} J, 11^{1} E, 12^{13} P); and three other words ("signs" and "wonders"—two Heb. words) are also employed. It will appear that the plagues were "miraculously intensified forms of the diseases or other natural occurrences to which Egypt is more or less liable" (Driver).

VII. 14–25. 1°. Water turned into Blood (14–15a J; 15b E^{r}; 16–17a J; 17b, "with the rod . . . hand," E; 17c–18 J; 19–20a, "commanded," P; 20b, to "servants," E; 20c–21ab, J; 21c–22, P; 23–25 J).—In Egypt not only prosperity, but life itself, was bound up with the Nile. Moses meets Pharaoh on his morning visit to the Nile (*cf.* 8^{20}), either for bathing (as 2^{5}) or worship, repeats the Divine demand, and announces the smiting of the Nile, by turning its waters into blood. "Each year the water of the river becomes like blood at the time of the inundation" (Sayce). The peculiarity in Ex. is that the water was rendered unwholesome, as it sometimes is just before the redness begins. In P all the water in the land takes the poisonous tinge: the irrigation "canals" (9 *mg.*) and "ponds" or reservoirs being specially mentioned. The artificial character of P's representation is shown when, after the water has been reddened, the magicians can yet find water to prove their powers upon. The death of the fish would be a grave calamity, fish being a staple article of diet.

15. the rod (E): is noted by the editor as that which was turned to a serpent (4^{3} J).—**17b.** The sentence about Yahweh's smiting is dislocated by the insertion of a scrap from the command to Moses in E (15b), "with the rod that is in mine" (altered from "thine," yet spoiling the sense all the same) "hand."—**20b. and he lifted up:** not Aaron (20*a* P) but Moses (E), for only "the waters that were in the river" were smitten. —**23. heart:** in Heb. covers, and indeed often denotes, mental not emotional activity: render "give his mind even to this."

VIII. 1–15. 2°. Frogs Swarm from the Nile (1–4 J, 5–7 P, 8–15a J, "heart," 15b P).—"Each year the inundation brings with it myriads of frogs" (Sayce), amounting in certain years to a veritable plague, but they do not infest houses or die suddenly in heaps. In 3 they were to come upon the persons of the people, and into their earthenware stoves ("ovens") and the shallow wooden bowls they used, as do the Arabs still, for "kneading-troughs." When Pharaoh prays for relief, Moses concedes him the "glory" or advantage of naming the time when the pests should be removed, that the Divine control of the visitation might be the more conspicuous.

12. brought upon: read "appointed for Pharaoh," *i.e.* as a sign.—**14, gathered:** render "piled."—**15. that there was respite:** better "that the respite had come."

VIII. 16–19 P. 3°. Lice or Gnats (*i.e.* mosquitoes) **Swarm.**—In autumn, when much water is standing in the rice fields, swarms of mosquitoes, like clouds of dust, arise from their breeding-grounds. Perhaps that is why they are here described as generated from dust. Both renderings can plead ancient authority, but both scholarship and experience favour the second.

VIII. 20–32 J. 4°. Flies Infest the Land.—Driver argues that "some *definite* insect is evidently meant . . . some particularly irritating kind of fly," and renders "dog-fly" after LXX. The S. wind constantly brings flies in swarms, and their germ-carrying habits make them a peril as well as an annoyance. The exemption of Goshen (22, Gen. 45^{10}*) is illustrated by the definite boundaries containing such swarms.

This plague calls forth Pharaoh's first concession, that, as it would be indecent and impracticable to carry out sacrificial worship in Egypt (26f.), Israel may "sacrifice . . . in the wilderness, only . . . not . . . very far away." The "three days' journey" (27) repeats 318, 53.

IX. 1–7 J. 5°. Murrain upon Cattle.—The word "cattle" is a wide term, and includes all domestic animals. The "camels" must have been those of visiting Bedouins, as they were not naturalised in ancient Egypt. Cattle plagues have been rare in Egypt, but there have been several in the last century. One of the most severe was traced to the Nile; and cattle on land far from the river escaped, as did the cattle of Israel in Goshen. "All the cattle" (6) may mean "all kinds of cattle," for some survived (19–21).

8–12 P. 6°. Boils on Man and Beast.—Skin diseases are common troubles in Egypt. This may be meant for the Nile-scab, "an irritating eruption, consisting of innumerable little red blisters, which is frequent in Egypt at about the time when the Nile begins to rise in June, and often remains for some weeks upon those whom it attacks" (Driver). The method of infliction is peculiar. Moses and Aaron were to take their two hands full of soot from a lime-burner's or potter's kiln and toss the fine dust into the air, that it might spread as a pestilential cloud of dust. Scots and Yorkshiremen still call a big boil a "blain"! This plague effects the discomfiture of the magicians, who suffer from but cannot inflict the disease.

13–35. 7°. A Devastating Hailstorm (13–21 J, 22f. E, 24–30 J, 31f. E, 33f. J, 35ab E, 35c R).—Into the announcenent of the coming storm a short passage (14–16) has been with impressive effect inserted by an early expander of J. It accounts for the series of partial judgments, instead of one overwhelming doom, by the Divine purpose to illustrate more at length the object lesson of the vanity of human pride and resolution. Since Yahweh speaks of "all my plagues," it may have been originally written for some other connexion, and probably should be read, "I will . . . send all these my plagues upon thee, and upon . . .", "thine head" being a misreading of a letter by a scribe. In **15** it would be clearer to render with Driver, "For else I should now have put forth . . . and thou wouldst have been cut off." In **16** "I made thee to stand" means "I preserved thee," not as Paul, possibly following a late meaning of the Heb. verb, took it, "I raised thee up," though the difference does not affect the argument in Rom. 9¹⁷. The very power of the Pharaoh makes his subjection to Yahweh's purpose more impressive, and the fame of it more widespread. In **19** the idea is rather, "As yet standest thou in the way of my people . . ." A new feature about this plague is the chance given to Pharaoh and his servants of averting its perils by "fearing the word of Yahweh," and hastening in the cattle. The repetitions in the description of the hailstorm are due to the combination of sources, as the suggested analysis shows. It was peculiarly the function of Yahweh to "send thunder," **23** (Heb. "give voices," *see* 28 *mg.*), *cf.* Ps. 29³–⁹, etc.: the cloud was His chariot, the lightning His dazzling robe, and the thunder His mighty voice. The fire was "mingled with" or flashing right through (cf. *mg.*) "the hail," **24**. Goshen again escaped. Pharaoh's admission (27) that he and his were "wicked" was a politic approach to a powerful but unfriendly deity. He anticipated Nietzsche in the doctrine that weakness is wickedness. Moses in promising to "spread abroad his hands" in prayer for removal of the plague (29, 35*), was under no illusions: Pharaoh had but half learned his lesson. From **31f.** it may be inferred that the hailstorm was dated in January, the flax being in bud and the barley ripe, but the wheat and spelt still immature. Egyptian flax was often very fine; linen was much used by those who could afford it. Sayce refers to a desolating thunderstorm with hail in the Nile valley in the spring of 1895. The presence of the cattle in the field would agree with the January date.

X. 1–20. 8°. A Locust Swarm (1–11 J; 12–13a, "Egypt," E; 13b J; 14a E; 14b "and rested" to 15a "darkened," J; 15b E to "left"; 15c–19 J; 20 E).—The opening paragraph has been expanded in the Deuteronomic style (*cf.* Dt. 4⁹, 6⁷ with 2). Christian instinct avoids such a conception as Yahweh "mocking the Egyptians" (so correctly 2 *mg.*, *cf.* Ps. 24). The most notable description of a plague of locusts is in Joel (2*, cf. *Joel* in CB). They are not very common in Egypt; striking cases have been reported by modern travellers. It is a traveller who wrote, "Nothing escapes them, from the leaves of the forest to the herbs on the plain." Morier reported from Persia, "They were found in every corner, stuck to our clothes and infested our food." The mere threat alarmed the courtiers, and even Pharaoh tried a fresh concession, that "the men" only should go (10); but Moses had issued the ultimatum that the whole nation must "keep Yahweh's festival"(9). The mention of *Moses's* rod comes from E; and the references to the natural causes, the E. wind or sirocco bringing, the W. wind removing the locusts, are from J. When it is said (15*a*) that "the land was darkened," it is meant that they formed a continuous dark layer all over the ground. In 1865 near Jaffa several miles were covered inches deep. When an army of locusts invades a locality, the end is usually that it is blown into the sea (as in 19) or the desert.

X. 21–29. 9°. The Palpable Darkness (21–23 E, 24–26 J, 27 E, 28f. J).—The wonder again lay in the coincidence, that of time: sandstorms producing darkness as thick as a London fog have often been experienced in Egypt, the sand and heat being only too painfully "felt." Pharaoh's new concession, that entire families might go, but not the cattle, was rejected by Moses: "there shall not a hoof be left behind" (26). The demand that the Pharaoh should contribute animals for "sacrifices" (*i.e.* peace offerings) and "burnt-offerings" is not now noted in the sequel as fulfilled. In sacrificial contexts the word "do," in Heb. as in Gr., Latin, and Ass., is equivalent to "offer." 10²⁹ J finds its immediate sequel in 11⁵–⁸ J, the look of contradiction being due to the insertion of 11¹–³, from E, following on 10²⁷ E.

XI.–XII. 36. 10°. Death of Egyptian Firstborn; Passover and Mazzoth (11¹–³ E, 4–8 J, 9f. R, 12¹–²⁰ P, 21–23 J, 24 P, 25–27*a* "houses" Rd, 27*b* J, 28 P, 29–34 J, 35f. E).—The narrative now reaches its climax in the last plague, which finally breaks the resolution of the Pharaoh, and results in the Exodus of Israel. But the last editor, whose interest was in the institutions he loved, has weakened the dramatic force of the sequence of events by inserting at length the ceremonial details of Passover and Mazzoth. The account begins with the announcement from E in 11¹–³ of "one plague (or stroke) more," and the direction (anticipated 3²¹f., and executed 12³⁵f.) to beg jewels from neighbours. Add in **2** (with LXX, Sam.) "and raiment." The prestige of "the man Moses" (*cf.* Nu. 12³) is noted as ground for the request. Then in **4–8** comes the conclusion from 10²⁹ J of Moses's last address to Pharaoh, specifying the death of the

firstborn of Egyptian men and cattle. The maid crouching behind the household hand-mill (5) represents the lowest grade of sufferers. The desire to get rid of Israel in **8** J is in agreement with the giving of jewels described in E. In **9f.** the editor has given a summary from P, perhaps belonging to an earlier place.

XII. 1–13 P. Rules for the Passover (first set).—On the history of the Passover, see pp. 102f. Most ceremonial rules are dated from Sinai or the land of Moab: so these that follow are noted in **1** as given in Egypt. The first month (2) is in J, E, and D Abib, and later (Neh. 21) Nisan. As the Quakers dropped the names of the days of the week on account of their pagan origin, so P avoids the Canaanitish or Phœnician names, using numbers only, as in the later Biblical books. The critical months in autumn and spring, which closed or began the harvest, were natural starting points for the year among an agricultural people. Before the Exile the autumn epoch controlled the reckoning (*cf.* 2313 E, 3422 J), and even in P a New Year's Day is to be kept on the first day of the seventh month (Lev. 2324); but the text, ascribing the beginning of the spring reckoning to the Exodus, reflects the later custom, perhaps under Babylonian influence. P's record, in this as in other details, is not a historical datum, but a witness to the fact that points of convenience, like the construction of the Calendar, require the co-operation of the Divine Wisdom if they are to be wisely settled. It is only the antedating of a custom by legal theorists which gives the appearance of contradiction. In fact, both reckonings were in vogue, but their relative importance changed. The animal (3) might be a lamb or a kid (*mg.*), but must be an unblemished male yearling. It might serve for one or two households, according to the size and eating capacity of the family groups. Ten was the traditional minimum. The command is addressed to "all the congregation of Israel" (3), the term, constantly used in P, reflecting the transformation of a nation into a Church which took place in and after the Exile. The time was to be "between the two evenings" (6, *mg.*). This has been traditionally taken as practically equivalent to afternoon, but originally meant "during the interval of dusk between sunset and darkness" (*cf.* Dt. 166, where the hour of sunset is specified). The ritual had two essential features—the application of the blood to the top and sides of the door, and the hurried feast upon the roasted flesh, with unleavened biscuit and bitter herbs, no vestige being left for later eating. This use of the blood, in view of numerous parallels, ancient and modern, is thought to be a survival of an earlier rite, intended to consecrate the house or tent and protect the indwellers. From its being a night-feast (8) some have conjectured that the influence of the spring full moon was dreaded. The feast bound the household to their God and to one another. The unleavened cakes (Heb. pl.) were a kind of flat biscuit quickly baked, and still commonly eaten by the Bedawin. Modern Jews make them a foot across and half an inch thick. The bitter herbs (perhaps wild lettuce or endive) served as a salad, their sharp flavour suggesting the bitterness of bondage (so Gamaliel). The flesh must not be eaten raw, as in some archaic Arabian rites, because blood, as the life-current, was too sacred to be eaten (*cf.* Gen. 94*, Lev. 710–12*); nor must it be boiled, as the ordinary custom anciently was with sacrifices (Jg. 619f, 1 S. 213), and as Dt. 1617 prescribed, but roasted, as in primitive days, perhaps to provide that the internal fat might drip down into the fire and be consumed, for the fat also might not be eaten (Lev. 723–25). Moreover, it was easier to roast whole (9*b*, "its head with its legs") than to boil anything so large. Those who shared in the meal were (11) to "eat it in haste" or (better) "trepidation," girt and clad for travel, their sandals on, instead of laid aside at the door. Later Jews regarded the "haste," as well as the choice of the victim on the tenth day, and the domestic sprinkling of the blood, as obsolete features, and not meant to be repeated; but the Samaritans regard all as binding. The whole was "a *pesah* unto Yahweh" (11), and the term is explained in **13** (*cf.* 23, 27, Is. 3115) as signifying His promise to "pass over," *i.e.* to spare Israel; but the actual etymology is uncertain, though the general idea is clear (*see* p. 102, and Driver's full Appendix in CB, p. 405).

XII. 14–20. P's Rules for Mazzoth.—Immediately following the one feast of the Passover came the seven-day pilgrimage feast (*cf.* 51) of Unleavened Cakes, probably originally an agricultural festival to mark the beginning of barley harvest (pp. 102f.) Falling at the time of year when the Exodus took place, it received a commemorative interpretation, which the plain and quickly prepared *mazzoth* fitted. The ritual prejudice against leaven (15) extended to all altar-gifts (2318), and may be due to the persistence in religious ceremonial of primitive usage before leaven was known (425*), though the thought that fermentation involved corruption may also have had effect. Later Jews became most scrupulous in searching for the forbidden leaven, and, since unleavened cakes were eaten at the Passover, expelled all leaven before that feast. Paul (1 Cor. 56–8, Gal. 59), as well as our Lord (Mk. 815, but contrast the Parable of the Leaven), makes leaven symbolic of evil. The penalty for disobedience was (15) excommunication: "that soul shall be cut off from Israel" (*cf.* Gen. 1714, Ezr. 108). The first and seventh days (16) were to be "an holy convocation" (Lev. 232ff.*), kept with almost the rigour of the Sabbath. The reference to the Exodus as past (17) shows that **14–17** did not originally follow **1–13**, but rather **41**, and probably came from another hand. And **18–20** may also be an independent piece, inserted here by R. The reference to the "sojourner" (48*) is the only new feature: he might eat the *mazzoth*, for that was an act of temperance, not a partaking of holy food. The phraseology in **1–20** is uniformly of the P school.

14. this day: is not the 14th (Passover) but the 15th (1st of *Mazzoth*).

21–27 J, 28 P. Rules for the Passover (second set) (for analysis see 111).—These verses, though they come second, embody in the main J's account of the institution, which P has elaborated in **1–13**, adding many details, but not mentioning the hyssop, or the basin, or the confinement to the house. Hyssop was a wall or rock plant (1 K. 433), with pliant twigs, probably marjoram, a branch of which made a simple sprinkler for rites of purification. The Israelite elders were to "draw out" enough "lambs" (21, *cf.* 3*) from the flock, as the shepherd would catch the leg of a sheep with his crook to separate it from the rest. They are told to "kill the Passover," as though it were a familiar rite employed for a special purpose. They were (22) to "apply (*cf.* 425) some of the blood to the lintel," and to remain all night within the guarded precincts. In **32a** it is Yahweh who is to smite the Egyptians, but in **23b** "the destroyer" (*cf.* 2 S. 2416) is a distinct agent: Holzinger infers that J and E are both drawn upon here, and notes that "the people" in **27b** replace "the elders" of **21.** Baentsch also doubts if this

section, implying a risk of Israel sharing the most terrible plague upon Egypt, can have come from the author of 116, etc. But this may be an early supplement of J, of which there were not a few. The order for perpetual observance (24) is probably P's sequel of 20, though the phrase "an ordinance for ever" (*ḥoq 'ad 'ōlām*) is not in P's usual form (*ḥuqqath 'ōlām*). The duplicate order for repetition is one of the few Deuteronomic additions (25–27*a*) that can certainly be traced in Ex. (*cf.* 133, etc.). The shrewd insistence on systematic instruction in 26 (see RV references) is characteristic of D, and is observed to this day (p. 109, Pr. 43f.*). The graphic touch, "bowed the head and worshipped," connects 27b with 431, *cf.* 35f.* In 28 we have P's conclusion of 1–13. For the Christian application of the Passover, *cf.* 1 Cor. 57f.*

22. bason: see 2 S. 1728, etc.; elsewhere "threshold," as in Jg. 1927, etc., and Gr. here. Trumbull (*Threshold Covenant*) ingeniously builds on this meaning a theory that the Passover was a threshold sacrifice, and that Yahweh crossed the threshold as a protective guest, and even as the Bridegroom of His people. Other theories being also conjectural, this merits attention. Driver ignores it, but M'Neile calls it "attractive." The belief in the sanctity of the threshold is widespread. The household deities were probably resident there. To step over it into the house brought whoever entered it into covenant with the inmates. This would prevent him from doing them harm. Thus, in the ceremony of manumission the slave is brought to the Elohim, to the door or doorpost (216*, Dt. 1517), and his ear is bored "unto the door." Robbers dig through the clay walls of houses (Job 2416, Mt. 619f.) because their "reverence," *i.e.* their superstitious dread of the consequences which might follow on a violation of the sanctity of the threshold, forbids them to enter by the door. The priests and worshippers of Dagon do not tread on the threshold of his temple (1 S. 55, *cf.* Zeph. 19, "all those that leap over the threshold"). To step on the threshold, all the more when this was sanctified by blood, would be to reject the offered covenant with insult: a thought which gives a fuller meaning to Heb. 1029, "who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant wherewith he was sanctified an unholy thing." The Roman bride was carried over the threshold of her husband's house, presumably to make it impossible for her to step on it by accident. It is customary even to-day to welcome an honoured guest with blood on the threshold.

XII. 29–36. Egyptian Firstborn Die: the Israelites Prepare to Depart.—In 111–3* E and 4–8* J the spoiling of the Egyptians and the death of their firstborn sons were announced, and the events are now given by the editor in reverse order, **29–34** J preceding **35f.** E. The last plague was a sudden outbreak of pestilence, *cf.* 2 K. 1935, which was believed to have stricken every firstborn son. The fact that the eldest son of the king and other notable Egyptians fell victims, along with the practice of dedicating first-born sons (131–16*, Nu. 311–13*), and possibly the connexion of the spring festival with the sacrifice of firstlings, may have led to the tradition assuming the sharply defined form of the text. The number of eldest sons appearing in *The Times* obituaries of officers in 1914–15 was such as to suggest to some minds the idea of an evil fate. Behind the tradition is a faith that, whether God inflicts calamity on themselves or their enemies, His people gain some good and the victims do not suffer in vain. And the plagues of Egypt were among the events which nourished this faith. The climax of decision with which Pharaoh at last grants the request recorded in 53 and defined in 1026 is put clearly in **31f.** The "haste" with which the alarmed Egyptians thrust the Hebrews forth (33f. J) is mentioned to account for their starting without waiting for a supply of leavened bread, the historical link with the Feast of *Mazzoth* or Unleavened Cakes being thus indicated. But in **35f.** E the situation is rather differently conceived, there being time to organise a levy upon the stores of gold and silver ornaments and festal garments which the Egyptians had, which the Hebrews needed for due religious service (*cf.* 334–6*). The threefold relation (322, 113, and here) shows with what relish the story was told. From 113 we should suppose the levy was made before the stroke fell. If that be the meaning, this will be an editorial repetition, and the verbs in **35f.** should be pluperfects, "had done . . . had asked . . . had given." The night was an impossible time for such a collection. The RV rendering, "they let them have," suggests that the things were given outright. But the word "gave" is avoided, and the phrase may well mean "lent" (as in Syr.). In that case the transaction would be justified because Pharaoh's later pursuit made return after the wilderness festival impossible; or else because by Hebrew standards all was fair in dealing with tyrants. Keble (*Christian Year*, 3rd Sunday in Lent) has adopted from Augustine an allegorical application of the spoiling of the Egyptians.

34b. Render: "their kneading-bowls (83*) being bound up in their mantles" (Jg. 825, Ru. 315).

XII. 37–XVIII. From Egypt to Sinai.

XII. 37–49 J. The Exodus.—From Rameses (111*b**) the first stage of the journey took the people 10 miles W. to Succoth (Eg. Thikke), the district round Pithom (111*b*). The number 600,000 (*cf.* Nu. 1121), not including "children" (rather "little ones," *i.e.* women and children, as 1010,24, and often in J), implies a total of about two millions, which not only involves a complex and long-continued miracle, for "not more than 5000 could be taken out of Goshen or into Sinai" (Petrie), but is wholly at variance with the general impression made either by J or E. It had probably been inserted by Rp to suit P's late and artificial reckoning (Nu. 1–46*). With the party (38) "a great mixed mass" (*cf.* Nu. 114, different Heb.) of non-Israelites went also: connexions by marriage (*cf.* Lev. 2410), Bedawin, and fellow-workpeople glad to escape the *corvée*. The food for the journey (39, *cf.* 34) consisted of *subcinerarii panes* (Vulg.), cakes "baked on the hot stones" (1 K. 196, *mg.*) under the ashes of the fire that had heated the stones.

40–42 Rp. Time spent in Egypt.—The Biblical writers are not in agreement about the length of Israel's stay in Egypt. Here it is given (probably by Rp) as 430 years (*cf.* 400 years in Gen. 1513 Rje, Ac. 76, and Josephus). But in 614–27 (also Rp, *cf.* Gen. 1516 E) Moses and his contemporaries are the fourth generation. To reconcile the two estimates, the words "and in the land of Canaan," *i.e.* before the entry into Egypt, are interpolated in **41** by LXX, Sam., reducing the time to twenty-five years. The fact is that neither the Bible nor the monuments enable us to solve the problem. Gressmann, however, argues that "the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt cannot well have lasted longer than one or two generations, because they still kept a clear memory of their homeland, and because their connexion with their brothers who remained in S. Palestine was not yet destroyed." But if some clans stayed in Canaan, or went back after the famine, their kinsfolk might keep in touch

with them, since the inscriptions prove there was much coming and going across the desert.

42. Render as *mg.* Further, the suggestion of Budde, based on Heb. idiom and Gr., and followed by Bacon, Nowack, Baentsch, and Driver, is attractive: "A night of watching was it for Yahweh to bring them out," *i.e.* a night when He kept vigil to protect and deliver Israel. Then **42b**, implying a vigil kept year by year to Yahweh, must be by a later hand, and **42a** may be an early fragment of J following on **21–27.**

43–50 P. Supplementary Passover Rules.—From the days of "the mixed multitude" and onwards difficulties arose about the status of non-Israelites, and the line was drawn differently and kept more or less strictly according to circumstances. In JE and D (*cf.* 22_{21}, 23_9, Dt. 10_{18}f., etc.) the "stranger" (*gêr*)—better "sojourner" (Lev. 17f.*, Dt. 116*, p. 110)—is inevitably in an inferior and dependent position. In P he has practical equality within his reach. So LXX already renders *gêr* by "proselyte." But (43) "no alien" (better "foreigner") as such might even "eat the Passover," *i.e.* share in the feast as a guest. If, however (44), he were bought as a slave and circumcised, he was admissible. (A slave's son, as home-born, was admitted as a matter of course.) Yet (45) a sojourner (rather "settler," *tôshāb*) "and a hired servant" were to be excluded. Perhaps this means that not only foreigners passing through, but even those settling and taking temporary service in, the land were excluded, it being presumed that they did not wish to be naturalised and to submit to circumcision. If, however (48), "a sojourner should sojourn with thee, and will do the passover to Yahweh," *i.e.* in his own right "offer the Passover sacrifice" (M'Neile), or better "celebrate the Passover feast" (Baentsch, Driver), circumcision was the sole condition of admission. The Kikuyu controversy arose about the admission of members of other churches to communion while sojourning outside the borders of their own church. The Hebrew rule required virtual identification before admission to communion. Archbishop Davidson advised Anglicans to admit "sojourners" without confirmation. It seems precarious, with Driver, on etymological grounds to regard the "settler" as "more permanently settled than an ordinary *gêr*." That the irrelevant section **46f.** separates the two passages about aliens suggests that they may have had an independent origin, which would account for the seeming conflict between **45** and **48**. In the intervening verses four points are dealt with. Though small households might combine, the mystic unity of the group must be maintained: the lamb must be eaten in one house, and no part taken to a neighbour's across the road. So, too, no bone might be broken, or one part severed from another. And the observance was binding on all Israelites. (*Cf.* the Anglican rubric, "Every parishioner shall communicate three times in the year, of which Easter shall be one.")

51 is repeated by the Redactor of P from **41** to round off the section.

XIII. 1–16. Laws about Firstborn and Mazzoth: 1f. P. Law of Firstborn.—Here all are sacred to Yahweh; in J (12f., 34_{19}f.) and E (22_{29}f.) all males, the ass to be redeemed with a lamb; in D male firstlings of herd and flock, to constitute a sacrificial feast for the owner and his family at the sanctuary; in P (Nu. 18_{15-18}, *cf.* Lev. 27_{26}f. P^s) the firstborn of men and unclean beasts to be redeemed, of clean beasts to be sacrificed and eaten by the priests not the owner. Animal firstlings, as among other peoples, were sacrificed either simply in thankfulness for fruitfulness bestowed and expected, or with the further idea of sanctioning the use and enjoyment of later offspring. The sacredness of human firstborn (12_{29}*, 22_{29}*, Nu. 3_{11-13}*) followed by analogy, or, as Driver supposes (CB, p. 409f.), as the unrecognised sequel of a long-forgotten primitive practice of the actual sacrifice of the firstborn, of which the discovery at Gezer of infants buried in jars is probable evidence. [J. G. Frazer, however, thinks that they were still-born or died soon after birth, and were preserved in this way by the parents in hope that they would be re-born. He points to the absence of signs that they had been put to death.—A. S. P.] An edifying justification of the custom was found in the sparing of Heb. firstborn at the Exodus. Modern study of the mysteries of heredity has lent new ground for attaching sacredness to the birth which proves the due transmission of the capacity for parentage to the individual mother. And if the first is reckoned sacred, it is not so likely that later births will be counted common. Christian tradition from the earliest times loved to tell of the Presentation of the infant Jesus in the Temple, not without symbolic sacrifice (Lk. 2_{23}). The late idea that the Levites replaced the firstborn is found in Nu. 3_{11-18}*.

3–10 J (Rd). Law of Mazzoth (3 Rd, 4 J, 5 Rd, 6 J 7–9 Rd, 10 J).—Hardly any legislation can be traced to J beyond the little code in 34_{14-28} which prescribes ($18a$) the observance of Mazzoth. But it appears that this and the next paragraph in the main belong to J, and are reproduced here to enforce their historical connexions. The verses assigned above to Rd show marks of the school of D. Possibly in part they may be due to Rje, a precursor of D. Points of comparison with P are:—the old Canaanitish name for the first month, "Abib," *i.e.* the month of the fresh young ears (Lev. 2_{14} Heb.); the *hāg* or pilgrimage on the seventh not the first day; no "holy convocations" with enforced rest. "This day ye go forth" (4 J) applies to the day of the Exodus: "Remember this day" (3 Rd) enforces the later observance. For the terms of the promise and the oath in **5**, *see* 38* and Gen. 24_7*, and for the stress on instruction in 8–14 *see* 12_{26}*. The restriction to unleavened bread was (9) to be an equivalent of the pagan practices of branding or tattooing some sacred mark on the body as a charm, or wearing some badge on the forehead (*cf.* p. 110, and Driver, CB). In **9** there is a mixture of the styles of D and P which suggests a late editor. The Heb. of **10** is characteristically different from 12_{24}.

11–16 J (Rd). Law of Firstborn (11–13 J, 14–16 Rd).—On **11f.** *see* **3–10***. The ass, as unclean, could neither be eaten nor sacrificed (contrast Jg. 6_4*): so its firstling must be redeemed by a lamb, less valuable, while Lev. 27 prescribes a higher scale, and makes the rule general, "if it be an unclean beast." Obedience to this law also was to serve (16) for a badge (*cf.* 9) and for "frontlets" (*cf.* Dt. 68*).

17–20. Route of the Exodus (17–19 E, 20 P).—The religious insight of the writer ("God led the people") is sounder than his knowledge of history: the Philistines' presence cannot have been the reason for avoiding the usual and shortest route, the N. or coast road, for they were immigrants of a later date (p. 56, Am. 97*). The choice of the more easterly route, of the two now as then most practicable, probably arose from the aim to reach Kadesh. The host went "by the way to the (Egyptian) wilderness to the Red Sea"—better "Reed-sea," as Luther. The N.W. arm then probably extended from Suez into Lake Timsāh, which grows

reeds, which are not now found in the salt Red Sea. (On the route see further p. 64.) It is not certain that the rare Heb. (18*b*) is rightly rendered "armed"; "in ordered ranks" is perhaps better. For **19** see Gen. 50$_{25}$. In **20** we first meet the formula with which the stages of the journey are described in P (*cf.* Nu. 33$_{5-49}$, etc.). Etham may best be placed near Ismailia, N. of L. Timsāh.

21f. J. The Guiding Pillar.—Faith in the Divine guidance (*cf.* 17* E) is by J expressed in symbolic form. On a wilderness journey everyone needs a guide. By night and day the unsleeping keeper of Israel leads them with His pillar of fiery cloud. E, who connects guidance with "the angel of God" (14$_{19}$*a*), also tells of a "pillar of cloud" (33$_{9}$f., etc.) which descends to the door of the sacred tent, as the sacramental sign and pledge of Yahweh's approach to speak with Moses. In P the fiery cloud that had shrouded Sinai, the mount of vision (24$_{15-18}$*a*), rests on the completed Tabernacle (40$_{34-38}$), and its rising is the signal for resuming the march. That God's people should achieve faith in God's presence with them as Guide, Revealer, and Protector was the essential thing. Under what specific aspect and through what particular symbol they expressed their faith at different times it is less important to know. Possibly some practice, like the carrying of a brazier with its smoke and flame at the head of a Greek or Persian army or Arab caravan, was the outward and visible source of the symbolic expressions. Gressmann picturesquely compares the appearance of Vesuvius in eruption in 1905, furnishing a landmark by day and night with its smoke and fire. Presumably he believes Mt. Sinai to have been an active volcano on the horizon (*cf.* next paragraph).

XIV (1–4 P, **5f.** J, **7a(b)** E, **8** P, **9a** E, **9(b)c–10a** ("afraid") J, **10b** E, **11–14** J, **15a** E, **15b** P, **16a** ("rod") E, **16b–18** P, **19a** E, **19b** J, **21a** P, **21b** ("dry land") J, **21c–23** P, **24a** ("cloud") J, **24b** E, **25** J, **26–27a** P, **27b** ("and the sea") J, **28a** ("sea") P, **28b** J, **29** Rp, **30** J, **31** Rje).—The dramatic last phase of the escape of Israel from the Egyptians, by passing dryshod over the water barrier that seemed to hem them in, is unanimously presented by all the narrators. Space will not allow any display of the disentangling process by which the threads of narrative are identified. In J once more the scene, though wonderful, is built up of every-day elements. No sooner is Israel gone than Pharaoh (5) sees what he has lost. So the hard fact constantly belies the merely fancied future. He and his men pursue and bring terror (10). The Faint-heart family give eloquent tongue (11f.). Moses calms them (13) with a word, "Stand firm (not "still") and see the salvation (*i.e.* "deliverance") of Yahweh." The pillar of fiery cloud moved to guard their rear (19*b*); the east wind drove back the ebb tide till the shallows were dry; at dawn Yahweh flashed defiance from the cloud upon the pursuing foes, and "bound (*mg.*) their chariot wheels and made them drive heavily (*mg.*), and Egypt said, Let me flee"; the tide coming back to its wonted flow (*mg.*) caught and destroyed them (27*b*); "and Israel saw Egypt (so Heb.) dead upon the sea-shore" (30). Of E's story we have less: the pursuit (7, 9*a*); the Israelites' frenzied prayer, apparently (*cf.* 15*a*) echoed by Moses; the order to lift up his wonder-working rod (16*a*); "the angel of God" as rear-guard (19*a*, 20*a*); and the discomfiting of the Egyptians (24*b*). In P we find a seeming precision about places (2) which is of no avail since we cannot identify them; the purpose of Israel's peril is the enhancement of Yahweh's "honour" (4); the pursuit is the result of Divine hardening, and Israel does not escape in haste but goes out defiantly (8); no wind, but the hand of Moses, like the mantle of Elijah, must divide the sea (16*b*); the waters are "a wall" on either hand (22), in this writer perhaps not a mere metaphor for a barrier on either flank; and the pursuers are enveloped at the signal of the outstretched hand (26). The locality of this "baptism unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea" (1 Cor. 10$_{2}$) has sometimes been fixed on either side of Suez, where there is a ford at low tide; but not a little historical and scientific evidence goes to prove that the sea penetrated far across the isthmus (*cf.* 13$_{18}$*), and that at several points S. of L. Timsāh, or N. or S. of the Bitter Lakes, the conditions would then have made the crossing possible. Driver discusses the evidence and alternatives fully (CB, 122–128). Gressmann thoroughly carries through his idea (*cf.* 13$_{21}$*) of a volcanic explanation. He refers to an eruption of Monte Nuovo near Naples in 1538, when the sea was laid bare for 200 paces, and waggon-loads of fish were gathered before the water returned. This attractive theory demands the further assumption that the crossing was over the Gulf of Akaba, as only there are volcanic rocks to be found. For the bearing of this on the site of Sinai, *see* 19$_{1}$*.

4. follow after: pursue (8f., 23).—**7. captains:** rather "knights" (*cf.* Driver's note for the Heb. term).—**9. all the horses . . . army:** omit as a gloss. "Horsemen" here and elsewhere are an anachronism: Egyptians did not ride till much later, *cf.* Is. 31$_{1}$.—**20b.** The text seems corrupt, *cf.* Jos. 24$_{7}$ E.

XV. 1–21. The Song of Triumph (**1** J, **2–18** (psalm), **19** R, **20f.** E).—The oldest undoubtedly genuine fragments of Heb. song are short (p. 44). And Miriam's brief burst of unpremeditated song (21) ranks with the surest and greatest of these. "Sing to Yahweh, for He rose in His might, horse and chariot (reading *recheb*) He flung into the sea." Gressmann claims this song as confirming his volcanic theory of the crossing. At least it is complete in itself, and has double attestation, being found as **1b** in J. But the rest of the poem (2–18), like Hannah's song, which is also imbedded in a definite historical contest, is a much later addition—in fact, an exilic or post-exilic psalm implying the settlement in Canaan (13) and the building of the Temple (17), and breathing throughout the spirit of D and II. Isaiah. For its close connexion with the Psalms and later literature, *see* RV references. Driver and Gressmann still assign the psalm to the time of David or Solomon. Freshness and fire, however, are not the monopoly of any period. But, whenever written, the song is grand poetry and fits its place magnificently. As it stands, its metrical scheme is not regular throughout. P. Haupt, who adds abundant courage to patience and ingenuity, has, by adding, altering, omitting, and transposing words, got rid of all exceptions, and reduced it to the formula: 2 accented syllables or "beats" = 1 clause; 2 clauses = 1 line; 2 lines = 1 couplet; 2 couplets = 1 stanza; 3 stanzas = 1 strophe; 3 strophes = 1 psalm. But it is safer, with Driver, to recognise the above as the normal clause and couplet construction (*cf.* the basal couplet of Miriam's Song above), and to mark three paragraphs, each beginning with praise of Yahweh, followed by the evidence of His acts. In **2–7** Yahweh, the ancestral God, is praised as a warrior, and His exploit sung in the drowning of the foe; in **6–10** Yahweh's "right hand" or His energy in action, is honoured, constraining the elements to confound the enemy; and in **11–18** the unique Deity of Yahweh,

His guidance of Israel, His conquest of Canaan, and His home-coming to Mount (Zion) are crowned by His perpetual reign.

2. Yah for "Yahweh," as 176*, Is. (late passages), and Pss. (mostly in Hallelu-yah).—**5. cover:** better "did cover."—**6. dasheth:** "did dash."—**7.** Render "didst break down them that usurp, . . . sentest forth . . . devoured" (for "consumeth").—**9b. My lust:** "my soul shall take her fill of them"; **destroy:** "dispossess."—**12. holiness:** in such passages as these rather of the grandeur than the goodness of Godhead. —**13. hast led:** "didst lead," "didst guide."—**14.** "The peoples heard, they trembled: pangs took hold." —**15.** "took hold," "melted."—**16.** "fell," "were," "passed through" (twice).—**17.** "Thou didst bring them in, and plantedst," "hadst made."—**19.** This link verse would not have been left to be supplied by Rp (*see* references) if the whole song were already in J.

20 E. Women Singing and Dancing.—Miriam is significantly called "the sister of Aaron" (21*, *cf.* Nu. 12ff.), as well as "the prophetess" (Nu. 12ff., *cf.* 44). At her lead the women celebrate the victory with a choral dance, beating the time with the "timbrel" (a hand drum or tambourine). In the absence of set liturgical forms of words the dance has everywhere, and especially in the East, furnished "the language of religion" (K. J. Freeman), *cf.* Jg. 1134, 1 S. 186f., Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, pp. 94–97, 249, 262–264. Only the briefest snatch of improvised song could win remembrance, because caught up and preserved by many and fixed by incessant repetition (*see* 151–21* at beginning). The same form was sung as solo and chorus, "Miriam answered them."

22–27. Bitter Waters made Sweet (22–25a J, 25b E, 26 Rje, 27 J).—The wilderness of Shur stretched E. of the present Suez Canal. No very plausible site for Marah, three days' journey E., can be suggested on the ordinary theory; but Gressmann finds Mara, along with Massa and Meriba, among the high ground near Petra, beyond the Gulf of Akaba, which he takes for the "Reed-sea." There are three springs, the spring of Kadesh and two others. The brackish water was undrinkable, and set the people murmuring. This constant feature, so unflattering yet so true to the experience of a big caravan over desert ground, and so testing to the capacity of the leader, is one that illustrates the faithfulness of the tradition. "Yahweh showed Moses a tree," or "taught him (the healing properties of) wood." No tree has been found with this power; but a later compiler (26) has based on the story the beautiful conception of Yahweh as the Physician of His people.—**25b** E seems to belong to E's story of Massah ("proving"), *cf.* 172–7. Its proximity to the Marah story here favours Gressmann's view.—Some delightful oasis is denoted by Elim ("sacred trees"), but its locality is uncertain.

XVI. Manna and Quails (1–3 P, 4a(b)–5 J, (6f., 8) Rp, 9–13a ("morning") P, 13b–15 J, 16–18 P, 19f. Ps 21 J, 22–26 Ps, 27–30 and 31b J, 31a and 32 P, 33f. P, 35ac P, 35b J, 36 Rp).—Food and drink in the desert reassert their primitive primacy among the objects of human desire. For these travellers pray, and for lack of them will complain. Whatever stories were dropped from the cycles of tradition, those about manna and quails, wells and springs, will be plentiful. So between the water-tales of Marah in 1523 and Massah and Meribah in 177 come memories of evening quails and morning manna in 16. The chapter is a crux for critics. Here only that analysis can be stated and assumed which rests on the latest surveys of the facts (*cf.* especially Driver, Baentsch, Gressmann). Dispute turns on the question whether J or E, and how much of either is present, and if more or less of P.

1–12. Murmurs met by Promise.—The framework is P, and the murmurs of the people are expressed with a vividness perhaps dependent on J (3). The charms of Egypt have grown brighter since they were forgone. Moses shows no sympathy, and summons the congregation through Aaron before Yahweh, who is lenient to their complaint (the first in P), and promises quails and manna. The terms used imply that the sanctuary is already erected, and "wilderness" (10) should probably be *miqdāsh* (sanctuary) or *mishkān* (dwelling, tabernacle). This and other indications suggest that the whole of 16–18 has been misplaced, and should follow the departure from Sinai. In J, Moses would appear to have shared in the complaints, the reply only to which (4f.) we possess. Yahweh promises to "rain bread from heaven." Note that **6f.** and **8** parallel one another, anticipate **12**, and conflict with **10** ("glory" in varying sense), and so are best taken as variant glosses.

13–21. Quails and Manna.—In P both come together here. In J the quails follow much later (Nu. 11), when the people are tired of the manna, which is here described as "a thin flake, thin like hoar-frost upon the ground" (14), "white like coriander seed, and with a taste like honey-wafers" (31*b*). The revulsion of sentiment in Nu. 114–6 J is natural, according to the French *mot*, "Partridge again!" and the Scotch servants' request, "Salmon not more than once a day!" The best things pall with frequency. P describes how the supply of manna fitted the demand. Its corruption after one day (19f.) is hardly described by the writer who records without comment the perpetual preservation of the pot of manna (33). Possibly it comes from J through Rp. J works up to a play upon the name, What-is-it (15*a*), linguistically doubtful, but satisfying for his circle. P merely records that "the house of Israel" (one of his terms) "called the name thereof manna." No doubt a real experience of providential help underlies the accounts. Quails do, in migration, "cover the ground," and are easily caught after flying far. And from the tamarisk tree there does fall a sugary whitish substance still called manna, eaten as a relish; it melts in the sun (Nu. 117–9*). And if the scale and details of the mercy were varied in the often telling of it, that must not blunt the edge of the reminder that man's extremity is God's opportunity, and that human faith fails before the resources of Divine grace are spent (Dt. 83,16f., Jg. 631ff.), *cf.* Driver's note, CB, pp. 153f.

22–30. Manna and the Sabbath.—Recent scholarship has found here J's missing reference to the Sabbath. In **5** a double portion of the manna is to be prepared on Friday, and in **27** some search vainly on Saturday, and the Sabbath rule is explained by Moses in **29f.**, **28** being a gloss by an editor who assumed the Sabbath law as known. Even in P, who told of the Sabbath at Creation (Gen. 2ff.), the rule is introduced as a novelty (22ff.), perhaps by a supplementer after the section was placed here (*cf.* for the Sabbath 2011 Rp, 3112–17 H and Ps). Such writers loved to base rules on incidents.

31–36. The Memorial Pot of Manna.—This paragraph implies the Ark and Dwelling, *cf.* Nu. 174. For **31b** J *see* above. The note (35) on the persistent supply of manna is duplicated: one clause may come from J or Rje. It is odd that though the tenth part of an ephah (36) is often mentioned, the term "omer," perhaps obsolete, is preserved only by this chapter.

XVII. Water from the Rock (**1** P (Rephidim), **1b–2a** ("strove," "strive") E, **3** and **2b** ("tempt") J, **4** E, **5a** ("people") J, **5bd** ("and go") E, **5c, 6a** J, **6b** E, **7a** ("Massah") J, **7b** ("Israel") E, **7c** J).—After an extract from P's itinerary (*1a*), a second water story is given from JE. The blooming oasis near Kadesh, with its spring and its trees, was a lasting reminder of the goodness of God. The two variants relate to Massah (J) and Meribah (E) respectively, while a Meribah story is also given in Nu. 20*2–13* (J and P), and a trace of E's Massah story has been found in 15*25b*, Yahweh "proving" Israel there, while here Israel "tempts" (same Heb.) Yahweh. Both uses of the word are found in D, and the ancient Blessing of Moses names both places (Dt. 33*3*). The analysis rests on various clues, and can only be conjectural. In J, Moses passes on alone before the people, but the account of the descent of Yahweh (*cf.* 19*20–24*, Gen. 28*13*ff.) has been displaced by E's narrative of Moses's striking the rock with his rod (4*2**) in the presence of some "of the elders of Israel" (*cf.* 18*12* E).

2b, 7b. tempt: better "put to the proof."—**6. the rock in Horeb:** the phrase is peculiar; perhaps the name has been misread.

8–16 E. **The Fight with Amalek.**—This incident is latest in order of time in Ex. Moses is old and feeble, and does not head the host himself, though he settles the details of time and command. Joshua is the well-known commander of the host (contrast 33*11*, 24*13*); and "Israel" has gained a unity over against "Amalek" (both sing.). The people are beginning to move northwards after their prolonged stay at Kadesh. But Amalek, a nomad Bedawin tribe (*cf.* the Azāzimeh Arabs in that region now), roaming over the southern Negeb, was bent on blocking the way to Canaan. Out of many encounters (*cf.* Nu. 14*40–45*) this was a pronounced success after a desperate struggle. Moses surveys the battlefield from high ground above, and holds up the symbol of power and victory, the rod, in his hand (Jos. 8*18**). So long as thus visibly he trusts God and prompts man, his side wins. When his strength flags his cause fails. So Aaron and Hur, his two aged companions, set a stone under him as seat and take turns in holding up the hand that holds the rod. In **15** the old form of memorial of the event is described, an altar (probably based on the "stone," *12*) for sacrifice, in honour of the victory and its symbolic means, as the title "Yahweh my staff" shows. A snatch of song has survived in a corrupt text. It ran probably, "Hand on the staff of Yahweh, war for Yahweh with Amalek [on and on]." Perhaps the last words and all **14**, which gives a variant "memorial in a book," are glosses based on Dt. 25*17*ff., where the action of Amalek in cutting off Israel's tired stragglers does not fit anything here. The long feud was ended only by Saul (1 S. 15) and David (1 S. 30). With the rod we may compare the king's sceptre, the field-marshal's baton, the chamberlain's staff or wand, the mayor's mace, and the ecclesiastical crozier, pastoral staff, and verge (or "poker"). They all mean more than in themselves they are, and have, or may have, something sacramental about them.

XVIII. 1–12. Jethro as Priest. 1a ("Midian") J, **1b** E, **1c** (supply "heard") J, **2–4** Rje, **5** E, **6a(b)–7 J, 8ab** ("was") E, **8c–9a** ("Israel") J, **9b** E, **10a(b)–11a(b) J, 12** E.—The analysis of 18 as shown here is that of Gressmann. In J, Jethro hears of Israel's deliverance by Yahweh (*1ac*), and sends to announce his arrival (6). Moses welcomes him with Eastern courtesy (7), and tells him the good news fully (8*c*). Jethro rejoices (*9a*), and pronounces a solemn priestly ascription of praise to Yahweh (*10a, 11a*), as though he were a bishop visiting some place within his diocese. Similarly in E, but with the additional reason that he might bring his wife and *two* sons (contrast 2*22*), "Moses' father-in-law," hearing of all that God had done, comes and hears the story more fully (8, read "God," *9b*), and then (*12*) "took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for God; and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God," *i.e.* to share in a solemn sacrificial feast. What does all this mean, but that the Midianitish priest acted as it were as godfather to Moses and Israel, and that, as the N. Israelite priest (2 K. 17*26*ff.) taught the settlers in Samaria "the manner of the God of the land," so Jethro imparted to Israel the ritual customs and rules of the God of Sinai, Horeb, Seir, Edom, Teman or Paran (Jg. 5*4*f., Dt. 33*2*, Heb. 3*3*), for all these places are named as the early centres of Yahweh's presence. Midian, geographically close, may also have been thus named, but, if so, was omitted by the final priestly editors for reasons of prejudice (Nu. 25*6–18*, 31), which show the strength of the tradition which retained so much about Moses's relations with Midian (*cf.* 2*18**).

13–27. Moses as Judge. 13 (should begin a new paragraph) **J, 14a** E, **14b J, 15** E, **16a** ("neighbour") **J, 16bf.** E, **18a** J, **18b–19a** ("voice") E, **19b** ("council"), **19c** E ("God-ward"), **19d** J, **20–21a** ("gain") E, **21b** (including "able men") J, **22a** ("seasons") E, **22b J, 23–24a** E, **24b** J, **25f.** Rje, **27** E.—A second pair of narratives relating to the visit of Jethro unite in describing him as the sagacious and experienced counsellor who taught Moses as judge to delegate the bulk of the work to subordinates. J tells how Jethro watched Moses sitting all day among a crowd of suitors (*13, 14b, 15b*), wearing out his own strength and theirs (*18*). When evening came the astonished visitor gave his counsel (*19b*), not all of which has been preserved. It seems to have been twofold: first, in appeals and graver matters to "bring the causes unto God" (*19d*), *i.e.* to resort to the sacred oracle (*cf.* 1 S. 14*41**), and so relieve himself of the load of unshared responsibility; and, secondly, to appoint "able men" (*cf.* Gen. 47*6b* J) as delegates in descending grades to sift out the greater matters and settle the minor affairs (*21b, 22b*), advice which Moses took (*24b*). E, to which it has been usual to assign the whole passage, is rather more explicit in any case. In reply to his father-in-law, Moses asserts that the people already come to him "to inquire of God" (*15a*): *i.e.* the plan of consulting the oracle is already in operation. Further, he "makes them know the statutes of God" (*i.e.* those already formulated), "and his laws" (or directions, *i.e.* those called forth by fresh circumstances, *16b, cf.* 20). The statutes must be those given on the mount (24*12*, *cf.* 3), this passage being out of place. The advice (*19a*) Moses receives is that he shall still himself "be for the people to God-ward" (*19c*), *i.e.* solve the graver problems by resort to the oracle (*cf.* pp. 100f.), "warn them of the statutes and laws, and make them know their way and work" (20), but that he shall also appoint suitable delegates (*21a*) to be always accessible (*22a*), and so "be able to endure" (23). This Moses did (*24a*, 25f. being a gloss), and let his father-in-law go (27). It is a vivid and moving picture that is brought before us: the amazing energy of Moses, his sense of duty, his judicial capacity, his possession in full measure of all the qualities his deputies needed—ability, piety, truth, integrity. So, and with good reason in this instance, Israel looked back to Moses as at once the organ of Divine justice and the organiser of its due administration. Another parallel variant

is to be found in Nu. 11₁₄,₁₆f.,₂₄*bf.* E_s on the 70 elders. There is also a sequel to J in Nu. 10₂₉–₃₂ J, where Hobab (=Jethro) refuses to act as guide in the original story, possibly indicating the Ark (33, 35f.) as the pledge of Yahweh's presence as Guide (*cf.* the cloud in 34 P).

21b. rulers: better "captains" (*cf.* Ex. 1₁₁, gang-masters or labour-captains as Dt. 1₁₁, where alone the sequence 1000, 100, 50, 10 is found). The grading seems impracticably minute, unless the reference is simply to the varying size of the clan-units. The Dt. passage, based as usual on E, confirms the dating of Ex. 18 after the giving of the Law and the departure from Kadesh.

III. Israel at Sinai (XIX.–XL.).

The division 19–40 presents difficulties due to its very importance, *see* introduction to Ex. (last paragraph). But 25–31, 35–40 readily fall apart from the rest, as containing P's account of the Tabernacle (*see* on 25₁), the introduction to which is found in 19₁–*2a* and 24₁₅*b*–₁₈*a*, 34₂₉–₃₅ being a link section. All critics confess that in the remainder many details must remain doubtful. The Oxf. Hex. is for the most part followed here. It does not differ very widely from Baentsch, who has made a special study of this part. Gressmann's drastic reconstruction is highly suggestive in particulars, but as a whole is over-bold. The noteworthy fact is that both J and E preserve important traditions. In each there is an older stratum preserving these elements of the national memory of the religious and political confederation of the tribes: an awful appearance of God upon Sinai-Horeb (19 JE, 20₁₈–₂₁ E), and the giving of a sacred code, the (Ten) Covenant Words, inscribed upon stone tablets (31₁₈*b* E, 34₂₈ J) and sealed by a solemn sacrificial feast (24₅ E, 11 J). Now these passages concur in presenting a favourable view of Israel at this period: he is the son gratefully responding to the compassionate love of his Father (*cf.* 4₂₂*), or the lowly bride returning the affection of her Husband. And this agrees with the view of the period taken by all the pre-exilic prophets who refer to it (see Hos. 2₁₅, 11₁,₃f., 12₉,₁₃, Am. 2₉–₁₁, 3₁f., Jer. 2₁–3, 34). Even Ezekiel's severe view rather points to the ancestral heathenism of the tribes (Egyptian, 23₃, but Canaanite or Amorite-Hittite, 16₃) than to any apostasy just at this epoch. Only Hos. 9₁₁, if it refers to the incident Nu. 25₁–₅ JE, implies such a lapse. On these grounds it is probable that 32 JE (the Golden Calf and its destruction E, and the vengeance of the Levites J), together with not a little expansion elsewhere, belongs to a later stage in the moulding of the tradition. The order of incidents is hard to follow, because the editor who united J and E, in his care to preserve as much as possible of both, took the story of the tablets in J as a re-giving and re-writing of them with a renewal of the broken covenant. Much of 33 containing the colloquies with the Divine Leader belongs to this stage. All this, of course, involves a considerable disturbance of the Bible order and representation in Ex., which, but for one section, is substantially followed by D. But the essence of the great religious facts is irrefragably secure: Israel did, by whatever stages short or long, emerge from a condition little removed from contemporary heathenism, and learned to worship one gracious and holy God (p. 84). Differences concern only the manner and form of events, and their times. Later historians have so accustomed us to having at least the main events fitted neatly into their centuries B.C. or A.D. that we find it hard to think that serious writers could be centuries out in their reckoning. But just as prophets saw future events near and distant in a foreshortened perspective, so it may be that the Bible historians—called "the former prophets" (pp. 38, 244) by the Jews—saw their instances of the nation's glory and shame as more closely crowded together than they actually were. The main thing is that they actually saw them, and that, too, in the "mirror of eternity." Throughout the whole we see the material, as it were, in a plastic state. As older conceptions were outgrown new touches could modify the details, though, fortunately for our chances of recognising the earlier levels of inspiration, traces of the old were not always obliterated. Sometimes we must suppose that these modifications had already been made during the period of oral tradition.

XIX. Awful Revelation of God in Fire and Cloud. 1–2a P, **2b–3a** E, **3b–6** Rd, **7–11a** E, **11b–13** J, **14–17** E, **18** J, **19** E, **20–22** J, **23** Rje, **24f.** J.—This highly composite chapter will be most easily followed if the component sources are taken separately. From P we have only the note of the arrival at Sinai. The order of clauses should be: **2a**, "And they took their journey (16₁) from Rephidim and came to . . . Sinai, and pitched in the wilderness"; **1**, "in the third month came they . . ." From E also we learn of the pitching of the camp, and that "Moses went up unto God." But the very beautiful passage which follows (*3b–6*) was probably written for another context: it would well follow Jos. 24. It comes from a disciple of the prophets, and describes God's redemptive care and His pride of possession of His people (*cf.* Tit. 2₁₄, 1 P. 2₉), God's priest-nation on earth (*cf.* Is. 61₆), and so "called to be holy" (Rom. 1₇). Displaced, perhaps from after 20₁₇, **7f.** has found lodgment here. Then in **9–11a** the promise is given of an interview with Moses in a thick cloud within *hearing* of the people, who must guard their persons for two days from defilement and wash their clothes (Gen. 35₂*). Then **14–17**, after relating the preparations, describes the descent of the thunder-cloud, lightning flashing forth from it, and a supernatural trumpet (*cf.* 1 Cor. 15₅₂) booming out its summons. The trembling people are led out "to meet God." We leave them there, standing at the foot of the mount (*see* next 20₁₈–₂₁), and turn to J's parallel. Restoring what seems clearly the right order, we have a picture (in *20a*, 18, *20b*) of the mountain flaming and smoking like a furnace on the descent of Yahweh (*cf.* 14₂₁f.*) in an earthquake (contrast 1 K. 19₁₁, where "the still small voice" marks a yet higher species of revelation). Then in the present text, after Moses has been called up "to the top of the mount" (20), he is immediately sent down again (21, *24a*, to "down") merely to give directions to prevent the people profaning the sacred mount by coming too near, while **11b–13** tells of his obedience, and ends: "when the ram's horn soundeth long, they" (emphatic "these," *i.e.* the "priests" of 22) "shall come up to the mount." After **23** (an obvious gloss), **24b–25** summons Moses, with Aaron but no one else, though some render, "Come up, thou and Aaron with thee, and the priests; but . . .," and ends, "And Moses went down unto the people, and said unto them." The sequel is 34₁ff., and it has been suggested that the stringent regulations against sacrilege reflect a later stage of feeling, and may have been added to the original. On the other hand, the injunctions may merely rest upon the idea of *taboo*, which is of great antiquity. The allusion to "priests" shows that J took them as a matter of course, like altars and sacrifices (yet *see* 32₂₉*, and *cf.* p. 106). P does not recognise "priests" till Lev. 8. It is important, in conclusion, to note that, while God *uses* natural

occurrences, which are among the lower manifestations of His being and power, as channels for arousing men to a sense of things unseen, His messages can be received only by one whose mind and conscience and heart are attuned to the right pitch.

[22. The presence of Yahweh is so dangerous that even the priests, whose function it is to approach Him, have to sanctify themselves (Gen. 35$_2$*) as a precaution against His breaking out upon them. He reacts against ritual uncleanness, almost automatically. For this barely ethical idea we might compare the attack on Moses at the inn (4$_{24-26}$) or the smiting of the men of Beth-shemesh (1 S. 6$_{19}$) and of Uzzah (2 S. 6 6f.).—A. S. P.]

XX.–XXIV., XXXIV. The Codes in Exodus.—Recent study has by many converging lines of argument, based on subject matter, choice of words, relation to the context, idiomatic phrasing, comparison with the historical and prophetical literature, etc., and from an immense accumulation of Biblical facts, proved the extraordinary complexity of the laws in the Pentateuch. Only results can be given here. **i.** Perhaps the oldest collection is the little code in 34$_{17-26}$* **J**, all short religious laws, and called in the present text "the Ten Words of the Covenant." **ii.** Closely parallel with this, both in form and substance, is a somewhat larger collection called "The Words of Yahweh" (24$_3$) or "The Book of the Covenant" (24$_7$), now dislocated by the insertion of **iii.** It seems to have consisted of 20$_{23-26}$, 22$_{18-31}$, 23$_{1-19}$, and perhaps 21$_{12-17}$ E, religious and moral laws, distinguished by form and substance from their context. **iii.** Into this a code of laws (21f.), mainly about property, and embodying judicial decisions, has been thrust, "The Judgments" (21 E). The best explanation of its position is Kuenen's, that D, when it was united with JE, took the place of this code, many of whose provisions it embodied, and which may, like D, have been assigned to the plains of Moab. On its insertion the clause "and all the judgments" was presumably added in 24$_3$. **iv.** Last of all, or at anyrate later than **ii.**, the Decalogue, called "The Ten Words" (Dt. 4$_{13}$, 10 4), took its place as spoken by the mouth of God from the top of the mount (20$_{1-17}$). In its present position it contradicts 20$_{19}$, and breaks the connexion between 19$_{17}$ and its obvious sequel 20$_{18}$. As will be seen, it betrays large Deuteronomic expansion, and may have been inserted here as a last step towards the position, only found in Dt., that the Covenant at Horeb was on the basis of the Decalogue. With these four early codes we have to place **v.**, the repetition of **iv.**, in Dt. 5; **vi.**, the collection (the first and twelfth being additions) of ten curses upon moral, especially sexual, offences, in Dt. 27$_{16-25}$; **vii.**, the D code, religious, moral, civil, and criminal (Dt. 12–26), called "Statutes and Judgments" (12$_1$); and **viii.**, the Holiness (religious-moral) code, Lev. 17–26 (esp. 19), called H. Lev. 19 3f. (*cf.* 26 1f.), 11f., may be the remains of a concise religious-moral decalogue.

These are all the laws that can fairly be compared with one another. The great mass of "priestly" laws, to which 25–31, 35–40 belong, fall readily apart from these, but turn out when examined to have also a complicated structure (*see* 25 1*). Now **i.** and **ii.**, which involve agricultural observances, are not likely to be Mosaic. In their oral form, of which the frequent groups of 5 and 10 are a reminder, the earliest likely date would be the reign of David or Solomon, when more settled ways came in. But it is hard to reach assurance as to dates. These laws have even been ascribed to the period in N. Israel when, after the exile of the bulk of the Hebrew inhabitants, the new colonists demanded and obtained a priest to teach them "the manner of the God of the land," *i.e.* Yahweh (2 K. 17$_{24-28}$*). But the whole complex of legal material, regarded as reflecting a long historical process, reveals to us Hebrew law as no cast-iron cage, cramping the growing soul of Israel, but as an adjustable fence, that could be drawn in here, and pushed out there, as the Spirit of Yahweh, the Living God, might prompt, to fit changing conditions of life or quickened conscience of duty.

XX. 1–17 E (expanded). **The Decalogue.**—Here the reader treads on holy ground. But it is firm ground, trodden by the feet of many generations of pilgrims. Let him therefore fearlessly examine the material of which this road of righteousness is composed, and the process by which it took its present form. Though it were not let down out of heaven, it will serve if it lead men's steps towards heaven. Welcome or unwelcome, the views that scholars hold to-day all differ from the Bible story taken literally. It will be least confusing to take by itself the view that on the whole commends itself most. **i.** If the Ten Words were old they are likely to have been short; and on examination all the longer ones betray marks of expansion by editors of later schools, P being recalled by the reference to the Divine Sabbath after creation (11), but D furnishing parallels to the others, *see* RV references. **ii.** It is likely that not eight only but all the Words were **prohibitions.** The sins forbidden will then be: **I.** the worship of other gods—"Thou shalt have none other gods before me" (*cf.* 20$_{23a}$, 34 14, Hos. 13 4, 12 9); **II.** idolatry—"Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image" (*cf.* 20$_{23b}$, 34$_{17}$, Hos. 4$_{17}$, 8 4*b*–6, 13 2); **III.** perjury—"Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh in vain" (*cf.* 23$_{1a}$, Hos. 4$_2$, 10 4); **IV.** Sabbath-breaking—"Thou shalt not do any business on the sabbath day" (*cf.* 23$_{12}$, 34$_{21}$, Hos. 2$_{11}$); **V.** disrespect—"Thou shalt not set light by thy father or thy mother" (*cf.* 21$_{15,17}$); **VI.** murder (*cf.* 21$_{12}$, Hos. 4$_2$); **VII.** adultery (22 6f., Hos. 4$_2$); **VIII.** stealing (*cf.* 21$_{16}$, 22$_{1-4}$, Hos. 4$_2$); **IX.** false witness (*cf.* 23$_{16}$, Am. 5$_{10-12}$); **X.** greed—"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house" (*cf.* Am. 2$_6$, 8 4–7). **iii.** It is clear from the references that E furnishes parallels for all the Words except the last, while all but the 5th (obviously a non-significant omission) can be matched from Hosea or Amos. As clearly, moreover, these prophets are not preaching moral novelties, but recalling old principles. **iv.** Only three commands can be plausibly described as unlikely to belong in substance to the **Mosaic age.** Coveting is the only purely inward sin condemned, and its place is justified by M'Neile as practically including oppression and bribery; but the use of the term "house" instead of tent implies the passage from the nomadic and pastoral to the settled and agricultural life. The Sabbath, too, was impracticable for nomads in charge mainly of live stock. Moreover, the history of religion in Israel seems to prove that there was no clear conscience against all images till a much later time (*see* pp. 83f.). The first steps in this direction may be seen in 20$_{23}$, 34$_{17}$. Hence Kautzsch (HDB, *Extra Vol.*, p. 634*b*), following Eerdmans, accepts the remaining seven only as Mosaic. For a recent, competent defence of the *Mosaic Origin of the Decalogue* see Exp. for 1916 (Prof. M'Fadyen). **v.** It must always be remembered that negatives imply a positive, and that those of the Decalogue rest upon a principle, the foundation both of religion and morality, that man's true life involves **fellowship:** Thou shalt live in fellowship both with

thy God and with thy family, tribe, nation, and (eventually) fellow-men. Ancient religion as a universal social bond profoundly affected morality; but it might consecrate immorality or condone it by offering non-moral ways of pardon. It is the distinction of Hebrew religion that it neither ordered evil nor made light of it, but called the worshippers of a righteous God to be like Him. And even those who doubt whether moral duties had been gathered so early into a code must admit both that the sense of moral obligation must have been present, and that it must have been connected with fidelity to Yahweh from Mosaic times, or otherwise Israel would never have preserved itself as distinct as it did from the Canaanites, whose civilisation, as being more advanced, left a deep impress upon Hebrew life. **vi.** The **numbering** here adopted is that of Philo, Josephus, the Ancient Church, Calvin, the later Greek Church, and Anglo-Saxon Christians, and is undoubtedly the best. But the Roman Catholic Church (with Augustine and Luther) followed the MT in uniting the 1st and 2nd Words and dividing the 10th. The Jews take the preface as the 1st Word, and combine our 1st and 2nd as the 2nd. **vii.** Also the **order** has varied in regard to the three Words after the 5th. In MT, LXX (AFM, etc.), Mk. 10$_{19}$ RV, Mt. 5$_{21,27}$, 19$_{18}$, it is 6–7–8; in LXX (B) and the Nash papyrus (*c.* 2nd century A.D.) it is 7–8–6; and in Lk. 18$_{20}$, R. 13$_{9}$, Jas. 2$_{11}$, Mk. 10$_{19}$ AV, Philo, and some Fathers it is 7–6–8. **viii.** Finally, it remains to comment briefly on the words as they now stand. When first they became part of the Horeb story of E, they must have followed 19$_{19}$, which relates God's answering Moses by a voice, and which may have originally gone with 20$_{18}$, the alarm of the people. 20$_{1a}$, "God spake all these words," has behind it not only the editor who wrote it, but the later Hebrew and Christian centuries which have endorsed it. However spoken, these words have found their way to man's heart as the voice of God. The preface **1b** is a vital part of the whole; the peculiar loyalty demanded in the OT can be paid only to a Divine Lawgiver, who is first of all Redeemer. Hos. 12$_{9}$, 13$_{4}$ are vouchers that **1b** is earlier than D, though probably expanded (*cf.* 13$_{4}$*). The 1st Word (3) was probably not at first taken as denying the existence of other gods, but as forbidding Israel to affront Yahweh by recognising them in worship "in front of" Him. Later, it was seen that, if the practice was forbidden, the misbelief was condemned. The age-long struggle against "other gods" may be traced in the concordance. The 2nd Word (4) forbids even the making of a graven image: no doubt the purpose of worship was implied. Images were of carved wood, of wood cased with metal, of stone or solid metal. The *pesel* or "graven image," as the commonest, included all. Images of Yahweh were not only tolerated among His worshippers, but "widely used . . . till the times of the prophets" (Driver, CB). In its present form the 2nd Word reflects a definite stage of later religious progress. The editor (4*b*) in general terms excludes images of beasts, birds, and heavenly bodies, and fishes, all represented as objects of worship in lands surrounding Israel. *See* also *Idolatry* (*Semitic*) in ERE. Observe that the flat earth is regarded as floating on "the waters under the earth" (*cf.* Gen. 1$_{6-8}$*, 49$_{25}$). Yahweh is "a jealous God" (5, *cf.* 34$_{14}$); the Divine Husband is keenly sensitive to the sacredness of the bond that links Him with His Bride Israel (Hos. 1–3, etc.), flaming forth against her when disloyal or on her behalf when unjustly oppressed. But evil has less lasting effects than good, for, whereas disloyalty only injures posterity "to the third and fourth generation," thousands "belonging to" loyal lovers of Yahweh, as descending from or influenced by them, shall share in His mercy. Observe that love to God is part of what we may call the gospel of D (Dt. 6$_{5}$, etc.), which seems to be itself dependent upon the revelation of Divine love in Hosea. The 3rd Word forbids misuse of the sacred Name, either by perjury, blasphemy, or irreverence, or in connexion with magic or divination (7). Names in antiquity were thought to carry with them the power of the person named (Gen. 32$_{29}$*). The modern application is that the names of God actually impart spiritual power to those who pronounce them with due sense of the wealth and the weight of meaning in them, but the careless or formal use of them throws them out of gear for this high function. The 4th Word is the only one which refers to a positive religious institution, the Sabbath (pp. 101f.). With profound religious insight it is seen that unless some *time* is regularly offered to God, *no* time is likely to be consciously spent in His service. So at sunset on the sixth day the "Cease work" sounds out ("sabbath," a word perhaps of Bab. origin, means this) for "the Lord's day" (8, *cf.* Is. 58$_{13}$). Israel is to "remember" (Dt. 5$_{12}$ less forcibly "observe") to mark each week with its seal of sacred rest and joyous observance. It is "business," *i.e.* week-day work for gain, that is forbidden. The humanitarian side, exempting dependants, children, slaves, cattle, and naturalised aliens from toil (10), is further emphasised in Dt. 5$_{5}$. For the priestly supplement (11), *see* Gen. 2$_{3}$*, where it will be observed that the editor of Gen. considers that Ex. 20$_{11}$ is not dependent on Gen. 2$_{3}$ (*see* Introd. to Gen. 1$_{1-24a}$). On this he accepts the argument of Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, pp. 493–495. For the weekly rest-day there is a Bab. parallel, but the social and religious character of the Hebrew Sabbath is its own. The priestly laws elaborate and refine the 4th Word. The 5th Word (12) impresses a duty widely recognised by ancient sages (*e.g.* Plato and Confucius), respect for parents (*cf.* Ecclus. 3$_{1-6}$, Mk. 7$_{10-13}$). The "promise" (Eph. 6$_{2}$) offers length of days to Israel and not to the Israelites: "the foundations of national greatness are in the home" (King George V.). Respect for parents may be taken as the last duty of piety, they being in God's place, or as the first duty of morals; and so may close the first table (as originally), or begin the new (as in the Catechism). The 6th Word (13) secures the sanctity of human life, the word used referring to violent and unauthorised killing. The absence of any penalty is specially noticeable here, and favours the view that the whole is a summary of prophetic teaching, not a judicial code. For Christ's teaching, *see* Mt. 5$_{21-26}$. The 7th Word (14) affirms the sanctity of the marriage tie, and the 8th (15) the sacredness of private property; while the 9th (16) lays down the law of libel, untruthfulness being a besetting sin among the Hebrews from Jacob onwards. The 10th is understood by Paul (Rom. 7$_{7}$) as forbidding the unseen spring of wrong action, unlawful desire; but M'Neile observes that it becomes in Mk. 10$_{19}$, "Defraud not." [Those who take it as dealing with the inward desire are often inclined to regard it as exhibiting a much more advanced stage of ethical reflection than the other commandments. Eerdmans has elaborately defended the other alternative noted above, that it is directed not simply against a desire, but against a desire associated with an act. He refers to 34$_{24}$ in support.—A. S. P.] The clauses after "house" were probably added. See also Dt. 5$_{21}$

18–21 E. Alarm of the People.—This resumes 19¹⁷ or 19), and describes how the frightened people (read in 18*b* "and the people were afraid and trembled") asked that Moses and not God should speak to them. Then "Moses drew near unto the thick darkness where God was" (21). This idea, afterwards much developed by the mystics, is reflected in the windowless Holy of Holies in the Temple (*cf.* 1 K. 6¹⁶–²⁰, 8¹³, and RV references).

22–26 E. Laws of Worship.—This begins the "Book of the Covenant," a small collection of religious and moral laws. The reference to God as talking with the people from heaven (22*b*) was probably added after the insertion of the Decalogue. In **23** the pl. "ye" shows that this was not part of the Horeb "book," in which "thou" is used. The RV seems to be right (against LXX) in making **23a** a doublet of 20³. Perhaps it ran, "Ye shall not serve (make) along with me other (silver) gods." In any case, it is over-costly images only that are forbidden. The rules for the rude altar of earth or stone (24–26) reflect primitive usage (*cf.* 1 S. 14³²–³⁵*), imply the right of laymen to sacrifice (*cf.* 2 S. 6¹³,¹⁷), and refer only to the two oldest and commonest kinds of sacrifice (*cf.* 245, and pp. 98f., 197f.). Moreover, such an altar may be set up wherever Yahweh may cause His Name to be remembered (24 *mg.*), *i.e.* by a vision, a victory, or other gracious act (p. 130). Stones were to be unhewn (25), from old custom (*cf.* 425*, Jos. 8³¹*) or from the survival of a prejudice against risking driving away the deity by altering the shape of the natural rock. Steps were (26) not allowed, in the interests of decency (*cf.* a different provision in 28⁴²).

XXI. 1 E. The Judgments.—This is best taken as the heading of a fresh collection, "The Judgments" (p. 184), consisting of case-law, mainly about property, and containing some striking parallels with the **Code of Hammurabi** (*see* p. 51, HDB, vol. 5, pp. 584–612, and Johns' *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, pp. 44–68). The Bab. code was much longer, containing 248 laws, and is represented as given by the seated sun-god Shamash to the king standing before him. The Code deals only with civil and criminal laws, not with morals and religion, and the chief parallels are with the Judgments (*see* Driver, CB, 420ff.). The Judgments do not borrow from the Code, but they are often too like it to be independent (*e.g.* in the case of the vicious ox, 21²⁸f.). Either both rest on ancient Semitic custom, or the Hebrew law is based on a survival in Canaan of Bab. civilisation from the time of the Tell el-Amarna letters. Parallels are found in 21²,¹¹,¹⁵,¹⁶,¹⁸f.,²²,²³–²⁵,²⁶,²⁸,²⁹–³¹,³², 22¹–⁴ (two cases), 5,7,9,10f.,12,14f.,26.

2–11 E. The Laws of Slavery.—In the 19th cent. slaves were bought and sold as chattels in Liverpool. Here we see one of the stages towards the abolition of slavery, *i.e.* regulation, then the only practicable course. Hebrews might become slaves through sale by parents, or forced sale for theft or insolvency, or through poverty (p. 110). Later stages of law are reflected in Dt. 15¹²–¹⁸* and Lev. 25³⁹–⁵⁵*. A male slave by six years' service earned the right to rest from servitude in the seventh year, his wife accompanying him only if he were already married (3f.), but if he could say, in the terms of a customary oath, "I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free" (5), then he could become a slave for life. The ratifying ceremony was the boring of the ear, the symbol of obedience, to the "door" or "doorpost" (6), obviously that of the home in which he was to serve. That being so, the bringing of him "unto God" will not mean to the sanctuary but to the home-altar, the threshold (12²²*), or (so Kautzsch, HDB, vol. 5, p. 642) to the *teraphim* (p. 101) or household image of Yahweh (*cf.* 1 S. 19¹³,¹⁶). A female slave had no such right (7); but if she did not suit the man who had "designed her for himself" (*i.e.* as his concubine), her relatives might redeem her, or she might be sold to another Israelite (8); and if he bought her for his son, she should have a daughter's rights (9). If she were supplanted by another concubine he must maintain her allowance of flesh food and of clothing and her conjugal rights, or free her (10f.). Driver also discusses a slightly different view (CB, p. 214).

12–17 E. Capital Offences.—This group, varying in form from the main body of the Judgments, is here regarded as a part of the smaller Book of the Covenant (p. 184). The punishment of murder was death (12), inflicted in Israel, as elsewhere, according to the widespread custom of blood-revenge, by the next-of-kin as "avenger of blood" (2 S. 14¹¹). For accidental homicide, not distinguished in Homer from murder, a place of asylum, a sanctuary of special rank, was provided (13, *cf.* Nu. 35⁹–³⁴* P, Dt. 19¹–¹³*, Jos. 20*). But a murderer could be dragged from the horns of the altar (14, *cf.* 1 K. 1⁵⁰, 2²⁸). Smiting or cursing a parent was also (15, 17) punishable with death, Bab. and Gr. law being less severe; and so was kidnapping, as in Bab., Gr., and Roman law.

18–27 E. Injuries.—If one man injures another in a quarrel (18), he must, on the recovery of the other, compensate him for the loss of time and pay his doctor's bill (19). He who beat a slave to death must pay a penalty (20), no doubt fixed at the judge's discretion; but only if death was immediate (21). If two men quarrelling injured the wife of one of them intervening and brought on a miscarriage without permanent injury, her husband could levy a fine (22, read "shall pay it for the untimely birth," changing one letter). Further injury was to be punished (23–25) acording to the *lex talionis*, like for like, as in the old Bab. and Roman law, and among many races still. A slave whose eye or tooth was knocked out could claim freedom (26f.).

28–36 E. Damages by or to Cattle.—An ox goring anyone to death must be stoned, and might not be eaten, as tainted with blood-guilt (28). In ancient Greece and elsewhere, and even in mediæval Europe, animals were tried in court. But the owner of an ox known to be vicious, and yet left at large, must die, or pay a fine to the relatives (29f.), the same rule holding good of a minor of either sex (31). A slave's death required a fine of 30 shekels (worth £4, 2s. 6d. now, and much more then) and the ox's death. These two (30, 32) are the only cases in the OT of the "wergild" or death-price so common in antiquity. Further, if a well or grain-pit were left uncovered, and an animal fell in and died, the offender had to pay the value, but might have the carcase for its skin and (possibly at that time) for its flesh (33f.). And if one ox killed another, the owners were to divide the price of the pair; but if it was a vicious ox let loose, the owner must pay in full, but have the carcase. Doughty testifies that this is now "the custom of the desert," though Thomson writes as if it were still a much-needed reform.

XXII. 1–6 E. Theft and Damage.—Fourfold restitution was due (1), as in Roman law and Bedawin custom, for theft of a sheep (though fivefold for the doubly useful ox), reduced to twofold (4) if returned alive (*i.e.* the stolen animal and another). A similar principle is found in Bab., Gr., Roman, and Indian law.

Probably 3*b* links 4 directly to 1, providing that a pauper thief shall be sold to provide restitution money. Then, Budde suggests, 2–3*a* will be a wrongly placed supplement, giving immunity if a robber be killed in the act, unless it be in daylight. The next case is clearer if, with slight changes of letters, we read, "if a man cause a field . . . to be burnt, and let the burning spread, and it burn in another man's field," etc. In that case, if his bonfire kindled a thorn hedge and burnt up good crops—an easy matter in the heat of summer—he must replace with the best of his own crops (5); but an accidental fire called for bare compensation only (6).

7–17 E. Breach of Trust.—A man going on a journey would make his neighbour his banker. If the money or valuables were stolen, the thief, if found, was to pay double (7); otherwise the surety must purge himself of the crime by oath at the local sanctuary (8). A similar procedure, including some ordeal or divining process, was to be used when lost property was found under suspicious circumstances (9). Where any mischance happened to an animal left in a man's charge, he might free himself from blame by taking "the oath of Yahweh" (10f.), just as among the Arabs still, according to Burckhardt and Doughty. If he let it be stolen, he must make restitution; but if it was torn by wild beasts (*cf.* Gen. 31*39*), he had only to produce the carcase to escape blame, as in Bab. and Indian law. If harm befell a borrowed animal, the hirer must make it good, unless its owner was in charge of it (14f.). Seduction was regarded as damage to the father of the girl, and compensation required equal to the usual marriage gift (not "dowry"), as in Gen. 34*12*, with marriage unless the father refuse. Probably the Judgments end here.

18–31 E. Various Ordinances.—From this point up to 23*9* we have to do with miscellaneous laws, differing in the main both in form and substance from the Judgments, and therefore here regarded as belonging to the Book of the Covenant. But they may have come independently of either code. The death penalty for a sorceress (18) sounds unduly severe, and this law may be taken as a classical instance of the progressive nature of revelation. Conditions change, and conscience gains light: hence Hebrew laws must not, it is at last perceived, bind Christian men, unless ratified afresh by the conscience. For lack of this perception witches were executed up to 1716. But it is proper to note the tremendous power of magic in the ancient world and among heathen races to-day (*cf.* the eight types in Dt. 18*10*f.), and its deadly nature as a negation of true religion. Magic proudly claims, by non-moral means, to master the powers of the unseen world: religion humbly seeks, through prayer, sacrifice, and service, to win effective fellowship with an unseen person (p. 174). And the modern application is, Thou shalt not suffer the magical idea or temper to live in the worship or institutions of religion. Unnatural forms of vice were rife in Canaan, and were made capital offences (19, *cf.* H and D). Sacrifice to another god, as involving treason to the nation and its Divine Lord, was (20) to be visited with the "ban" (*i.e.* devotion to Yahweh, the jealous God, by destruction, see pp. 99, 114). Consideration for the stranger or resident alien, to whom custom gave no legal status, as well as for the widow and orphan (21–24), is a marked feature in the Hebrew laws: the clauses with plural "ye" are added notes. Legislators and prophets were perpetually alert to protect the weak against corrupt judges and the power of the purse generally. Here is one of the "notes" of a living religion. So, too, in times when commercial loans were unknown, and the only loans were of the nature of charity, it was natural that interest ("usury" in its old sense) should be prohibited (25, *see* p. 112, Dt. 23*19*f., Lev. 25*36*f.*). But usury, in its present meaning of excessive interest, is still condemned by the spirit of this law. Loans on pledge were allowed, but a pledged mantle must be returned for use at night (26f., *cf.* Dt. 24*6,10–13*, 23*19*f.). Special bedclothes are still strange to the poor of Palestine. In **28–31** we have a group more closely connected with religion. Irreverence (*cf.* Lev. 24*15* H) and disrespect to rulers are condemned (28). Firstfruits, firstborn, and firstlings were all due to God (29ff., *see* pp. 99, 102). Firstfruits are concisely specified (29) as the full share (*i.e.* from the threshing-floor) and the tear-like trickling (*i.e.* from the wine-press). It is not said here (29*b*) how the offering of firstborn boys was to be made (*cf.* 13*12*f.* J), but the obvious analogy of the firstlings (30, "give me," as 29*b*) suggests that the form at least of the law goes back to the time when children were actually sacrificed (*cf.* Gen. 22*). In all three cases we have the survival of a primitive belief that life is sacred, and that the first, fresh products of fertilising power are specially fit for sacramental and sacrificial use (Nu. 3*11–13**). It is a symbolical recognition of the need to consecrate the beginnings of enterprise, if real blessing is to follow. Observe that the sacrifice "on the eighth day" could only be at some near local shrine, not, as in D, at the central sanctuary; and that E says nothing of unclean animals like the ass, unless LXX rightly adds "and thine ass" (*see* 13*13a* J). This group closes with a law against eating any flesh that is torn of beasts in the field (31), no doubt because the blood could not be properly drained from it (Gen. 9*4**). The reason given, that they were to be "holy men" (13*a*), illustrates the process by which the word "holy" (*i.e.* devoted to or associated with God's life and being) was first practised upon the outward (what is ritually holy) and then applied to the moral and spiritual realm.

XXIII. 1–9 R. Justice.—Form and substance also separate *this* group from the Judgments and ally it with the Words of Yahweh in the Covenant Book. Circulating groundless reports (1*a*), conspiring with "him that is in the wrong" (*cf.* 21*3*) to be a malicious witness (1*b*), siding with the strongest in action or witness-bearing (2), and partiality in judgment (3) are condemned. Read in **3**, for "poor," "great": partiality for the poor needed no prohibition. The injunctions about a straying or fallen beast of an enemy (4f., render 5 as *mg.*) breathe a generous spirit: they are here out of place, and were perhaps a marginal illustration to **9**. Justice must be administered fairly and strictly, and bribes must be rejected, and not suffered to "pervert the cause of the righteous" (8). In **7*b*** it is better to read with LXX "and thou shalt not acquit the guilty." The alien, like the poor, is to have justice (9*a*, 9*b* being a gloss). We see the true democratic ideal of law and justice emerging in this paragraph, and also the obstacles before it: the man with money, or a large family (*cf.* Ps. 127*3–5*), or many friends had a tremendous advantage; he has not lost it all yet.

10–19 E. Calendar and Rules for Worship.—This passage may originally have followed **23–26** in the Covenant Book. It has been expanded, **13** being a conclusion (perhaps displaced from after 19), and **15*b*, 17,** and **19** copied by a harmonist from 34*18,20,23,25* J. Every seventh year the land (*i.e.* probably each owner's, not the whole country at once) was to be fallow,

not from a religious or agricultural motive (as Lev. 25₁–₇*,₂₀–₂₂*), but on charitable grounds (10f.). The origin of the custom probably lay in the ancient rights of the village community as distinct from those of its members (p. 102). The weekly Sabbath also is enjoined on social grounds, for the ease and refreshment of cattle, slaves, and foreign hirelings. Field work seems mainly in view. Next are named the three "times" (14, lit. feet, *i.e.* "footprints in the sands of time") in the year when each Israelite was to keep a pilgrimage-feast (*ḥag*). *See* on these, pp. 102–104. The spring festival was *mazzoth* or unleavened cakes, when the barley harvest began in late April or early May, the idea possibly being to ensure the fertility of the seed for the next harvest, and the absence of leaven being due to the stress of work (but *cf.* 12₃₄,₃₉ J). The completion of wheat harvest in June was to be marked by the "harvest festival" proper (in E and D, "feast of weeks"), when the worshipper presented "the firstfruits of (his) work" on the land (16*a*), the year being crowned by "the feast of ingathering" in autumn, when threshing was over and the juice pressed out from grapes and olives (16*b*). This was the grand occasion in the year for festivities, lasting seven days, spent by custom in booths (AV "tabernacles"), whence came a common title for it. Leavened bread must not accompany a sacrifice, being regarded as unsuitable because unknown in primitive times when the only bread was like the "dampers" of the Australian bush, or because more liable to corruption (18*a*); and the fat, the portion best esteemed, must be consumed while fresh in sweet smoke as an offering. A kid might not be seethed in its mother's milk, but it is not clear for what reason. [The prohibition was hardly inspired by the sentimental desire to keep the feelings delicate and refined; it was aimed presumably at some religious or magical practice. Goat's milk was used as an agricultural charm to produce fertility. But this does not explain this special injunction. Robertson Smith connects it with the taboo on blood as food, and thinks milk may be regarded as a substitute for blood. This hardly explains why the kid is specially selected for mention, nor yet the mother. He supposes, with several scholars, that "mother's milk" simply means goat's milk. This is very dubious; and if we interpret the term strictly of relationship we get a clearer light as to the meaning. Goat's milk possessing a magical quality, we might infer that a sucking kid would possess the same quality, and this would be intensified if the two were united, especially when the relation was already so close as between the kid and its own dam. We have to do, then, with a charm to which a peculiar magical efficacy was attributed. Probably it was originally a pastoral charm designed to secure the fertility of the flocks. It was natural that it should survive as an agricultural charm when the nomad tribes settled down to till the soil.—A. S. P.]

20–33 E. Closing Discourse (23–25a, 27, and 31b–33 Rd).—This passage is highly complex. The verses just noted bear marks of the school of D; they condemn "pillars," which E approves (24₄ and elsewhere); their warning tone is inconsistent with the dominant tone of promise; and they reflect the view of the Conquest as a clean sweep, which Rd expresses throughout Jos. E's Covenant Book has its epilogue (*cf.* Lev. 26 and Dt. 28) presenting God as the Guide and Guardian of His faithful people. While J regards the pillar of cloud (13₂₁) and the Ark (Nu. 10₂₃), if not Hobab (Nu. 10₃₁), as the instrument of the Divine guidance, E here promises the companionship of "an angel," who is, however, equivalent to God, whose "name is in Him" (21, *cf.* Gen. 24₇, etc.). The conception of God as manifested under the guise of an angel may be viewed as a preparation for the revelation of the Incarnate Son and the Indwelling Spirit. Abundance, health, fertility, long life, and national stability should follow loyalty to His leading (25*d*–26). A plague of hornets should help in the conquest (28), which should, however (29f.), be gradual (*cf.* Jg. 1₁₉, etc.), till it reached the Euphrates (31), as once happened under David and Solomon. In 31b–33 Rd, Israel, not God, is to drive out the Canaanites. Perhaps originally in E this epilogue followed the ratification of the covenant (24₃–₈) and the construction of the Tent of Meeting (33₇–₁₁).

XXIV. Vision and Covenant. 1f. J, 3–8 E, 9–11 J, 12–15a E, 15b–18a P, 18b E.—Taking the J elements first, it must be noted that they must have followed the giving of the code now transposed to 34₁₇–₂₆ (*see* 34₃*). The inclusion of Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu along with the 70 elders recalls 19₂₂,₂₄*, but the stratum of tradition from which this piece is drawn seems highly primitive. The meaning appears to be that the people remained at the base of the mountain, the priest and elders went half way up, and only Moses reached the top. But, perhaps later, all these last (9–11) "went up," "and they saw the God of Israel," the description of the surroundings (10) bearing out the conjecture that the old tradition was that heaven itself was at the top of this mountain (*cf.* Ez. 1₂₆, 28₁₄). It was ordinarily death to see God (33₂₀*), but on this occasion He "put not forth his hand" for destruction "upon the nobles" (lit. "corner-stones" of men), and "they beheld God" with the seer's eye, and shared in the heavenly banquet, the covenant feast (11). Undying symbols here lie at hand of the glorious vision of God which is given to the pure in heart in the face of Jesus Christ, while He gives to His members (living stones in the Temple of His Body) His very flesh to eat. Returning to E's story, the request of 20₁₉, that Moses would be God's spokesman, is here made good, and the people promise loyal obedience (3, "and all the judgments," being a gloss ignored in 3*b*, *cf.* **ill.** p. 184). The mention of writing the Words in "the Book of the Covenant" is perhaps a mark of a stage of tradition later than the earliest, in which only the living voice could convey the knowledge of God's will. Mohammed would not have the Koran written. The rest of the description is thoroughly primitive: altar (*cf.* 20₂₄), standing-stones, or pillars for dignity and witness (*cf.* Jos. 24₂₇), burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and the distribution of the "blood of the covenant" (Mk. 14₂₄) between God (represented by the altar), and the people (4–8). [The significance is to be explained in the light of the custom of blood-brotherhood. When two men wished to make a blood-covenant each would drink a little of the other's blood, perhaps in water, or lick an incision made in the other's skin, as is done by the blood-lickers. In that way each incorporated something of the other's life. Later this was refined into the rite of dipping the hand into a bowl containing the blood of an animal. The sprinkling of blood from the same vessel on both parties similarly creates a covenant bond. The blood is sprinkled on the altar, because in it Yahweh's presence is supposed to be manifested.—A. S. P.] There may also have been a covenant feast on the victims, displaced because of 11, or the blood-ritual may have stood by itself. As in Jg. 17₅, the young men were as a matter of course entrusted with the laborious work of slaying, preparing, and offering the sacrifice (5). But it was

Moses who "threw the blood against the altar" (6). The covenant idea had, and has, dangers, as if God would be tied to His people, and be bound to protect them, if the ritual was duly maintained. It found its crowning OT expression in the "new covenant" of Jer. 31$^{31-34}$. In the next piece from E (12–15a) there is some confusion. The words "and the law (or teaching) and the commandment to teach them" seem to refer to the Judgments. Perhaps the confusion is connected with the insertion of the Decalogue. The "tables of stone" are perhaps more likely to have been an idea suggested by inscribed tablets in Canaan than to have actually belonged to the journey thither. Like the "book" (7) they may reflect a later stage of tradition than the earliest. It is not clear how this passage is related to what goes before, and **13b** seems to anticipate **15a**. Perhaps "elders" in **14** should be "people," altered to fit the 70 in **1**. Moses's temporary commission to Aaron (here rather elder than priest) and Hur confirms the view that 18, describing a permanent judiciary, is later than the Horeb scenes. The 40 days upon the sacred mount would, it has been pointed out, better fit a time of exalted communing and enlightenment than a mere visit to receive the tablets. In **15b–18a** we have P's parallel to the appearance of God in **19**. The cloud is, as elsewhere, the sign in P of the Divine presence.

XXV.–XXXI. P. The Tent of Meeting or Dwelling of Yahweh.—To pass from the action and movement, and the jostling of old and new, in 19–24 into the group of chapters 25–31 is like passing from the cross-currents and broken waters of an open, storm-tossed bay into the calm and order of an enclosed harbour. It is explained by the theory, now generally accepted, that—strange as it seems to our ideas—we have here no ancient, much less contemporary, account of the planning of the Tabernacle in minutest detail, but the leisurely elaboration, by that school of scribes of which Ezra was the type and leader, of their view of what must have been in the mind of Moses, on the general assumption that the Temple at Jerusalem before its destruction, Ezekiel's sketch (Ez. 40–48), and Zerubbabel's reconstructed building could be taken as imperfect copies of the ideal once realised in the golden age of Moses. That, therefore, which to these scribes seemed to point most clearly to what they believed best for the Temple worship of their own times, they set down without hesitation as what actually was long ago.

The grounds for this view can only be barely indicated here. The practical conditions, quietly assumed, as to leisure, materials, labour, and skill, are all contradicted by the artless narratives of JE, and are incredible in themselves; *e.g.* the weight of metals required was eight and a half tons, and its value at present rates about £200,000. There was, indeed, a sacred Tent of Meeting, but it was utterly different in all respects from the splendid portable temple of P (*see* pp. 123f., 337–11*). And the existence of this last is virtually excluded by those passages of Judges and Samuel where it must have been referred to. Further, the account, for all its minuteness, is quite incomplete as a specification of work to be done (*cf.* M'Neile, p. lxxx). The religious value, however, remains the same, while an insoluble historical difficulty is removed. Indeed, just because it is late, this account presents profounder religious ideas. These will be noted in their place. Only here and there is the inner meaning of the whole or the parts specified, but each main element will have had its symbolic idea, and will often also bear a typical application to that system which replaced shadow by substance (*see* Heb. 8–10*, and commentaries by Westcott and Nairne). The best working out of the details as a whole is in A. R. S. Kennedy's article on the Tabernacle (HDB). M'Neile is also clear and full on all aspects. See further on 35–40.

XXV. 1–9 P (6 R). Appeal for Materials.—Man's liberality must provide God's Dwelling, the materials of which must come by way of "contribution" (1–3*a*, not "offering," but "what is 'taken off' from some larger mass," Driver). The metals needed (3*b*) were gold, silver, and bronze (*i.e.* copper hardened by tin, the precursor of iron, not brass, *i.e.* copper and zinc). The spun and woven materials required costly dyes, violet and purple-red from Mediterranean shell-fish, and scarlet from an insect reared on the Syrian holm-oak; and they included fine linen (not cotton, as *mg*, or silk) and goat's-hair (4). Skins of rams and porpoises were needed for outer coverings of the tent (26^{14}), and acacia wood for the framework (5), as well as oil and spices (6), and gems (7). All were needed to make for Yahweh "a sanctuary" where He may "dwell in their midst" (8).

The Godward-tending spirit of man, climbing upwards, has clung to the belief in some Real Presence of God in the world, and has found in sacred places points of attachment for this faith. In 20^{24}f. we have an early stage of this belief. But the rude altars of earth or unhewn stone, set on ground fragrant with some gracious memory of a very present God, lost their simplicity. Countless "high places" were scenes of the degradation of worship into riotous pleasure-seeking, through the rivalry of local priesthoods. The reform under Josiah centralised worship at Jerusalem, and cleared the ground for the unchallenged and unique sanctity assumed in these chapters to belong to the One Dwelling of Yahweh in the midst of His people.

The general truth that God is the author of all wisdom and skill is here expressed in the statement that Moses was to make both the sanctuary and its "furniture" (*i.e.* fittings and utensils) according to a model shown him in the mount (9). Driver recalls how "Gudea, king of Lagash (*c.* 3000 B.C.), was shown in a dream, by the goddess Nina, the complete model of a temple which he was to erect in her honour: gold, precious stones, cedar, and other materials for the purpose were collected by him from the most distant countries." Any "thing of beauty" must be first seen upon the mount of vision before the artist can give it external form.—The AV confused the two Hebrew names *'ōhel* and *mishkan* by the indiscriminate use of "tabernacle." It is best to render the former always "tent" with RV (see 27^{21}*), and the latter "dwelling" with RV*mg.*, thus preserving the idea of 8 throughout the many repetitions of the title.

10–22 P. The Ark (*cf.* 37$^{1-9}$).—Three stages of tradition may be distinguished with regard to the Ark (pp. 105f., 123f.):—(*a*) In JE, and in the earlier historical books, it is the visible seat of Yahweh's presence, guiding and protecting His people. Various explanations are offered. Other ancient peoples carried images in similar chests; the ark may have held some such symbol; Kennett (ERE, vol. i. 791–793) suggests the brazen serpent. Or it may have contained a stone from the sacred mount to serve as a throne for Yahweh as He went forth with His people to find a new home amongst men (*cf.* Naaman's "mules' burden of earth"). But it is not thought likely that it originally held the tablets, which would be publicly exhibited not hidden from sight. Dibelius and Gressmann expound the attractive view that the Ark, with its cover and cherubim, was the throne

of the invisible Yahweh, the rider upon the storm-cloud, and the occupant of the sacred height of Sinai. They support this by referring to the box-seats which on the monuments serve as thrones, and claim with justice that all early references to the Ark are made more intelligible on this view, which also permits the belief that the official public worship of Israel was imageless from Mosaic times. (*b*) In D (*see* Dt. 10₁–₅*) the Ark, perhaps in order to rescue it from superstitious veneration, such as gave occasion to the disparaging words of Jer. 3₁₆, was regarded as the receptacle of the tablets, and was called "the ark of the covenant," since, for D, the covenant at Horeb was on the basis of the Decalogue. So it became rather a memorial of the once-for-all-concluded alliance between Yahweh and Israel, than the instrument of the Divine presence. (*c*) In P we find it here set in the forefront of Israel's sacred things, as that for the sake of which the whole sanctuary was made. It is minutely described as about 3 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet 3 inches wide, and 2 feet 3 inches high, heavily gilded inside and out, with a rim or moulding of solid gold (11), and with gold rings and gilded poles (12–15). It is to hold "the testimony," *i.e.* the Decalogue, which Yahweh would give to Moses, no allusion being made to the awful sights and sounds publicly manifested according to 19f. (16₂₁*b*). Upon it (17₂₁*a*) was to rest a slab of gold, "the mercy-seat" (Tyndale's word, and still the best, as the Hebrew verb never means "to cover" in the literal sense). For its use and meaning *see* Lev. 16₂,₁₄f., and Deissmann in EBi. Two golden cherubs, *i.e.* winged figures (*cf.* the bearers of Yahweh's throne in Ez. 15ff.), were fixed to the mercy-seat at its ends, and overshadowed it, facing one another (18–20). Contrast the great gilded cherubs that guarded the Ark on either side in Solomon's Temple (1 K. 6₂₃–₂₈). Here (21), "above the mercy-seat" and "between the two cherubim," was to be the scene of Yahweh's gracious approach as the invisible King and Lawgiver, the meeting-point between earth and heaven, the place of those solemn meetings between God and man's representative, from which the commonest name for the sanctuary, "the tent of meeting," was derived. "The blood-stained mercy-seat" has thus become the pledge of that loving search of the Father for spiritual worshippers which is described in Jn. 4₂₁–₂₄, while the hedging of it round with courts and chambers of graduated sanctity symbolised the progressive stages of "holy fear" by which alone man can draw nearer and nearer to God.

23–30 P. The Table of Shewbread (*cf.* 37₁₀–₁₆).—It was an ancient custom to spread tables with food and drink as oblations to the gods, who were supposed to need food and drink (Lev. 24₅–₉*). And the custom persisted long after men's ideas had changed, coming to be an acknowledgment of God's gift of daily bread. It may well typify the sympathetic share that "the Creator and Preserver of all mankind" takes in the creaturely needs and interests of His children. The table was of gilded wood, 3 × 1½ × 2¼ feet, with a gold rim or bead (23f.), strengthened by a 3-inch beaded frame round the legs (25), and with rings and poles for carrying (26–28). There were to be broad gold dishes for the flat cakes, and cups for the frankincense (Lev. 24₇); flagons and chalices also were needed for the libations of wine which completed the provision (29). The term "shewbread," through Tyndale and Luther from Jerome, fits better the wording of 1 Ch. 9₃₂ ("bread set out," *i.e.* exhibited or arranged) than 30 here, where render as *mg.* "Presence-bread."

31–40 P. The Golden Candlestick (or **Lampstand,** *cf.* 37₁₇ and 24).—This was of massive gold, weighing 96 lbs., with its vessels (40), having a base, a central stem, and six branches, all ornamented with bosses shaped like almond flowers, each "cup" or entire blossom being made up of the outer "knop" or calyx and the inner "flower" or corolla, three bosses on each branch and four on the central stem, as well as "knops" at the three points where the pairs of branches met the stem (31–36). The seven lamps were probably shaped like sauce-boats, the wick protruding at the narrow end, and were to be "fixed on" (not "lighted") so as "to give light over against it," *i.e.* in front of it, with the wicks pointing north (37). "Tongs" or tweezers for drawing up the wicks, and "snuff-dishes" were ordered also (38). This design corresponds to that used in the post-exilic Temple (1 Macc. 1₂₁) as shown on the Arch of Titus (contrast the ten in Solomon's Temple, 1 K. 7₄₉).

XXVI. P. The Dwelling.—This chapter deals with the tent, or tabernacle proper, describing in succession the four thicknesses of different materials which were to make its covering (1–14. *cf.* 36₈–₁₉); the framework that should support them (15–30, *cf.* 36₂₀–₃₄); the inner partition or veil (31–33, *cf.* 36₃₅f.) and the contents of the interior (34f., *cf.* 40₂₀,₂₂,₂₄); and lastly, the entrance screen (36f., *cf.* 36₃₇f.). The interior was to consist of ten "curtains," or breadths of the finest linen, embroidered in blue, purple, and scarlet threads, with figures of cherubs, "the work of the designer" (1). The ten breadths were to be made into two large curtains, each made up of a "coupling" or "set" of breadths, these two to be attached to one another by fifty gold clasps, working in loops of blue tape (2–6). The single curtain thus resulting hung down to the ground at the back, but left the front to be closed by the screen. Over this was to be placed a slightly larger tent of eleven breadths of goats'-hair cloth, such as the Bedawin use still; two great curtains of five and six coupled breadths being joined by bronze clasps for use (7–11). Removing from **12** the words "the half curtain that remaineth," as a hasty gloss, the idea is clear: the sixth curtain was to be doubled over in front, to make a kind of valance over the screen, thus ensuring complete darkness, and leaving just enough to reach the ground at the back, as well as the sides (12f.). Over this again two leather coverings were to be placed, such as the Romans used over their tents in winter, *i.e.* one of ram-skins dyed red, probably with madder, and the other of porpoise or dugong skins.

Next comes the account of the supporting framework. The exact sense of the word rendered "boards" being uncertain, A. R. S. Kennedy's view has been widely accepted that these were open frames, letting the colours and embroidery of the inner linen tent show through, and not solid boards or rather beams. His view is best given by quoting his rendering of **15–17**: "And thou shalt make the frames for the Dwelling of acacia wood, standing up—10 cubits the length of a frame, and 1½ cubits the breadth of a frame,—namely, two uprights for each frame, joined one to another by cross-rails." The frames were to stand in sockets of silver (18–22), two extra frames being provided to strengthen the corners at the back (23f.). To keep the frames in place bars ran through rings on both sides and the end—one long middle bar, with two shorter bars above and two below, in each case (26–28). The rings were to be of gold, and the wood gilded (29).

The oblong chamber thus formed was to be divided by an embroidered veil of partition into the inner shrine or "most holy place," 10 cubits square, and a

"holy place" occupying two such squares, the veil being hung by golden hooks upon four pillars of gilded acacia wood in silver sockets or bases, and exactly under the clasps joining the two great curtains (31–33).

The mercy-seat was to be set upon the Ark within the inner shrine, and outside the veil the table on the north and the candlestick on the south (34f.). The screen which closed the entrance was of the same material, but less elaborately embroidered, and was hung with gold hooks upon five pillars fixed in bronze sockets.

XXVII. P. Altar and Outer Court (*cf.* 381–7,9–20).—In strongest contrast to 2024, with its sanction of many altars, rudely made of earth or rough stone blocks, we find instructions for "the altar" to be made of wood plated with bronze, 7½ feet square and 4½ feet high, with horn-like projections at the corners, according to a widespread custom of uncertain meaning (1f.).

Its vessels were to be of bronze (3); and "the (usual) ledge" for the priests to stand on, half way up the altar, was to be supported by a bronze grating with rings at the corners for the bearing poles (4–8). The authors of the description do not seem to have thought it out practically, for if the fire were on the ground the hollow wood sides would burn, and nothing is said about filling it with earth. It is probably an attempt to copy in portable form Solomon's huge bronze altar of Phœnician design and craftsmanship (2 Ch. 41, *cf.* 1 K. 713–16). But if their idea was not expressed realistically, it was yet clear enough: without sacrifice no acceptable approach to the one God of the one altar.

But the altar must stand on ground marked as holy: so an outer court must enclose both Dwelling and altar (7–19). It was not very large, the breadth 25 yards (little more than a cricket pitch) and the length 50 yards, and the hangings that enclosed it were to be of plain linen, 7½ feet high, enough to keep anyone from looking over, and hung by silver hooks from wooden pillars, set in bronze sockets, and adorned with silver bands or "fillets." A coloured and embroidered screen, 30 feet long, closed the entrance (16). The tools and tent-pins were to be of bronze (19). The little piece at the end (20f.) about the oil for the ever-burning light has been added here as a note from Lev. 242f.* by a late editor.

XXVIII. P (26–28, 41 later). Priestly Vestments.—After the sanctuary and its fittings have been ordered, the vestments for the priesthood come up for mention. For the strange story of the development of the priesthood in Israel, *see* pp. 106f. Here we find, no doubt, a simple assumption that Aaron and his sons wore the same vestments as were worn by the Zadokite High Priest and his assistants in the Temple of Zerubbabel. Ecclus. 459–22 and 501–21 are a complete proof that the splendour of the Temple ritual and its religious value were fully appreciated by the Hebrew sages, cultivated men of the world who cared deeply for religion as well as for morality. Of Aaron's four sons, Nadab and Abihu are named in 241,9 J, and Eleazar in Dt. 105 and Jos. 2433 (both probably E).

Churches that have come to possess a distinctive dress for ministry could desire no happier phrase to describe them than "holy garments . . . for glory and for beauty" (2). And the need of the uplift of Divine inspiration, as distinct from mere business capacity, for the ecclesiastical craftsman is as fitly noted in **3**. After a list of the vestments (4), their materials are specified (5), as 253f.* The first garment described is the ephod (*see* p. 101, *cf.* 392–7). The pouch (not as AV, "breastplate": it was a bag 7 inches square) was to sparkle with gems in four rows (17–20, *cf.* Rev. 2119f.), the stones being, according to the most probable identifications: (i.) cornelian or red jasper, chrysolite, rock-crystal; (ii.) red garnet, lapis lazuli, sardonyx (a stratified stone, red, whitish, and brown); (iii.) cairngorm, agate, amethyst; (iv.) yellow jasper, onyx (or beryl or malachite), green jasper. These were to be set in gold, and engraved with the names of the tribes (21). The fastenings of the pouch are described minutely (22–28), and it is explained that, as the names were upon the shoulder as marking Aaron's representative office, so they are to be on his heart to mark his personal remembrance of the tribes (29). It is the "pouch of judgment," because the Urim and Thummim (words of uncertain origin and meaning, pp. 100f.), *i.e.* the sacred lots (1 S. 1441*), were "put into the pouch" (30). With **15–28**, *cf.* 398–21. So the high priest represented man to God by the engraved stones, and God to man by the sacred lots. A long blue or violet robe is next specified (31–35, *cf.* 3922–26) to be worn under the ephod, and made without sleeves or fastenings, but slipped over the head; adorned at the bottom with embroidered pomegranates (like a red orange) and golden bells. The meaning of either can only be guessed at. A gold plate, engraved with the words *Holy to the Lord*, was to be tied to the front of the turban with a violet ribbon, as marking the fitness of the high priest to atone for any unholiness of the people (36–38, *cf.* 393of.). Besides, Aaron was to have a tunic, a tight-fitting sleeved garment like an alb or cassock, a linen turban, and a long embroidered sash (39), while his sons were to have tunics, sashes, and caps (40). The reference to the consecration of the priests is premature in **41**. The note about the linen drawers for the priests (42f.) should obviously follow **40**. At a great Phrygian sanctuary the ordinary priests were in white with caps, and the high priest alone wore purple and had a golden tiara.

Observe that "the holy place" in **43** is used in a wide sense to cover the court.

XXIX. P (21, 38–42 later). Consecration of the Priesthood (*cf.* Lev. 8).—The ritual of consecration is described at length. For the various sacrifices, *see* the appropriate sections of Lev. 1–7*, which belong to an older stratum of P, and are presupposed throughout. **(i.)** The materials for the sacrificial ceremonial include a bullock and two rams, bread of unleavened cakes, perforated cakes (perforations are still made in the Passover cakes), and large thin wafers, all unleavened, and to be brought in a basket (1–3). **(ii.)** All the priests to be consecrated must be bathed (4): the defiling distractions of the world must be cleansed away. **(iii.)** The investiture of the High Priest with the vestments of 28 follows: holy persons must have holy habits. Moses is to put upon Aaron the undertunic, the long robe, the ephod (whether skirt or waistcoat), and the pouch, fastening this to him with the band of the ephod, placing the turban on his head, and putting the holy diadem (a fresh word, meaning the blue band that held the golden plate in place) upon the turban (5–7). **(iv.)** The anointing comes next, the oil (3022–33*) being poured upon the head, and none but Aaron receiving unction. Already in Zech. 46 and its context oil is a symbol of the Spirit. **(v.)** The investiture of the ordinary priests with their tunics, sashes, and caps is now described (8–9*a*); but the words "Aaron and his sons" after "girdles" (*i.e.* sashes) should be omitted, with LXX, as a gloss. **(vi.)** Next, Moses is to "consecrate" or rather "install Aaron and his sons." The Heb. (9*b*) is "fill the hands"

(*cf.* 32^{29} J, Lev. 8*, Nu. 3^{3}*, 1 Ch. 29^{5}*), *i.e.* either with the first sacrifices (in which case this section becomes merged in the next), or with some sacred object or implement (*cf.* the delivery of chalice and paten in the Roman and of the Bible in the Anglican Ordinal). (**vii.**) The bullock is then (10–14) to be offered as the sin-offering (since the priest must lead the way in penitence), Aaron and his son marking it as their sacrifice by laying their hands upon its head. For the details see Lev. 4^{4}–^{12}, except that the offerers are treated as laymen (*cf.* Lev. 4^{25}) in that the blood is put on the altar of burnt-offering though the flesh is not eaten, there being no priests yet qualified to eat it; so flesh, skin, and offal are all burnt outside the camp. (**viii.**) One ram is then to be treated as a burnt-offering, the blood being, not "sprinkled upon," but "thrown against" the sides of the altar out of a basin (15–18, *cf.* Lev. 1*). The life of the priest is to be one of entire devotion. (**ix.**) The second ram is called in 22 "a ram of installation," and is to be offered as a peace-offering (19–34, *cf.* Lev. 3*), *i.e.* to become a sacrament of Divine fellowship and human joy through the partaking of the offerers (32f.). Ear, hand, and foot are to be touched with the sacrificial blood, that the priest may worthily hear God's commands, handle the sacred gifts, and tread the holy courts (20). The direction in 21 to "sprinkle" blood and oil on all the priests and their garments, placed earlier in LXX, is a late gloss: observe (against M'Neile) that it is "the anointing oil" (not common oil as in Lev. 14^{15}–^{18} in the case of the leper) which is specified here, and which is reserved for the High Priest in the earlier strata of P. The ceremony of "waving" (22–26) certain parts of the offerings was a characteristic part of priestly ceremonial, signifying that they were, as swung towards the altar, offered to God, and, as swung back, received again from Him as consecrated gifts for reverent consumption. Here the parts are burned (25) because the priests are not yet fully installed. (The two regulations, about the "wave breast" and "heave" or "contribution-thigh" being priestly dues (27), and about the handing on of the High Priest's robes to his successor (29), occupy a parenthesis.) The flesh is next to be boiled and eaten by the priests, with the bread in the basket, at a sacrificial meal on the spot (31f.). Nowhere else is the peace-offering said to effect "atonement" (33*a*, *i.e.* reconciliation, at-one-ment, not expiation). No "stranger" (33*b*), *i.e.* layman (different words in 2^{22}, 12^{48}) might partake. (**x.**) The whole series of ceremonies is to be repeated on seven successive days (35). (**xi.**) The same provision is made in regard to the offering of "a (not "the") bullock of sin-offering," in order to "purge from sin" (regarded as capable of clinging to a material object) "the altar" for seven days (36f.). Observe that the holiness of the altar is such (37*b*) as to infect any unqualified person or thing touching it, so that he or it should be mysteriously at the disposal of the Deity (*cf.* Ezek. 46^{20}*b*).

A disconnected paragraph (38–42) about the daily burnt-offering has been introduced here from Nu. 28^{3}–^{8}*. The last section (43–46) serves as conclusion to 25–29. It falls into two parts. In the first Yahweh promises to meet "there" (*i.e.* at the altar, 37) with Israel—tent, altar, and priests being hallowed by His glorious presence. In the second, which recalls the style of H, and may have been the conclusion of an earlier and simpler account, He promises to "dwell among" them. So the directions for sanctuary and priesthood close with the profound promise of realised fellowship between God and His people. Still, in any community of worshippers, religious revival will depend on the effective realisation of this promise (*cf.* 2 Cor. 6^{14}–^{7}^{1}).

XXX.–XXXI. P^{s}. **Priestly Supplements.**—These two chapters form an appendix to 25–29. The golden incense altar finds no place in 25 or 26^{33}–^{36} or Lev. 16 (where the annual rite of 30^{10} is ignored). Instead we hear of censers in Lev. 16^{12} and Nu. 16^{6}f., while the great altar in the court is called "the altar," as if no other were recognised. Similarly 30^{30}, requiring the unction of Aaron's sons, betrays itself as later than the series of passages in which the High Priest alone receives it, being often indeed called "the anointed priest." Hence these features, mention of the incense altar, reference to anointing of priests, and distinctive naming of "the brazen altar" or "the altar of burnt-offering," are all marks of secondary elements, wherever they occur. From their contents or phraseology the other sections of 30f. betray themselves as supplements.

XXX. 1–10 P^{s}. **The Altar of Incense** (*cf.* 37^{25}–^{28}, 40^{26}).—This altar was to be of gilded acacia wood, 18 inches square and 3 feet high, with horns at the corners, and a gold rim round it, with gold rings for the bearing poles (1–6), and it was to be placed in front of the veil in the holy place. Incense was to be burnt on it (7f.) every morning and every evening (7f.) "when Aaron fixeth on the lamps between the evenings" (12^{6}*). No other sort of offering, and no unauthorised incense, was to be used (9) on it. And an annual rite of atonement (see Driver's note) with the blood of the sin-offering, was prescribed (10, *see* above).

11–16 P^{s}. **The Half-Shekel Ransom-Money.**—There was a primitive dread of counting persons and things (*cf.* 2 S. 24). So whenever a census was made, a ransom of half a shekel (say 1s. 4½d.) was to be required from every person, rich or poor, the standard being "the sacred shekel," perhaps the old Hebrew shekel, equal in weight to the Phœnician (12–15). The money was to go to the upkeep of worship (16). The annual Temple tribute (Mt. 17^{24}*) was based on this ordinance. Perhaps the levy of one-third of the smaller Persian shekel (say 8½d.) in Neh. 10^{32} was the origin of it, the increased amount showing the growth of devotion to the Temple worship amongst the post-exilic community, after Nehemiah's time.

This passage implies the completed sanctuary, and the census (Nu. 1), and so is out of place here. The binding obligation upon all members of a religious community to contribute towards the cost of worship is still very imperfectly recognised among Christians.

17–21 P^{s}. **The Bronze Laver** (*cf.* 38^{8}, 40^{30}).—This passage is an obvious supplement, for it should have come after the law of the altar (27^{1}–^{8}) in the order followed in 38^{8}, and, unlike the preceding laws, this has no note of design or size. It is, moreover, a fragment, as its opening should be "And thou shalt make." In Solomon's Temple there were ten large movable lavers, as well as a "molten sea" (1 K. 7^{38}f.). The single laver was to stand on a bronze base between the tent and the altar, so that the officiating priests might wash their hands and feet and so be clean and safe when entering into the sanctuary itself or serving at the altar. The parallel ancient ceremony of hand-washing (*Lavabo*) at the Communion has symbolism as well as decency in its favour: "holy things demand holy persons."

22–33 P^{s}. **The Anointing Oil** (*cf.* 37^{29}*a*, 40^{9}–^{11}).—This passage is another late supplement, giving minutely the costly composition of the "holy anointing oil"

(23–25) to be applied, not only to Aaron, but to his sons, and to the tent and its fittings (26–30). The ceremony of unction is an old and widespread religious practice, to mark consecration, and endowment with Divine powers (*cf.* Is. 61₁). If, in later Israel, unction was extended from the high priest to other priests and to the sanctuary, in the English Church we find a converse process—unction, which used to be applied at baptism and confirmation and to the sick, being now restricted to the king. Prophets as well as kings seem in ancient Israel to have sometimes received anointing (1 K. 19₁₅f.). This law comes from a time when priests alone came into consideration; for not only may the oil not be put to common use even for priests, or even its composition imitated, but it must not be applied to any layman on pain of excommunication (31–33).

34–38 P^s. **The Incense** (*cf.* 37₂₉*b*).—In early days it was the "sweet smoke" from the burning victims on the altar that was meant by the term *Ketoreth*. But Orientals are passionately fond of perfumes, and as civilisation became more elaborate it was natural that the ceremonial use of incense should be introduced into worship. In still later times it became a beautiful symbol of acceptable prayer (Ps. 141₂, *cf.* Rev. 5₈). Knobel, Driver states, had this recipe made up at Giessen, and found the product "strong, refreshing, and very agreeable."

XXXI. 1–11 P^s. **The Inspiration of the Craftsmen** (*cf.* 35₃₀–36₃).—The inclusion of the incense altar and laver in their proper places in the list of things to be made (7–11) shows that this section also is part of the appendix. It contains a clear recognition of the Divine calling of the artist, and of the principle that only the best of man's handiwork is good enough for the sanctuary (3f.). The chief of the craftsmen is Bezalel, and his colleague is Oholiab (6). The name Bezalel is late in form, and he is in 1 Ch. 2₁₉f. noted as of Calebite descent, while Oholiab is a foreign name and he is a Danite. Following M'Neile, we may conjecture that some old, obscure tradition connected the Danites with the Calebites and Judahites in the south, and linked them with the sanctuary (*cf.* Jg. 18*). The phrase "finely wrought garments" in **10**, perhaps meaning with plaiting like basket-work, is not in 28 P, but recurs in 35₁₉, 39₁, 41 P^s.

12–17 P^s **(12b–14a H). The Sabbath.**—One of the late editors, devoted to the institution of the Sabbath (pp. 101f.), and seeing deep into its religious value, has expanded an older law into what M'Neile calls "the *locus classicus*" on Sabbath observance in the OT. The weekly rest-day is the sacrament of time, linking God and His people in mutual remembrance, and revealing the invisible God to an unbelieving world. Read in 13, as in the close parallel, Ez. 20₁₂, "that men may know that I am Yahweh, which sanctify you." The older law of H punished the profanation of the Sabbath with death (14); the later demands a "sabbath of entire rest," breach bringing death upon the excommunicated offender (14*b*–15, *cf.* Nu. 15₃₅). The disuse of sacrifice among the Jews had emphasised it as the mark of a "perpetual covenant." The strong phrase for the Divine rest after creation, "was refreshed" (lit. "took breath"), supports the view that the priestly writer is here dependent upon an earlier writing from simpler age.

18a P, 18b E. The Tables of Stone.—This is now a link verse, leading up to 32–34, by relating the gift of "the two tables of the testimony" (*cf.* 25₁₂,₂₁*b* P), "the tables of stone, written with the finger of God" (*cf.* Dt. 9₁₀, based on E).

XXXII. 1–6 E, 7–14 Rje, **15–24 E, 25–29 J, 30–34** E^s, **35 E. The Golden Calf.**—32–34 stand between the instructions for the Tent and their fulfilment. Their religious value is high and clear. But their literary growth has been too complex to trace here (*see* Driver, CB 346ff.). It is possible (note "these," 4, 8) that they are a reflection of prophetic criticism on Jeroboam's two calves (1 K. 12₂₈, 2 K. 10₂₉, *cf.* Hos. 8₄–6 and RV references). In **1–6** the withdrawal of the inspired and inspiring leader leaves the people at the mercy of heathenish suggestion. They cry to Aaron for an image to represent Yahweh, and supply him with their gold earrings as covering for the wooden figure of a young bull which he makes. An altar is next made and a feast proclaimed; songs and dances follow. Though the priests of 1 K. 12₃₁ were non-Levitical, from this passage it would appear that an Aaronic priesthood had at some time been concerned with image-worship, the idea of which came, not from Egypt, but probably from the Hittites or Sumerians, both agricultural peoples. In **7–14**, interrupting the story, is a solemn expression of God's abhorrence of idolatry, and a moving description of Moses's effectual intercession. The dramatic account of Moses's discovery and destruction of the image (15–20) follows best on **6**. In **18** the noise heard by Joshua (17) is recognised as song, not the cries of victors or vanquished. Perhaps the breaking of the tables (19) reflects a consciousness that they had been lost. The writing on both sides (15*b*) may be an archaic feature, the words "of the testimony" being a gloss by Rp. The weak apologies of Aaron (21–24) complete the picture of a leader who cannot lead. The patriotic zeal of the Levites (25–29 J) probably refers to a different occasion or another view of Aaron's sin (*cf.* Dt. 9₂₀) as rebellion, and **29** (see *mg.*) may have begun J's account of the origin of the priesthood (*cf.* 29₂₄*), cut short by R in view of Lev. 8. A second and more moving account of Moses as intercessor follows in **30–34**: he offers, not to suffer eternal death, but, like Elijah (1 K. 19₄), to die and be blotted out of the roll of living citizens. The closing verse is obscure and isolated.

XXXIII. 1–4 J, 5–11 E, 12–23 J. Yahweh's Presence.—The sections of 34 have been glossed and disarranged. In **1–4** J, Yahweh's refusal to "go up in the midst of" Israel leads the people to put off their ornaments. In **5f.** follows from E Yahweh's order to put off ornaments and its execution. This may have been connected with the construction of the sacred Tent which is assumed as known in **7–11**, the details being dropped in view of 25–28. Anyhow, we have here the earlier representation of the simple tent *outside* the camp, as were the "high places" outside the towns. The visits to the tent were (7₁₁) more for obtaining oracles than for offering sacrifice, and Joshua, not Aaron, had charge. The sequel is to be found in Nu. 11₁₆–17*a*, 24*b*–30, Ex. 18, where sacrifice implies a sanctuary. The more natural order of verses in **12–23** would be: **17, 12–16, 19, 18, 20–23**, leading up to the sequel 34₅–9. The whole then gives a remarkable account of the yearning for Yahweh's "presence" (lit. "face") amongst His people. Moses is granted a view of Yahweh's back as He passes by (Driver, "the afterglow which He leaves behind Him"). [Observe the difference of this and 24₁₁. Here it would seem that the sight of Yahweh's face must inevitably bring death, as if Yahweh Himself could not prevent the fatal consequence. In 24₁₁ the preservation of those who see Him is ascribed to His gracious self-restraint. He does not put His hand upon them, or "break forth upon" them as 19₂₂ puts it.—A. S. P.] It may be

that originally the Ark was here expressly named as the symbol and means of the real but invisible presence.

XXXIV. 1–28 J. The Covenant Words.—After removing **5–9**, the sublime account of the revelation of Yahweh's nature as "mercy and truth" in their unity, which follows on 33_{23}, the remainder is the sequel of J's account of the descent upon Sinai in 19, and the clauses (1, 3) referring to "the first (tables)" are glosses of the editor who displaced this section (*cf.* p. 183). And it may be that originally, as in Dt. 10_{1-3}, the construction of the Ark was included here. The announcement of the covenant in **10** leads up to its conclusion in **27f.**, and the ratifying covenant-feast in J is described in 24if.,9f.* The Words have been, as in the case of the Decalogue and E's Covenant Book, freely glossed, **10b–13, 15f., 18b, 24,** at least being additions. The several laws are parallel to others already given in E: *i.e.* **14a** || $20_{3,23a}$; **17** || $20_{4,23b}$; **18** || 23_{15}; **19–20a** || 22_{30}; **20b** || 22_{29b}; **20c** || 23_{15}; **21** || 23_{12}; **22ab** || 23_{16ab}; **23** || 23_{17}; **25ab** || 23_{18ab}; **26ab** || 23_{19ab}. It is probable that the original "Ten Words" (28) have been increased by additions from E. The peculiarity of this code is that it is exclusively concerned with religion. As, however, morality rests on religion, and religion is weakened by disunion, the importance for morals of wise and generally accepted regulations for religious practice is obvious.

XXXV.–XL. Ps. The Construction and Erection of the Sacred Tent.—This division of the book is generally recognised as coming from the latest stratum in the Hexateuch. This conclusion can be denied (as recently by A. H. Finn in JThS 16449–481) only by those who ignore the number, variety, and independence of the converging lines of proof which point to it. The clearest and most specific ground for it is that the later elements in the appendix (30f.) to 25–29 are here redistributed and put in their proper places. Further, the radical differences of order, and astonishing omissions—as, in places, of the incense altar and the laver (both among the supplements in 30)—in LXX require the assumption that the Gr. translators had the material before them in an earlier and less well-arranged draft of the Heb. text. It does not follow that all differences are due to this cause, and the suggestion that the translators were not the same for 25–31 and 35–40 is shown by Finn to be ill-supported, as the present writer had independently pointed out in 1914. But the general conclusion (arrived at by Popper in 1862) that the Alexandrian Jews *c.* 250 B.C. had not yet received the Heb. text in its final form as we have it, sheds a flood of light on the flexibility and capacity for growth and adaptation which the Pentateuchal laws of worship preserved even at that late date. The virtual stereotyping of the text was probably subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70.

The repetition of detail is minute and the verbal correspondence is close, but the copying is not slavish or unintelligent; *e.g.* clauses that relate to erection and use are disregarded till the right point is reached in 40. Besides the two full-length descriptions, the plan (25–31) and its execution (35–39), there are no less than five summaries, 31_{7-10}, 35_{11-19}, 39_{33-41}, 40_{2-15}, 40_{18-33}. The differences of order and contents between these, and between the Heb. and LXX, confirm the conclusions as to the gradual elaboration of these chapters. From the point of view of the student of religion this last division adds little to what went before (but see 35_{20-29} below).

XXXV. 1–3 Ps. The Sabbath.—This summarises 31_{12-17}, but the kindling of fire is not elsewhere expressly forbidden in OT.

4–19 Ps. Summary of materials needed and things to be made. This follows generally the order of 35–39, but veil and screen are put in order of erection, not together as 36_{35}ff.

20–29 Ps. The Willing Contributors.—The picture presented, of generous and general giving for the sanctuary, in its spirit happily expresses the joyous readiness of Yahweh's worshippers in the earliest times to bring their best gifts in His honour, while the costly gifts reflect an age when wealthy individuals had become numerous. The contribution of fabrics by the women, still the spinners of the East, is noted in **25f.**

30–XXXVI. 7 Ps. The Craftsmen and their Supplies.—The first paragraph (to 36_1) describes the call of Bezalel and Oholiab (*cf.* 31_{2}ff.). The second (2–7) relates, with a glowing idealisation of the conditions of that golden age, how the craftsmen had to restrain the givers from bringing too much.

8–38 Ps. The Tent.—This section comes first instead of following the account of its contents as in **26.** The fourfold curtains are described first (8–19, *cf.* 26_{1-14}); then the framework (20–34, *cf.* 26_{15-29}); and lastly the veil and screen (35_{-38}, *cf.* 26_{31}f.,36f.). The only new feature is the gradation in gilding by which the veil pillars were all gilt and the screen pillars had gilded capitals (38), while the pillars at the entrance of the court had silvered tops (38_{19}).

XXXVII. Ps. Furniture of the Tent.—The several items are named in due order: the Ark (1–9, *cf.* 25_{10-20}), the Table (10–16, *cf.* 25_{23-29}), the Lampstand (17–24, *cf.* 25_{31-39}), the Altar of Incense (25–28, *cf.* 30_{1-5} Ps., but not in LXX), the holy Anointing Oil and the Incense (29, *cf.* $30_{22-25,34}$f.), the last two being quite differently placed in the various summaries and in LXX here.

XXXVIII. Ps. Altar, Laver, and Court.—The great "altar of burnt-offering" is now so distinguished in **1–7** (in 27_{1-8}* it is "the altar"). The laver is briefly mentioned (8*a*, *cf.* 30_{18-21}), the reference to the "mirrors of the host of women" (8*b*) being regarded as a gloss because presupposing the erection of the Tent. In **9–20** the Outer Court is described (*cf.* 27_{9-19}), the latter part containing variations. In **15** the words "on this hand . . . court," not in 27_{15}, are an obvious gloss, misplaced here. In **21–31** we have a late supplement specifying the metals used. The census of Nu. 1 and the appointment of Levites in Nu. 3 are presupposed, and the poll-tax for maintenance is taken as a contribution of silver for manufacture into utensils. Driver renders **21,** "These are the reckoning of (the metals employed for) the Dwelling, even the Dwelling of the testimony, which were reckoned . . . Moses; (being) the work of the Levites, under the hand of Ithamar." Then in **22f.** the leading craftsmen, Bezalel and Oholiab, are reintroduced. The silver reckoned in **25–28** is solely the product of the tax, worth £16,262 at present rates; and the silver given according to $35_{5,24}$ is ignored. Three specimens of the "beka" (26) have been found in Palestine, their weight averaging under 100 grains, indicating that they were Phœnician half-shekels of 112 grains when new.

XXXIX. Ps. Vestments and Summary.—**1a** and **1b** are doublets, and **1a** perhaps once began a full account of the woven fabrics, now given in another place. The explanation in **3** as to the way in which they worked in the gold is new here. There is abridgment in some verses, and after a sentence concluding the full account of the constructive process a fresh summary follows, the workers being generalised (32, 42)

as "the children of Israel." The chapter closes with the inspection of the work by Moses and his benediction upon the workers, a feature reproduced in the Order for the Consecration of Churches as commonly used.

XL. Ps. **The Erection of the Tent.**—After a further summary of instructions mostly given before (1–15), and involving the very latest developments (*cf.* the anointing of the assistant priests in 15), the actual erection is described in **16–33,** Moses himself inaugurating the ceremonial of worship (23, 25, 27, 29). Both in this section and in 39 1–31 a studied parallel with the Divine work of creation in Gen. 1 is produced by the refrain, seven times repeated, "as Yahweh commanded Moses." The present book fitly closes (34–38, *cf.* 13 21f.*) with the description of the descent of the Divine glory, its unearthly light visible by night and day within the cloud, which yet shrouded its insufferable brilliance from mortal eyes. By this symbolic representation the sublime conception of the perpetual presence of the invisible God was reconciled with His unapproachable majesty. Observe that Lev. 8f., describing the preparation of the priesthood, must originally have immediately followed. Possibly the account of the descent of the glory in Lev. 9 23 has been anticipated in 40 34–38, which belongs to a later stratum of P.

LEVITICUS

By Professor W. F. LOFTHOUSE

1. Structure of Leviticus.—The book falls into two clearly-marked parts: (*a*) 1–16, 27; and (*b*) 17–26. The latter, known as the "Holiness Code," or H, is itself made up of five main sections: (*a*) sacrifices (17), (*b*) sexual and social legislation (18–20), (*c*) priests and sacrifices (21f.), (*d*) the calendar (23, 25, with 24 inserted), and (*e*) epilogue (26). In (*b*) 20 was originally independent of 18, as is also shown by the insertion of 19, and in (*d*) 25 is distinct from 23. That H is a compilation, and, as it would seem, a compilation of compilations, is further shown by the numerous repetitions, misplaced sections (*e.g.* 20$_{27}$), and fragments of H found elsewhere (*e.g.* 11$_{43-45}$, and Nu. 15$_{37-41}$). Certain later laws are also embedded in the sections (see, *e.g.*, notes on 23). But at least three ideas appear in H, with a prominence unknown in the rest of the Law: Holiness (whence the name "Holiness Code"); "I am Yahweh"; and the land as itself polluted by sin. The stress on social morality (see especially 19) is also foreign to P. All this suggests, as the authors of H, a group of reformers, filled with an enthusiasm at once legislative, moral, and religious. Their action was selective (for much is neglected that a complete code would necessarily have mentioned); conservative (*cf.* laws on blood, 17$_{11}$, slaves, 25$_{39}$ff., and feasts, 23, and see note on 17$_4$); and innovating (*cf.* laws on Levirate, 18$_{16}$, Jubile, 25, and Chief Priest, 21$_{10}$ff.). There are certain striking similarities to Dt. (central sanctuary, social duties, and the epilogue). Like Dt., they are in strong sympathy with the prophetic emphasis on morality, and, like Dt., they are convinced that this, by itself, is insufficient. But the language is very different (*cf.* on innovations, above). There are also similarities to P (sacrifices, High Priest, and calendar); but again the language is different, and the leading ideas (see above) are not found in P. Far closer is the relation to Ezek. (especially holiness, "I am Yahweh," the land, the attitude to social morality). Language and style are also very similar. But we cannot identify the author with Ezek.; for (*a*), the author is not a single individual; and (*b*), discrepancies between the laws in Lev. and Ezek.'s sketch of law in 40–48 disprove actual dependence of either one or the other (21ff.*). H, therefore, must be placed between Dt. and P; and, from its relation to Ezek., probably between 600 and 570 B.C.; *i.e.* the group of reformers was at work in the last days of the Judæan kingdom or at the beginning of the Exile, perhaps in Babylon between the two deportations. Later, H was worked over by writers of the school of P, and later still embedded in the final edition of P.

1–16, with 27. This also embraces five sections: (*a*) sacrifice (1–7); (*b*) consecration of priests (8–10), (*c*) impurities (11–15), (*d*) the "Day" (16), (*e*) vows and tithes (27). Of these (*a*) forms an independent whole, breaking the sequence between Ex. and Lev.8. Lev. 2, however, is a later insertion, and 6f. forms an appendix to 1–5; (*b*) is homogeneous and continues Ex. 40; (*c*) contains four independent but allied bodies of law, in which older principles are worked up into harmony with the spirit of P; (*d*) is made up of three separate elements, rules for the Holy of Holies, the yearly day of penitence, and the elaborated ritual (see notes for date); (*e*) is probably secondary. Thus, like H, these chapters contain a body of tradition developed by a special school of thought; as in the rest of P, the sections, or portions of sections, were apparently at least in part independent, and then placed side by side; properly speaking, P, like H, is not a single code at all but a collection of rules (see Introd. to Pent.). Eerdmans holds that H as a separate code is non-existent, and that the whole of Lev. was the law-book of Hezekiah's reformation. That the book contains elements of law far older than Dt. is certain. But the affinities to Ezek. and to P make it impossible to suppose that H, in its present form, was written in the eighth century. Both parts of the book breathe a spirit quite different from that of Isaiah and of Hebrew religion in the eighth century, and both imply Dt.

2. Holiness is a term characteristic of both parts of Lev. and of all the ritual law. Properly, what is holy possesses a quality which demands caution and restriction in its use (if an object), in approach to it (if a place), or in intercourse with it (if a person). If these are not observed, there is danger, and the quality itself is communicable and infectious (Ezek. 46$_{20}$, Is. 65$_5$). This conception is possible for animistic or pre-animistic stages of religion, but as religion comes to centre round a god or gods, these restrictions will be regarded as imposed by the god for his own often inscrutable purposes. They will have no necessary connexion with morality (*cf.* primitive "taboos," and see on 11–15); but as the desires and demands of the god are brought more and more within the sphere of what is moral, the restrictions demanded by holiness will assume an increasingly moral character. Every advance in culture and knowledge of hygiene will also tend to react on the list of these restrictions; the list thus becomes an index of the social and moral condition of the people, ancient survivals occurring beside new developments. To the Hebrew, and specially in H, the conception of holiness is inseparable from that of Yahweh. Yahweh is the fount of holiness. It is because the holiness of Yahweh is fenced round by restrictions, that persons, places, and objects brought into close "touch" with Him are holy, *i.e.* dangerous or taboo for common intercourse. Hebrew ritual law is simply a body of instruction how to act in face of these restrictions. The prophets of the eighth century were the first to realise that the only distinctions of value in the eyes of Yahweh are moral (in P this is unmentioned); but in H, honesty and kindliness are included in what is necessitated by Yahweh's holiness; and H goes beyond the rest of the Law (Dt. and P) in

asserting that from Yahweh's holiness follows the holiness of the whole people and of the land. (On the distinction between holiness and cleanness, see on 11–15.) However imperfect such a conception of holiness may appear, the emphasis laid in H on the moral by the side of the ritual prepares the way for such passages as Ps. 15, Is. 57^{15} and Col. 1$_{22}$.

3. Sacrifice and Atonement in Lev.—The impulses which first led to sacrifice (social feeling, gratitude, fear, etc.) and the primitive conceptions of sacrifice (gift, meal, payment, bribe, etc.) are mostly unnoticed in H and P, which content themselves with laying down the details for the various sacrificial rites. In this connexion, the early ideas of "memorial" (2^{16} *), "food of Yahweh," and "sweet savour" are preserved; but the important elements are the presentation, slaughter and disposition of the victim, and the manipulation of the blood; these are common to all the four types of sacrifice, though they vary in each. All centre round the actual application of the blood to some holy thing or place, or to the person of the worshipper. The most characteristic phrase used in connexion with sacrifice is "to make atonement." Usually the priest is said to make atonement for the worshipper; often, "concerning his sin." Whether atonement means "covering" or "wiping" is immaterial for Lev.; but all atonement is for sin. Sin, however (4^{1} *) is not deliberate disobedience. Generally, it is unwitting infraction of the laws of holiness or cleanness; also certain diseases or morbid states. (Note also 5^{14} on the guilt offering, when restitution is necessary as well.) In the latter cases, sacrifice only takes place after the disease is gone; in the former, after the error is discovered, or, for "sins" known and unknown, on the Day of Atonement. Thus, the distinctive sacrifices of P (sin and guilt) mark the resumption of relations interfered with, or made dangerous, by "sin"; and the older sacrifices (peace and burnt) are regarded in a similar light in P (*cf.* 1$_{4}$). There is no idea of appeasement. Yahweh is regarded by H as graciously providing means for this resumption (17^{11}). To "make atonement" is nothing but to recover for a person this free access to Yahweh. There is no theorising, save that (in a different connexion, 17^{11}) the blood is said to be the vehicle of the life; but underlying the whole is a deep-seated dread of the semi-physical pollution which bars safe access to Yahweh and even prevents unfettered intercourse with the community, and which can only be removed by certain fixed traditional rites. For the bulk of deliberate sins, there is no sacrifice; only an entire breaking off of relations, in excommunication, or death (*cf.* 17$_{9}$, 20^{18}f.) (See article on Religious Institutions.)

Literature.— *Commentaries:* (*a*) Kennedy (Cent.B), Chapman and Streane (CB), Driver and White (SBOT Eng.); (*c*) Dillmann (KEH), Baentsch (HK), Bertholet KHC). *Other Literature:* Driver and White (SBOT Heb.), Eerdmans, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, IV. See further, bibliographies to articles "Pentateuch," and "Religious Institutions of Israel."

I.–VII. The Law of Sacrifices: Burnt Offering (1), Meal Offering (2), Peace Offering (3), Sin Offering (4^{1}–5^{13}), Trespass Offering (5^{14}–6^{7}), Directions chiefly for Priests (6^{8}–7^{38}).

I. Burnt Offering or Whole Burnt Offering.—This is a constant element in the worship of the community; it is too solemn for the victim to be shared by the offerer. In the historical books, we find it practised before some great occasion or enterprise or after a reverse (Gen. 8$_{20}$, Jg. 6$_{26}$, 2 S. 24$_{25}$). Only domestic and "clean" animals and birds could be offered (a restriction peculiar to Heb. practice). The part of the worshipper is to lay his hand on the victim, kill, flay, cut it up, and wash it, on the N. side of the altar; the priest does the rest at the altar itself—pouring out the blood, bringing the fire, arranging the parts of the victim. For further sacrificial arrangements, see Nu. 15^{1}–16.

1f. Introductory formula, common throughout P. The original of "oblation" is a technical and general word, identical with "Korban" (Mk. 7$_{11}$); "brought near."

3–9. First Kind of Burnt Offering: Cattle.—The two conditions (male, and without blemish) are indispensable for all burnt offerings, *cf.* 22^{17}–^{25}; contrast for peace offerings, 3$_{1}$. For the laying on of hands, *cf.* 3$_{2}$, 8$_{22}$, 16$_{21}$, 24$_{14}$; Ex. 29$_{15}$. It denotes, not substitution, but responsibility and sharing; it is a solemn declaration, and the gesture itself has its importance. P does not remove this element in the sacrifice from the laity. References in the Law to sacrifice as *atoning* are peculiar to P. The term is nowhere explained; it is evidently of far wider application than an act of personal renunciation for another's wilful disobedience; it is used for all those acts which are regarded in the cultus as putting the individual into the right relation with Yahweh. The layman kills, as in older Heb. and Arab practice; but the blood is regarded in P as too sacred (and dangerous) for the layman to manipulate. It is presented, or brought near (the root is that of the word "oblation"); and sprinkled from a bowl (for sprinkling from the fingers, another word is used, 16$_{14}$). The skin is flayed, because it is the perquisite of the priests (*cf.* 2 Ch. 29$_{34}$). The parts are arranged on the altar, as if a meal for the Godhead were being prepared. The fat, or the suet round the entrails, is a special delicacy. The entrails themselves and the legs must be washed as being the unclean parts. The text does not make it clear whether this is to be done by priest or offerer. "Sweet savour" is a term almost confined to P; it is used of offerings made by fire, and suggests a smell of rest and contentment, almost as if it were a narcotic. The hint of archaism here, as in the sprinkling and laying in order, will be noted. Certain elements in the cultus must be retained, however completely their original purpose may be forgotten or even repudiated. Note also that Levites are not mentioned here, or elsewhere in Lev. Contrast Ezr. 8$_{15}$, Neh. 8$_{7}$, 11$_{18}$, etc., and note Ezek. 44$_{11}$.

10–13. Offering of Sheep or Goat.—The ritual is identical. The choice of victim—more or less expensive—is left to the worshipper. 11 adds the detail of "northward" (*cf.* 4$_{24}$, and 7$_{2}$). Eastward is the "tent" or Temple building (the whole sanctuary lies E. and W.); W. is the "laver," S. is the approach.

14–17. Birds.—This class is not mentioned in 2, and may be a later addition to the list of possible offerings (it is not referred to in the narrative books of OT) for the sake of the poor (Lk. 2$_{24}$). Turtle doves and pigeons are always mentioned together in Lev., and no other birds are allowed. Doves have a sacred character in both Babylonian and Greek rituals. The head of the bird is to be nipped off (*cf.* RVm), not wholly severed; separate parts of a bird (so 17) are too small to lay on the altar. The blood is drained off, as there will not be enough for sprinkling from a bowl.

II. The Meal Offering.—In 7$_{1}$–$_{11}$, the meal offering is regarded as the regular accompaniment of the peace offering, as bread is naturally eaten with meat. Here it is apparently an independent offering; note also the

use of the second personal pronoun in 4ff., not in the other chapters. Probably we have here an older ritual (*cf.* 2 K. 16^{15}). Ch. 1 is naturally followed by ch. 3. This offering is not eaten by laymen.

1–3. General Ritual.—The term used here for meal offering was originally used for any present, either to God or man (Gen. 43, 32^{14}); in P it is confined to vegetable offerings. The material was most probably a somewhat coarse meal, as that used by the Arabs for their sacrifices. Oil is the natural Heb. accompaniment of a baked flour cake. Part of the offering belongs to Yahweh (*i.e.* must be burnt), part to the priests; this is the case with all offerings classed as "most holy" (holy in the first class). A "holy" thing (holy in the second class) could be eaten by a layman, but not by a foreigner (*cf.* 22^{10}). Sin and guilt offerings could not be eaten at all. The actual proportion to be given to Yahweh is not stated, nor the amount to be offered; contrast the measurements in regard to the High Priest's offering in 6^{20}.

4–13. Additional Directions.—The different kinds of meal offerings, and some further general rules. The offering might be in the form of thin wafers, or of "girdle cakes" (a baking pan is a flat plate or grid), or small "puddings" (in which case the oil is necessary as flavouring)—whichever form is most convenient in view of the worshipper's *ménage*. Leaven (see Ex. 23 18), like honey, will set up fermentation, or go sour. For this reason it is, perhaps, that milk is never allowed in offerings. Honey would also be unfamiliar to nomads; contrast Ezek. 16^{19}. Salt, as a relish, is also necessary for its purifying effect, and as a symbol of the covenant (Nu. 18^{19}*).

14–16. Meal Offering as Firstfruits.—These are not to be offered "raw," but if from garden growth (RV, "fresh ear") in the form of bruised grits. The ritual is as in 1–3. The part of it which is burnt is called a "memorial"; this term is regularly connected with the term "offering made by fire." Its original is probably the ritual calling upon the name of Yahweh (calling the sacrifice to His remembrance) which would accompany the actual burning, the culminating point of the whole rite.

III. Peace Offerings.—This properly follows ch. 1, and describes the ritual of the next great class of sacrifices, the peace offerings. These are familiar in the narrative parts of the OT, and the Book of the Covenant. The root of the Heb. term for "peace offering" denotes not simply "peace" in our sense, but "being quits" with another. In the OT generally, the peace offering is a common meal, wherein God, priest, and worshippers sit down, as it were, together, in token that there is nothing which separates them, and that all causes of displeasure on the part of God are at an end. This offering is often spoken of as "sacrifice" par excellence (*cf.* 1 S. 11^{15}, 1 K. 1^{19}). It often takes the form of a family or communal commemoration, of a joyous and festal character (1 S. 20^{29}). In the Levitical system, each personage at the banquet has his own portion; to Yahweh belong the blood and the fat (the former as sacred or "taboo"—too dangerous for mortals to consume; the latter for the same reason or as being the special delicacy); the rest of the victim is boiled (*cf.* 1 S. 2^{13}ff.); to the priest go the breast and shoulder; to the worshippers the rest (7^{12}ff., Nu. 15^{17}ff.). Here, however, only Yahweh's portions are mentioned. Originally this would seem to have been the commonest form of sacrifice; by P it is subordinated to the burnt offering.

1–5. Cattle.—Females as well as males are allowed here, though not for the burnt offering. The different kinds of fat, all of which belong to Yahweh, are carefully specified (*cf.* Dt. 32^{14}, Is. 34^{6}). The fat on the kidneys is thought of, as the Arab proverb shows, as the seat of life, like the blood (17^{14}). By the caul is meant the caudate lobe. The liver itself, by many peoples, has been used for divination, notably in Babylonian ritual; perhaps for this reason it is included among the parts to be burnt.

6–11. Sheep.—"Flock" (6) includes either sheep or goats, but note that by implication only lambs, and not full-grown sheep, are to be offered. The ritual is the same as for cattle, save that the fat tail (another special delicacy, properly the fat lying close to the tail in certain breeds of sheep) is carefully mentioned. The offerer denies himself the pleasantest parts. The old anthropomorphic view survives in the mention of "the food" in 11. These words may have formed part of the ritual language used from time immemorial by the priest at the altar.

12–16. Goats.—The language is the same as in the preceding paragraph, save that the tail is not mentioned. Birds are not included among the victims for peace offerings. They could hardly be divided among the participants. The whole chapter, and specially 17, shows that P's interest is not with the sacrifice as a whole, but one particular part of it, the scrupulous devoting of the fat and the blood to Yahweh. We can distinguish here and elsewhere in P, as in the other codes, the hand of the legislative reformer.

IV. 1–V. 13. The Sin Offering.—This, and the guilt offering, whose ritual follows, are unknown before the Exile, save as fines (2 K. 12^{16}, Am. 2^{8}). Ezek. mentions both, but is conscious of no difference between them. Probably the distinction between them grew up gradually (see on 5^{14}ff.). The ritual is derived partly from that of the burnt offering and peace offering; partly from other old rites. No idea of substitution seems to be implied (though it is true that a ritual tablet from Babylonia states that idea very clearly; "the life of the kid has he given for his own life, its head for his head," etc.), since the sin offering is "most holy," a term which could not be applied to the offerer; a meal offering is included, as if the sacrifice were thought of originally as an offering of food; and the sacrifice is offered for sins not demanding death, though the victim is always killed, and by the worshipper. [Observe also that were the sacrifice substitutionary, the chief point would be the slaughter. But it was rather the manipulation of the blood.—A. S. P.] On the other hand, the conception of a gift or payment in return for a wrong done is prominent throughout. The offerer has no more share in his offering than in the case of the burnt offering, though the priest has. This becomes clearer when it is seen that "sin" is used, not of deliberate disobedience or defiance of Yahweh's moral law, but more particularly of ritual or ceremonial mistakes or defilement committed through inadvertence or ignorance. The sin offering often accompanies other sacrifices; in Ezek., the consecration of the altar (43^{19}). While the later legislation thus purifies the sacrificial ritual from anything that could remotely savour of irreverence, it is very far from the standpoint of Ps. 51; it simply perpetuates, for good and evil, the primitive conception of sin as an infraction of the restrictions or "taboos" imposed on human conduct by the deity. The main characteristics of the sin offering are the killing of the victim by the worshipper and the pouring out of the blood, as in the burnt offering; the flesh is burnt outside the camp or eaten by the priest, *i.e.* it is "most holy." The manipulation of the blood, however, is

more complicated (*cf.* 5ff.), and different kinds of animals are to be offered, according to the rank of the offerer—High Priest, congregation, ruler, private person, or the poor. The seven times repeated sprinkling of the blood "before Yahweh" (6) recalls the ritual of ch. 16; both may well be among the latest developments of Priestly legislation.

1f. General Statement.—These sins are committed "through error" (RVm), when the "sinner" thinks that he is doing something else, or does not know that what he is doing is wrong; *i.e.* to us, they are not "sins" at all. *Cf.* 22, Nu. 15$^{24-29}$, Jos. 20^{3}, and contrast the phrase, sinning "with a high hand," *i.e.* deliberately (Nu. 15^{30}; *cf.* penalties in Lev. 20^{2}ff.); for this, only excommunication or death is possible.

3–12. Sin Offering of the High Priest.—Inadvertences at the altar, which would, if unatoned for, have the most dangerous consequences for the whole community. The "anointed" priest is the High Priest (6^{22}, 8^{12,30}, 21^{10}). He is the representative of the whole people; his guilt or error is therefore theirs. There is no choice of animals here, as in 3. The chief part of the rite is the presentation of the blood, the "life" of the animal, to Yahweh. It is brought to the tent of meeting, *i.e.* the actual shrine of the sanctuary, where alone Yahweh "meets" with the priest. The more important the offence and the offerer, the nearer the blood must be brought to Yahweh; hence, in this case, sprinkling on the altar would not be enough. The priest stands with the blood inside the outer compartment of the shrine, and sprinkles the blood upon the curtain that separates the outer from the inner compartment—the latter being regarded as the special abode of the Shekinah, or glory of Yahweh on earth. (For the *seven*-fold sprinkling, *cf.* Jos. 6^{15}, 2 K. 5^{10}.) The analogy with the special rite of Lev. 16 is clear; but nothing is said in Lev. 16 of the altar of incense; in Ex. 30^{10}, the sprinkling on the altar of incense is mentioned in connexion with the Day of Atonement, but its use is restricted to that rite. Probably, therefore, unlike *the* altar, it was within the shrine. Not even the priests may eat of this sacrifice; they are involved in the "sin." The duty of burning the carcase belongs to the High Priest himself; but in the text of the LXX and Sam. it is assigned to the priests. The "clean place" to which the carcase is taken may possibly be a euphemism.

13–21. The Sin Offering for the Whole Congregation.—The offering is the same as for the priest, but the elders, as acting for the congregation or assembly, are to lay hands on the victim. These elders are not elsewhere mentioned in P. Some of the ritual directions are here omitted (8f., 11), but the significant clause is added that by the offering the people have atonement made for them, and they are forgiven. The formula for sin in 13 is a quite general one, and the word used for "forgive" is not peculiarly ritual in its use; but it is difficult to see what sins could be committed by the congregation as a whole save ritual ones; and this is borne out by the words "when (it) is known." Such a sin as that of Achan (Jos. 7), though it involved the whole nation in its consequences, was punished in a very different way. What if such a "sin" never became known? It was covered on the Day of Atonement. In 5^{3}, however, the guilt is said to follow on the discovery of the unintentional wrong-doing. Contrast this ritual with that of Nu. 15^{24}ff.

22–26. The Sin Offering for a Ruler, or tribal chief or representative. The word is also used of the one chief of the nation in post-exilic writers when the succession of kings had come to an end. It would apply to Nehemiah, or perhaps to a foreign ruler like the Persian Bagoas, governor of Jerusalem in 402 B.C. The offering is a goat instead of a bullock, and its blood is only smeared on the horns of the altar, not sprinkled, and, as it would seem, by an ordinary priest, not the High Priest.

27–35. The Laymen's Sin Offering.—The victim is here either a goat or a lamb—the offerer could apparently choose which, and in each case a female. In other points the ritual is the same. For "common people" RVm is better. The phrase is used in the histories for the people as a whole, or the popular party in opposition to the court. In Ezra it denotes the semi-heathen population surviving after the return from exile. *Cf.* Jn. 7^{49}.

V. 1–6. Sins for which Offerings are Necessary.—The first case is that of one who, when evidence in a trial is called for under a curse, deliberately conceals what he knows (there is no "unwittingly" here); the crime of silence is paralleled with ceremonial uncleanness. The second case is that arising from contact either with an unclean animal or from other defilement. Further details of these taboos are given in 12–15, and a harsher law is found in Nu. 19^{13,20}. The third case is that of one who finds that he has not carried out an oath uttered in rashness or thoughtlessness (*cf.* Ps. 15^{4}). Guilt is regarded as following on discovery; confession must then be made, and the animal to be offered is the same as in 4^{28,32}. Confession is mentioned only here and in Nu. 5^{7}; it is made by the priest for the whole nation on the Day of Atonement (16^{21}). These verses break the order of thought; they join moral to ritual cases of guilt, and they make no difference between guilt and sin offerings; the directions as to ritual are simpler than in what precedes and follows; and there is no distinction of classes; the offering stated is that for the common people in 4. The fact that guilt and sin offerings are identical in 14^{12}ff., and the absence of the mention of guilt offering in 9, suggests that the guilt offering was not known in the earlier sections of P, and that the differentiation in 4 and 5 is a later development. The two kinds of offerings, however, are mentioned together in 2 K. 12^{16}.

V. 7–13. Concessions to Poverty in the case of sin offerings. This section takes up the last verses in 4. ("Guilt offering" in 7 should be "sin offering" as is shown by 8f.) If the offerer cannot afford a lamb, two turtle doves or young pigeons may be offered. Only one of these is properly a sin offering; but another, for a burnt offering, has to be given as well, as one would hardly be enough. Part of the blood is sprinkled on the side of the altar, part poured out at the base (*cf.* 4^{7}). If not even this can be afforded, a small meal offering will be accepted as a sin offering. A tenth of an ephah would form about 6½ pints. Oil and frankincense are the natural accompaniments, as in 2^{15}. These concessions are doubtless because the "sin" is of an "unwitting" character. Whether the offerer or the priests is to decide as to the kind of victim, is not stated.

V. 14–VI. 7. The Trespass or Guilt Offering.—This is of two kinds, though the principle of amendment is the same. The first kind is stated vaguely; committing a trespass (the word means acting unfaithfully or treacherously; it is coupled with sinning "unwittingly" in 15, 17). The offence consists in treating what is Yahweh's as if it were not Yahweh's, *i.e.* incorrectness, really unintentional, connected with some

offering. If not unintentional, the penalty is different (Nu. 15$_{30}$). The offerer is not said to kill the guilt offering; though elsewhere, the offerer's act of killing is carefully mentioned, and it seems to be implied in 7$_{2}$. The second case is intentional—trickery in a matter of deposit or pledge (RVm), or theft, or "oppression," or keeping another's property, or falsehood; all these are trespasses against Yahweh, and as such must be atoned for by a trespass or guilt offering. This offering consists in restitution and, in the first case, amends; the restitution is a ram; the amends is one fifth of the value of the ram. In the second case, the object held back is itself restored with an addition of one-fifth of its value; and a ram is offered to Yahweh as well. The "amends" necessitates a valuation; this is to be made in "sanctuary shekels" (see on 27 16–25). 17–19 seems to add nothing to the preceding; there is no mention of "amends," and "guilt offering" is spoken of, with reference to the subjects of sin offering in 4. Perhaps it is an older fragment; *cf.* Ezr. 10$_{19}$, where for the sin of marrying foreign wives, a ram is offered by the people "for their guilt." In the case of trespass against one's neighbour, the procedure is parallel; in this case, the restitution is mentioned before the ram of the guilt offering. But the latter is as necessary as the former; all morality is the concern of Yahweh, and in every trespass He is injured. This is one of the few references to social morality in P. The earlier prophets refer to little else, and Ezekiel, in ch. 18, confines his catalogue to non-ritual offences, to be purged only by repentance.

VI. 8–VII. 38. Special Manual for Priests, given to "Aaron and his sons" (9, 14, 25, etc.; contrast 42, etc.). The peace offering is here placed last. It may be noted that two sections (7$_{7–10}$ and 7$_{22–27}$) seem to break the connexion; they are perhaps insertions from independent laws. None of these provisions affect laymen.

VI. 8–13. The Priests and the Burnt Offering (*cf.* ch. 1).—This section, however, obviously refers specially to the "continual" or daily sacrifice. The fire on the altar is to be perpetual, like the Roman Vesta-fire; the victim is to rest on the "hearth" or plate on the top of the altar. The priest is to be clothed in linen, as conducing to bodily cleanliness and avoiding sweat (*cf.* also Ex. 28$_{42}$). When the priest carries away the ashes (*cf.* on 4$_{12}$), he is to change his garments; the altar garments must not risk "infecting" common objects (*cf.* Ezek. 44$_{19}$*). Originally there was but one burnt offering daily (*cf.* 2 K. 16$_{15}$), as here; in Ex. 29 38ff. and Nu. 28$_{3}$ff., two; so Dan. 9$_{21}$. Lev. here gives what is relatively the earlier usage.

14–18. The Daily Meal Offering (*cf.* ch. 2 for occasional meal offerings). A meal offering, however, accompanies every burnt offering. This section repeats the provision that no leaven must be used in the baking, and adds that the priests who eat their portion of it must do so in a holy place, and that no women must partake of it; the women of the priests' families are in a lower grade of holiness; to them, as to laymen, the "holy" offerings are taboo. This provision is mentioned here because the priests would have to see to its being carried out.

19–23. The High Priest's Special Offering.—The High Priest offers a meal offering every day, half in the morning, half at evening. The amount is the same as that of the smallest class of sin offerings (5$_{11}$). Priests do not consume their own sin offering; this sacrifice must therefore be burnt entire. The reference to the day of installation (20*a*) must be a mistaken gloss (as is clear from "perpetually," 20*b*).

24–30. Special Directions for the Sin Offering.—It is "most holy"; that is, it must be killed by the altar, like a burnt offering, and it can only be eaten by priests. Victims whose blood is brought within the shrine are for priests as well as laymen, and therefore their flesh must not be eaten at all. [The reason for this regulation (30) is that the holiness is present in a degree so intense that it is dangerous even for the priests to eat the flesh. It has to be burnt, not of course to convey the sacrifice to God, for this has already been done in the offering of the fat and the blood (4$_{5–10}$), but to dispose of the flesh safely and effectively.—A. S. P.] Even a splash of "holy" blood is contagious; it can (and must) be removed from a garment or brass vessel by rinsing or scouring; a porous (and less valuable) pot which has been used for cooking the animal must be destroyed. (*Cf.* W. R. Smith, RS^{2}, pp. 349, 451.) [The idea is that the "holiness" in the liquid will sink into the very texture of the porous earthenware, so that no washing will remove it; accordingly it must be broken, that it may not be used again. On the other hand, the broth could not sink into the closer texture of the brazen vessel, so that cleansing of the surface sufficed to remove the holiness.—A. S. P.]

VII. 1–10. Supplementary Regulations for guilt offerings and priestly dues. 1–7 supplements 5$_{16b}$. The blood of the victim is to be dashed (not sprinkled) round the altar. The fat, as in other offerings, is to be carefully removed and offered to Yahweh. The priests' dues are the same with the guilt offering as with the sin offering. (Every guilt offering is also a sin offering, though the reverse, of course, is not the case.) The notice about priests' dues is fragmentary (see 28–34). The priests are to have the hide of the victim; in the sacrificial tariffs of Marseilles and Sippar the hide goes to the priests; at Carthage, to the offerer. Baked, fried, and "griddled" meal offerings (*cf.* 2$_{4–7}$) go to the officiating priest, meal offerings with or without oil to the priests as a whole; presumably a larger offering is here referred to.

11–21. The Peace Offerings.—These are of two kinds, thanksgiving and vow or free-will offerings. The former is specially connected with the "bread" or meal, in its character of a banquet (*cf.* 3$_{1}$ff.). But the relative portions of priest and offerer are here more closely defined. One cake is to be lifted up from the rest, as a "heave-offering" (Nu. 5$_{9}$*), the due of the officiating priest. The second class of peace offerings is holier, and greater precautions are needed against the flesh going bad. The meal is to begin on the day of offering; and no part is to be kept more than one clear day. There may be a reminiscence of the early limitation of the duration of a festival to two days. (For another suggestion, see RS^{2}, p. 387.) Special care is needed to avoid the touch or presence of any uncleanness in connexion with this sacrifice. The caution was doubtless necessitated by the licence of the older sacrifices, where the circumstances of the feasts might easily be and actually were (*cf.* Am. 2$_{7}$f.) conducive to much worse things than ritual uncleanness. Hence the sternness of the tone here.

22–27. General Prohibition of Eating Fat and Blood (*cf.* 3$_{6}$).—The fat of sacrificial animals is to be offered to Yahweh; the fat of other animals may be used for anything except food. For disobedience to this prohibition, no atoning sacrifice avails. One of the most distinguishing marks of Judaism has been its avoidance of all save "kosher" meat.

28–34. Continuation of Peace Offerings.—An addition to the provisions of 8–10. The breast and the thigh

go to the priests, the latter to the officiator, the former to the priests in general (*cf.* 1 S. 213–16, Dt. 183); here, a still larger portion is surrendered by the offerer. The breast is to be "waved," moved backwards and forwards in the direction of the altar; the thigh is simply "heaved," *i.e.* lifted out of the rest of the offering and laid aside, as in 14.

35–38. Conclusion.—"Portion" (*mg.*) is correct, not "anointing portion." 36 is therefore a gloss (*cf.* also 620). The priests have not yet been anointed. The mention of Sinai (38; contrast 11) shows that the words are intended to form the conclusion of 6f. only.

VIII.–IX. The Consecration and Induction of Priests, to which 10 is an appendix. 8 properly follows Ex. 40. Ex. 29 gives the law of consecrations, Ex. 30–40 the building of the Tabernacle, and Lev. 8 describes the actual performance of the rite ordained in Ex. 29.

VIII. Consecration of Aaron and his Sons.—The actual stages in the process are as follows: 1–5, assemblage of the persons and materials; 6–13, washing, anointing, and clothing of the priests; 14–17, sacrifice of the bullock (here Aaron acts as the offerer, Moses as the priest); 18–21, sacrifice of the first ram; 22–32, sacrifice of the second ram, "of consecration," which constitutes the "differentia" of the whole ceremony; 33–36, the continuance of the ceremony for a week. For notes on the details, see on Ex. 29. The definite articles refer back to Ex. 292f.,5, etc. Neither the "congregation" nor the Urim and Thummim (Ex. 2830, pp. 100f.) are mentioned in Ex. 29. The insignia and the anointing suggest actual royalty. The anointing of the tabernacle and the altar is not in Ex. 29, nor the sanctification of the altar and the "atoning for it" by means of the bullock's blood (*cf.* the more detailed ritual in 46), nor the anointing of Aaron's garments (30). The special reference to the touching of the extremities (23f.) is symbolical of the whole body. In Ex. 2927, both the "wave-breast" and the "heave-thigh" are mentioned, as in Lev. 734; Moses (29) receives these as being the officiating priest; but it is curious that neither here nor in Ex. 29 does Moses actually receive the thigh; in view of 834, this would have been more naturally mentioned than the breast; perhaps the latter, as Moses' special portion, is a later insertion. Ex. 2936 states that a bullock is to be sacrificed on each of the eight days. "Consecrate" (33), lit. (*mg.*), "fill the hands" (Ex. 299*, Nu. 33*, 1 Ch. 295*). So in 28, consecration is lit. "filling" (*cf.* 27); in Ezek. 4326, the consecration of the altar is spoken of as a filling the hands thereof (*mg.*). A similar phrase in Babylonian means "to confer office upon." (The words are also used in Ass. inscriptions about nations whom God entrusts to the victorious king. "Asshur fills the king's hands with them"; meaning little more than "he delivers them into the victor's hands.") It is noteworthy that here the action which gives its name to the whole proceeding is not the sprinkling of blood, but the holding of the offerings which are to be presented to Yahweh. Originally, it would seem, the main duty of the priest was to present the offering of the worshipper to the god. He is thus formally inducted into office by the placing of the offerings in his hands (*cf.* Heb. 83). Noteworthy also is the reference to atonement (34). It was necessary to remove all trace of uncleanness, *i.e.* of whatever was not suitable to such special purposes, previous to the ceremony. For similar reasons the priests must not leave the special precincts of the shrine throughout the week. The whole intention is to emphasize the special dedication of both priest and altar, and it may be said to imply the thought of a covenant between Yahweh and the priests.

IX. The Installation Functions.—These take place at the end of the consecration "octave." Here Aaron, assisted by his sons, as now consecrated, is the officiator, and not Moses, as in 8.

1–7. Preparation of Priests and People.—The ceremony and its purpose are closely similar to those of the Day of Atonement. For the priests themselves, a sin offering, a bull-calf, and a burnt offering, a ram; for the people, a sin offering, a he-goat, a burnt offering, calf and lamb, and also a peace offering, ox and ram. No choice of animals is given here, as in 1, and in 4 the goat is for the prince and the bullock for the whole people. The meal offering accompanies, as in 2, etc. The altar is the altar of burnt offering, the only altar known to P ("altar of incense," 47*). Elders (1) are mentioned nowhere else in P save 415. Why is no guilt offering mentioned? *Cf.* 517*. "And for the people" (7) should be "and for thy house."

8–14. The Priests' Offering.—The sin offering naturally preceded the burnt offering. The ritual of the sin offering conforms to that of 41–12. For the burnt offering, note "piece by piece" (13), suggesting the leisurely solemnity of the whole rite.

15–21. The People's Offering.—First the sin offering, as before, then the burnt offering; part of the meal offering is consumed on the altar; the rest will be eaten by the priest (1012). The burnt offering is thought of as the daily sacrifice; "the burnt offering of the morning." The peace offering comes last. Nothing is said here of any participation by the people in this; the part of the priests in the ritual, however, is very fully described. The thigh, as well as the breast, is said to be waved, not heaved (732*); in 8 the thigh is not mentioned; perhaps here, therefore, it is a gloss, added from 730. In 1014 the distinction of 732 is preserved.

22–24. The Blessings.—The first blessing immediately follows the sacrifice; the second follows a ceremonial entrance of Aaron, with Moses, into the shrine—the outer chamber, not "within the veil." Consecration gives to Aaron a special power to bless, *i.e.* to approach the nearer presence of Yahweh, and so to bestow a special blessing on the people. The "glory" of Yahweh, naturally connected with fire, was ordinarily shrouded from the people by day, with a cloud. For fire as consuming the offering, *cf.* Jg. 621, 1 K. 1838, 1 Ch. 2126, 2 Ch. 71. The consuming of the fat is specially mentioned. This appearance of fire must have taken place before the sacrifice and the blessings, unless the author neglects the fact that the offerings had been already burnt.

Ch. X contains four appendices on the priests' duties, of which the first and the fourth are in the form of ideal narratives (a caution and a misunderstanding), like chs. 8f.

1–7. The Sin of Nadab and Abihu.—Nadab and Abihu, the eldest sons of Aaron (Ex. 623), had been privileged to "go up and see the God of Israel" with Moses and Aaron and seventy elders (Ex. 241ff., J). Here, they offer fire which has not been taken from the altar "hearth" or was not in accordance with the proper receipt for the sacred incense, and are themselves at once consumed. The bodies are withdrawn from the camp by their father's cousins, and Aaron and his remaining sons are forbidden to mourn for them. The catastrophe is here described very briefly, in contrast to that of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, Nu. 16; *cf.* Nu. 31–4; in 1 Ch. 242, Nadab and Abihu are simply mentioned as dying before their father. Bertholet suggests that the narrative points back to a struggle with a class of priests in the N. Kingdom

who attempted to become naturalised at Jerusalem, and who were recognised as previously existing, but illegitimate; *cf.* Ezekiel's insistence on the sole legitimacy of the sons of Zadok, the Jerusalemite priests, an insistence which could not be carried out after the Exile. This narrative would thus be intended to account for their illegitimacy. The fire which "consumed" them is probably thought of as overwhelming them with a sudden flash. Their bodies are still covered with their outer garments. For Mishael, etc., see Ex. 618–22. All the priests are here forbidden to show the ordinary signs of mourning. These would be regarded as an interference with their ritual condition which would mean general danger or disaster; here, too, all the priests are regarded as anointed. The reference to the tent of meeting obviously refers to the prohibition in 835. In 2110f. (H) and in Ezek. 4425, mourning is restricted, but not entirely prohibited, for all priests.

8–11. Prohibition of Alcohol.—The prohibition refers to periods when the priests are "on duty" (so Ezek. 44 21); but the reason given, that the priests may be able to instruct the people, seems to imply a wider abstinence. The priestly excesses referred to in the earlier prophets (Is. 287, Ezek. 2226) are thus guarded against. In Rome, the Flamen Dialis was even prohibited from walking on a path between vineyards (p. 217). Yahweh does not elsewhere speak to Aaron alone.

12–15. The Eating of the Priests' Dues (*cf.* 614–18, 728–34). The meal offering is "most holy," *i.e.* it is to be eaten only by the priests themselves, and in a holy place; the flesh is "holy," and may be eaten by the priests' families, and in a clean place. The distinction is not easy to explain; but degrees of holiness are simply equivalent to degrees in restrictions surrounding the object or action. The thigh as well as the breast is to be waved (*cf.* 732*); this statement may be intended to correct an earlier custom of waving only the breast; the distinction between the two, however, remains quite plain in this passage, as elsewhere.

16–20. Explanation of a Ritual Error.—Aaron and his sons had not eaten the sin offering. Moses is angered with the sons; but the reason is given that such an act would have been inapposite after the catastrophe of 1–7. Moses accepts the explanation. But why should they have eaten the sin offering? *Cf.* 626, 29. 421 (*cf.* 412) implies that the sin offering for the assembly is not to be eaten. 4, however, must be looked upon as earlier. 10 looks on the eating as a priestly duty on behalf of the community. According to 623, the sin offering is not to be eaten when its blood is brought into the sanctuary; in this case (99) the blood is not so brought in. Thus, according to 4 (probably earlier), no excuse was needed. Aaron's explanation is based on the fact that through the death of his sons, he feels himself to be under the wrath of God, and therefore unable to consume a holy thing. The representation of Aaron as correcting or reminding Moses is unique in P.

XI.–XV. Ritual Cleanliness and Uncleanliness.—11, Animals; 12, Childbirth; 13, Skin diseases (including tainted garments); 141–32, Purgation for skin diseases; 1433–57, "Leprosy" in houses, and general conclusion to the Law; 15, "Issues."

Probably to most modern readers, this section is the least intelligible in the book. We must consider it (*a*) in its ethnological and (*b*) its specifically Hebrew aspect. (*a*) These laws are properly "taboos." The term is Polynesian, signifying what is in itself, or artificially, forbidden, either for the whole community, or else for common people, or priests, or kings (p. 629). Taboos may relate to places, or to the sexes, or to certain ages. Certain kinds of food may be taboo, universally, or as determined temporarily by a chief; individuals may be taboo to one another—speech with a mother-in-law is very widely forbidden, and also approach to one's wife after childbirth; or the wife must not pronounce her husband's name. In the Australian initiation ceremonies, speaking is taboo to the initiates for certain periods. The origin of taboo is still obscure. What is not customary comes in time to excite horror (*cf.* the varying laws of decency in different primitive tribes). This horror is felt to be religious, and it can be easily used by chiefs or priests, for selfish or for hygienic purposes. (*b*) Heb. practice shows a notable restriction in the institution. In early times a chief could temporarily impose a ban (Jos. 618, 1 S. 1424); and taboos are recognised on priests (106, etc.) and in connexion with animals, birth, and certain diseases. Why? From the nature of things, or for moral or hygienic or ritual reasons? The suggestion of Nature is an insecure guide, since taboos on animals (*e.g.* swine, holy animals among Greeks and Arabs) and actions (*e.g.* sexual rules) vary so widely. Morality will not explain taboos on animal flesh (save that perhaps some kinds of flesh may arouse passion) or the restriction on the young mother. Hygiene may explain some taboos; but why the restriction of food to animals Levitically clean, or why should a mother be unclean for forty days after the birth of a boy, eighty days after the birth of a girl? Ritual may explain some prohibitions, as of animals which were only used in heathen rites; it may be, as Bertholet suggests, that whatever is under the protection or power of an alien god is unclean or taboo (hence perhaps the rejection of horseflesh for food; horses were sacred among the heathen Saxons; camels are forbidden to Thibetan lamas). What, then, of the infected house? Probably all four reasons were operative; given the concept of things not to be associated with ordinary life, the class would grow by the addition of things which, for various reasons, were disliked. Note the traces of systemisation in the code. The connexion of the ideas underlying it with institutions so widespread in primitive thought shows that the law carries us back to a period far anterior to Moses, though the distinction between clean and unclean is not mentioned in Ex. 21–23. "Clean" must be distinguished from "holy." The former is the condition of intercourse with all society; the latter of approach to God. Hence, there are grades of holiness; but uncleanness exhibits only differences of duration ("until the evening," etc.). The holy and the unclean, however, are alike in being untouchable by man, though for different reasons; hence the Rabbinic phrase, used of canonical books, "they defile the hands" (p. 39). [We may infer from Hag. 211–13 that the infection of uncleanness was more virulent than the infection of holiness. Holy flesh could convey holiness to the skirt but the skirt could not convey it to the food it touched. The corpse could convey uncleanness to the person who touched it, and he in turn could convey it to the food. The holy communicates its quality only to one remove, the unclean to two. The reason is apparently that the holiness of a holy thing is always derivative, since nothing is holy in itself but becomes holy only through consecration to God, the sole fount of holiness (p. 196). A thing may, however, be unclean in itself. There are therefore really four terms in the holy, only three in the unclean series in this passage: viz. (*a*) God,

holy flesh, skirt, food; (*b*) corpse, man unclean through contact, food. Holiness and uncleanness are thus each infectious at two removes from the source, but no further.—A. S. P.] The section is probably not original in this place; it breaks the connexion between chs. 10 and 16. Some parts are distinct from the rest, *e.g.* 11$^{24-40, 43-45}$; 13$^{1-46}$ must have been originally distinct from 14$^{3-20}$. A similar code is found in Dt. 14. Probably Dt. 14 is a copy of an older version of Lev. 11, *e.g.* Dt. omits the cormorant (17). In one respect Lev. is milder than Dt. (contrast 11$^{39f.}$ with Dt. 14^{21}). Lev. adds the permission of leaping insects, and gives a special direction as to fishes.

XI. 1–23. First Prohibition.—Animals, etc., not allowed for food. The test is, Is it cloven-footed, and does it chew the cud? For fishes, Has it fins and scales? No test of this nature can be given for birds; leaping insects are clean, insects which only fly, unclean. The tests, especially the first, are clearly artificial and not original; *e.g.* in the case of swine. Undoubtedly, in primitive thought, each species, allowed or banned, is classed "on its merits"; but later legislators would naturally be puzzled by the apparent caprice, and desire to find some principle.—**5.** "Coney," as RVm (Pr. 30^{26}*).—**13.** "Eagle" denotes the majestic and abundant carrion vulture, though probably it is also a generic word for eagle or vulture.

24–42. Second Prohibition.—The dead bodies of unclean animals are not to be touched; scrupulous dread could hardly go further. The distinction is repeated from 1–23, but a special list of unclean insects is given, corresponding to the list of clean insects in 22. If the dead body, or any part of one, is carried or touched, the clothes must be washed, and the person remains unclean himself for the rest of the day. Utensils which touch the dead body are to be washed, and then they remain unclean the rest of the day; earthenware is to be broken. Water which may be used for drinking is not to be regarded as affected, nor seeds, unless the seeds have been moistened, and so spoilt. These regulations are plainly ruled by considerations of convenience, though the existence of the taboo is preserved. The touch of the dead body of a clean animal will cause uncleanness for the rest of the day, as the blood will be in it, and the blood is untouchable. The section closes with a prohibition of insects that creep (*cf.* 29f.).

XI. 43–45. Brief Summing up of the general Principle, in the manner of H.

46f. Conclusion of the section.

XII. Uncleanness after Childbirth and Circumcision.—The period of uncleanness lasts twice as long after the birth of a girl (see on 11). After the first week, when the uncleanness may be said to be milder, the child, if a boy, must be circumcised. At the end of the period of "her purifying," for a child of either sex, sacrifices are to be offered, a combination of burnt and sin offering, to "make atonement for her"; a lamb, and a pigeon or a dove, except in case of poverty, when two pigeons or doves may be substituted.

These provisions go back as far as those of 9. Birth, like menstruation, is naturally regarded as uncanny, and sometimes as demon-caused. Hence, the woman must be set apart. The results are doubtless hygienic, though the emotional effect must often have been dangerous in early times; the code, which keeps up the restriction, says nothing about the original reason. Parallels for the period of forty days, and for a longer period for girls than for boys, are quoted from Greece, Egypt, Russia, etc. On circumcision, see pp. 99f., also Gen. 17*, 21^{4}, 34^{15}, Ex. 12^{44}, Jos. 5^{2ff}*. In the codes, its existence is assumed, not definitely commanded; nor is a priest necessary (*cf.* the history of Baptism)—sufficient proof of the antiquity of the custom. The fullest commentary is Lk. 2$^{21-23}$, which also shows that the Jewish usage interpreted Lev. 12^{6} of the first period of uncleanness only. The language of Lev. implies the reverse. Among modern Jews the rite is generally performed by a member of a recognised society of *Mohelim* or circumcisers. Eerdmans asks whether a woman could in all cases be expected to journey all the way to Jerusalem at such a time, and suggests that the section properly refers to an earlier law of a local shrine at Jerusalem; it must be noticed, however, that circumcision does not take place at the Temple, that the mother need not be present at the rite, that the sacrifice need not immediately follow the end of the period of "uncleanness," and that for the inhabitants of Judah, for whom P was primarily intended, the journey would never be greater than traversing an average-sized English county.

XIII. and XIV. Spreading and Non-spreading Diseases. The distinction between them; precautions to be observed with leprosy; infected garments and the law of cleansing houses; infected houses.—The exact disease referred to by the Heb. word for "leprosy" is uncertain. Naturally no true medical diagnosis is given; the symptoms that are mentioned point to one or more kinds of skin disease, perhaps ringworm, or even a harmless fungoid growth known as lepraria. For houses, some kind of dry-rot seems intended; for garments, mould or mildew. In regard to the human disease, if leprosy is intended, the symptoms here mentioned are not the most striking, scientifically or popularly. There is no mention of the swelling of features or limbs, the dropping off of the extremities, or anæsthesia; nor can this silence well be explained by the suggestion that only the initial or quasi-symptoms are referred to, as the cure is also considered. The cause of true leprosy is said to be eating putrid food, especially fish. It is rare in Palestine to-day, though skin diseases are common enough. No help is gained from the narratives in OT or NT. Naaman (2 K. 5^{1}, *cf.* 15^{5}) was not isolated. True leprosy may be inherited; tuberculous leprosy is not curable. Nothing is here said of any medical treatment; the priest merely pronounces; there is no analogy to the Greek priests of Asclepios. The real interest of the code is ritual, not medical or hygienic.

XIII. 1–44. General Procedure.—Certain classes of signs arouse suspicion. The priest is to inspect. If he sees them to be distinctly leprous, the patient is to be so treated; otherwise he is to be secluded for one or two periods of seven days; if there is no further spreading, he is discharged "clean."

1–8. First Case.—A ring or scab on the flesh. If there are white hairs more than skin-deep, the disease is present.

9–17. Recovery of Cleanness.—The grounds for deciding as to whether the leprosy has run its course are as follows; if the hair is white and there is raw flesh, the patient needs no isolation for inspection purposes, the decision can be made at once; but if he is white all over, the disease is regarded as at an end; probably a case of leucoderma is in mind.

18–23. Second Case.—A bright or pale spot occurring after a boil. The word for boil is used in connexion with Job's disease (Job 2^{7}).

24–28. Third Case.—Symptoms in a burned place; the same appearances are to be looked for by the priest.

29–37. Fourth Case.—Ringworm. The word translated "scall" is from a root meaning to rub or scratch;

an itching place. Here, the spreading occasions the danger.

38–44. Fifth and Sixth Cases.—If the white spots are only dull, the eruptions are harmless. The root of the Heb. word for "tetter" signifies "shining." An inflamed appearance constitutes what is dangerous; and here no isolation for inspection is necessary.

45f. Duty of the Infected Person.—He is to tear his clothes, like a mourner; his hair is to be unkempt (106), marking him out at once; and he is to cover his mouth—perhaps an ancient precaution to prevent the entrance or exit of a demon. Strikingly similar are the regulations for medieval lepers and pariahs in India; but how different from the attitude of Christ! Shrinking from ritual uncleanness is here clearly connected with popular and quite uninstructed fear and disgust.

47–59. Leprosy in Garments.—No mere disease of wool is meant, or why should skin garments be included? The same isolation is prescribed as for human beings; the infected garment is to be burnt. If there is no sign of spreading, there is to be washing and further seclusion. A further inspection is then to take place. If the garment is found to be as it was before, in spite of the washing, the whole garment must be burnt; if it is dulled, the infected part is to be torn out and burnt; if there is a further appearance, the garment must be burnt; if not, after a second washing, the ban is removed.

XIV. consists of two distinct sections, the cleansing of the leper (1–32) and the leprosy of a house (33–53). Probably 13 was the original document on leprosy, or 141–32 would have preceded 1347ff., while 1347ff. and 1433ff. would naturally have come together (as their subject-matter is placed in 1455). On the other hand, the law of ceremonial cleansing may be as old as 13. 13 deals with the tests whether leprosy is present or not (1334 deals only with the object of a mistaken suspicion); 14 deals only with what has to be done after leprosy has gone. 14 shows into what a distant period the whole law must be pushed back. The articles to be dipped, the letting loose of the bird (*cf.* the goat for Azazel, 16, and the red heifer, Nu. 19*), the shaving of the hair, all suggest ideas which had very possibly an original connexion with what would now be called magic—getting rid of the spirit or demon of disease. With P, the remains of magical have not begun to yield to the beginnings of medical treatment. The interval of seven days (9) and the partial repetition of the ceremony may be the addition of later lawyers. The threefold sacrifice (guilt, with meal, sin, and burnt) recalls the general sacrificial law; but why guilt? There is no suggestion of the extra $\frac{1}{5}$th, as in 5f., and there are ritual differences, *e.g.* oil is used, and the whole offering is waved. The double sprinkling of the extremities (with blood and oil) reminds us of the consecration of priests (8), but ethnic parallels show that an older rite is here taken over; it is called a guilt offering, because, as additional to the sin and burnt offerings, it could be called nothing else. The whole rite had to be brought under the familiar categories. Even "atonement" (19), though there is of course no actual "sin," is necessary, because rites like these alone can secure power to join again in the "communio sacrorum." A modification for poverty is prescribed, as in 511, 128. If true leprosy alone had been intended, apart from eczema or skin-disease, the rite could hardly ever have been needed. But we cannot consider such a rite as this invented, or "in the air." This chapter, as 12, may have originally referred to local sanctuaries; but there would be even less difficulty about the journey to Jerusalem than in 12.

1–20. Normal Law of Cleansing after the disease has disappeared.—The patient brings to the priest two birds, and he is sprinkled with the blood of one of them, killed in an earthenware (and therefore cheap) bowl, for mixing the blood, over running (and therefore pure) water, along with cedar wood (perhaps because of its supposed healing properties), scarlet wool, and hyssop (*cf.* Nu. 196*). The other bird carries away the pollution. He then removes his hair and washes himself and his clothes (*cf.* Dt. 2112, Nu. 618*). In the second part of the rite, next day, the semi-magical elements (except perhaps in 14, 17) are not found. The guilt offering, a he-lamb, along with meal and oil, is presented, and with the blood and the oil the extremities of the offerer are touched; then follow the sin offering and the burnt offering, with the meal offering. In Nu. 154, only $\frac{1}{10}$ of an ephah is mentioned as a meal offering. $\frac{3}{10}$ of an ephah is equivalent to some 20 pints, and a lōg (of oil) to one pint. The reference to the left hand (15) and "upon the blood" (17) show how carefully the ritual is thought out, in order that the whole may be done neatly.

21–32. Modification of the Offering for Poverty.—Less flour is required, and doves instead of animals are allowed for sin and burnt offerings (*cf.* 57). The first part of the rite and the "guilt offering" are unmodified.

33–53. Ceremonies for a "Leprous" House.—Doubtless the result of the working of analogy; a secondary section, like 1347ff. When "Yahweh puts the plague of leprosy" upon a house (*cf.* Am. 36), the house is to be emptied, for ritual purposes, and if suspicion is aroused by the priest's inspection, the house is sealed up for a week. If on a further inspection the infection is still there, the mortar is to be scraped off, and the stones of the infected place removed. The house is then repaired, but if the "plague" appear again, the house is torn down and its materials carted away. Palestinian houses, as is shown by the debris on excavated sites, were built of stones loosely put together with mortar (not always properly tempered; *cf.* Ezek. 1310). It was not, therefore, difficult to dig through and remove (*cf.* Ezek. 125, Mt. 619) part of the wall; though when a house was destroyed, the debris was generally left on the spot, to serve for a fresh building. Entering the house involves uncleanness, and when the house is pronounced clean, the older rite is prescribed for the ratification of its habitability (birds, cedar, running water, etc.), and by it is made the atonement which for a human being is made by the three kinds of offerings.

XV. Issues.—Four kinds are considered; the first of these (1–15) is apparently pathological, though there is no reference to venereal diseases, which are unknown in the OT; the second (16–18) normal; the third (19–24) normal and periodic; the fourth (25–30), an abnormal occurrence or prolongation of the normal. Whether normal or not, all these occurrences are regarded as causing "taboos" in ethnic religions, and as connected with supernatural powers; the third kind is constantly associated with the bite of a demon (as, for example, in Australia). Possibly a similar belief existed originally among the Hebrews, but it is not necessary in order to account for the feeling of repulsion which causes all such phenomena to be regarded as unclean. The first, third, and fourth kinds need washing, and whether this was originally so intended or not, it is certainly in practice entirely hygienic. Only the abnormal kinds, the first and fourth, have prescribed for them an interval of a week, followed by a sacrifice; this, however, is of the cheapest kind (*cf.* 57, 1422).

The uncleanness is regarded as breaking the communion (31); hence, a sin offering is needed to remove its traces, and a burnt offering to signalise resumption of relations. To most primitive peoples, the sexual life is surrounded by taboos (*cf.* Crawley, *Mystic Rose*). The savage fear of evil spirits is here specially active. In this chapter, however, the entire absence of anything that could be called magical must be noted (the same is true of the early Heb. narratives in the form in which we now have them), as of initiation ceremonies at puberty (whether of boys or girls) or of marriage rites. For all their ethnic affinities, the codes, on this subject, are purity itself, although so often traditional customs connected with marriage have been made the ministers of impurity.

1–15. Discharges from Males.—These are evidently regarded as abnormal. The greatest care is taken to mark the contagion arising from them. Keener precautions could not be taken with what is the most loathsome disease of our modern civilisation. The bed, the seat, anyone who has touched the bed or the seat or the afflicted person himself, or has been touched by his saliva, is infected. In each case of infection, washing and seclusion for the rest of the day is prescribed; wooden vessels are to be rinsed, earthenware (*cf.* 6^{28}, 11^{33}) to be destroyed. The infected person himself, however, when free, is simply to wait for a week, wash his clothes and his body in running water; on the next day he offers a sin offering and a burnt offering in resuming his intercourse with holy things. Only small birds are needed for this purpose (*cf.* 12^{8}).

16–18. Emissions, Voluntary or Otherwise.—Here only washing is needed. The existence of the first part of the law may well help to allay the horror with which the phenomenon is often needlessly regarded. In the second part, there is no suggestion of sin, as in the writings of Augustine and other fathers, or in the medieval deductions from Gen. 3. *Cf.*, however, Ex. 19^{15}, 1 S. 21^{5}, 2 S. 11^{11}, 1 Cor. 7^{5}, Rev. 14^{4}; in the OT passages the ritual aspect of the act is emphasized, in the NT the moral. To primitive thought, the act has its significance for good or evil quite apart from considerations of wedlock (*cf.* also 24).

19–24. Here the ceremonial has become almost identical with what would now be considered the hygienic. The prescriptions for infected persons are the same as those in 1–15. 24 conveys a very salutary caution: contrast 20^{18}—the two cases, however, may not be the same. The impurity is held to disappear of itself after an interval of a week from its beginning.

25–30. Abnormal Prolongation of Discharge.—Here the treatment of the patient is identical with that of the man in 1–15. In neither case, however, is any "treatment" in the modern sense of the word mentioned. Even if the law is by implication hygienic, it is not medical.

31–33. Conclusion.—These five chapters, and especially the last, throw a strong light on the conception of sin in P. Sin is not an act, but a condition. The sacrifices prescribed for it are not punishments, nor even methods of escape, but means by which, the abnormal conditions gone, the functions of the normal can be safely resumed. But the connexion of the abnormal, as well as the strictly pathological, with a sense of sin and guilt, is a truth familiar to psychology, and is illustrated by common feelings about all four of the cases in 15. But, in fairness to P, it must be remembered that P does not brand as sins, in our modern sense, acts or states for which the individual cannot be held responsible; it simply asserts that they necessitate ritual seclusion, and that escape from them demands the performance of certain ceremonies not by any means particularly burdensome.

XVI. The Day of Atonement (see p. 104).—The introduction (1) shows, by its reference to 10$^{1–7}$, that 16 originally followed 10^{7}; *i.e.* after the law for the High Priest's consecration came the law of his entrance into the holy place. It is possible that the kernel of 16 is this law of the High Priest's entrance (1–4, 6, 12, 13, 23–25), and that the separate rite of atonement for the sins of the people with the curious rite of the second goat was added later, or that two originally independent rites coalesced. This is the more probable because the rite is nowhere else mentioned in the OT. Ezek. prescribes two days of atonement (in 1st and 7th months; *cf.* Ezek. 45^{18}, and 20, where omit "day of"). In Neh. 8ff the law is read publicly, on the 1st day of the 7th month; on the 2nd, the feast of booths is decided on, and carried out (probably as Lev. 23^{34}ff.) in the week from the 15th to the 23rd. The following day, 24th, is kept as a fast. There is here no place for the "Day" of Lev. 16. It is mentioned, indeed, in Lev. 23^{27}ff., and 25^{9}ff., but with no hint of the special ritual of 16. Hence, probably, 16 embodies the latest ceremony of the whole of P, though the actual rites which it prescribes, side by side with burnt and sin offerings, breathe a very different spirit, and one which carries us back to a distant antiquity. In earlier times, when heathenism was still a danger, these rites were discountenanced by the priestly legislators; now, the menace of heathenism broken, they are taken over, as survivals and still popular, on account of their suggestive symbolism. Logically, there is no place for this peculiar rite in the system of P, which elsewhere regards sacrifice as sufficient by itself. (On "Azazel," see p. 104.)

In Lev. 23^{24}, the 1st day of the 7th month is a solemn rest; in 25^{9}, the 10th day of the 7th month of the 50th year begins the year of Jubile. The old Heb. year began in the autumn (Ex. 23^{16}, 34^{22}), when the harvests were complete (p. 118). But in the Exile the Hebrews learnt the Babylonian reckoning, which began in spring; hence the ecclesiastical New Year's festivals would be considered as taking place in the 7th month. Lev. 25^{9} shows that the 10th day of the month was actually regarded as New Year's Day. It is characteristic of later Judaism to hold what was once a joyous festival in this fashion; a clean start was to be made by a solemn rite for rehallowing the whole people.

1–15. Atonement Rite for High Priest and his Family.—The holy place within the veil, *i.e.* the inner of the two compartments of the shrine, is not to be entered at will, but only on New Year's Day (29). Otherwise the intruder would be killed by the Shekinah which dwelt there in solitary majesty. (For the veil, see Ex. 26^{31}*; for the mercy-seat, see Ex. 25^{17}ff.*) The priest, wearing less ornate robes than at his consecration (87ff.), presents the bullock as his own sin offering, and the two goats; on these he casts lots ("to make atonement for him" (10) is probably a gloss; atonement is not mentioned in connexion with this goat; and to whom does "him" refer?). He enters the inner shrine twice; first with the censer to produce the protecting cloud (*cf.* Jg. 6^{22}, Is. 6^{5}, Ex. 24^{1,9}), and then with the bullock's blood, which he has to sprinkle seven times on the mercy seat (*cf.* 8^{11}).

16–19. The Atonement for the People.—The priest has now to offer the goat assigned by lot for the atonement of the people; less valuable than the

bullock, as the holiness of the priest is more important than that of the people. With the people is joined the holy place, and the shrine, which will suffer by infractions of ritual duty (*cf.* the defilement of the land by disobedience, Ezek. 36¹⁸). The atonement is made within the shrine, as before (the prohibition in 17 is curious; but a priest, who might enter the outer shrine, might have wished to see the passage of the High Priest within). The altar is also atoned for, "un-sinned" (*cf.* 8¹⁵), by sprinkling it with the blood seven times. The altar of burnt offering is, of course, the altar referred to here.

20–22. **The Scape-Goat.**—Over the second goat confession is now made (for the first time in the rite) with the laying on of the High Priest's hands (*cf.* the laying on of hands by the offerer at every sacrifice). The Mishna tractate "Yoma" gives the text of this prayer. The goat is then led off into the "wilderness" or untilled land, such as constituted a large part of SE. Judah, especially after the Exile. To some minds this "carrying away" of sin would be symbolic, to others doubtless a real transaction.

23–28. **Conclusion of the Ceremony.**—The High Priest must leave his robes in a holy place, so as not to communicate their character to the people, who, of course, would not be allowed to enter there (*cf.* Ezek. 44 19*, Is. 65*). He must then bathe, as having been in contact with sin (*cf.* 26, 28). Finally, he must offer the burnt offering, the reconciliation having now been made by the sin offering. The sin offering itself is not burnt at the altar—neither the bullock nor the goat—but carried away and burnt outside the camp or city. The fat, however, is burnt by the priest (*cf.* 4⁸–¹⁰) (RS², p. 351).

29–34. **Final Directions.**—For the date, see above. The people are to afflict their souls, *i.e.* to fast; this, and the whole-day service, are the chief features of the modern Day of Atonement. It is also a Sabbath, *i.e.* no work is to be done, to secure leisure for the solemn import of the day. The solemnity of this occasion, when all the sins of the year not definitely atoned for before are got rid of, is natural to P. To the mass of the people it might otherwise have occasioned feelings of a very different kind.

XVII.–XXVI. The "Holiness Code" (see Introd. § 2).

XVII. Restrictions on Sacrifice.—The whole chapter recalls P, yet there are differences of phrase (*e.g.* "what man soever," 3) and of tone (*e.g.* the giving of a reason for a command, 11) and of contents (*e.g.* the explicit prohibition of slaughter except at the central sanctuary). Of the four sections of the chapter, each with its introductory phrase, the second is an extension of the first, the fourth of the third.

1–7. **All Slaughter must be Sacrificial,** *i.e.* at the sanctuary (*cf.* Dt. 12ff., 2 K. 23⁸, Jer. 7¹⁸). All slaughter had originally this sacrificial character, among the Hebrews, as among other pastoral and some agricultural peoples; animals were practically never killed except for sacrifice. Then, any other kind of slaughter easily came to be regarded as impious. To Hindus, there is no greater crime than slaughtering an ox (*cf.* Manu, v. 31), and to-day, except among outcastes, sacrifices of animals are a thing of the past. The abolition of sacrifices in the country (the "open field," 5), first definitely proclaimed in Dt. 12f. (*cf.* 2 K. 23⁸) involves that of sacrifices to "he-goats," *i.e.* field demons (7, *cf mg.* and see *Satyr* in EBi.); the simple, primitive agricultural rites (for further examples see Frazer, *Golden Bough*), now become "fornication" (*cf.* Ezek. 6⁹, 16). Even field sacrifices to Yahweh are by implication forbidden. For these demons *cf.* Is. 13²¹*, 34¹⁴. On the dangers felt in intermitting the old sacrifices, *cf.* Jer. 44¹⁷. For the older practice, *cf.* 1 S. 14³², 1 K. 19²¹. It was always dangerous to shed blood, unless on an altar; as field altars are now prohibited, all field sacrifices will be dangerous (4). In Dt., killing as distinct from sacrifice is allowed (12¹⁵); also, by implication, in P (Gen. 9²); it is unmentioned in Ezek., and not referred to elsewhere in H. Eerdmans suggests that we have here the direction for a local shrine in Jerusalem (*cf.* on 12); more probably it is an extension of the principle of Dt. 12, which was later found to be impracticable, or, as centralisation became more deeply rooted, needless.

8f. **Extension of the Rule to Resident Aliens.**—"Strangers," often referred to in H (*cf.* 19³⁴), are men of alien race, frequently broken men from other countries, living more or less permanently in Palestine, and therefore naturally expected to conform to many of its religious practices (*cf.* 12), while without the special rights of a Hebrew, and therefore liable to oppression unless specially protected, as by H (Dt. 1¹⁶*, p. 110).

10–12. **Prohibition of "Eating Blood,"** *i.e.* of eating flesh not properly drained of blood (Gen. 9⁴*).—The reason given, that the life is in the blood (11), underlies the special importance of the blood in the earlier chapters and the whole sacrificial practice. The blood "makes atonement," *i.e.* it is the part of the sacrifice brought into contact, so to speak, with Yahweh, which therefore secures the worshipper's power to approach Yahweh Himself, the main object of the sacrifice. As such, the blood would naturally be dangerous for man; its use would be an invasion of Yahweh's prerogative (*cf.* the prohibition of fat, 3¹⁷). The prohibition of blood has therefore been applied by Jews to all slaughter, in every age (*cf.* 13). Disobedience is as dangerous for aliens (12) as for Hebrews. Note that Yahweh Himself is felt to "cut off" the criminal (10, contrast 9), and to provide the ancient taboo as a means of approach to Himself (11).

13–16. **The Blood of Non-sacrificial Animals.**—To these, of course, 3–7 does not apply. But all blood, even theirs, is regarded as dangerous. Hence, it must be covered with dust, or it will "cry from the ground" (*cf.* Gen. 4¹⁰*). The whole class of non-sacrificial animals includes: (*a*) wild animals, which may be eaten, if properly drained of blood; (*b*) animals not killed; and (*c*) animals killed by other animals; *cf.* Dt. 14²¹, where they are allowable for the alien and the foreigner, and Lev. 11³⁹, where bathing is unmentioned. Evidently, such a light penalty would make it still possible for the poor to enjoy such a cheap class of food; *cf.* Ex. 22³¹, where, as in Dt., no provision for purification is mentioned. Thus to the later law, H and P, the general prohibition of blood has partly lost its terrors; but to the modern Jew, "tripha" (torn) is the opposite of "kosher" (drained).

XVIII. Degrees of Affinity.—The chapter is closely connected in subject-matter with 20¹¹–²⁰, though the details are different, and the two sections must be independent. 20 omits mention of mother (as distinct from father's wife), and the cases of 10, 11, 18. In four cases, 20 adds a penalty (20¹¹, 12, 14, 17; *cf.* 15, 16), and in two others a consequence, childlessness (20f.). These prohibitions, from their similarity to widespread taboos, are obviously pre-Mosaic (*cf.* Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*). The origin of prohibited degrees is doubtful; the recognition is universal; the actual prohibitions differ widely. They are generally the most complicated among the least advanced

peoples (*cf.* Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*), and regarded as visited with the severest Divine penalties. H, however, completely neglects two points common outside Israel; (*a*) the distinction between exogamous groups, resting on the dread of kindred blood, and (*b*) the special importance of the mother; in primitive society the father hardly counts (*cf.* Gen. 4427, Jg. 819); hence the so-called "matriarchate," where genealogy is traced through the mother, not the father. For the general recognition of these "taboos" in earlier times, see Gen. 1930ff., 2012, 2 S. 1313.

1–5. General Warning against Conformity to Indigenous Practices.—The phrase "I am Yahweh" is characteristic of Ezek. and H, occurring twenty-one times in 18–20. If a command is understood as coming from Yahweh, it is thereby authoritative, but the legislation is also doing explicitly what is implied in all the codes, viz. indicating traditional customs as the express order of Yahweh.

6–18. Forbidden Degrees of Marriage.—After a general preface (6) the relationships are given in detail. The phrase "uncover the nakedness" is almost confined to 17–20, Ezek., and Gen. 9. No penalties or consequences are given, though reasons are sometimes added (*e.g.* 14, 16f.). Two special cases should be noticed; prohibition of marriage with a father's wife (8), which has often been familiar in Oriental royal families (*cf.* 1 K. 222), and of "levirate" marriages (16, see p. 109). Contrast Dt. 255–10; also Ruth, where, however, there is more thought for the widow, as needing to be looked after, than for her first husband. The more importance is attached to population and the preservation of families, the stronger will be the hold of such a law. From Mt. 2223ff., it would seem that the prohibition of Lev. could not overcome an old-established custom which was able to give a reason for itself. There is no prohibition of the marriage of uncle and niece, or of cousins. In older societies (*e.g.* Fiji) the marriage of paternal cousins is allowed, and even encouraged, but that of maternal cousins strictly forbidden, through the influence of matriarchal ideas. Marriage with a daughter is not actually mentioned, probably by inadvertence. Bigamy is never prohibited in the OT; in 18 its existence is implied; it gradually fell out of use. The restriction of 18 (observe also "in her lifetime") is noteworthy (*cf.* 1 S. 16). [In view of frequent misuse it may be explicitly stated that this passage has nothing to do with marriage to a deceased wife's sister. A man may not marry his wife's sister while the wife is still living.—A. S. P.] The Semitic name for a fellow-wife is significantly derived from a root meaning "hostile" (*cf.* 1 S. 16*).

19–23. Appendices.—The grouping of offences is noteworthy, and the presence of 21 (perhaps not original) with the rest. For 19, see on 1524, and *cf.* Ezek. 186. For 20, *cf.* Ex. 2014. If the characteristic words "to defile thyself," were taken seriously, they would revolutionise the still prevailing moral estimates of sexual sins. For the custom of the ceremonial passing of children through the fire, *cf.* Lev 821*, 2 K. 2310, Jer. 731*, Ezek. 2025f.* It is not certain that this meant a horrible death; it might simply involve (as in other countries) a leaping through flames, regarded either as purificatory or as an equivalent for such a sacrifice as that of Gen. 22. The name Molech is connected with the Heb. word for "king" (*cf.* Baal="lord"), possibly pronounced by later Jews with the vowels of the word "Bosheth" (shame, *cf.* Nu. 3238*, 1 S. 1447–51*, 1 K. 1632*). Doubtless Molech was identified by the populace with Yahweh. The horror of the unions prohibited in 22f. is deep-rooted (*cf.* Gen. 195). By "confusion" (23) is meant a disturbance and violation of the order of nature, and therefore something repulsive. The chapter does not refer either to fornication or to simple unchastity. The former is a recognised institution in the OT (*cf.* Gen. 38, 1 K. 2238, *not* RVm), but regarded by the better minds with loathing (Hos. 1–3, Ezek. 23). The latter is seldom referred to (in Ex. 2216 and Lev. 1920, unchastity is thought of as a sin chiefly against property, as often in English and other law); independently of the codes, however, moral feeling on the subject definitely though perhaps slowly advances in Israel, doubtless owing in part to the intensity of family life and feeling; but it first finds clear expression in the NT.

23–30. Epilogue.—These sins mean defilement for those who commit them, whether Canaanites or Israelites, and also for the land itself. Hence the land also must be punished, and will vomit out its inhabitants as so much unclean or noisome food (*cf.* Ezek. 36 6ff., 17). 26 is parallel to 30, which forms an impressive conclusion to the whole chapter; 29, however, where alone in this chapter an actual punishment is stated, is rather in the manner of 17 and 20.

XIX. Miscellaneous Collection of Precepts, some of them obscure, and placed in a strange order. The order, however, is easier, if we may excise, as later insertions, 5–8 and 20–22. With a little ingenuity, these laws may be arranged (as also those of 18) in groups of five and ten (see Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, p. 39), corresponding to the arrangement of the Decalogue. Or laws which use the second person singular may be different in their origin from those which use the plural (*e.g.* 5, 9, 11, 15, and 10, 13f., 16). It is more important to notice the meaning of holiness here. Originally ritual rather than moral (see p. 196), it is now to be preserved by morality even more than by ritual acts; and the morality demanded soars as high in this chapter as anywhere in the OT, especially 18. But there is no sense of the gradation of duties; 18 is followed by 19, and 19 by 20! A threefold attitude can be observed; reverence for old practices and prohibitions of which the reasons were lost in a primitive antiquity; for the sacrificial system; and for the prophetic ideals of humanity and honourable dealing. A sufficient sanction for all these is that they proceed from Yahweh, the deliverer of Israel from Egypt (36).

1–8. Holiness, Piety, Idolatry, Peace-offerings.—Note the mention of the mother first. On the Sabbath, see pp. 101f., Ex. 208*. Idols, lit. "things of nought"; only here and in 261 in Pentateuch; common in 2 Isaiah (*cf.* 449ff.). "Molten," specially prohibited also in Ex. 34 17; not in Ex. 204. On consumption of peace offerings, see 715–18, which, however, only allows this latitude for a vow. Since peace offerings alone were consumed (in part) by laymen, this restriction has its place in a manual of holiness for laymen.

9–18. Humanity and Uprightness.—Gleaning is to be encouraged, both in field and vineyard. It may well be that the corners of the field were originally left so as to avoid driving out the vegetation spirit. [See article *Corners* by Barton in ERE, and Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 234f. Frazer suggests that the original intention may have been to leave some of the corn for the nourishment of the corn spirits, on whom the coming of next year's harvest depended, who might starve and die if the field was completely stripped. Similarly with the regulation of Dt. 2421. —A. S. P.]. That motive is now forgotten; the practice remains, and a new motive, characteristic of the

codifier and the period, is found. Honesty in word and deed is to be maintained, and swearing falsely is prohibited; it is noteworthy that here, though not in the Decalogue, this prohibition is joined to that against stealing and lying. The hired man is to be paid at the end of each day (*cf.* Dt. 24^{14}f., Jer. 22^{13}, Mt. 20^{2}ff., Jas. 5^{4}). The lot of the hired servant was often worse than that of the slave (*cf.* the famous words in Homer, *Od.* xv. 640). The deaf man is not to be cursed, because he could not hear the curse and defend himself; and the inabilities of deaf and blind put them under the special protection of Yahweh. There is to be no partiality; to "respect the person" is literally to lift up the face of the suppliant bowing before you. This might perhaps be done, in the case of the poor, out of spite or fear of a powerful adversary; but there is no instance in the OT of what must have been in any case a rare temptation. Gossip, even, is forbidden (*cf.* Ex. 20^{16}), and "standing against the blood" of a neighbour, *i.e.* endangering his life by slanderous accusation. Instead of leaving him to his own sin or its punishment, you must warn him, so as not to incur the guilt of sin on his account. But there must be no ill-will to him; his interests must be to you as your own. This command shows how far the conception of holiness could transcend the purely ritual. The nearest parallel is Rom. 12ff., where "service" (a ritual word) is expounded in a series of precepts which hardly surpass this ritual of true neighbourliness. The "neighbour," however, is only a kinsman or fellow-countryman. Contrast Lk. 10^{29}, but *cf.* 33f. and Ex. 22^{21}.

19–25. Holiness in Farm Life and between the Sexes.—Hybrids are forbidden; a rule which, with its curious extensions, is found in Dt. 22^{9}f.; but contrast 2 S. 13^{29}, 1 K. 10^{25}, Ezek. 27^{14}; mules were highly valued in Palestine. Perhaps some magical heathen practice is the real object of the prohibition. [Mixtures of wool and cotton played a part in magic, and that probably accounts for the prohibition of "two kinds of stuff," which is explained in Dt. 22^{11} as "wool and linen together." In Dt. 22^{10} the prohibition of hybrids is absent, and in its place ploughing with ox and ass together is forbidden.—A. S. P.] The punishment of the seduction of a betrothed slave (20–22) should follow 20^{12}. In 19, no penalties are stated. The woman is not to be put to death, as her master would lose her. With the necessary guilt offering (5^{15}), no extra fifth is here mentioned. Newly-planted trees are not to be plucked for three years, possibly because the first-fruits must in any case be given to Yahweh, and these are not good enough for such a gift. The "circumcision" of a tree is its ceremonial stripping. Not till the fifth year can it be safely used for food. [The point is perhaps that during the first three years it is taboo and must be left alone; it may originally have been left for the field-spirits. Notice that animal firstlings were also not used till they were three years old. The Arabs propitiate the jinn with blood when a piece of land is ploughed for the first time.—A. S. P.]

26–32. Miscellaneous Precepts, all found elsewhere, except the last. Most of the forbidden actions have some magical significance, *e.g.* cutting the hair in a special fashion, or maiming oneself (originally, to delude the dangerous spirits of the dead while they are still near, at or after a funeral, or perhaps as a respectful offering to them, see p. 110). 29 probably refers to the licentious cults of nature and other pagan deities. For 31, *cf.* 1 S. 28ff., Dt. 18^{11}, Is. 8^{19}. Note that wizards defile those who visit them, as bringing them into contact with an alien deity or power.

[**27.** A similar practice is attested for the Arabs by Herodotus, and is alluded to in Jer. 9^{26}* 25^{23}. It is not unlikely that the hair was offered in sacrifice; the practice would then be an instance of the widespread custom of making hair-offerings (Nu. 6$^{13-21}$*).—**28. print any marks:** this tattooing was probably a religious usage; the name of a deity (Is. 44^{5}*), or it might be the clan totem or other tribal mark, being tatooed on the person in sign that the bearer was consecrated to that deity or belonged to that clan.—A. S. P.]

33–36. Final Rules of Humanity and Justice.—Resident aliens are to be respected; fraud is to be banished. For the "stranger," *cf.* 17^{8}f.*. Straightforward dealing is here placed in a position of special importance. It is uniformly emphasized by the prophets (Am. 5^{24}, Mi. 6^{8}, Ezek. 45^{9}ff.). In early stages of society, untested and unstandardised weights and measures make dishonesty easy. The weights unearthed in the soil of Palestine (*e.g.* at Gezer) make no pretence to exactness. The isolated fragment in Nu. 15$^{37-41}$* (provision of fringes on garments) seems to belong, in style and matter, to H, and would best be inserted after 19^{31}.

XX. A second list of the crimes catalogued in 18, together with the penalties for them, and a final appeal. The special interest of the chapter lies in the variations of penalty assigned; but the real "sanction" of such prohibitions as these lies in the popular horror with which they were regarded rather than in their public punishment. A distinction is also to be made between penalties inflicted by man—stoning, putting to death, and by Yahweh—"cutting off." The purpose and result of both were to preserve the holiness of the people, *i.e.* to preserve it, and its God, from the contamination which inevitably followed certain actions, and which, once it had taken place, could be removed only by the "excision" of the offending member of the community.

1–9. Worship of Molech, etc.—Offering children to Molech (see 18^{21}*) is to be punished by stoning; such a death emphasizes the repudiation by the whole community and involves everyone in the act, always serious, of killing a fellow-tribesman (*cf.* Jos. 7^{25}). Yahweh Himself will see that the sinner does not survive his crime even if he is not publicly punished; his whole family will be destroyed. Cursing parents is also a capital crime; in such a case, the dead man's blood does not "cry from the earth"; it is on his own head, *i.e.* its power to hurt comes to an end with his life (*cf.* 1 K. 2$^{31-33, 44}$, and contrast Mt. 27^{25}).

10–21. Penalties for Sexual Sins—generally death, the manner being unspecified. Adultery, incest, sodomy head the list; the special case of 14 (contrast Am. 2^{7}) is followed by the burning of all three persons (*cf.* 21^{9}). Special enormity (RVm) requires special penalty. Bestiality, and other cases of incest, and neglect of the regulation of prohibited periods, are all to be punished by death. Union with an aunt, either on the mother's or father's side, is regarded less harshly, with a threat of Divine vengeance rather than a penalty; for union with the wife of an uncle or brother no action is enjoined, but childlessness is foretold.

22–26. The Final Appeal, emphasizing the motive of separation from the customs of the original inhabitants, complementary to that of fear of defilement (18^{30}). Refusal to make the due distinction between clean and unclean—here singled out as typical of full observance—entails expulsion by, as well as from, the land and rouses abhorrence (a strong and semi-physical loathing) in Yahweh Himself. Holiness in Israel's conduct is necessary as corresponding to Israel's own holiness or position of separation among the nations.

27. This warning against witchcraft should properly follow 6 (*cf.* 1931).

XXI., XXII. Regulations for Priests and for Matters in which Priests are specially Responsible.—The chapters offer distinct points of comparison with P, and also with Ezek., which will be noticed below. All point to the superiority, in point of time, of H to P; the relation to Ezekiel is dubious (see Introd.). They are best explained as rising, like Ezekiel's provisions, in a state of transition, when several minds, possessed by the same leading ideas, and probably in oral though not written communication with each other, were working independently towards what later became P.

XXI. Priests, their Mourning, Marriage, Consecration and Inabilities.—The special holiness of priests follows from the fact that they were in specially close contact with Yahweh. Holiness was at once negative—what was safe elsewhere would be dangerous in such close proximity to Yahweh; and positive—a special state of fitness was something inconvenient for ordinary laymen, though it might be conferred upon them (Ezek. 4419). Ritual taboos surround priests and kings (who regularly perform priestly functions) in ethnic religions. For the later law of consecration, see 8f. The distinction between priests and Levites is not here mentioned, nor are Levites referred to in H, save in 2532ff. Ezekiel also speaks of the priests and Levites as if they were synonymous, while he emphasizes the distinction (absent from H) between the country and the Jerusalem (or Zadokite) priesthood (4410, 15). In P, the Levites are the subordinate clergy (Nu. 42ff., etc.).

1–9. Restrictions for the Priests.—To approach a corpse was to suffer defilement (*cf.* Nu. 52* 19*, Tob. 28ff., Ecclus. 3425); this is, therefore, forbidden to the priest, except in the case of the nearest relations; Ezekiel (4426) prescribes a period of seven days' cleansing even in this latter case. The mourning is looked upon as something needed by the dead or due to their memory; a married sister would ordinarily be mourned by her husband—this is probably the meaning of the original text of 4; if his sister were a widow, the priest might act in place of her husband. Similar restrictions are common elsewhere for priests, as also are the prohibitions of the outward signs of mourning. A scandal or profanation in the priest's household defiles the priest himself; hence he must not marry a prostitute or a *divorcée*. A striking contrast is to be found in the laxness of Hindu law with regard to the morality of priests. If a priest's daughter contaminates her father's household by prostituting herself, she is to be burnt; the most emphatic warning possible against temple harlotry (*cf.* penalty in CH for votary who keeps or enters a tavern). These taboos are far less embarrassing than those which surrounded the Flamens at Rome, the King Archons in Athens, or Bantu chiefs at the present time.

10–15. Restrictions for the High Priest.—The title occurs here for the first time in the Law; the phrase used is literally "the priest who is chief among his brothers." It is, however, implied in P in 16 (*cf.* also the references to Aaron (8f.). Ezekiel does not mention it, but he too seems to imply it in 4519, as do the earlier narratives of, *e.g.* Eli, 1 S. 1ff.), Zadok (1 K. 126ff.), Amaziah (Am. 710ff.), and Hilkiah (2 K. 224ff.). Before the Exile, the chief priest would naturally be a royal ecclesiastical official; afterwards he tended to take the place of the king in the community (Ecclus. 50 and 1 Mac.). In view of his special functions, which, however, are nowhere stated in H, all mourning rites are forbidden him; he is to avoid all risk of pollution by taking up his dwelling in the sacred precincts. The special restriction for his marriage (a widow is not to be married), Ezekiel extends to all priests (Ezek. 4422). The mediæval law of priestly celibacy was founded on the quite non-Hebrew idea of the "worldliness" of marriage; here, a pure marriage leaves "holiness" untouched.

16–24. List of Bodily Defects which prevent a priest from actually joining in the priestly rites, though he is still supported by the dues. The presence of a deformed or mutilated priest at the altar would destroy the holiness with which Yahweh has dowered it. Blemish in a priest, as in a victim, may have been regarded originally as the sign of the presence of a demon; but the æsthetic repulsion is very deep-seated. Ritual mutilations were allowed and encouraged in other cults; *cf.* especially the worship of the Phrygian Cybele (Frazer's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*).

XXII. 1–8. Further Restrictions as to the priests' use of holy things, *i.e.* objects sacrificed or vowed. Temporary uncleanness, touching a corpse (Nu. 52*) or an unclean object, as distinct from bodily defects, prevents priests from eating these things, while it lasts. This rule applies to leprosy, which is also (14) temporary. Animals which have died naturally or been killed by other animals are not to be eaten at all by the priests (*cf.* on 1715, also 724). The rule is found also in Ezek. 4431.

9–16. Rules for Priests' Families, etc.—A priest's slave is a member of his family, and may eat of the dues; a hired servant or a guest is not. Nor is a married daughter, unless she returns, a childless widow, to her father's house. Infringement by a layman of the rules for holy things means a guilt offering (515), *i.e.* restoration of an equally valuable object plus one-fifth.

17–25. Conditions to be Satisfied by the Victims in the case of certain sacrifices. This set of rules is given to "Aaron and his sons" as containing guidance for the priests' examination of the animals. For vows and freewill offerings (1–3) the victim is to be a male, without blemish. In the case of a peace offering, which is to accomplish a vow or freewill offering (unmentioned in 3), the sex of the animal is not mentioned, but certain blemishes are specified. Malformations are allowed in the case of freewill offerings, but not of vows, which are of the nature of a debt. Castration renders an animal unfit for sacrifice, even if the operation had been performed before it came into Hebrew hands; it is a destruction (RV "corruption") of its true nature.

26–33. Concluding Rules for Sacrifice, not specially directed to Aaron, as they concern all persons intending to sacrifice. A calf or lamb or kid offered (as first-born) is to be kept till the eighth day (*cf.* the rule of circumcision, 12). The law is an ancient one; *cf.* Ex. 2229f. (Book of the Covenant), where it is joined with the law of the offering of the first-born which underlies the practice of circumcision. For the prohibition of the sacrifice of cow and calf on the same day, *cf.* Ex. 2319; perhaps in certain forbidden rites the calf was treated as the kid evidently was. Or the motive may have been similar to that of Dt. 226. Thank offerings, like peace offerings, are to be offered with a view to acceptance, *i.e.* with the observance of all the rules. Nothing must be left over to the next day; *cf.* 715, and, for the Passover, Ex. 1210; contrast Lev. 716 and 196; also (a more general rule) Ex. 2318. The final exhortation to this section is brief, but it lays its emphasis, now familiar, on the holiness of the whole people, and its connexion with that of Yahweh.

XXIII. The Sacred Calendar (pp. 103–105).—The chapter, though reading as one whole, has been considerably expanded by a later priestly writer. The original sections apparently referred to the three great feasts: (passover and) unleavened bread (9ff.), "weeks" (15ff.), ingathering (39ff.). That the chapter is not a unity is shown by the new commencement in 9, the repetition of 19 in 22, the reference to 1630 in 26ff., and the parallel sections in 33ff. and 39ff. The festivals now belong to the whole community (not to a family or village, 1 S. 165); H emphasizes their connexion with agriculture (10, 42); to P their three characteristics are rest, assemblage at the sanctuary, and the set sacrifice.

1–3. The Sabbath, which is to be kept holy, *i.e.* unprofaned by any kind of work for individual profit, and marked by a religious gathering, apparently at a synagogue. The term "set feast" (RV) means "an assembly." The same word is used in the name for the shrine, "the tent of meeting." The older name for these feasts was *hag*, properly a pilgrimage; this term, however, would not apply to the Sabbath.

4–8 (P). **The Passover** (pp. 102f.), which was regularly followed by a week when no leaven was to be eaten (*cf.* Dt. 161–8, Ex. 12I–14). The first month (see on 16) is Nisan (March–April). The Passover commences, like all Jewish feasts, at evening, or, in the Heb. phrase, "between the two evenings," *i.e.* between sunset and dark: for the sacrifice, see Nu. 2817–25.

9–14 (H). **The Festival of Unleavened Bread or Mazzoth** (see pp. 102f.).—The "wave sheaf" is to be cut on the first day of the week, *apparently* after the Sabbath of the passover week, *i.e.* on the 16th of the month (but no date is actually given). For the $\frac{1}{5}$th ephah (about $3\frac{1}{4}$ quarts), *cf.* 214. Wine has not hitherto been mentioned in H: in P only in Ex. 2940. No part of the new crop is to be used till the offering to Yahweh has been made.

15–22. The Harvest Festival, or "Weeks," *i.e.* of the completion of the corn harvest (p. 103, Nu. 2826–31). In a country so varied topographically as Palestine, there may be two months' difference between the harvest in the valleys and in the high lands. The fixing of a definite date would follow the centralisation of the festival. The loaves waved at this festival are the same in size as at Mazzoth, but two instead of one, and they are leavened. There is no need of haste, as when the sheaf of the first-fruits had to be presented without any delay seven weeks before. Instead of one lamb, as at the earlier festival, two lambs and one goat; all belong to the priest. For 22, see 19*.

23–25. The Festival of Trumpets (p. 104), which appears here for the first time. The early Hebrew year (see on 16) began on what is now the seventh month; hence this is a New Year's festival, and it is useful also in marking the month in which fell both the Day of Atonement and "Tents." It was on the 1st day of the 7th month that Ezra publicly read the Law (Neh. 82).

26–32. The Day of Atonement (P).—No details are here given:, a knowledge of 16 is implied. The humiliation of the day's services is alone mentioned. If the ritual of the "Day" is later than 444 B.C. (see on 16) this section must be a still later addition.

33–44. The Festival of "Tents (pp. 102f.)."—This the final harvest home (fruit and vintage). It would naturally be, as elsewhere, of a joyous character. The Hebrew countryside, indeed, had turned the vintage into an organised picnic and camped out for a week; the celebrations are referred to in Jg. 2119, 1 K. 82, 1232 (Jeroboam fixed the celebration in N. Israel, not unnaturally, a month later) and Ezek. 4525, Ezr. 34, etc. It is definitely ordained in Dt. 1613f. Here two descriptions of the festival are given, broken by 37f., which is properly the conclusion of the whole section. 39–43 is probably the earlier; no sacrifices are mentioned, but the character of a solemn commemoration of the wilderness years is given to the joyous week, as the Church connected pagan winter and spring festivals with the Incarnation and Resurrection. 33–36 prescribe sacrifices, though in quite general terms, and a universal cessation of work. This holding of the feast in the more religious post-exilic spirit is described in Neh. 813–18 (where "the second day" (13) is probably a mistake), and greatly enlarged provisions are detailed in Nu. 2912–38. For the celebration in NT times, *cf.* Jn. 714,37.

XXIV. Four Additional Ordinances.

1–4. The Holy Lamp (P).—2f. is partially identical with Ex. 2720*—a section which may not be in its right place. The candlestick with seven lights (*cf.* "lamps," 4) is represented on the Arch of Titus; 1 K. 749 mentions ten candlesticks; 2f. probably represents the earlier custom of one lamp (*cf.* 1 S. 33).

5–9. The Shewbread (P).—First mentioned in 1 S. 21 1–7 (*cf.* Mk. 225ff.), also 1 K. 748 (*cf.* Ex. 2530*, Nu. 4 7). Putting food before the gods (as distinct from offerings) is a not infrequent element in pagan rites; *cf.* the Roman "lectisternia"; twelve cakes of bread are offered in a Babylonian ritual (*cf.* Is. 6511, Jer. 718). Each of the twelve cakes is to be one-fifth of an ephah (*cf.* 2317). By the later regulation the bread was to be unleavened (leaven coming to be looked on as a symbol of corruption, *cf.* 24, 69, 712, etc.); the incense placed by the bread (7) is then burnt on the altar. The bread is offered on the Sabbath and then eaten by the priests.

10–16, 23. The punishment for blasphemy connected, as in 101–7 and Sabbath breaking, with an actual example. Language and literary manner suggest that the section is later than H, as also the new beginning in 15 and the position of 23. The guilty man, the offspring of a mixed marriage (forbidden in Dt. 73, Ex. 3416), is a proselyte or "stranger" (16). "The Name" (for the name of Yahweh) does not occur elsewhere in OT, though frequent in later Jewish writings. The man is to be brought "outside the camp" as being unholy and polluting the community. The sin is more than the careless invocation of the Name in a moment of passion (Ex. 207). The "stranger" renounces his allegiance to Yahweh altogether (*cf.* Job 111, where the word is different though the meaning is probably the same). For the laying on of hands, see on 14: the sinner, like the sacrificial victim, purges the whole community by his death. For the stoning, *cf.* Dt. 177. The whole ceremony is purgative, not judicial.

17–22. The "Lex Talionis" (*cf.* Ex. 2123, Mt. 538). An early and simple form of the assessment and administration of judicial penalties. For 17, *cf.* Gen. 95: in Ex. 2120, the principle is not yet allowed full scope. Another early system was that of fines (assessed in a sort of tariff) for crimes (*cf.* Anglo-Saxon law and Code of Hammurabi; *cf.* also Ex. 2118). A middle course is taken in the "guilt offering" when an extra one-fifth is to be restored; but this is, of course, impossible in the case of bodily injuries contemplated here. For 22, *cf.* 16 and 1934. The whole code is markedly stronger in humanitarian than in judicial reform (but note the significant distinction in 2546).

XXV. The Year of Sabbath and of Jubile.

1–7. The Year of Sabbath (H).—This is an ancient Hebrew institution (p. 102); *cf.* Ex. 2310*, where the law of a fallow every seventh year is set side by side with

that of the rest every seventh day. In Ex., however, apart from this reference, there is no suggestion that the sabbath year is to be the same for the whole country, nor is this actually stated here. Only that which grows up without human labour is to be eaten. "Undressed" (5) is literally "Nazirite-like" (the "hair" being allowed to grow); *cf.* 1923. In the seventh year Hebrew slaves were to be released and debts remitted (Ex. 212, Dt. 151,12, Jer. 348–16). The origin of the law was possibly an agricultural custom with humanitarian and religious motives supervening.

8–38. The Year of Jubile.—This law contains two large provisions, the return of estates to their original owners, and the liberation of Hebrew slaves, both in the fiftieth year. It also contains a section which refers to the sabbatical year (17–24) and a law against the exploitation of poor Israelites (35–38). Of these the second at least (as perhaps the first) belongs to H. With the law of Jubile the case is different (see p. 102). A "right of redemption" certainly did exist (*cf.* Ru. 3 and Jer. 327, and the reference to the "year of liberty," Ezek. 4617); but where we should have expected a reference to this law had it been known (Is. 58, Mi. 25, Neh. 511, 1031; *cf.* Chapman, *Introd. to Pent.*, p. 129) there is a significant silence. It is easiest to understand the appearance of the law if we suppose the idea of the Jubile to have arisen after the downfall of the Judæan kingdom, when the evils of the "latifundia" could be attacked by legislators who could work, as it were, *in vacuo*. As an ideal, however, it deserves high praise, and it forms the most explicit statement of the two deep-rooted Hebrew convictions, alike social and religious, that the unlimited growth of estates was contrary to the will of Yahweh, the real and sole owner of the land (see especially 23), and that Hebrews must always be treated by Hebrews in the last resort as brothers. The section contains many marks of the special language of H, though it has apparently been worked over later.

8–18. The Proclamation of the Year of Release.—The analogy between Jubile and Pentecost is clear. "Jubile" is probably derived from a word meaning "ram" (ram's horn trumpet). On the seventh month as the beginning of the year, *cf.* 16. According to this law, there can be no permanent alienation or sale of property (*cf.* 1 K. 211–16), but only a lease, with its price regulated according to the distance of the Jubile year.

19–22. A practical difficulty connected with the seventh year of fallow (*cf.* 6). It seems to be here assumed that the year begins in spring (as according to the later reckoning), hence there is neither harvest nor sowing; thus in the next year also there will be no harvest and nothing to eat till the harvest of the year after. It is said that in modern Palestine when a field lies fallow there is no sowing till after three seasons' ploughing. This difficulty, however, is not implied in Ex. 2310f. For the sentiment, *cf.* Ex. 1623.

23–28. Redemption at the Jubile.—If possible, alienated land is to be redeemed before the Jubile, if necessary by the help of a relative. In each case, the price is to be in proportion to the interval before the fiftieth year, when the land will "go out," *i.e.* revert to its original owner automatically.

29–34. Urban Property.—An exception is made in this case: if not repurchased within a year the transference is absolute. The general idea of "redemption" goes back to the period when Hebrew life was almost entirely agricultural and rural, and walled cities mostly Canaanite. Levitical property, however, does not come under this exception; 33 should probably read, "If a Levite does not redeem his property before the jubile, it shall revert to him then."

35–38. Generosity.—A broad command to prevent anything approaching pauperism, characteristic of H. The same rule is obeyed by the different castes in India and makes a poor-law unnecessary. Usury does not simply mean "unwarrantably high interest." In a community of small holders, to ask a return for a loan would be to take an unneighbourly advantage of another's need (p. 112).

39–46. An extension of Ex. 212*, Dt. 1512*, from the master's point of view, substituting for slavery proper a mild kind of serfdom, but for the seventh year the fiftieth. To foreign slaves, however, the law is not to apply (*cf.* Dt. 153, 2320). *Cf.* Johns, C. H. W., *Relations between Laws of Babylonia and Laws of Hebrews*, pp. 41ff. On slavery in Israel see p. 110.

47–55. Redemption of Hebrews from Aliens.—The right of redemption is to hold in the case of a Hebrew who has sold himself to a resident alien. His services are regarded as leased till the fiftieth year, and the price to be paid for his freedom by a relative will vary with the number of years to run. He is to be treated like a wage earner. Just as Yahweh alone is the owner of the land, so Israelites can be slaves of Him alone.

XXVI. Final Exhortation.—The bulk of this chapter (3–45) forms a noble and impressive conclusion to the foregoing code. Few passages in the Bible reach a higher level of impassioned rhetoric. In form and position it is most naturally compared with the similar conclusion to the Deuteronomic code (Dt. 28), where, as here, the blessings of obedience precede the much more detailed curses pronounced on disobedience. Dt. has no reference to repentance and restoration (Lev. 2640–44). In language and thought the chapter shows the influence of Jeremiah (44, 925, 1419, 15sf.), but still more of Ezekiel (*cf.* 4off. with Ezek. 1660–63, 3631ff.; Baentsch has paralleled almost every verse from Ezekiel; see also Chapman, *Introd. to Pent.*, pp. 246ff.). Certain phrases, however ("fall *towards* the sword," 7, and "upright," 13) do not occur in Ezekiel; the end of the chapter, impressive as it is, is only sketchy as compared with the statement of the doctrine of restoration (here only hinted at) in Ezek. 36, while 39 is directly opposed to Ezekiel's characteristic doctrine. On the other hand, the interpretation of the Exile and the prediction of repentance and restoration remind the reader strikingly of Ezekiel. The picture of disasters, indeed, (27–32) might have been written by any man of deep religious feeling and literary imagination in the previous century; the same might even be said, as Eerdmans urges (suggesting Hezekiah's reign), of 33–38; but the conjunction of the four motives of humiliation, confession, the covenant, and the land, could not well have been written before Jeremiah or even before Ezekiel. Everything points to the work of some member or members of the company of reformers in which both Ezekiel and the authors of H were prominent, and which fused the prophetic and priestly ideals in a passion of obedience to Yahweh's revealed will. The actual period may have been the reign of Zedekiah, when Ezekiel, already in exile, was foretelling. like Jeremiah, the final downfall of Jerusalem. It may be added that this chapter, Dt. 28, and the other hortatory passages in Dt. show that the Law was thought of, not simply as a body of mechanical precepts with their appropriate "sanctions," but as a moral challenge given to Israel either to accept or refuse, even though refusal, like the rejection of Christ in the NT, involves certain and terrible penalties.

1f. Idols forbidden (*cf.* 194, Ex. 204*). Images of

both stone and metal are forbidden, as well as pillars (*masseboth*, pp. 98f.).

3–13. The blessings of obedience: fertility, freedom from wild beasts, victory over enemies, and the presence of Yahweh Himself in the midst. For the first reward, *cf.* Am. 9¹³; for the thought in general, Dt. 28¹–¹⁴, Ezek. 34²⁵–²⁸; and for 11f. the expansion in Ezek. 40–48. No distinction is made here or in many other passages between "temporal" and "spiritual" blessings; each is appropriate, and the future happiness naturally suggests to a Jew, perhaps actually in exile, the memory of the Exodus.

14–26. The punishments of disobedience: plague and defeat, to be followed, after neglect of this warning, by infertility and wild animals and, if repentance is still withheld, by the threefold penalty of sword, pestilence, and famine. Sin is to be paid for seven times over (contrast Is. 40²). This is the great prophetic "commonplace" from Am. (4–13) onwards. In the famine what would have been the portion of one family has to be eked out among ten.

27–39. The results of neglect of the third warning: the extremities of famine and captivity; siege; desolation of the country, destruction of the cities, uselessness of all religious observances; dispersion of the nation; desertion of Palestine and abject misery of the survivors. Such experiences of famine and siege as are described in 2 K. 6²⁵ff. would be familiar in the last years of Jerusalem, and the reference to exile (more definite than in Dt. 28; *cf.* "to Egypt," 68) suggests the years after, and immediately before, 586 B.C. The mention of the local sanctuaries (31) shows that they cannot all have been destroyed in the reformation of 621 B.C. The reference to the Sabbaths of the land breaks the sense and appears to be an insertion.

40–45. Confession and Restoration.—The order of thought is—confession by the exiles of the sin of their own and of previous generations, Yahweh's memory of His ancient covenant, and His (implied) deliverance of His people. The order is simplified if 41–43 is regarded as an insertion; "if" (41), which should be translated "or," suggests this. The double mention of the covenant (note the order of the names in 42), and the reference to the respite of the land (*cf.* 34f.), are arresting, but not related to the rest of the section. On confession, *cf.* 5⁵, 16²¹. Here the confession is of the whole nation's disobedience, past and present; until this is called forth by suffering, God's wrath remains. In Ezekiel's section on restoration, confession is replaced by self-loathing (after, not before, the return; Ezek. 36³¹). Ezekiel expressly denies the motive "for their sakes," and the ancient covenant (45, contrast Ezek. 36²²) and the influence of the past on the present, both for evil and good, is unmentioned by him.

46. Conclusion of the whole H code.

XXVII. This chapter must be regarded as a portion of the later priestly legislation, distinct from H. It follows the definite close of H in 26⁴⁶, and it is a purely business-like treatment of the priestly income (*cf.* 10 12–15). For the position of the priest as authoritative valuer in 8, 12, 15, *cf.* 13, where he appears as the person qualified to decide questions of contagion. After the Exile, when the community was (at any rate in the earlier years) impoverished, and the priestly establishment was already becoming expensive, the question of fixed monetary equivalents in the case of sacrifices and vows would become important. An interesting though general comparison is afforded by a Phœnician inscription known as the "Tariff of Marseilles," where the exact proportion of each kind of sacrifice due to the priest is carefully stated and the priest is forbidden, on penalty of a fine, to take more; where poverty necessitates a very small offering, the priest receives nothing.

1–8. Commutation for a Person.—Where an individual vows himself or herself to Yahweh (*cf.* Jg. 11³⁰f., 1 S. 1²⁸) the commutation price will vary in proportion to the valuation of his or her labour; for a man in the prime of life this will amount to 50 sacred silver shekels (*cf.* "thirty pieces of silver"). This would be equivalent in early post-exilic times to something under £7 (the sacred silver shekel probably being equivalent to the heavy Phœnician silver shekel, p. 116). For an infant or young child, a boy is valued at a sum roughly equivalent to 14*s.*, a girl about 8*s.*, and so on. In cases of poverty a special valuation is to be made.

9–13. Commutation for an Animal.—An animal once vowed is treated as holy; any attempt to substitute another less valuable renders the second holy (and forfeit) also. An "unclean" animal cannot be directly offered for sacrifice; it must, therefore, be sold and the price paid to the Temple; if the owner wishes to have it back he must pay an extra 20 per cent. (*cf.* 15, 6⁵, 22¹⁴).

14f. For a house, the same principle holds good; the price is offered to the Temple funds.

16–25. Commutation for Land.—In this case the question of the interval before Jubile arises, as, in the case of a man, the period when he will be past work (7). The standard taken is "the sowing of a homer of barley," which is regarded as equivalent to the labour of a man in his prime, about £7. A homer = about 11 bushels (p. 115). Kennedy (HDB, "Weights") points out that in the Mishna the size of a field is often computed by the amount of seed needed to sow it. "The area of 2 seahs" is fixed in the Mishna as the area of the Tabernacle, 100 × 50 cubits. Thus, the standard taken is a field which will need 11 bushels to sow it, *i.e.* about 4 acres. If the period of fifty years has run part of its course, deductions are made on the principle of a partly expired lease. If the field is bought back for a lump sum, the additional 20 per cent. is to be paid. If the person who has vowed the land had himself bought it "on lease" (*i.e.* till the Jubile) he must pay the price in cash, as the original owner could at any time "redeem" the field. The sacred shekel weighed nearly twice the ordinary shekel; the gerah (25) weighed probably about 10 grains.

26f. For Firstlings.—Firstlings of oxen and sheep and goats) belong to Yahweh in any case, and thus cannot be voluntarily offered or come under valuation (*cf.* Dt. 23²¹–²³). Animals that fall outside this category are treated according to the rule in 11–13.

28f. The "Ban."—"Devoted" things are things dedicated to God without possibility of "redemption," *i.e.* put under the ban and not to be touched by men (pp. 99, 114, Dt. 2³⁴*, Jg. 1¹⁷*). Hence, according to the old rule, a human being so devoted must be put to death (*cf.* Jos. 6¹⁷*, 1 S. 15²¹). There are no later instances. Such an act, mentioned as it is here, if not simply looking back to historical instances, must refer only to capital crimes, all of which now come under the cognisance of the priests. Ezek. 44²⁹ assigns all objects so devoted (? including human beings) to the priests.

30–33. Tithes (*cf.* Dt. 14²²ff., 26¹²ff., Nu. 21–32*).—The tithe offered in kind may be commuted for its value (estimated presumably by the priest) plus 20 per cent. (*cf.* 13, 15, 27). A tithe on cattle is not mentioned elsewhere save in 2 Ch. 31⁵ff. (*q.v.*), though a royal tax of a tenth on animals is spoken of in 1 S. 8¹⁷ (see p. 99).

NUMBERS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR G. W. WADE

INTRODUCTION

Numbers is the name given in the LXX to the fourth book of the Pentateuch, and is due to the prominent place occupied in it by the details of a twofold census of the Israelite people. But the contents of the book are very varied, and embrace, amongst other matters, laws and regulations attributed to Moses, an account of the forty years' wanderings in the wilderness, and a description of the settlement of part of the people on the E. of Jordan; so that some adaptation of the usual Hebrew title *Bemidbar*, "In the wilderness (of Sinai)," taken from an expression used in 1$_{1}$, would be more appropriate. The period of time included extends from the first day of the second month in the second year after the Exodus (1$_{1}$) to an undefined date between the first day of the fifth month and the first day of the eleventh month in the fortieth year (33$_{38}$, Dt. 1$_{3}$). But of the greater part of this period scarcely anything is recorded, the principal events related being confined within nineteen days (1$_{1}$ compared with 10$_{11}$) at the beginning of it; and six months (33$_{38}$ compared with Dt. 1$_{3}$) at the end. The scene of the history is partly the wilderness of Sinai, partly the wilderness of Paran (N. of Sinai, but W. of the Arabah), and partly the plains (or steppes) of Moab (lying E. of the Arabah, the Dead Sea, and the Jordan).

The book has been compiled from the three post-Mosaic sources symbolised by J, E (united as JE), and P (pp. 124–130). Incidental indications of its post-Mosaic date are 12$_{3}$ (*the man Moses was very meek*), 15$_{32}$ (*while the children of Israel were in the wilderness*), and 22$_{1}$ (*in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan*). The sections derived from JE comprise, besides other narratives, those relating to Hobab, the seventy elders, the quails, the dissension of Aaron and Miriam with Moses, the espial of Canaan, the rebellion of Dathan and Abiram, the unfriendliness of Edom, the fiery serpents, the conquest of Sihon, and the episode of Balak and Balaam. Since JE was probably composed 400 or 500 years after the events recorded by it in this book, the value of the record depends upon the worth of the materials which the writers of it used and upon the judgment with which they handled them. But at the time when they wrote, historical materials for the period covered by Nu. were neither good nor abundant, and a science of history had not yet been developed. Historical data of some sort were doubtless available in collections of poems and ballads, like "the book of the wars of Yahweh," which is quoted in 21$_{14}$f. and which may have preserved, amongst others, the songs celebrating Israel's efforts to establish itself in the S. or the E. of Palestine; and there must have been numerous traditions associated with persons and places (see 11$_{3,34}$, 20$_{13}$, 21$_{3}$). But Jewish historians were more interested in the religious lessons which the past could be made to convey than in the ascertainment of the circumstantial truth about it; and the traditions upon which they were largely dependent were fluctuating (the same incidents being often attached to different personages, and different incidents being recounted to explain the same place-names). Accordingly it is impossible to repose confidence in all parts of JE's history contained in Nu., or to feel sure that any of the details recorded in it occurred exactly as related. The second source, symbolised by P, is mainly concerned with the numbers of the people, the arrangement of the camp, and legal provisions; but it includes a certain amount of narrative, giving an alternative version of the spies, and recording the rebellion of Korah, the death of Aaron, and the relations of Israel with the Midianites. To it also belongs the chronological scheme which runs through the book as a whole. The composition of P was separated from the time of Moses by about 800 years; and its historical value is even less than that of JE. The interests of its author were mainly centred in ecclesiastical institutions, the antiquity of which he desired to magnify; and by an imaginative treatment of history (as shown by a comparison of many of his statements with the contents of the historical books from Judges to Kings) he sought to invest with Mosaic authority certain ordinances which he wished to expound or to emphasize. Nevertheless, though P has little or no worth as an account of conditions existing in Mosaic times, it is valuable for the illustrations that it affords of the religious ideas which were current in the fifth century B.C.

But while Nu. as an account of the Israelite people between their sojourn in Egypt and their conquest of Canaan presents many improbabilities, and whilst even the most plausible details can pass as history only in the absence of anything more trustworthy, the general representation that Israel, after an abortive attempt to invade Canaan from the south, pursued for a generation or more a nomadic life in the desert, and finally, for the most part, entered Canaan from the east, after a circuitous route round Edom, is, no doubt, true to fact. Moreover the book is of considerable interest owing to the light which it throws not only on the importance of Moses in the development of Israel's nationality and religion, but also on the primitive ideas which must once have lain at the back of a good deal of Hebrew religious usage. Thus, though much of the legislation ascribed to Moses in Nu. is manifestly of later origin than his age, yet the book, in common with Ex., Lev., and Dt., witnesses to Israel's belief that a commanding personality guided its fortunes at a formative period in its past, and gave a direction to its religious beliefs from which afterwards it never permanently diverged. And embedded in the ritual of later times with which the book is filled, there are numerous survivals of a rudimentary stage of thought illustrative of the rude level from which the

Hebrew religion was raised by successive spiritual leaders. There are rites which point to a magical conception of religious practices. There are crude identifications of the Deity with His symbol the Ark. There are materialistic ideas of "sanctity" and of "spirit." Yet whilst the contents of Nu. are chiefly of antiquarian value, nevertheless this is not the sole aspect of them. In the account given of Moses, traits of character are depicted that are of permanent religious worth. His faithfulness to his God, and his self-devotion to the interests of his wayward and intractable countrymen, afford examples of conduct which can never become antiquated. And even the sensuous notions of the Divine holiness which pervade so many of the ritual regulations prescribed are at least suggestive of something higher and more spiritual. The measures enjoined for protecting the sanctity of the emblems of Yahweh's presence were designed to inspire reverence for the transcendent purity of the Divine nature and to instil into His worshippers a conviction of the Divine separateness from everything unclean and polluting.

The book is most appropriately divided as follows:

(*a*) 1₁–10₁₀, dealing exclusively with legislation enacted at Sinai.

(*b*) 10₁₁–20₁₃, embracing occurrences and legislation falling between the departure from Sinai and the final advance towards Canaan.

(*c*) 20₁₄–36₁₃, relating events connected with the occupation of eastern Canaan.

Literature. — *Commentaries:* (*a*) Espin (Sp.), McNeile (CB), Kennedy (Cent.B); (*b*) **Gray** (ICC), Paterson (SBOT Heb.); (*c*) Dillmann (KEH), Holzinger (KHC), **Baentsch** (HK); (*d*) Watson (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* Articles in HDB and EBi.; Addis, *Documents of the Hexateuch;* Bacon, *Triple Tradition of the Exodus;* Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *Hexateuch;* Colenso, *Pentateuch and Joshua critically examined;* W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2]; Frazer, *Golden Bough;* Tylor, *Primitive Culture;* Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine;* G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land.*

I. 1–46 (from P, which is used uninterruptedly as far as 10₂₈). **The Numbering of the Secular Tribes.**— The date of this census is about eleven months after the arrival at Mt. Sinai (Ex. 19₁), and exactly a month after the erection of the Tabernacle (Ex. 40₁₇). The numbering, which was to proceed by *families* (*i.e.* by clans) and by *fathers' houses* (*i.e.* by families), was to embrace all men over twenty (who might be thought capable of bearing arms). In the undertaking, Moses and Aaron were to be assisted by a representative of each of the tribes. Since the method by which a large proportion of the names affixed to these representatives are formed is characteristic of a late date, the list is probably unhistorical. The total number, which is given as 603,550 (in round numbers 600,000, 1₂₁, Ex. 12₃₇*), implies a population of both sexes and all ages of more than 2,000,000 (assuming that those capable of bearing arms formed one-fourth of the whole, *cf.* Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* i. 29). This, according to the data given elsewhere, represents the increase, in the third generation, of the twelve sons of Jacob who settled in Egypt (see Ex. 6₁₆–₂₂, Nu. 16₁ (Levi), Ex. 6₁₄, Nu. 26₅–₉ (Reuben)), and is beyond all belief. It is, of course, possible and even probable that the numbers of the Hebrew immigrants into Egypt were in excess of what is recorded; but the numbers of those that accompanied Moses into the wilderness at the Exodus cannot possibly have amounted to the sum here mentioned. A body of 2,000,000 persons is far beyond the capacity of the Sinaitic peninsula to support, for the country is largely desert (as described in 20₄f., Dt. 8₁₅, Jer. 2₆), broken only by occasional spots of verdure, where the soil is irrigated by springs; and its present population is calculated to be only 4000 or 6000. The incredibility of the figures in Nu. is increased by the fact that the Israelites are not regarded as dispersing over the country to seek pasture for their flocks, but as marching in a compact body, close enough together for their movements to be directed by signals conveyed by two trumpets (10₁–₁₀). A camp comprising 2,000,000 persons would cover several square miles; and it has been reckoned that the same number on the march, if arranged 50 abreast, with a yard between each rank, would constitute a column 22 miles long. Elsewhere, the people are regarded as few in number (Dt. 7₂₂), as too weak to subdue all the Canaanites (Jg. 1₁₉,₂₇–₃₅), and as not numerous enough to occupy Canaan, even if vacant (Ex. 23₂₈f.); whilst the fighting men that could be furnished at a much later period by half the tribes are estimated at only 40,000 (Jg. 5₈). The total of 603,550 here given must be fictitious. It has been suggested that the figure 603 has been got from the sum of the numerals denoted by the Hebrew for *the children of Israel*, the 550 being arbitrary. The numbers assigned to the separate tribes seem to have been reached by dividing the total by 12, and then adding to, or deducting from, the quotient various figures at discretion. It is significant that of the 12 tribes six are above and six below 50,000.

2. names: *i.e* individuals; *cf.* Ac. 1₁₅, Rev. 3₄.— **16. thousands:** the term was used to denote tribal divisions of varying size; here it is equivalent to "clans" or "families" (4).—**44.** Read, "and the princes of Israel were twelve men, each one for a tribe, every one head of his father's house."

47–54. The Functions of the Tribe of Levi.—The omission of the Levites from the census was due to the circumstance that the Levites were a consecrated body, whose duty it was to surround the Tabernacle and so safeguard the secular tribes from incurring danger by coming in contact with so holy an object.

48. For Yahweh spake: in the Heb., "And Yahweh spake." The direction not to number the Levites (48–54) should logically precede the actual numbering of the other tribes (17–46).—**50. the tabernacle of the testimony:** Ex. 38₂₁, *cf.* 25₉ *mg.*. 16.—**51. stranger:** *i.e.* any (including Israelites) who did not belong to the tribe of Levi; *cf.* 3₁₀.—**52. by his own standard:** better, "by his own company" (see 2₂*).—**53. wrath:** *cf.* 16₄₆, 18₅, Jos. 22₂₀.

II. 1–34. The Position of the Tribes in the Camp and on the March.—The encampment, when stationary, was arranged as a quadrilateral, containing within it the Tabernacle, surrounded by the consecrated tribe of Levi, and having each of its four sides constituted by the camps of three tribes. On the E. (or front) were Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun (descended from Leah, Gen. 29₃₅, 30₁₈–₂₀); on the S. were Reuben, Simeon (also descended from Leah, Gen. 29₃₂f.), and Gad (descended from Zilpah, Gen. 30₁₀f.); on the W. were Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin (descendants of Rachel, Gen. 30₂₄, 35₁₆–₁₈, 41₅₁f.); on the N. were Dan, Asher, and Naphtali (descended from either Zilpah or Bilhah, Gen. 30₅f., 12f., 7f.). The four groups of tribes were reckoned as the camps of Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan respectively. When the encampment was in motion, Judah's camp went first, followed by Reuben's; then came the Levites with the Tabernacle; behind it followed Ephraim's camp;

whilst Dan's camp closed the rear. A somewhat different arrangement is described in ch. 10.

2. standard: better, "company" or "division" (LXX, τάγμα), a meaning more appropriate in 3 and suitable in 17f., 25, 31, 34.—**ensigns:** the use of a pennon or other device attached to a spear is said to be still a custom of the Arabs, to mark the site of a camp.

III. 1–4. Aaron's Sons.—These constituted a priestly order (10). The description of these (who during their father's lifetime were only ordinary priests) as anointed (3) agrees with Ex. 40$_{15}$ but not with the earlier ch. 29, where only Aaron (7) and his descendants who should succeed him (29) in the high priesthood, are directed to be anointed. As the earliest unguents were animal fats, and many animals were sacred, the practice of anointing was doubtless originally designed to impart to a priest or other important personage the virtues of the sacred animal from which the unguent was derived.

1. The mention of Moses here is an error.—**3. whom he consecrated:** lit., "whose hand he filled" (Ex. 29$_{9}$*, Lev. 8$_{33}$*, 1 Ch. 29$_{5}$*), the object placed in the hand being perhaps the offering which the priests were to present (*cf.* 2 Ch. 13$_{9}$, Ex. 29$_{24}$). The phrase eventually lost its primary sense and could be used of consecrating an altar (Ezek. 43$_{26}$).—**4. died:** see Lev. 10$_{1-7}$.

5–10. The Relations of the Levites to the Priests.—The Levites (*i.e.* the non-Aaronite descendants of Levi), who are here regarded as "given" (9) by Israel to the priests to be their servants, are to have no share in the priesthood itself, which is limited to the descendants of Aaron (10, 18$_{7}$). This limitation seems to have been of late origin. In early times there was no restriction to a particular family or tribe, for, according to Ex. 24$_{5}$, sacrifice was offered by "young men of the children of Israel" (without any mention of their belonging to a special priestly tribe); and in the time of David, his sons (of the tribe of Judah) and Ira (probably a Manassite) were priests (2 S. 8$_{18}$*, 20$_{26}$*). But after the promulgation of Dt. the priesthood was limited to the tribe of Levi; and after the time of Ezekiel (see Ezek. 44$_{10-16}$*) it was confined to the sons of Zadok, a descendant of Aaron (1 Ch. 6$_{3-8}$).

10. priesthood: LXX adds, "and everything about the altar and within the veil" (*cf.* 18$_{7}$).—**stranger:** *i.e.* everyone (including Levites, contrast 15$_{1}$) who is not a descendant of Aaron.

11–13. The Relation of the Levites to the People.—The Levites are here considered as dedicated to Yahweh in lieu of the first-born of Israel to whom He had a claim, and for whom no redemption money had been paid in the past (in the future every first-born child is to be redeemed by the payment of 5 shekels (18$_{16}$)). Yahweh's claim is here based on the sparing of the Hebrew children at the Exodus (Ex. 13$_{11-15}$); but elsewhere all first-born creatures are regarded as Yahweh's (Ex. 22$_{29}$f., 34$_{19}$f.); Perhaps originally supernatural qualities were associated with the first-born (in whom, if a family were thought to be descended from a Divine ancestor, the Divine strain might seem to be strongest, *cf.* Gen. 49$_{3}$*), so that such were held to be more than ordinarily sacred; and if a sacrifice were required, the holiest victim would appear the most appropriate (*cf.* Gen. 22$_{2}$, 2 K. 3$_{27}$, Ezek. 20$_{26}$, Mi. 6$_{7}$).

14–39. The Numbers of the Levites, their Position and Duties.—The census here described included all Levites above one month, whose numbers amounted to 22,000. Their three divisions, when the camp was stationary, formed a *cordon* round the Tabernacle. The Gershonites on the W. had the care of the external hangings, the Kohathites on the S. that of the contents, the Merarites on the N. that of the framework. On the E., the position of most honour, Moses, Aaron, and the priests had their station.

25. the tabernacle: *i.e.* the linen curtains of Ex. 26$_{1}$*.—**the tent:** *i.e.* the goats'-hair curtains of Ex. 26$_{7}$*.—**the covering:** *i.e.* the rams' skins of Ex. 26$_{14}$*.—**26. the altar:** *i.e.* of burnt-offering.—**28.** Read "eight thousand three hundred."—**31. the table:** *i.e.* of shewbread.—**the altars:** *i.e.* of burnt-offering and of incense. The latter, which is ignored in 26, was probably of late origin: incense was at first burnt in censers (16$_{6}$f.).—**the screen:** *i.e.* the veil (4$_{5}$) between the Holy of Holies and the Holy Place. The laver (Ex. 30$_{18}$*) is overlooked in this enumeration.

40–43. The Numbers of the First-born Males in Israel above one Month.—The figure (22,273) is out of proportion to the total population given in 1$_{46}$; for if it is doubled (for an equal number of females), the result is only 44,546, so that for every first-born person there were approximately 44 who were not first-born, which implies that the average family numbered 45. It has been sought to evade this conclusion by assuming that account is taken of only those first-born who were not themselves heads of families; but there is no hint of this restriction in the text.

41. and the earth, etc. Since the firstlings of clean cattle could not be redeemed (18$_{15,17}$), read, "and the cattle of the Levites instead of the cattle of all the first-born among the children of Israel."

44–51. The Redemption by Money of the Residue of the First-born.—*Cf.* 12f. Since the first-born of Israel (22,273) exceed the Levites (22,000, see 39), those in excess are to be redeemed at 5 silver shekels (about 13*s.* 9*d.*) a head.

47. Read, "after the sacred shekel." This was the ancient Hebrew or Phœnician weight (224 grains), as contrasted with the later Perso-Babylonian weight, which was lighter (173·3 grains): *cf.* Ex. 30$_{13}$*, p. 116.

IV. 1–45. A Census of the Levites Qualified to Serve about the Tabernacle, and the Apportionment of their Duties.—This census includes all males between 30 and 50 (*cf.* 1 Ch. 23$_{3}$). In 8$_{23-26}$ the limits of age are 25 and 50 (and the LXX substitutes 25 for 30 in this passage also); in 1 Ch. 23$_{24-27}$, 2 Ch. 31$_{17}$, Ezr. 3$_{8}$ the inferior limit is 20, and no superior limit is specified. The variation no doubt corresponds to changes which prevailed at different periods. The task of packing the contents of the Tabernacle for transport was undertaken by the priests alone; but the actual work of transport was the duty of the Kohathites (kinsmen of Aaron and his sons), who carried the Ark and other things on their shoulders (7$_{9}$). The external hangings and the woodwork of the Tabernacle were conveyed in wagons by the Gershonites and Merarites respectively (7f).

6. sealskin: or "dugong-skin." The staves mentioned in this verse, and in 8,11,14, were probably passed under the cords that fastened the wrappings in which the Ark, the table, and the two altars (see on 3$_{31}$) were packed.—**15. the sanctuary:** better, as *mg.*, "the holy things" (and so in 16,20).—**20. die:** *cf.* the incident in 1 S. 6$_{19}$.—**27. in charge:** better (LXX), "by name."

46–49. The Number of the Levites between the Ages of 30 and 50.—This, which amounts to 8580, bears to the number of Levites over one month a higher proportion (39 per cent.) than is probable, the actual ratio of persons between the ages stated to the whole population being (it is said) in Europe 25 per cent., and in the United States even less.

49. Read, "According to the commandment of Yahweh by the hand of Moses they were appointed, every one according to his service, and according to his burden, as Yahweh commanded Moses."

V. 1–4. The Seclusion of Persons Rendered Unclean through Leprosy, Issues, or Contact with the Dead.—Such seclusion was the result of a primitive belief that persons in the conditions specified were the seat of, or had been exposed to, some supernatural influence which they might extend to any who approached them. Rules relating to the leprous and to sufferers from issues are found in Lev. 13–15*. For historical instances of the seclusion of lepers, see 12$^{10-15}$, 2 K. 7^{3}, 15^{5}.

2. the dead: literally, "a soul" or "ghost." A dead body was thought to be dangerous because the disembodied spirit hovered round it, and such a spirit was potent for harm.

5–10. The Restitution of Misappropriated Property.—This regulation supplements the law contained in Lev. 6$^{1-7}$, which, dealing with the restitution of property wrongfully appropriated, omits to explain how it is to be disposed of, if the owner has died without leaving any kinsman to whom restitution may be made. The present enactment enjoins that the property in such a case shall pass to the priest as Yahweh's representative.

9. heave offering: better, "contribution," the word meaning in strictness anything "heaved" (or "lifted") from a larger aggregate.

11–31. An Ordeal in Cases of Jealousy.—A married woman suspected of unfaithfulness is, in the absence of evidence, to be subjected to an ordeal by being made to drink holy water with which dust from the floor of the Tabernacle has been mingled, and in which a writing inscribed with a curse has been steeped. In the event of her innocence the potion proves harmless, and she becomes fruitful; in the event of her guilt, it injures her (probably by producing abortion). Ordeals similar to the one here enjoined were not uncommon in antiquity. Pausanias, for instance, mentions that at a sanctuary of Earth (Γῆ), in Arcadia, the chastity of the priestesses was tested by their being made to drink bull's blood, which brought down instant retribution upon the unchaste. In the Hebrew ordeal the potion which the suspected woman was compelled to drink had a threefold potency. In the first place, the water (described as holy, 5^{17}) was doubtless originally taken from a sacred spring and could not be drunk by a guilty person with impunity. (Similarly at Tyana the water of the Asbamæan lake, if drunk by a person guilty of perjury, caused disease, though it was innocuous to the innocent). Secondly, the discriminating property of the water was intensified by admixture with the dust of the sacred Tabernacle (which no lay person might ordinarily approach). And thirdly, the water was impregnated with the written words of a curse, a curse in itself being an active agent (*cf.* 22^{6}, Mk. 11^{21}), fulfilling itself mechanically upon the wrong-doer (*cf.* Gen 9^{24}*, Zech. 5$^{1-4}$). But though among the Hebrews the ritual observed was thus of a very primitive character, the ideas that originally lay behind it had come to be replaced by others of a more spiritual nature; for the punishment that followed in the case of the guilty woman was regarded as proceeding from Yahweh (21), to whom the oath was an appeal (*cf.* Ex. 22^{11}, 1 K. 8^{31}f.). Ordeals by water and fire were common in the Middle Ages.

13. and be kept close, etc.: better, "and she be undetected, though she be defiled."—**15. the tenth part of an ephah:** about 7 pints.—**no oil . . . nor frankincense:** the exclusion of these has been explained as due to the sad character of the occasion.—**16. before the Lord:** *i.e.* before the altar of Yahweh.—**17. holy water:** the LXX has "holy living (*i.e.* running) water." Among the Semites as well as among other races sanctity was ascribed to all running water, which, as giving fertility to the soil and sustaining animal life, would naturally appear as the embodiment of Divine energy. It is said that in Palestine to this day all springs are viewed as the seats of spirits (W. R. Smith, RS^{2}, p. 169), and some rivers bore in antiquity the names of deities (*e.g.* the Adonis and the Belus (*i.e.* Baal)).—**18. let . . . loose:** a token of sorrow or distress of mind, *cf.* Lev. 10^{6}, 13^{45}, 21^{10}.—**water of bitterness:** *i.e.* water productive of bitterness (or mischief).—**21. make thee a curse:** *i.e.* make thy fate such that it will be the worst that anyone can wish to imprecate on another; *cf.* Jer. 29^{22}, Is. 65^{15}, Zech. 8^{13}, Ps. 102^{8}.—**22. Amen:** literally, "assured," an expression of assent (*cf.* Dt. 27^{15}f., Neh. 5^{13}), LXX γένοιτο.—**23. a book:** any material on which writing could be inscribed.—**wave:** Ex. 29^{24}, Lev 7^{30}*.—**26. make . . . drink the water:** this, following the same command in 24, does not mean that the priest gives the woman a second draught; it merely repeats the earlier direction. The occurrence of this and other repetitions (*cf.* 16 with 18, 19 with 21, and the duplicates in 18) has suggested that the law here is a compilation from more than one account.

VI. 1–12. Regulations for Nazirites.—A Nazirite was one, whether man or woman (2), who undertook either for life or for a shorter time a vow to observe certain rules, involving various abstinences. An instance of a lifelong vow is afforded by Samson (Jg. 13^{7}); examples of temporary vows occur only outside the OT (1 Mac. 3^{49}, *cf.* perhaps Ac. 18^{18}, 21^{23}f.), though it is to the latter kind alone that the regulations here prescribed relate. The three requirements insisted on are (1) abstinence from all intoxicants and all products of the vine (*cf.* Am. 2^{11}f.); (2) abstinence from cutting the hair; (3) precautions against incurring defilement through contact with the dead. Of these certainly the second (Jg. 13^{5}), and probably the first (Jg. 13^{7,14}), were observed by a lifelong Nazirite like Samson, but the third must have been impossible to such (Jg. 14^{19}, 15^{8,15}). As the Nazirite was consecrated "unto Yahweh" (2,5,8), it seems likely that the first of the specified requirements had its origin in certain religious associations attaching to intoxicants. Intoxication, like other abnormal conditions (such as madness, 1 S. 16^{14}), was doubtless at an early time ascribed to the entrance into the person affected of some Divine power (*cf.* amongst the Greeks the connexion of Dionysus with the vine). To the Israelites, originally a pastoral people, the vine and its products were unfamiliar until Canaan was reached; and since the Canaanites ascribed the gift of wine to the Baalim (*cf* Hos. 2^{5,8}), the use of it might be regarded by strict adherents of Yahweh as a secession from the cult of the God of Israel to that of another god (p. 85, *cf.* the attitude towards the vine displayed by the nomadic Rechabites, Jer. 35$^{6-10}$*). The second requirement, that the man should not be shorn, goes back to the belief that the hair (inasmuch as it grows more quickly than any other part of the body) was in a special degree the seat of Divine energy (*cf.* Jg. 16^{17}); so that if a man cut his hair, the Divine virtue in him would be impaired. The third regulation, that the Nazirite should not come near a dead body, was only a special application of a principle which extended to ordinary persons. Contact with the dead always involved de-

filement (52*); but in the case of one who was consecrated it was particularly to be avoided, and if incurred, it entailed the renewal of the whole period of the vow. To the prohibitions here named parallels are forthcoming from elsewhere: for instance, the Roman *flamen dialis* might not walk under a vine, touch a dead body, or enter a place where one was burned. Examples have also been adduced from the early Saxons and from modern savages, of men vowing to keep their hair unshorn until they should fulfil some desired act of vengeance, the primitive idea involved in such vows being that during periods of stress the Divine powers on which men's strength depends are manifestly estranged, so that it becomes desirable to propitiate them by cherishing what is a special seat of the virtue they impart (RS², 323–335, 481–485).

2. Nazirite: the word means "one separated" unto God (*cf.* Jg. 135).—**4. kernels . . . husk:** better, "pips . . . skins," but the real meaning is uncertain.—**10. turtle doves:** these were the least costly of animal sacrifices (Lev. 57, 128).—**12. for a guilt offering:** the guilt was incurred through the discharge of the vow being delayed in consequence of the accidental defilement.

13–21. The Offerings Required at the Termination of the Nazirite Vow.—The most distinctive feature of the concluding ritual was the shaving of the hair (*cf.* Ac. 1818) and the burning of it in the fire on the altar. This was probably at first of the nature of an offering, the primitive idea being that, as the hair was the seat of vitality and energy, to present it to the Deity was to present to Him the best of one's self. Offerings of hair have been common in many religions, and were made on various occasions, particularly by girls just before marriage, and by mourners for the dead (see Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, i. 43, ii. 32; Æsch., *Cho.* 6; Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 141). Of the sacrifice offered by the Nazirite a larger share than ordinary fell to the priest; for of the ram of the peace offering, in addition to the usual perquisites (Lev. 734), he received also the shoulder.

13. shall be brought: this is inappropriate, and the text is probably in some disorder.—**15. their meal offering and their drink offerings:** see 154f.—**20. heave thigh:** better, "thigh of the contribution."—**21. beside that which he is able to get:** *i.e.* besides that which his means shall allow. The sacrifices explicitly prescribed are the minimum, but they are not to exclude others, if the offerer can afford them.

22–27. The Priestly Blessing.—This blessing, though incorporated in P, has probably been derived from some earlier source (perhaps a psalm, *cf.* Ps. 46, 2911, 3116, 671,6f., 803,7,19, 119135, etc.). At the Temple the blessing is said to have been used every morning, the sacred name being pronounced in its real form, YAHWEH (instead of in the disguised form JEHOVAH, which has the vowels of the title *Adonai*, see Ex. 314*).

27. put my name, etc.—An idea prevalent among primitive races was that between the name and the person there was a mysterious link (the name in a sense *was* the personality), so that to pronounce the Divine name was to set in motion the Divine activity: *cf.* Gen. 3227*. Mt. 722, Mk. 938, Ac. 36.

VII. 1–9. Offerings of Wagons and Oxen for the Transport of the Tabernacle.—The offerings here mentioned are represented as having been made immediately after the erection of the Tabernacle (1), so that the date implied is a month earlier than that of ch. 1, though the census there described is here presupposed (2). The wagons were to be used only for the conveyance of the hangings and woodwork of the Tabernacle. The Ark, as being more sacred, could only be borne by the Kohathites upon their shoulders. The idea that this, with the other contents of the Tabernacle, was too holy to be transported in wagons, and might be carried only on the shoulders of consecrated Levites, seems to have really been a post-Mosaic development. Even in David's time the Ark was conveyed in a cart (2 S. 63); but the death that befell Uzzah (2 S. 65f.) tended to augment feelings of awe in respect of it, which led to other arrangements (*cf.* 2 S. 613, 1524).

10–89. Offerings of Vessels, Animals, and other Materials for Use in Sacrifice.—The weights of each charger, bowl, and spoon (or cup) presented by the several princes were about 60, 33, and 4¾ oz. respectively.

10. for the dedication: better (*mg.*), "the dedication gift"; and so in 11,84,88.—**89.** This verse is incomplete at both its beginning and its close; for the words "with him" must refer to Yahweh, who is not mentioned in the preceding context, whilst the statement "he spake unto him" is not followed (as might be expected) by any speech.

VIII. 1–4. Directions Relating to the Candlestick.—An account of the candlestick (really a "lampstand") is contained in Ex. 2531–40*.

2. lightest: render as in *mg.* (and so in 3).—**give light . . . candlestick:** *i.e.* illuminate the opposite (N.) wall of the Holy Place, the candlestick being on the S. side.—**flowers:** flower-like ornaments.

5–22. The Purification of the Levites.—This differed from that of the priests (Ex. 29, Lev. 8), for the Levites (*a*) were only sprinkled with water instead of being washed altogether and anointed with oil; (*b*) merely washed their ordinary garments instead of being clad in special garments. The shaving of all their hair was in pursuance of the belief mentioned on p. 216: if ceremonial impurity infected the person at all, it would exist in a concentrated form in the hair. The ceremonies described in 10–13 could obviously be only performed symbolically: *cf.* Ex. 2924.

13. thou: here and in 15 it is Moses, whereas in 11,21 it is Aaron who "waves" the Levites.—**16. even the first-born of all:** read, 'even all the first-born among"; *cf.* 18.—**19. make atonement:** better, "afford a covering (or screen)." The Hebrew here cannot mean to expiate sin, but has in view the prevention of it, inasmuch as sin would be involved in the profanation of the Tabernacle by the approach of unhallowed laymen.

23–26. The Age-Limit for the Levites' Service.—The limits here given (25 and 50) differ from those fixed in ch. 4 (where they are 30 and 50).

24. This is that which belongeth unto: read (Vulg.), "This is the law of."

IX. 1–14. Regulations for a Supplementary Passover.—The institution of such, on the fourteenth day of the second (instead of the first) month, was required to meet the needs of those who were prevented by some adequate cause from participating in the ceremony at the proper time (*cf.* 2 Ch. 302f.). The occasion when the law here described was enacted was the second anniversary of the Passover, so that the date of this chapter precedes that of ch. 1. As the people at this time were dwelling in tents (not in houses), it must be supposed that the command respecting the smearing of the lintel and side-posts of the door with blood (Ex. 127,22) was modified.

2. Moreover: omit (with Vulg.).—**5. at even:** Ex. 126*.—**6.** *cf.* 52*.—**and before Aaron:** omit; note *him* (*i.e.* Moses) in 7.—**14. stranger:** *i.e.* a settler who had become a member of the Israelite community (LXX

has "proselyte"), not a mere temporary sojourner (who was forbidden to eat the Passover, Ex. 1245*).

15–23. The Movement of the Camp Determined by the Fiery Cloud.—Since according to P the Tabernacle was in the centre of the camp when it was stationary, and in the midst of the column when it was on the march (217, 1021), the setting or rising of the cloud above it only gave the signal for encamping or for breaking up the camp: the direction of the march was conveyed from Yahweh through Moses (1013). The view of the writer of 1033–36* is quite different. The conception of the cloud as fiery (15) maintains the idea of fire as the symbol of Yahweh's presence, which occurs in Gen. 1517, Ex. 32–4. Fire was also associated with the presence of heathen deities: for instance, it was believed to play around a temple of Aphrodite at Aphaca, and around a sacred olive-tree near Tyre (Ex 1321f.*).

16. covered it: add (with LXX) "by day."—**22. a year:** literally, "days," *i.e.* an indefinite period.

X. 1–10. The Silver Trumpets.—These were straight in shape and about 18 or 20 in. long (Ezr. 310*). The various signals given by them were distinguished partly by the number of the blasts, partly by their character, some being "alarms" (martial notes, 9), others not. Instances of their use occur in 316, 1 Ch. 138, 1524, 2 Ch. 1312f., Ez. 310, 1 Mac. 440, 533.

6. The LXX adds that when a third and a fourth alarm were blown, the camps on the W. and the N. were to move.

11–28. The Departure from Sinai.—The stay at Sinai lasted about 11 months (*cf.* 11 with Ex. 191), and the people now moved to the wilderness of Paran (the modern El Tih), N. of Sinai. The order of the march here differs in some respects from that described in ch. 2; for there it is assumed that all the Levites kept together (217), whereas here the Gershonites and Merarites, with the hangings and frame of the Tabernacle, are to follow the division of Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun, whilst the Kohathites, with the Ark and the furniture of the Tabernacle, are to follow the division of Reuben, Simeon, and Gad. The arrangement was intended to secure that the Tabernacle should be set up before the arrival of its contents.

21. sanctuary: better, "holy things" (*cf.* 415, *mg.*).

29–32. Moses' Request to his Father-in-law.—This section and the next (derived from JE) are parallel to, and not the sequel of, 11–28; for whereas in 12 the Israelites have reached Paran, in 33 they are only starting from Sinai. Moses' father-in-law, called here (J) and in Jg. 411 (*mg.*) Hobab, is named in Ex. 31, 418 (E) Jethro, and in Ex. 218* Reuel (where, however, the name should probably be omitted). It is implied that Hobab, by accompanying Israel going north, would be separated from the rest of the Midianites who roamed over the desert E. of Canaan (Jg. 63, *cf.* Gen. 251–6); and this favours the view that Sinai was not in the S. of the peninsula; otherwise his route and Israel's would have coincided for some distance. From Jg. 116 it may be inferred that Moses' father-in-law (see *mg.*) accompanied the Israelites into Canaan, though this is denied in Ex. 1827.

33–36 (JE). The Movements of the Ark.—Here the Ark is not regarded as carried in the middle of the column (as in 21), but as preceding it (*cf.* Ps. 687). The address to it assumes that it was the seat or symbol of Yahweh, and the particular expressions used are more appropriate to a time after the settlement in Canaan, when the Ark accompanied the Israelite armies to war (1 S. 43, 2 S. 1111), than to the period spent in the wilderness.

33. After "before them," omit "three days' journey" (as an accidental repetition).

XI. 1–3. (JE). The Chastisement of the People at Taberah.—The occasion was discontent at some hardship, the nature of which is not explained. The agency by which the discontent was punished was probably lightning (*cf.* Ex. 923, Job 116, 2 K. 110). The place is unknown.

1. Render, "And the people were as mourners at misfortune."—**3. Taberah:** *i.e.* "Burning," from the Heb. root *ba'ar*, "to burn."

4–35 (JE). The People's Lust for Flesh and Moses' Complaint of his Excessive Burden.—This section is a combination of two narratives (from J and E), relating (1) a demand of the people for flesh (instead of manna), which was satisfied by a flight of quails; (2) a complaint of Moses that the responsibility of leadership was too great for him, which was met by the appointment of 70 elders to assist him. But the separation of the two stories cannot be effected with perfect confidence, and some verses may originally have stood in a different context.

4–10. The Discontent with the Manna, and the Desire for Flesh.—The complaint about the lack of flesh is inconsistent with the possession by Israel of the flocks and herds implied in 321, Ex. 1232.38, 173. The use of fish, onions, and leeks as food in Egypt is mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 92, 125). The description of the manna (7–9) is probably based on that of a natural product, the yellowish, sweet-tasting gum that exudes from a variety of tamarisk. This natural manna, however, flows only in small quantities, quite inadequate to serve as food for a multitude of people, so that tradition has magnified both its amount and its sustaining qualities. The account given in Ex. 1614–36* presents even more marvellous details than the present passage; *cf.* also Neh. 915, Ps. 7824, 10540.

4. the mixed multitude.—Of the various foreigners (Egyptians and Arabs) with whom the Israelites had become associated in Egypt, some had accompanied them on their departure thence: *cf.* Ex. 1238.—**6. our soul:** *i.e.* our appetite.—**7. bdellium:** a resinous substance of a yellow colour (Gen. 211).—**8. beat it in mortars:** This was one of the earliest modes of preparing corn, before the more satisfactory method of grinding it between two stones was devised. Both the mortar and the pestle were of wood (*cf.* Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 423). Robinson Crusoe on his island had to have recourse to this shift.—**fresh oil:** the word is of uncertain meaning; Vulg. *panis oleatus*.

11f. Moses' Remonstrance to Yahweh that his Burden Exceeds his Capacity.—This complaint has no obvious connexion with the subject of the people's murmurs, but relates to the responsibility of leading Israel into Canaan (*cf.* Ex. 3312f.); and clearly requires for its proper sequel not the satisfaction of the demand for flesh, but the relief afforded to Moses himself by the appointment of a body of colleagues. There is thus introduced here quite a distinct story from the foregoing.

13. This verse is a continuation of 4–10, though some words (like "Moses said unto Yahweh") have been lost between them.

14–17. A resumption of Moses' expostulation in 11f., and a promise from Yahweh to relieve his burden by giving him 70 colleagues to share it. The spirit resting upon Moses is regarded as a *quasi*-physical fluid, capable of being divided and imparted to others.

14. kill me: *cf.* Elijah's despondency (1 K. 194).

18–24*a*. A return is made to the people's demand

for flesh (4–10,13), which Yahweh promises to gratify, even to satiety.

18. sanctify yourselves: *i.e.* practise the abstinence and perform the lustrations necessary before witnessing a manifestation of Divine power (*cf.* Ex. 19 10f., Jos. 3 5).—**20. come out,** etc.: presumably by vomiting.

24*b*–30. This section continues 14–17. Yahweh performs the promise which is there expressed, and the influence of the spirit, hitherto confined to Moses, affects with prophetic frenzy (*cf.* 1 S. 10 10, 19 20f.) not only the 70 elders gathered at the Tabernacle, but two others not included amongst them, an incident which renders Moses' servant Joshua jealous for his master's sake, but elicits a noble reply from Moses himself (*cf.* Ac. 10 34–48).

25. the cloud: the conception is probably derived from the early association of Yahweh with the sky, where the storm-cloud formed His chariot (Ps. 18 9–12). —**25. they did so no more:** *i.e.* the prophetic frenzy was only of temporary duration.—**26. written:** *i.e.* registered as elders (Neh. 12 22).—**28. one . . men:** better (*mg.*), "from his youth."

31–35. Here there is again a return to the people's demand for flesh (18–24*a*), which is satisfied by immense flights of quails. Quails migrate in great numbers from Africa to Europe in the spring, and return in the autumn, and are captured for the market. As they occur in the Sinaitic peninsula, it is thus probable enough that at certain times they afforded food for the Israelites in the wilderness; and the incident is regarded even by the writer (who explains that the wind was the immediate agency employed) as an example of special providence rather than as a miracle. Another mention of the relief of the people's needs by flights of quails is found in Ex. 16 13; and references to such incidents occur in Ps. 78 26–31, 106 13–15.

31. the sea: the gulf of Akabah.—**two cubits,** etc. The quails flew at the height of a yard above the ground, and were probably netted.—**32. ten homers:** about 110 bushels.—**spread them:** *i.e.* for drying in the sun, with a view to curing them for keeping.—**33. while . . . teeth:** *i.e.* while the supply lasted.—**ere it was chewed:** better, "ere it (the supply) was cut off (or failed)."—**34. Kibroth-hattaavah:** this site is unknown.—**35. Hazeroth:** identified by some with Ain el Hadra, a place two days' journey N.E. of Sinai.

XII. 1–16 (JE). **Miriam's and Aaron's Jealousy of Moses, and Yahweh's Vindication of Him.**—The challenge of Moses' prerogative to be Yahweh's sole spokesman is strangely combined with a complaint respecting his marriage with a Cushite woman (perhaps another story in which Miriam, without Aaron, figured). Elsewhere Moses' wife, Zipporah, is represented as a Midianite (Ex. 2 16–21) or a Kenite (Jg. 1 16, 4 11): so that if Zipporah is here alluded to, this description of her as a Cushite may refer not to the African Cush (=Ethiopia) but to an Arabian Cush (perhaps the Cushan of Hab. 3 7). Otherwise it must be assumed that the woman here in question was a second wife. The uniqueness of Moses' position consisted in his intimacy with Yahweh, who spoke with him not as with other men through visions (Gen. 15 1) and dreams (Gen. 20 3, 1 S. 28 6), but plainly, face to face (*cf.* Ex. 33 11, Dt. 34 10), and revealed to him His form. The latter statement conflicts with the tenor of some other passages, which represent the sight of God as fraught with death to men (Ex. 33 20, Jg. 13 22), though see Ex. 24 11.

3. meek: better "humble," the proper attitude of man to God.—**6.** Render (LXX and Vulg.), "If there be a prophet of Yahweh among you, I will make, etc."—**8. even manifestly . . . speeches:** it has been proposed to read, "not in a vision and not in a dream"; *cf.* 6.—**14. Heal . . . thee:** read, "Now heal her, I beseech thee."

XIII. 1–33. The Espial of Canaan.—This narrative is marked by numerous discrepancies, due to its being a fusion of two accounts drawn from JE and P. In the one (JE) the spies start probably from Kadesh (26, 32*b*, *cf.* Dt. 1 19f., Jos. 14 7), the survey is limited to the S. of Palestine (22f.), and the report of the land is favourable, but of the inhabitants alarming (27–29), Caleb alone dissenting from the latter representation. In the other (P) the spies start from Paran (3), the survey extends to the N. border of the Holy Land (21, *cf.* 34 8), and the report of the country is unfavourable (32), both Joshua and Caleb dissenting.

1–17*a* (from P). **The Names of the 12 Spies.**—These are styled princes, but are not identical with those named in ch. 1. Caleb, the representative of Judah, is called a Kenizzite in 32 12, Jos. 14 6,14. The statement that Joshua's birth-name was Hoshea, and was changed by Moses (8,16), is connected with the fact that the name Joshua involves the Divine name Yahweh, which, according to P, was not known until after Moses', and presumably Joshua's, birth.

17*b*–20 (from JE). **The Commission given to the Spies.**—The "South" (Heb. *Negeb*, p. 32) was the parched high ground which afterwards formed the S. portion of Judah (Jos. 15 21), though lying N. of the locality where the Israelites now were (Kadesh). The time of the first-ripe grapes was about the end of July.

21 (from P). **An Account of the Territory Explored.**—This represents it as extending from the wilderness of Zin, afterwards the southern border of Israel (34 3), to Rehob or Beth-rehob (2 S. 10 6,8), near to Laish or Dan (Jg. 18 28), a city not very far from the valley between Lebanon and Hermon ("the entering in of Hamath"), which ideally defined the N. frontier of Israel (see 1 K. 8 65, 2 K. 14 25). The distance to Rehob is about 200 miles.

22–24. (from JE). **A Second Account of the Region Explored.**—This implies an outward journey of about 60 miles, making it extend only to Hebron (19 miles S. of Jerusalem, p. 31) and the valley of Eshcol (some unidentified wâdy near Hebron, *cf.* Jos. 14 9,14). The country round Hebron is still covered with vineyards. Zoan (the later Tanis, Is. 19 11*) is said to have been built about 1670 B.C. The separate mention of Hebron (22) and of Eshcol (23) points to a slight divergence between J and E.

25–26*a* (P). **The Return of the Spies to Paran.**—The addition "to Kadesh" (the modern Ain Kadis, p. 32) probably comes from JE, for by P Kadesh is placed in the wilderness of Zin (33 36), not Paran.

26*b*–31 (from JE). **The Report of the Spies.**—This, in respect of the land, was favourable and was confirmed by samples of its products (*cf.* Dt. 1 25); but in respect of the formidable character of its population and their cities was unnerving (though contradicted by Caleb).

28. the children of Anak: *i.e.* (long)-necked men, *Anak* being a proper noun signifying "neck" (*cf.* Dt. 1 28*, 2 10,9 2).—**29. Amalek:** the Amalekites were nomads who roamed over the desert S. of Judah (*cf.* 1 S. 15 7,30 1).—**the Hittite** (pp. 53, 55f.): these were a non-Semitic, perhaps Mongolian, race. who as a nation dwelt outside the N. limits of the Holy Land (Carchemish being one of their chief cities), but of whom individual settlers may have made their homes in central or southern Palestine (Gen. 23 3f.*).—**the Jebusite:**

the inhabitants of Jebus (or Jerusalem, Jos. 15$_{63}$*).—**the Amorite:** here regarded as the population of the country W. of Jordan occupying the hills (as in Dt. 1$_{19}$).—**the Canaanite:** here (contrast 14$_{45}$) represented as the dwellers in the low-lying maritime plain (as in Dt. 1$_{7}$, Zeph. 2$_{5}$f.) and in the valley of the Jordan (Dt. 11$_{30}$).—**30. stilled:** this presumes the weeping and murmuring mentioned in 14$_{1}$f.

32*a* (from P). **Another Report of the Spies.**—This is unfavourable to the land, representing it as barren and producing insufficient to support its inhabitants (for the phraseology see Ezek. 36$_{13}$, *cf.* Lev. 26$_{38}$). The estimate probably reflects the conditions prevailing during, and after, the Babylonian exile (Hag. 1$_{6}$).

32*b*–33 (from JE). **A Continuation of the Report in 26*b*–31.**—The **Nephilim** are described in Gen. 6$_{2-4}$* as the offspring of intercourse between angels and women (like many of the heroes of classical mythology): the LXX renders the word by "giants." In 33 read, "And there we saw the Nephilim (the sons of Anak are of the Nephilim): and we, etc." The words within the parenthesis form a note, which is absent from the LXX.

XIV. 1–10 (P). **The People's Discouragement at the Report of the Spies.**—This section is also a fusion of JE and P: its composite character is suggested by the repetitions in 1. In 6 the minority report proceeds from Joshua and Caleb (not from Caleb only, as in 13$_{30}$, JE), and so is derived from P. But the protest in 7f., though appearing to be made by both jointly, is really Caleb's, for like 13$_{30}$ it is directed against the argument (13$_{28}$) that the Canaanites were too strong to be overcome.

9. are bread for us: *i.e.* can be consumed as easily as men consume bread (*cf.* 24$_{8}$, Dt. 7$_{16}$, Ps. 14$_{4}$).—**their defence** (literally, "shadow"): *i.e.* their gods (*cf.* Is. 25$_{4}$, 30$_{2}$, Ps. 91$_{1}$).—**10. the glory of Yahweh:** *i.e.* the fire that symbolized the Divine presence (9$_{15}$*, Ex. 24$_{17}$).

11–25 (JE). **Yahweh's Threat to Disinherit the People, and Moses' Intercession for them.**—This section is derived from JE, as appears from the exemption of Caleb only (24) from the sentence of exclusion from Canaan pronounced on the existing generation. Moses here shows the same self-effacement as in Ex. 32$_{11}$f. [The plea that Yahweh should do nothing which would damage His reputation among the heathen emphasizes a motive for the Divine action which is specially prominent in Ezekiel.—A. S. P.].

14. they will tell it: literally, "they will say"; but what will be said is not related, so that there is probably some corruption. The LXX preferably has, "all the inhabitants of the land have heard that," etc.—**22. tempted:** better, "tested."—**ten times:** a round number, as in Gen. 31$_{7}$, Neh. 4$_{12}$, Job 19$_{3}$, Zech. 8$_{23}$.—**25. Now . . . valley:** contrast 45 (where the people here named occupy the mountain): the clause should probably be omitted (as in Dt. 1$_{40}$).—**the Red Sea:** *i.e.* the gulf of Akabah (*cf.* 21$_{4}$).

26–38 (P). **The Condemnation of the People to Forty Years' Wanderings in the Wilderness.**—This passage comes from P, being parallel to, but divergent from, 11–25, for both Joshua and Caleb (not the latter alone, as in 24) are exempted from the sentence of exclusion (*cf.* 14$_{6}$). The subsequent history assumes that exemption was extended to Eleazar also (see 32$_{28}$, Jos. 14$_{1}$, 24$_{33}$).

31. know: read (with LXX), "inherit."—**33. wanderers:** better (with *mg.*), "shepherds" (living as nomads and not as occupiers of land).—**forty years:** a conventional figure equivalent to a generation (*cf.* Jg. 3$_{11}$, 5$_{31}$).—**whoredoms:** *i.e.* acts of mistrust (not of idolatry, as usual, Ezek. 23$_{11}$, Hos. 2$_{5}$).—**37. the plague.**—Paul, who alludes to the occurrence in 1 Cor. 10$_{10}$, substitutes "the destroyer," thus attributing the infliction of the plague to an angelic agent (as is done in the case of the pestilence sent to punish David's offence in 1 Ch. 21$_{12,15}$).

39–45. An Abortive Invasion of Canaan.—This comes from JE.

40. the mountain: *cf.* 13$_{17}$.—**44. the ark:** this was wont to accompany the army as a *palladium: cf.* 10$_{35}$f.—**45. Hormah:** afterwards reckoned in the territory of Judah or of Simeon (Jos. 15$_{30}$, 19$_{4}$).

XV. A Number of detached Regulations (from P).

1–16. The Quantities of Flour, Oil, and Wine appropriate to various Sacrifices.—The practice of adding such accompaniments to flesh-offerings preserves the primitive idea that certain sacrifices were meals of which the deity partook (*cf.* Jg. 9$_{13}$, 1 S. 1$_{24}$, Bel. 3–6). The use of corn and wine in sacrifice could have come into vogue only after Israel had ceased to be a pastoral and had become an agricultural people. Wine probably replaced milk, which, though it does not occur among the offerings prescribed in the Jewish law, was offered by the Arabs, as also by the Carthaginians (a Phœnician race). Milk formed the libation at the early Latin festival, the *feriae Latinae*. An ephah (p. 115) measured approximately a bushel (71 pints); a hin (p. 115), 1½ gallons (12 pints).

14. stranger, *i.e.* proselyte (LXX); and so in 16,29.

17–21. A "First Part" of a Batch of Bread to be Offered.

20. dough: the LXX supports this rendering as against the *mg.*—**heave offering—heave:** better, "contribution—contribute."

22–31. Offerings Required as Atonement for Sins of Ignorance.—This law differs in some respects from the corresponding one in Lev. 4.

32–36. The Form of Execution for a Sabbath-breaker.—This law is supplementary to that in Ex. 31$_{14}$. The execution of the offender by stoning at the hands of the congregation distributed the responsibility of destroying the life of a fellow kinsman.

37–41. Tassels to be Attached to the Corners of Garments.—Such tassels (*mg.*) are here regarded as reminders of Yahweh's commandments (39); but at an earlier period they were probably amulets, and in origin perhaps survivals of a totemistic stage of religion. When animals were thought to be divine, the wearing of their hides would be one means of securing participation in their superhuman qualities; and it may therefore be suggested that a tasselled garment really represented a skin once worn in barbarous religious rites, the tassels at the four corners answering to the animal's four legs. Such tassels are the "borders" of Mt. 14$_{36}$, 23$_{5}$.

XVI. The Rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (JE and P).—The narrative fuses together accounts of distinct revolts led by different individuals and inspired by different motives. The first (from JE) had for its instigators Dathan and Abiram, who are mentioned separately in 12,25,27, Dt. 11$_{6}$, and who, as Reubenites (a tribe that once possessed the primacy, Gen. 49$_{3}$), disputed the civil authority of Moses (13,15), appeal being made for Yahweh's decision. The ringleaders and their belongings were swallowed up by an earthquake. The inclusion with these of On is probably due to a textual error: he is not named elsewhere. The second (from an early form of P) was headed by Korah (mentioned separately in 5f.16,19, 27$_{3}$) with

250 adherents; and was a repudiation of the religious supremacy of Moses and Aaron (representing the tribe of Levi). In this version Korah could scarcely have been a Levite, and certainly some of his supporters came from other tribes (see 27*1*–3). A challenge to him and his supporters to offer incense before Yahweh and so learn whether they were acceptable to Him resulted in their being consumed by fire, whilst a subsequent murmuring on the part of the people was punished by a plague. Another version of the second story (from a later form of P) represents Korah as a Levite disputing Aaron's exclusive right to the priesthood. The various stories may reflect real struggles against the predominance of tribes or individuals, and the accidental death of any of the actors in such struggles would readily be construed as a Divine judgment: but what proportion (if any) of the narratives is actual fact it is impossible to say.

1f. These verses combine Korah, Dathan, and Abiram into one body. The two stories must originally have begun something like this: (*a*) "Now Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, the son of Peleth (in 26*8*, Pallu), the son (LXX, *cf.* Dt. 11*6*) of Reuben rose up before Moses, and certain of the children of Israel"; (*b*) "Now Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, took an offering (see 15), and with him were two hundred and fifty princes of the congregation, called to the assembly, men of renown."

3–7. These verses (from P) continue the story of Korah alone, whose contention is that the whole congregation are as holy as Moses and Aaron. Moses invites him and his supporters to submit (with Aaron) to the ordeal of approaching Yahweh with incense.

3. Ye . . . upon you: better, "Enough of your claims."—**6. censers:** or fire pans, for carrying glowing charcoal.—**7. ye sons of Levi:** a mistaken addition, due to 8, where the words are in place.

8–11. This section (from a secondary form of P) represents Korah and his supporters not as claiming the privilege of drawing near to God (as in 5), but as seeking to share the priesthood.

12–15. (from JE). A return is here made to the revolt of the Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram, against Moses (not Aaron). They remain in their tents, and do not, like the adherents of Korah, attend at the Tabernacle (7,16,18).

14. put out the eyes of these men. *i.e.* throw dust in their eyes.—**15. their offering:** this has no reference to the incense of 7, but must relate to something which the narrative no longer preserves.

16–24. This section (from P) reverts to the revolt of Korah (the "one man" of 22); but there is some confusion between the claim of the Levites to equality with Aaron (17) and the assertion of the rights of the whole congregation as against both Moses and Aaron (19f.,22). Yahweh first threatens to destroy the whole congregation, but at Moses' intercession changes His purpose and directs the congregation to withdraw from Korah and his 250 companions. In 24, as in 1, the story of Korah has been united by the editor with that of Dathan and Abiram. Probably the command to the congregation was originally, "Get you up from about the tabernacle of Yahweh" (see 19 and *cf.* 17*13*). The Hebrew for "tabernacle" (in the sing.) is elsewhere used exclusively for the habitation of Yahweh, except in Is. 22*16*.

25–34. These verses (with the exception of the first half of 27 and the last half of 32) come from JE, and are the sequel of 12–15. As Dathan and Abiram refuse to go to Moses (14), the latter, attended by the elders of Israel, goes to them; and on his leaving his prerogative to be determined according as his antagonists die a natural death or a violent death, his authority is vindicated by their destruction. Probably the first half of 27 in its original form was "so they gat them up from the tabernacle of Yahweh on every side."

28. not . . . of mine own mind: this was the distinction between the true and false prophet (Jer. 23*26*f., Ezek. 13*3*).—**30. the pit:** better, "Sheol" (and so in 33), the nether world of departed spirits; *cf.* Is. 14*9*–15***.—**32. and all the men . . . goods:** this is inconsistent with 35; Korah's supporters perished by fire, not by an earthquake. The clause must be due to an editor

35. This verse (from P) is the sequel of 18–24 and 27*a* (as corrected above).

36–40. This section belongs to the second version of the Korah story (*cf.* 40 with 8–11). Since the censers of the 250 men destroyed by fire (35) had been rendered holy through being offered before Yahweh, Eleazar, the son of Aaron, was bidden to convert them into plates to cover the altar, to the intent that they might be a reminder that none but the descendants of Aaron should draw near to Yahweh. The section is inconsistent with Ex. 27*2*, where the altar of burnt offering is represented as covered with brass when constructed.

37. for they are holy: these words should be connected (LXX) with 38, and rendered, "for holy have become the censers of these sinners at the cost of their lives."

41–50. This passage (from P) continues 35. The congregation, whose claims to equality with Moses and Aaron had been championed by Korah, regret his death and begin to murmur; but are smitten by a plague, which is stayed only when Aaron, at Moses' command, makes atonement with incense. Aaron's offering, unlike that of Korah and his supporters, is accepted.

XVII. 1–13. The Budding of Aaron's Rod (from P).—The superiority of Levi over the other tribes is finally vindicated through the budding of the rod of Aaron (the representative of that tribe) when a rod for each tribe is laid up before the Ark. Rods (or staves) were usually carried by persons of distinction among the Hebrews (21*18*, Gen. 38*18*, 1 S. 14*43*), as among the Babylonians (Herodotus, i. 195). Fanciful stories, which are in some degree parallel to this story, and describe the sprouting of sapless staves or shafts, occur in the classical tales of Hercules' club and Romulus' spear (which took root and grew)

2. fathers' house: *i.e.* tribe (not, as usual, family).—**twelve rods:** *i.e.* one from each of the twelve secular tribes.—**4. the testimony:** short for "the ark of the testimony" (*cf.* Ex. 16*34*).—**10.** Contrast Heb. 9*4*.

XVIII. 1–7. The Duties of the Levites.—The functions of the Levites are here defined in relation both to the priestly order and to the people. In respect of the priests, they are to act as their ministers, and to be responsible for the custody of the Tabernacle, but not for the care of its contents (with which they are forbidden to come in contact). In respect of the people, they are to constitute a fence, safeguarding the laity from the danger attending profanation of the holy things by a near approach to them. The general trend of the passage is in accord with 14*9*–54, 35–10, 4*15*.

1. bear . . . priesthood: *i.e.* bear the consequences of guilt incurred in connexion with it.—**2. joined:** there is a play on the meaning of Levi (see Gen. 29*34*).—**4. a stranger:** *i.e.* any non-Levite.

8–20. The Dues to be Received by the Priests from

the People.—These embrace all those portions of the things offered unto the Lord which are not required to be burnt; and in detail are (*a*) the meal offerings, less a handful or other small quantity (Lev. 2 2f., 9f., 6 15f.); (*b*) the sin offerings (except those for the high priest and the congregation), less the fat (Lev. 4 26,31, 35); (*c*) the guilt offerings, less the fat and certain other parts (Lev. 7 3f.); (*d*) the breast and the thigh of the "gift" (*i.e.* the peace offerings, Lev. 7 28f.); (*e*) the best of the oil, wine, and corn (the amount not being defined); (*f*) the first-ripe fruits (of trees); (*g*) devoted things (*i.e.* probably things dedicated to Yahweh by individuals, Lev. 27 28); (*h*) the flesh, less the fat, of the first-born of clean animals, and the redemption money (five shekels) for the first-born male of man, and the value (whatever it might be, Lev. 27 12) of the firstlings of unclean animals. This list of prescribed emoluments is not exhaustive, for the priests were also (according to P) to receive a tithe of the tithes of corn, wine, and oil (see 25–32), the skin of the burnt offerings (Lev. 7 8), the shewbread (Lev. 24 5–9), portions of the offerings made by Nazirites (Nu. 6 19f.), and the money payments required in various cases (Nu. 5 8, Lev. 22 14); and, in addition, they would naturally participate in the 48 cities assigned to the tribe of Levi (Nu. 35 1–8). The share of the sacrifices here assigned by P to the priests brings into relief the incompatible character of many of the statements made in Nu., inasmuch as the only persons who in the time of Moses could profit by the offerings made by the vast numbers of people represented in 1 46, were Aaron and his two surviving sons, Eleazar and Ithamar.

8. the charge of mine heave offerings: better, "the reserved parts of the contributions made to me." —**by reason of the anointing:** better (*mg.*), "for a portion."—**10. as the most holy things:** better, "in a holy place," *i.e.* in the court of the Tabernacle (Lev. 6 16–26).—**11. the heave offering:** better, "the contribution" (the breast and the thigh, of which the former was specifically the wave offering, 18).—**12. the best:** in Heb. (see *mg.*) "the fat," which was the best part of an animal sacrifice (and hence offered to Yahweh): the term was accordingly applied to the choicest of other things also (*cf.* Dt. 32 14).—**13. the first-ripe fruit:** the offering of such was a common practice among primitive peoples, for since the growth of vegetation was ordinarily regarded as due to the power of a local or tribal god, the earliest produce was naturally thought to embody the god's creative force in the most intense degree, and so to be dangerous for any but a sacred person to eat.—**15. redeem:** better, "cause to be redeemed," and so in 16f.—**16. and those,** etc.: render (after LXX) as in *mg.*—**shekel . . . sanctuary:** see on 3 47.—**17. sprinkle:** better, "pour"; the sprinkling enjoined in 19 4,18 was a different process from that prescribed here.—**19. a covenant of salt:** *i.e.* an inviolable covenant (based on the idea that the sharing of the same food, of which salt was an accompaniment, involved a bond of friendship); *cf.* Lev. 2 13, 2 Ch. 13 5. [But this "ordinance of salt" creates only a temporary bond (RS^2, 270); and Trumbull has shown that salt is often a symbol for life, since it arrests decay. This explains, better than the usual view, how salt came to stand for perpetuity. See *Salt* in HSDB, and Trumbull's *Covenant of Salt*.—A. S. P.]

21–24. The Dues to be Received by the Levites from the People.—These are here confined to the tithes (p. 99) of all vegetable produce: but in Lev. 27 32f. reference is also made to a tithe of cattle. The dedication of tithes (p. 99) to religious purposes was probably a more highly regulated form of the dedication of first-fruits, originating at a time when the organisation of religion became more costly. The principle of tithing was not confined to religious purposes, but was adopted in the contributions exacted from the people by their rulers (1 S. 8 15).

25–32. The Dues to be Received by the Priests from the Levites.—These consisted of a tenth of the tithe paid to the Levites by the people.

29. every heave offering: better, "the whole contribution." The tithe of the tithe is to be of the best.—**30. it shall be counted,** etc.: the pronoun refers to the nine-tenths of the tithe which the Levites are to have for themselves. As soon as they have paid their sacred dues to the priests, they will be as free to enjoy the rest as the husbandmen are, who have discharged their obligations to them.—**32. ye shall not profane the holy things:** the Levites, by possessing the tithes, will have no temptation to take, and so profane, the offerings which are reserved for the priests.

XIX. 1–22. The Purification of the Unclean through Contact with the Dead.—This was effected by sprinkling the unclean person twice within seven days (12 *mg.*, 19) with running water, the virtue of which had been intensified by various ingredients, viz. the ashes of a red cow, cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet thread. The use of running water in such lustrations was doubtless based on the belief that springs and wells (pp. 100, 216) were the abodes of superhuman powers, and that a Divine quality pertained to water drawn from them, which was capable of neutralising impurity. Amongst the Greeks a vessel of spring water was placed at the door of a house where a death had occurred, for the purification of those who might become contaminated (*cf.* Eurip. *Alc.* 98–100). But in the rite here prescribed the water was not regarded as having in itself sufficient purifying virtue, but was fortified by other things which were likewise believed to possess potent qualities. The admixture with it of the ashes of an animal finds a parallel in the use by the Romans of the ashes of unborn calves mixed with the blood of a horse, at the purificatory festival of the Parilia (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 71, 83); and the original idea behind it probably goes back to a totemistic stage of religious thought. The requirement that the cow should be red in colour is more difficult to explain. The selection of red-haired puppies for sacrifice at the Roman festival of the Robigalia to promote the ripening of the crops is not an illuminating parallel, for the choice of animals of such a colour for such a purpose was obviously due to their resembling the ruddiness of ripe corn, the sacrifice of them being a piece of sympathetic magic. Some have thought that the redness of the cow here required was associated with the idea of blood (Gen. 9 4*), wherein was the life (the antithesis of death). Possibly this is the right explanation of the scarlet thread; but with regard to the red cow, another suggestion may be hazarded, viz. that the colour was chosen as being that of the red earth beneath which the dead dwelt, and that the cow was originally a sacrifice to the spirits of the dead. (Among the Romans, victims of a *black* colour were offered to chthonic deities.) The cedar and the hyssop (the last the caper, or else a species of marjoram) were doubtless credited with magical virtue; for trees were considered to be sacred, and the myrtle, laurel, and olive have been used for religious purposes by various peoples. That the whole rite originally involved contact with holy powers is implied in the circumstances that the cow had to be burnt outside the camp (*cf.* Heb. 13 11f.), and that everyone concerned with the preparation of its ashes, or with the water with which

they were mingled, was rendered unclean until the evening; for "uncleanness," in this and some other instances, was equivalent to sanctity, which incapacitated for secular occupations all who became infected with it.

2. heifer: better, "cow," since the Hebrew word is used of cows in 1 S. 67. The choice of a female animal occurs also in the sin offering and in the sacrifice offered in atonement for a murder by an unknown person (Lev. 4 27f., Dt. 213).—**wherein . . . blemish:** cf. Lev. 22 20; it was thought that the potency of the sacred animal would be reduced by any physical imperfection.—**upon which . . . yoke:** this was a condition generally observed in the case of animals intended for religious purposes (*cf.* Hom. *Il.* x. 293, *Od.* iii. 383, Verg. *Æn.* vi. 38), for it was felt that use in the field generally impaired the virtue or acceptability of the victim.—**9. water of separation:** strictly "water (for the separation) of impurity."—**a sin offering:** better (as suggested by LXX), "a means of purification from sin" (and so in 17); the slaughtered cow was not a sacrifice but a physical agent for removing impurity.—**12.** Render (with LXX) as in *mg.*; *cf.* 19.—**13. sprinkled upon him:** strictly, "poured (or dashed) over him" (*cf.* 1817), the verb differing here and in 20 from that used in 4,18.—**18. hyssop:** *cf.* Ps. 517. Amongst the Romans branches of olive and of laurel were similarly used as sprinklers in lustrations (Verg. *Æn.* vi. 230, Juv. ii. 158).—**21. unto them:** read (with LXX), "unto you."—**unclean:** this consequence was due to the holiness of the water, just as in later times the Jews held that the Holy Scriptures "defiled the hands" (pp. 39, 202).

XX. 1 (JE and P). **The Death of Miriam at Kadesh.**—As the narrative is now arranged, this must be assumed to have occurred at the close of the forty years' wanderings. Zin, which is identified with Kadesh, was reached, according to P, immediately before the final advance towards Canaan (*cf.* 3336). But according to JE the arrival at Kadesh took place before the penal wanderings (1326); the omission of the years here is perhaps due to the compiler's effort to conceal the discrepancy.

XX. 2–13 (mainly JE). **The Lack of Water Supplied by a Miracle.**—The account of the people's demand for water, and of the means by which it was supplied, seems to be a duplicate of the narrative in Ex. 171–7, for the name *Meribah* appears in both; but whereas there the scene is Horeb, here it is Kadesh. Probably the account in Ex. comes mainly from E, whilst this account proceeds from J. These stories of water having been produced miraculously from a rock by the stroke of a leader's rod are perhaps prosaic interpretations of poetical descriptions (like that preserved in 2116–18) of the procuring of water by more ordinary means. The explanation of the offence through which both Moses and Aaron were excluded from Canaan is very defective. In 12 the offence is represented as unbelief, but in 24 (*cf.* 2714) it is declared to have been rebellion; whilst there is nothing in the present narrative to support either statement. There must be some considerable textual corruption (probably in 8 and 10); and it has been conjectured that in the original of one of the sources there was something like this, "And Yahweh spake unto Moses and Aaron, and said, Speak ye unto the rock before their eyes, and ye shall bring forth to them water out of the rock. But Moses and Aaron rebelled against the commandment of Yahweh and said, Can we bring forth water for them out of this rock?" To this Yahweh replied, "Hear me (so LXX), ye rebels," and bade them strike the rock (which previously they had only been directed to address, 8), and this command was obeyed (9). It must be supposed that to draw water from the rock by striking it with the wonder-working rod was less of a marvel than to do so by mere words, and that Moses and Aaron were punished for doubting Yahweh's power to effect the latter miracle: *cf.* Ps. 10633.

9. the rod from before the Lord: *i.e.* Aaron's rod (see 1710).—**11. his rod:** read (LXX), "the rod" (*cf.* 9). Aaron's rod is used in the miracles related in Ex. 79,19, 85,16.—**13. Meribah:** from the Heb. *ribh*, "to strive." Perhaps the right reading is "Meribah of Kadesh," as in 2714, Dt. 3251.—**was sanctified:** *i.e.* vindicated Himself; *cf.* Is. 516. The Heb. contains a reference to the name Kadesh.

XX. 14–21. Israel's Abortive Appeal to Edom (JE).—Israel's desire to cross Edom was due to the wish to attack Canaan on the E. instead of on the S., where they had met with defeat (1445). As Kadesh was W. of Edom, the encompassing of the country (214) involved a march from Kadesh to the SE.

16. border: The term here means territory (*cf.* 22 36).—**19. without . . . else:** better, "it is no great matter (of annoyance)."

XX. 22–29. The Death of Aaron (P).—Mt. Hor, the scene of Aaron's death, has been identified by some with Jebel Madurah, an isolated hill not far from the S. end of the Dead Sea, which must have been near to the NW. frontier of Edom. If the identification is correct, P must have believed that Israel crossed, instead of compassing, Edom. Others identify it with Jebel Haroun, near Petra. According to Dt. 106, Aaron's death took place at Moserah (the Moseroth of Nu. 3330). The date of it is definitely assigned in 3338 to the fortieth year after the Exodus.

XXI. 1–3. Success over the King of Arad.—Since Arad, the modern Tell Arad, 17 miles from Hebron, was in the south of Canaan, and a successful advance of the whole people in that direction would hardly have been followed by a circuit round Edom (4f.) with a view to the invasion of Canaan from the E., it is likely that this section relates to an independent movement on the part of the tribes of Judah and Simeon (*cf.* Jg. 116f., where, however, the advance is represented as made from Jericho).

1. Atharim: the place and the meaning of the name are unknown.—**2. utterly destroy:** persons and (in general) property "devoted" (*mg.*) to a deity were destroyed as being taboo, and therefore likely to involve danger to all who might come in contact with them (pp. 99, 114, Dt. 234*, Jos. 617*).—**3. Hormah:** for the meaning, see *mg.* The name here seems to designate a district including more cities than one. The place had been the scene of a defeat (1440–45).

XXI. 4–9. The Fiery Serpents.—This incident is alluded to by Paul in 1 Cor. 109. The serpents are described as fiery by reason of the inflammation caused by their bite. The means whereby the injury they inflicted was remedied was perhaps originally an instance of sympathetic magic inverted (like the cure of a dog's bite by a hair of the dog), though in antiquity serpents were widely credited with healing virtues in general, and were by the Greeks associated with Asclepius. The writer of Nu. naturally assigns the cure of the snake-bite not to magic but to Yahweh (*cf.* Wisd. 165,7). It is held by several scholars that the present story is mainly an ætiological legend (p. 134) to explain the practice of the serpent-worship recorded in 2 K. 184. By our Lord the uplifting of the brazen serpent was regarded as a symbol of His crucifixion (Jn. 314).

4. To compass, etc.: this connects with 20$^{14-21}$.—**5. light**: better, "contemptible."

XXI. 10–20. An Itinerary.—This continues 4 ("and they journeyed from Mount Hor"), but the immediate place of departure in 10 is omitted. In 33^{42}f. two stations are inserted between Hor and Oboth.

10f. Oboth . . . Iye-abarim: both unknown.—**before Moab**: *i.e.* E. of Moab.—**12. the valley of Zered**: probably the Wâdy el Ahsa at the SE. angle of the Dead Sea.—**13. the other side of Arnon**: it is difficult to decide whether this means N. of the river from the point of view of those on the march, or S. of the river regarded from the standpoint of later times. The Arnon (p. 32) is the modern Wâdy el Mojib.—**cometh out of**: *i.e.* stretches away from.—**14. the book of the wars of the Lord**: probably a collection of songs relating to the wars of Israel, the interests and undertakings of a nation and of its national God being regarded as the same. Israel's battles were Yahweh's battles (1 S. 18 17, 25^{28}), and Israel's enemies were Yahweh's enemies (1 S. 30^{26}).—**Vaheb in Suphah**: unknown.—**the valleys**: The gorge of the Arnon, 13 miles from its mouth, divides into two branches, and each of these into other two.—**15. the dwelling of Ar**: better, "the site of Ar," an unknown locality but somewhere on the upper Arnon.—**16. Beer**: perhaps the Beer-elim of Is. 15^{8}.—**17f.** The song here quoted really refers not to a well made to flow by miraculous means (as 16 suggests, *cf.* 20$^{2-13}$, Ex. 17$^{1-7}$), but to one dug by labourers working under the authority of their rulers, who, with their sceptres, superintended the digging.—**from the wilderness**: read (LXX) "from Beer."—**they journeyed to Mattanah**: Mattanah is unknown. The words "journeyed to" are not in the Heb.; and the name "Mattanah" means lit. "a gift." Accordingly the Targum of Onkelos renders, "it was given to them in the wilderness"; whilst a later Targum explains that the well, which had been hidden, was restored to them through the merits of Miriam.—**19. Nahaliel**: an unknown locality. The name means "the torrent-valley of God"; and the Targum of Onkelos, taking this, like the preceding name Mattanah, literally, paraphrases "and from (the time) that it was given to them, it (*i.e.* the well) descended with them to the rivers." This is the source of the curious legend (referred to by Paul in 1 Cor. 10^{4*}) of a rock that accompanied the Israelites in their journeys and supplied them with water (see Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, p. 205).—**Bamoth**: perhaps the Bamoth-baal of 22^{41} *mg.*—**20. the valley**: probably the Wâdy 'Ayûn Mûsâ.—**Pisgah**: one of the spurs jutting out from the table-land overlooking the barren shore of the Jordan (near its mouth), a waste which is here (*mg.*) called "the Jeshîmon" (p. 31).

XXI. 21–32. The Conquest of the Amorites.—This narrative presupposes the position reached in 13 (not in 20), for the embassy to Sihon would naturally be despatched before the Amorite border was crossed.—**23. Jahaz**: the Jahzah of Jer. 48^{21}, probably not far from Dibon.—**24. Jabbok**: the modern Nahr ez-Zerka.—**was strong**: read (LXX) "was Jazer" (32).—**25. all these cities**: a list of cities seems to have been omitted by the compiler.—**Heshbon**: the modern Hesbân, 18 miles E. of the Jordan.—**26. out of his hand**: LXX has "from Aroer" (Jos. 13^{25}); but perhaps the correct reading is "from Jabbok" (24).—**27.** The poem here quoted is appealed to by the compiler as evidence that Heshbon had been taken by Sihon from the Moabites, and 29 at first sight confirms the supposition that it relates to an Amorite triumph over Moab. But the allusion to Sihon in 29 makes the verse too long, and it is omitted in Jer. 48^{46}, where the rest of the verse is cited; and since 28 celebrates the burning of "the city of Sihon," it is probable that the poem really refers to a conquest of Moab subsequent to Sihon's time, achieved by Israel (*cf.* 2 K. 3 and the inscription of Mesha).—**that speak in proverbs**: better, "that recite ballads."—**the city of Sihon**: Heshbon is so termed in consequence of having once been taken by Sihon from the Moabites, just as Jerusalem was called "the city of David" through having been wrested by David from the Jebusites (2 S. 5^{9}).—**be built**: *i.e.* be rebuilt. The counsel is given in mockery.—**28.** implies that Heshbon was the first town fired by the enemy, and that the conflagration extended to Ar, further S. The foe clearly came from the N. In the last line render (with LXX), "It hath consumed the high places of Arnon."—**29. O people of Chemosh**: Chemosh was the god of the Moabites (1 K. 11^{7}), who were called his people, just as the Israelites were styled Yahweh's people (Jg. 5^{11}).—**He hath given**, etc.: Moab's disasters are attributed to Chemosh, as Israel's were ascribed to Yahweh (Jg. 6^{1}).—**his sons . . . his daughters**: a Semitic nation was regarded as being of the stock of the god whom it worshipped. Similarly the Israelites were termed "the children of Yahweh" (Dt. 14^{1}).—Read (for the fourth and fifth lines), "And his daughters into captivity unto the king."—**30.** Read (partly after LXX and Vulg.), "Their offspring have perished from Heshbon even unto Dibon, and their women from Nophah unto Medeba." But if this emendation is thought too drastic, and the third line is retained, as in the text, the fourth is best altered (*cf. mg.*) to, "With fire unto Medeba." Dibon is the modern Dhibân, 4 miles N. of the Arnon; Nophah is unknown; Medeba is Mâdeba, a few miles S. of Heshbon. Nophah and Medeba may perhaps mark the western and eastern limits of the devastation (as Heshbon and Dibon the northern and southern).—**32. Jazer**: identified with Sar, 8 miles W. of Rabbath Ammon After the conquest it was included in Gad (Jos. 13^{25}).

XXI. 33–35. The Conquest of Bashan.—This passage is substantially identical with Dt. 3$^{1-3}$, and is generally regarded as transferred hither from thence. It is ignored in 22^{2}. Bashan (the country N. of the Yarmuk), the modern Haurân, was probably occupied by Israelite settlers who migrated thither from the W. of Jordan in post-Mosaic times. It was famous for its oaks, sheep, and cattle (Is. 2^{13}, Dt. 32^{14}, Ps. 22^{12}).

33. Edrei: the modern Edreat, 30 miles E. of the Lake of Gennesaret.—**35. and his sons**: omit (*cf.* 33f., Dt. 3^{3}).

XXII.–XXIV. (JE). **The Episode of Balak and Balaam.**—It may reasonably be assumed that the Moabites at first regarded with some satisfaction the defeat of their former conquerors, the Amorites, by their own kinsmen the Israelites. But the latter's occupation of the Amorites' land aroused their jealousy and their fears, and accordingly Balak the king of Moab sent for Balaam, a foreigner, whose blessings and curses were believed to be exceptionally effectual for good and for ill, to curse Israel. Balaam so far acceded to Balak's appeal as to come to him, but refused to utter anything but what Yahweh inspired him to say; and by Yahweh the Moabite king's wish to injure Israel was made conducive to his own undoing, Balaam being inspired to bless Israel. The narrative is designed to display the providential care for Israel manifested by Yahweh, who overruled to their advantage the devices of their enemies; and illustrates

alike (*a*) the belief that the God of Israel did not entirely confine His revelations to His own people, (*b*) the belief in the potency of the spoken word, and (*c*) the belief that the lower animals have occasionally been endowed with the gift of speech. The story is derived from JE; and the composite character of this source is disclosed by the presence of certain repetitions and discrepancies which are pointed out below. A reference to Balaam also occurs in P, which connects him with Midian (31^{8,16}); and by a combination of the passages taken from all three sources Balaam has been regarded in the sinister light in which he appears in 2 P. 2^{15}f., Jude 11, Rev. 2^{14}. But the worst feature of the conduct attributed to him—his advice to Israel's enemies to seduce them by means of their women—is found only in P, the latest and least trustworthy of the Pentateuchal sources. In J, though he is represented as going to Balak without the Divine permission, yet he is depicted as steadfast in communicating faithfully Yahweh's revelation; whilst in E there is nothing at all in his behaviour to afford a handle to censure.

XXII. 1–4. Moab's Fear of Israel.—Of these verses 1 comes from P, the rest from JE (the presence of both constituents being shown by the repetitions in 3). As the Moabites were great breeders of sheep (2 K. 3^4), they feared that the pasturage would not suffice for both themselves and Israel (likewise a pastoral people). The reference in 4 (and also 7) to *Midian* is probably due to an editor who wished to bring P's allusions to Balaam in 31^{8,16} into connexion with the present story.

1. beyond the Jordan: *i.e.* E. of the river, described from the point of view of a resident on the W. of it.—**3. was distressed because of:** better, "loathed."

XXII. 5–14. Balak's first Summons to Balaam, and Yahweh's Refusal to Let him Go.—This comes mainly from J. But in 5, if "the land of the children of his people" (which can only refer to Balak and yields little sense) be corrected (after Sam., Syr., Vulg.) to "the land of the children of Ammon," there is a discrepancy in the account of Balaam's home, which is diversely represented as (*a*) Pethor on the River (*i.e.* Pituru on the Euphrates, mentioned in an inscription of Shalmaneser II), nearly a month's journey from Moab, and (*b*) Ammon, only a few days' journey distant. The discrepancy is explicable as due to a difference in the sources used: the first statement probably comes from E, the second from J. Balak's belief (6) in the potency of words uttered in blessing or cursing (Gen. 9^{25-27*}) is illustrated by the narrative of Isaac's blessing of Jacob (Gen. 27, especially 33) and by the requisition (cited by Gray) which was made in 69–63 B.C to Onias by the troops of Hyrcanus II to curse the forces of Aristobulus. The offer to a seer or a prophet of a reward for his services (7) has parallels in 1 S. 9^8, 1 K. 14^3, 2 K. 8^{8}f.

XXII. 15–21. Balak's second Summons to Balaam, and Yahweh's Consent that he should Go.—This section probably comes from E, and represents not a change of purpose on the part of God, but a difference of attitude ascribed to Him by the second of the two sources here used, Balaam being allowed to go but not to curse.

XXII. 22–35. Balaam's Journey to Balak without God's Consent.—This section is clearly not the sequel of the preceding, but the continuation of 5–14, and (as far as 34) is derived from J. Balaam disregards the Divine prohibition to go to Balak which is recorded in 12, but is made aware of Yahweh's anger in the course of his journey. The ass was the animal commonly used by the Hebrews for riding in times of peace (Gen. 22^3, Ex 4^{20}, Jg. 10^4, 1 K. 2^{40}, 2 K. 4^{22}, Zech. 9^9). The speaking of a dumb animal (alluded to in 2 P. 2^{16}) is paralleled in the OT only by the speaking of the serpent in Gen. 3; but similar fanciful stories of animals that used human language occur in Homer, *Il.* xix. 407, Livy, iii. 10, xxiv. 10. In 35 the disobedient prophet is apparently allowed to continue his journey; but the words uttered by the angel are virtually identical with God's words in 20 (E); so that possibly J's version of the angel's reply has been lost and replaced by a passage from the other source. It may perhaps be inferred from 37 that Balaam returned home and that Balak went to seek him there.

32. thy way is perverse: better (with Syr.), "thou hast made thy way (or journey) headlong" (*i.e.* precipitate).

XXII. 36–40. The Meeting of Balak and Balaam.—Partly from E. and partly from J, but the distribution between the two sources is uncertain. Probably 36 and 38 belong to E, describing (in continuation of 21) Balaam's journey to Moab, where he is met by Balak at the frontier city of Moab (the Ar of 21^{15}); whilst 37 and 39 belong to J, and imply that Balak went in person to fetch Balaam, who returned with him to Kiriath-huzoth (an unknown locality). The sacrifices mentioned in 40 formed part of a feast of welcome, shares of the feast being sent both to Balaam and to the princes.

XXII. 41–XXIII. 6. Balak's Sacrifices preliminary to Balaam's first Oracle.—This section proceeds from E. Balak brought Balaam to Bamoth-baal (41 *mg.*), the site of a sanctuary placed where Balaam could have the objects of his expected curse before him. The sacrifices offered by Balak were designed to dispose God to favour his wishes; and the altars and the victims were reckoned by sevens, because seven was a sacred number among many ancient peoples (Gen. 21^{28}, Jos. 6^4, Verg. *Æn.* vi. 38). The sacredness attaching to it was perhaps derived from the sun, moon, and five planets known in antiquity (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn). The idea of its sanctity was probably derived by the Israelites from Babylonia, where it occurs in inscriptions.

XXII. 41. the utmost part: *i.e.* the end nearest to the spectator. The LXX rightly gives the sense "some portion."—**XXIII. 2.** omit "and Balaam"; the offerings were Balak's (3).—**4. and he said . . . altar:** these words must have been spoken to Balaam by Balak and should be transposed to the end of 2.—**5. And Yahweh:** this should follow the first clause of 4.—**7. took up his parable:** *i.e.* took upon his lips the oracle he was inspired to utter.

XXIII. 7–10. Balaam's First Oracle.—Its purport is that the secure independence, the imposing numbers, and the undisturbed prosperity of Israel are proof that the people have not been cursed by God and therefore cannot be cursed by Balaam. The poem, which may have been incorporated, rather than composed, by the author of the narrative, seems to date from a period when Israel was most prosperous (*i.e.* some time during the undivided monarchy; *cf.* on 24^{7,17}).

7. Aram: *i.e.* Aram-naharaim (Gen. 24^{10}*, Dt. 23^4 *mg.*), the country near the Euphrates. This agrees with E's view that Balaam's home was at Pethor.—**defy:** better, "execrate."—**9. that dwell alone,** *i.e.* that live secure and unmolested.—**shall not be reckoned,** etc.: better, "reckoneth not itself among the nations," *i.e.* regards itself as above the level of others by reason of its good fortune, due to its unique relation with Yahweh (see

Ex. 19$5f., 33$16, Lev. 20$24).—**10.** Read, "Who can count the dust (*i.e.* the numbers, Gen. 13$16) of Jacob? Who can reckon (LXX) the tens of thousands of Israel?"—**Let me die,** etc.: the death of such righteous people as the Israelites is so long deferred and so peaceful that the speaker can desire no better sequel of life for himself. For "end" *cf.* Pr 23$18 *mg.*,* though the LXX takes the word to mean "posterity" (Ps. 109$13). The epithet "righteous," here applied to individual Israelites, is applied collectively to the nation in the title "The book of Jashar (or the Righteous)," given to a collection of poems celebrating national achievements (p. 45, Jos. 10$12f., 2 S. 1$18). The name "Jeshurun" (a word from the same root and of similar meaning) is also used to describe Israel in Dt. 32$15, 33$5,26, Is. 44$2.

XXIII. 11–17. Balak's Sacrifices preliminary to Balaam's second Oracle.—Balak's disappointment at Balaam's first utterance leads him to take Balaam to the field of Zophim (or "the watchmen") in the hope that the different locality might dispose God to accept his renewed sacrifices and to grant his wishes. Some places were thought to be regarded by a divinity with greater favour than others (1 S. 5$8*). For Pisgah, see 21$20*.

13. shalt not see them all: it might be expected that Balak on the second occasion would show Balaam the whole of Israel, and not a part only (as on the first); and these words may have been introduced by the editor because of the third occasion in 24$2 (which probably comes from another source).

XXIII. 18–24. Balaam's Second Oracle.—This goes beyond the preceding in frustrating the hopes of Balak, for it declares that God has not only not cursed Israel, but has positively blessed it, and describes Israel's freedom from adversity and its formidable strength.

19. *Cf.* 1 S. 15$29.—**20. he hath blessed,** etc.: read (LXX), "I must bless and I must not reverse it."—**21. He hath not beheld,** etc.: read (Syr.), "I have not beheld calamity in Jacob, nor have I seen trouble in Israel."—**the shout of a king:** *i.e.* the shouting in honour of a king (a title of Yahweh, 1 S. 8$7), whose symbol, the Ark, was welcomed with shouts, 1 S. 4$5). The parallelism favours the interpretation of "king" here as a Divine, not a human, ruler (as in 24$7), and for "shout" the LXX has "glory" (*cf.* Zech. 2$5).—**22. the wild ox:** an extinct species (*bos primigenius*), of great size and fierceness (*cf.* Dt. 33$17).—**23. enchantment:** better, "divining." God's favour towards Israel was due to the absence in it of the practice of observing omens which was so common in other nations.—**Now shall it,** etc.: read "At the due season (LXX) it is wont to be told to Israel and to Judah what God will do," *i.e.* Israel, instead of seeking to discover the future by divination, receives revelations from the Almighty (*cf.* Am. 3$7). But the translation is precarious; and as the whole verse interrupts the sequence of 22 and 24 (both of which compare Israel's strength to that of the strongest animals), it is perhaps intrusive.

XXIII. 25–XXIV. 2. Balak's Sacrifices preliminary to Balaam's third Oracle.—The scene of these was Peor, some mountain overlooking the desert bordering the Dead Sea on the W. The inconsistency between Balak's indignant dismissal of Balaam in 25 and his renewed attempt in 27f. to gain what he wanted has suggested that with 25 one account of the episode ends, and that what follows comes from another, with editorial links. The allusion in 24$1 to the use of enchantments (better, "divinations" or "omens") on previous occasions certainly does not correspond to the accounts in 23$3f., or 23$15f., so that the conclusion that here the editor has used another source, of which a portion has been omitted, seems justified. Probably E has been mainly employed in 23, and J in 24.

XXIV. 3–9. Balaam's Third Oracle.—This varies the tenor of the two previous utterances by dwelling upon the fertility of Israel's soil, and the eminence of its ruler. It was probably constructed, like the preceding oracle, in distichs, but in two places this arrangement has been disturbed. The reference to a king in Israel points to the poem having been written in the time of the monarchy.

3f. The seer is represented as receiving the Divine revelations in a trance or dream, the "closed eye" of 3 being the eye of the body, and the "open eyes" of 4 being the eyes of the mind. But the rendering "was closed" in 3 is doubtful.—**Balaam . . . saith:** better, "Utterance of Balaam," etc. (and so in the next two lines). The word rendered "utterance" is almost exclusively used of communications from Yahweh through His prophets, and has an impressiveness which the RV inadequately expresses.—**Falling down:** *i.e.* (seemingly) in sleep: *cf.* 22$19. In 4 one line of a distich is lacking; comparison with the similar 16 suggests that after the first line there should be inserted, "And knoweth the knowledge of the Most High."—**6.** Render, "As valleys which spread themselves out." The rows of Israel's tents appear like diverging valleys. The third and fourth lines should probably be rearranged and emended thus, "As cedar trees which Yahweh hath planted (*cf.* Ps. 104$16), As terebinths beside the waters." Cedars do not grow near water, and lign aloes were to the Hebrews foreign trees, coming from Arabia, India, or China, the wood of which was imported for its fragrant odour (Ps. 45$8, Pr. 7$17, Ca. 4$14).—**7.** Israel's water-supply is abundant, and his soil well irrigated (Gen. 49$25): with the second line *cf.* Ec. 11$1.—The comparison with Agag (a king of Amalek) suggests that the poem was composed in the time of Saul or David (*cf.* 1 S. 15$8); but the fact that the Amalekites were never so powerful a nation as to make their ruler an appropriate standard of comparison (though *cf.* 20) throws doubt upon the correctness of the text.—**8.** In this verse, which should seemingly consist of three distichs, one distich is incomplete. The last line (with its mention of arrows) is out of harmony with the adjoining comparison to a fierce animal, and should be corrected to "And smite their loins (Dt. 33$11) in sunder," or "And smite their oppressors in sunder."—**9.** *Cf.* Gen. 49$9.

XXIV. 10–14. Balak's Dismissal of Balaam.—Balak shows his contempt for the seer, who had failed to earn the promised reward, by clapping his hands together (a mark of scorn, Job 27$23); whilst Balaam, before departing, utters unasked another oracle concerning the future relations of Israel with Moab.

XXIV. 15–19. Balaam's Fourth Oracle.—In this it is predicted that Israel, previously declared to be formidable to its foes in general, will bring destruction upon Moab and Edom in particular.

17. not now . . . not nigh: *i.e.* the prediction relates to the distant future.—**a star:** a figure for an illustrious king (*cf.* Is. 14$12, Rev. 22$16). The passage possibly influenced the belief that the birth of the Messiah would be heralded by a star (Mt. 2$2); and the name of *Bar-cochba*, "son of a star," was assumed by a pretended Messiah in A.D. 120.—In the last two lines read, "And shall smite through the temples of Moab, And the crown of the head of the sons of tumult" (*i.e.* the people of Moab). But some, instead of the

last four words, would read "the sons of pride," the pride of Moab being notorious (Is. 166, Jer. 4829, Zeph. 210).—**18f.** The repetitions and ellipses make it probable that the text is very corrupt. It has been proposed to read, "And Edom shall be a possession, And the remnant shall perish from Seir; While Israel doeth valiantly, And Judah shall have dominion over his enemies." The subjugation by Israel of Moab and Edom, which is here contemplated, took place in the reign of David (2 S. 82,13 *mg.*, 14). The predicted overthrow of Edom (or Seir, *cf.* Gen. 368) is irrelevant to Balaam's purpose as stated in 14; and some have thought that these verses are a later addition.

XXIV. 20–24. Three Appended Oracles.—These additional oracles, relating to other peoples than the Moabites, are probably derived from neither E nor J, but have been inserted by an editor from other sources.

20. On Amalek.—This prophecy, predicting the destruction of Amalek, received a fulfilment in the time of Saul, who put them under the ban (1 S. 157f.); but some of the Amalekites survived to be slaughtered by David (1 S. 301–17), and a remnant existed even in the time of Hezekiah (1 Ch. 443).

21f. On the Kenite.—These were a wandering people connected by name with Cain or Kain (Gen. 41,22), who generally had their home to the S. of Palestine, mixing with the Amalekites (1 S. 156) or with Judah (Jg. 116*, 1 S. 2710). The oracle predicts their deportation by Asshur, which is the usual designation of the Assyrians, though there was also an Arabian tribe called the Asshurim (Gen. 253). When or how the prediction was thought to be fulfilled cannot be determined.

21. nest: the word in Heb. involves a play upon the name Kain or Kenite.—**22.** Render as in the *mg.*, "How long (will the Kenites' fancied security last)?"

23f. On Asshur.—The victorious career of the Kenites' captors threatened the extermination of all; but the oracle predicts destruction for the conquering power at the hands of the people of Kittim. Kittim properly means Cyprus (from its capital, Kition), which was subject to Assyria in the seventh century B.C.; and it is possible that the writer anticipates that the Cypriots will rebel against, and subdue, Assyria. But the name is also used to denote alike the Mediterranean countries in general (Jer. 210), and Greece or Rome in particular (1 Mac. 11, Dan. 1130). If it here stands for either of the two latter peoples, the name Asshur probably means not Assyria (which was brought to an end long before Greece and Rome became world-powers) but Persia (as in Ezr. 622 and perhaps Is. 2713, *cf.* 1111*); and the prophecy may have in view the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Greeks under Alexander the Great.

23. Render, "Alas, who shall live after God's appointing him (to be an agent of destruction; *cf.* Is. 105f., 3726)?"—**24. Eber:** (p. 34) lit. the country or people "across" (the Euphrates), and probably here a synonym for Asshur, whether this means Assyria (on the Tigris) or Persia (still further east).

XXV. In this chapter fragments of two distinct narratives have been united. In the first (from JE), the Israelites sin with *Moabite* women, and the sin is punished by the *judicial execution* of the offenders. In the second (from P), the sin is committed with *Midianite* women, and is avenged by a *plague*. The first fragment lacks a conclusion, the second its beginning.

XXV. 1–5. (JE). **Immorality with Moabite Women at Shittim.**—This was followed by participation in the idolatrous worship of the Moabite god Chemosh (2129), who was styled (3 *mg.*) the Baal (or lord) of Peor (just as there was a Baal of Hermon, and a Baal of Lebanon). The carrying out of Moses' sentence (5) is not recorded.

XXV. 6–18. (P). **The Slaying of Zimri and Cozbi by Phinehas.**—This narrative begins abruptly; but it must be assumed that the people were suffering under, and bewailing (6), a plague (8) inflicted for intercourse or intermarriage with Midianite women, who had seduced the Israelites at the suggestion of Balaam (3116). Zimri aggravated his offence by bringing a Midianitess into the Israelite camp instead of visiting her at her own home. The story of Phinehas' zeal in slaying the offenders is designed to support the exclusive claim to the priesthood of the descendants of Zadok (*cf.* Ezek. 4415f.*), who traced their descent from Phinehas (1 Ch. 61–15).

9. twenty and four thousand.—Paul, who alludes to the incident in 1 Cor. 108, gives the number as three and twenty thousand (perhaps by a lapse of memory).—**11. he was jealous . . . jealousy:** *i.e.* his resentment adequately expressed the Divine resentment.—**12. covenant:** here used with the meaning of promise, not compact (*cf.* Gen. 99,11,16, Jer. 313ff.).—**15. head of the people of:** better, "head of the clans of."—**18. the matter of Peor:** the editor confuses the two distinct stories contained in 1–5 and 6–15; *cf.* Ps. 10628–31.

XXVI. Particulars of a Second Census taken 38 Years after the First.

XXVI. 1–51. The Numbers of the Twelve Secular Tribes.—The census was again confined to men over twenty. The total is 1820 less than on the earlier occasion; there are increases in seven tribes, and decreases in five. Some of the names which purport to be those of persons are identical with the names of localities, *e.g.* Gilead, Jezer (*i.e.* Abiezer, Jg. 82), Tirzah (1 K. 1521). Many of the appellations appear in a variant form in Gen. 468–24, 1 Ch. 4, 7, 8.

3f. Read, "And Moses and Eleazar the priest numbered them . . . at Jericho from twenty . . . commanded Moses. And the children of Israel . . . of Egypt were (5) Reuben," etc.—**10. together with Korah:** the story of Korah is here fused with that of Dathan and Abiram, as in various parts of 16. Korah and his company in the original version of the story were probably consumed by fire.—**a sign:** this refers to 1636–40.—**the sons of Korah,** etc.: this observation is intended to account for the later existence of a guild of Korahites (mentioned in the titles of Pss. 42, 44, etc.).—**34. and they that were numbered of them were:** read, "according to those that were numbered of them" (and similarly in 41); *cf.* 37.

XXVI. 52–56. The Method to be Followed in Dividing Canaan.—The position of the different tribal possessions is to be determined by lot, but the extent of them is to be proportionate to the population of the several tribes. For the casting of lots *cf.* 1 Ch. 245, and see on 3354.

XXVI. 57–62. The Numbers of the Levites.—The census (as before, 339) comprised all males above one month. The figures show an increase of 1000 over those of the earlier occasion.

58. For the descent of the families here mentioned see Ex. 616ff.

XXVII. 1–11. The Right of Daughters to Inherit, in Default of Male Issue.—To guard against the alienation of property from a family through the absence of male heirs by natural descent, the system of the Levirate marriage was instituted (Dt. 255–10*, p. 109); and that law, which assumed that only males could inherit, is here supplemented by another law allowing daughters, in default of sons, to become heirs. For a qualification of the present law, see 36; and for the

fulfilment of the claim made by Zelophehad's daughters, see Jos. 17 3f*.

3. The denial that Zelophehad (a Manassite) was implicated in the rebellion of Korah presumes that Korah led a movement of the secular tribes against the Levites, not a movement of the Levites against Aaron. This passage thus agrees with the earlier, not the later, version of the Korah story in 16.—**4.** Zelophehad, being no worse than the rest of his generation, did not deserve to have his name extinguished through the want of male heirs.

XXVII. 12–23. The Nomination of Joshua to be Moses' Successor.—Between the announcement of Moses' approaching death and the account of its occurrence, not only the rest of Nu. but the whole of Dt. intervene, this being due to the arrangement of the Pentateuch (or Hexateuch) by the final compiler. 12–14 is virtually repeated in Dt. 32 48–52. Though Joshua is named as Moses' destined successor, the position which he is to enjoy is inferior to that of Moses; for whereas Moses received Yahweh's communications directly (12 8), Joshua is to receive them through Eleazar the priest.

12. this mountain: *i.e.* Nebo (so LXX); *cf.* Dt. 32 49.—**14.** See 20 2–13.—**18. lay . . . upon him:** here the action is doubtless symbolical (*cf.* Ac. 6, 13 3), but originally such physical contact was probably thought to be a magical means of conveying special powers.—**21. the Urim:** Ex. 28 30*, pp. 100f.

XXVIII, XXIX. The Nature and Amount of the Offerings Required on various Holy Days.—The quantities prescribed for special festivals did not exhaust all the sacrifices offered upon them: on every festival the special sacrifices were supplemented by the daily offerings; on the first of the seventh month the distinctive offerings were supplemented by the offerings required for the first of each ordinary month; whilst on the tenth of the seventh month the sin offering of atonement (Lev. 16) was supplementary to the other sacrifices here enjoined. For the "ephah" and "hin," see 15 4*.

XXX. 1–16. The Circumstances under which Vows are Binding.—The vows coming under review are of two kinds: (*a*) promises to give or dedicate something to Yahweh, (*b*) pledges to practise some form of abstinence. These, if undertaken by men, or by women in positions of independence, are unconditionally binding. But young unmarried women (under the control of their fathers) and married women (under control of their husbands) are only to be bound by their vows if, when the vows were undertaken, no objection was raised. Interference by father or husband at a later date entails guilt on the man. The case of unmarried women who have passed their youth is not expressly considered. See p. 105.

9. Apparently misplaced, since 10 continues the subject of 8.

XXXI. 1–18. The Extermination of the Midianites.—This story of a war of extermination, waged to avenge the wiles practised on Israel by Midian (as described in 25 6–15) is marked by various fanciful elements, such as (*a*) the huge number massacred (for if the girls and unmarried women amounted to 32,000, the married women and the males of all ages must have been three times as many); (*b*) the vast quantity of spoil taken; (*c*) the complete immunity of the Israelite force from all loss of life. If any war with Midian occurred at this time, it certainly did not result in the extermination of the people, who were a powerful tribe in the period of the Judges (Jg. 6). The real object of the story (whether it has any basis in fact or not) is to illustrate by means of an ostensibly historical occurrence the laws relating to purification, and the division of booty taken in war.

5. delivered: *i.e.* to Moses. But LXX has "numbered."—**6. the vessels of the sanctuary:** this possibly means the Ark (see 1 S. 4 3f., and *cf.* Nu. 14 44), but it is an unusual phrase for it. Some render, "the holy garments" (for the Heb. *cf.* Dt. 22 5).—**8.** The Midianite kings are represented in Jos. 13 21 as princes of Sihon the Amorite; and as slain when he was killed. The association here of Balaam with Midian differs from the conception of him in 22–24, where he is brought into relation with Moab.—**16.** Since the reference to Balaam's advice comes in abruptly, probably some account of it once preceded 25 6–15. The reference to Peor is due to confusion with the story of the Moabite women in 25 1–5 (*cf.* 25 18).

XXXI. 19–24. The Purification of the Israelite Army after the Slaughter.—The purification of warriors after a battle, practised in antiquity as by savage peoples to-day, was due, not to any desire for physical cleanliness, but to the dread of the mystery involved in spilt blood and in dead bodies: those who had been in contact with such were sources of danger to the community until ritually purified. The rules observed are those prescribed in 19 11f.; but in addition it is here enjoined that everything that can stand fire shall be purified by fire and by the water of separation (19 9), whereas for everything likely to suffer from fire ordinary washing shall suffice.

XXXI. 25–54. The Division of the Booty.—The principle of equal division between those who went forth to fight, and those who remained in the camp was observed by David (1 S. 30 22–25), who seems to have been the first to establish such a rule. The tax of $\frac{1}{500}$ of the combatants' share for the priests and of $\frac{1}{50}$ of the residue for the Levites is not elsewhere mentioned.

50. ankle chains: the use of these made the steps of the wearers short and tripping (Is. 3 16*, 20). But some translate "bracelets" (*cf.* 2 S. 1 10), and render the next word "wristlets."—**to make atonement,** etc.: see Ex. 30 11–16. The offence thought to be involved in taking the number of the people (*cf.* 2 S. 24 1*, 1 Ch. 21 1), was perhaps originally due to the feeling that a Divine prerogative had been trenched upon, for to number Israel was believed to be as hard a task as to number the stars (Gen. 15 5), and only God was equal to the latter (Ps. 147 4, Is. 40 26).

XXXII. 1–27. A Request by Reuben and Gad for Permission to Settle on the E. of Jordan.—The character of the high moorland S. of the Jabbok still bears out the description of it as suitable for pasturage (1, 4); and a traveller declares, "We should never have believed the amount of (the) flocks, had we not seen and attempted to count them." The pastoral associations of Reuben are alluded to in Jg. 5 16.

1. Gilead: the term here denotes the country S. of the Jabbok, for the towns enumerated in 3 are all thus situated.—**17. ready armed to go:** read, "equipped in array."

XXXII. 28–33. The Request Granted conditionally on their Taking Part in the Conquest of W. Canaan.—The assistance rendered by Gad in the conquest of W. Canaan (see Jos. 12 12–18) seems to be referred to in Dt. 33 21. The statement that besides Reuben and Gad the half tribe of Manasseh received from Moses a piece of territory E. of the Jordan (33) appears to be an anachronism, for 39 implies that the establishment of Manasseh in E. Canaan was effected by settlers who went thither after the conquest of W. Canaan had been accomplished.

XXXII. 34–38. A List of Towns built (or rebuilt) by Gad and Reuben.—The towns here assigned to Reuben form a group within the territory of Gad, for the most northerly and the most southerly of the places named are Gadite: contrast Jos. 13 15–38. The rebuilding of the towns must be regarded as effected after the two tribes returned from the conquest of W. Canaan.

34. Dibon: the modern Dhîban.—**Ataroth:** Attarûs, 9 miles NW. of Dibon.—**Aroer:** probably the place of that name on the Arnon (Jos. 13 16).—**35. Atroth Shaphan:** unknown.—**Jogbehah:** the modern Ajbehât. —**36. Beth-nimrah:** the Nimrah of 3 and the modern Nimrin, 13 miles E. of the Jordan and 9 miles from the Dead Sea. **Beth-haran:** the modern Beit-harran.—**37. Heshbon:** (21 25*) modern Hesbân. **Elealeh:** modern El Al, 2 miles NE. of Heshbon. **Kiriathaim:** modern Kereiyah, some distance S. of Heshbon.—**38. Nebo:** near Mt. Nebo, 5 miles SW. of Heshbon. **Baal-meon:** the Beon of 3, and the modern Main, 5 miles S. of Nebo. The parenthesis should be rendered, "these names are to be changed," a direction to the reader to substitute some other names for the last two, which contain the hated appellations of heathen gods (Nebo and Baal). The repugnance to the name of Baal similarly led to the change of the personal names Eshbaal to Ishbosheth, and Meribbaal to Mephibosheth (1 S. 14 47–51*, 1 K. 16 32*). The writer of the parenthesis was seemingly not aware that the tribe of Gad itself bore the name of a heathen deity (Is. 65 11 *mg.*). —**Sibmah:** the Sebam of 3: its site is unknown.

XXXII. 39–42. The Settlement of certain Manassites in Gilead.—This is a fragment relating to a period later than the Mosaic age. Machir was a Manassite clan, and Jair and Nobah (41f.) were probably subdivisions of Machir. Manasseh and Ephraim were at first established together on the W. of Jordan by Joshua (Jos. 17 14f.), and any Manassite occupation of Gilead was probably subsequent to his time.

39. Gilead: the name, here and in 40, is applied to the country between the Jabbok and the Jarmuk.— **40.** This verse (which contains an anachronism) is an interpolation, for in 41 **the towns** (better "tent-villages") **thereof** are the habitations of the Amorites mentioned in 39, the connexion between these verses being broken by 40.—**41. Jair the son of Manasseh:** *i.e* the descendant of Manasseh, and, according to Jg. 10 3f., a judge who lived much later than Moses.

XXXIII. 1–49. The Itinerary of the Israelites between Egypt and the Jordan (P) —The time covered is rather more than forty years (3, 38), and there is probably an artificial correspondence between the number of the years and the number of the stations, which, excluding the terminus (the plain of Moab), amount to 40. The names in 5–15 designate stations on the march from Egypt to Sinai; those in 16–36 places visited during the forty years' wanderings; and those in 37–49 stations on the march from Kadesh to the Jordan. The writer seems to assume that Kadesh was reached at the end (not the beginning) of the wanderings, and that Israel did not compass but crossed Edom. The citation in 2 of Moses' authority for the itinerary can at most imply that the writer used some writing which he attributed to Moses.

8. Read, "from Pi-hahiroth" (7, Ex. 14 2,9).— **31. Moseroth . . . Bene-jaakan:** the Moserah and Beeroth Bene-jaakan of Dt. 10 6 (in reverse order) — **Hor-haggidgad:** the Gudgodah of Dt. 10 7.—**35. Ezion-geber:** this was at the N. end of the Gulf of Akabah, and at a later date a Hebrew seaport (1 K. 9 26*).— **40.** This parenthetic notice about the king of Arad lacks a conclusion.—**45. Iyim:** the Iye-abarim of 44. —**Dibon-gad:** the name reflects the occupation of Dibon by the Gadites (32 34).—**49. Abel Shittim:** the Shittim of 25 1.

XXXIII. 50–56. A Command to Destroy the Objects of Canaanite Worship.—The substance of this is given also in Ex. 23 24, 34 13, Dt. 12 2f. With 55 *cf.* Jos. 23 13, Jg. 2 3.

52. figured stones: stones covered with idolatrous emblems.—**high places:** since these could be "demolished," the expression must here mean not natural heights (Is. 15 2, 16 12) but artificial mounds or shrines (*cf.* 1 K. 11 7).—**54.** Render, "wheresoever the lot falleth for any (family or clan), to that it shall belong." The lot was an appeal to God (*cf.* 1 S. 14 41 *mg.*, Ac. 1 24–26, Pr. 16 33, Jon. 1 7).

XXXIV. 1–15 (from P). **The Boundaries of Israel's Possessions in Canaan.**—These, as here set forth, are ideal rather than actual, since the area described never wholly belonged to Israel. The S. border extends from the S. end of the Dead (the "Salt") Sea in a SW. direction, having Edom on the SE., and following probably the Wâdy el Fikreh (in which was "the ascent of Akrabbim") to Kadesh (Ain Kâdis); there it turns NW. and follows partly the "brook of Egypt" (Wâdy el Arîsh) to its mouth. The W. border is formed by the Mediterranean (the "great") Sea, the shore of which was never possessed by Israel, though Joppa in the second century B.C. was captured by the Maccabees. The N. border extends from the mouth of the Nahr el Kasimîyeh (6 miles N. of Tyre) to "Mt. Hor" (quite distinct from the Mt. Hor of 20 22, and probably a spur of Lebanon), and crossing the gorge leading to Hamath reaches its easterly termination at Hazar-enan (probably near Banîas, close to the sources of the Jordan). The E. border apparently runs in an easterly course to the eastern margin of the sea of Chinnereth (Gennesaret), and thence follows the Jordan to the Dead Sea. Many of the localities named are unidentified.

6. Omit, **and the border thereof.**—**15.** The description **beyond the Jordan . . . eastward** represents the point of view of a writer residing on the W. of the Jordan.

XXXIV. 16–29. The Names of the Commissioners Appointed to Divide the Land (from P).—Joshua and Caleb are represented as surviving to enter Canaan, in accordance with 14 30.

XXXV. 1–8. Appointment of Levitical Cities and Cities of Refuge.—This law must be supplementary to, and later than, the law in 18 8–32, which does not contemplate the assignment to the Levites of cities in addition to the tithes, and indeed, definitely denies to them any territorial possessions (18 20; *cf.* Dt. 18 1). The cities here bestowed on the Levites are forty-eight in number, and are enumerated in Jos. 21; but the facts (*a*) that some did not come fully under Israelitish ownership until after Joshua's death (*e.g.* Gezer, see p. 28, Jg. 1 29*, 1 K. 9 16*), and (*b*) that priests (who naturally shared the lands conferred upon the tribe of Levi) dwelt at a later time in several places (*e.g.* Nob and Shiloh) which are not included in the list of cities named in Jos. 21 13–19, render the grant of such cities extremely doubtful. In the delimitation of the pasture grounds (2 *mg.*) of the cities, there is a curious oversight, for since they are to extend 1000 cubits from each city in every direction, forming a square of which each side is only 2000 cubits, the city within the square is reduced to a point, Included within the forty-eight cities were six cities of refuge where involuntary homicides could find protection. In Dt. 19 f. only three cities (which are named in Dt. 4 41–43) are represented

as assigned at once, it being directed that other three are to be added if Israel's territory should be enlarged, whilst in Jos. 20 7f. the selection of all of them is ascribed to Joshua. Historically, however, the limitation of asylum to particular cities was doubtless introduced at a later date even than Joshua's age. At first any altar of Yahweh afforded refuge (Ex. 21 13f.; *cf.* 1 K. 1 50, 2 28); but after the abolition of the local altars and the centralisation of worship enjoined in Dt., the right of asylum was reserved for certain ancient sacred places. The connexion of the right of asylum with sanctuaries was common in antiquity, and existed (for example) among the Phœnicians at Tyre, Paphos, and Amalthus, among the Syrians at Daphnæ, near Antioch, and among the Greeks at Tegea. The privilege belonged to Christian churches in the Middle Ages; and some Indian tribes in N. America also have places where man-slayers are protected (Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii. p. 315). See further Dt. 19 1–13*, Jos. 20*.

6. Read, "And as for the cities which ye shall give unto the Levites, six cities of refuge ye shall give," etc.

XXXV. 9–34. Conditions Limiting the Privilege of Sanctuary.—Anciently the holiness of a sanctuary extended to all who came in contact with it, so that the right of asylum was liable to be abused; but by this law protection at a city of refuge was to be refused to those homicides who in the judgment of the community, on the evidence of two witnesses, were guilty of murder, as inferred from (*a*) the existence of previous enmity or evidence of premeditation, (*b*) the use of a murderous weapon. Those who were guilty of manslaughter only (see Dt. 19 4f.) were safe within the city during the lifetime of the high priest: after his death they ceased to be liable to vengeance. Though the law promoted justice by discriminating between the intentional and the unintentional homicide, it still left the punishment of the former to private revenge instead of committing it to the community.

XXXVI. 1–13. Heiresses Required to Marry within their own Tribe.—This law supplements the enactment in 27 1–11, which allowed daughters to inherit their father's property, but still left open the possibility of the property, on their marriage, passing with them to another tribe. In practice, the transfer of lands from one tribe to another seems to have been not infrequent, for the same cities are sometimes represented as belonging to different tribes (presumably at different periods). Thus Dibon is Gadite in 32 34, but Reubenite in Jos. 13 17; Heshbon is Reubenite in 32 37, but Gadite in Jos. 21 39; Hormah belongs to Judah in Jos. 15 30, but to Simeon in Jos. 19 4.

1. Before Moses: the LXX adds, "and before Eleazar the priest"; *cf.* 27 2.

DEUTERONOMY

By Professor T. WITTON DAVIES.

I. Name.—Deuteronomy is the English form of Gr. *Deuteronomion* (non-occurrent in classical Gr., Vulg. *Deuteronomium*), taken from the LXX rendering of Dt. 17¹⁸,* where "a copy of this law" is in Gr. inaccurately translated "this repetition of the law," this *Deuteronomion*. In post-biblical Heb. the book is called by the two first words of the book: sometimes by the second word alone: and also by the Heb. for "a copy of the law" (17¹⁸).

II. Place in the Canon.—It occurs in the Heb. and modern Bibles as the fifth book of what in post-biblical Heb. is called the *Torah* (15*), and in what is now called "The Pentateuch" (p. 121, this name was due to Origen, who died A.D. 253).

III. Contents.—The book consists ostensibly of seven addresses, delivered by Moses before his death at the close of the wilderness wanderings and immediately before the crossing of the Jordan. Since the record begins with the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year of the Exodus (1³), and closes with the tenth day of the first month of the following year (see Jos. 4¹⁹ P, *cf.* Dt. 34⁸), it covers a period of forty days only. Moses' seven discourses are as follows:

First discourse, 1⁶–4⁴⁰, with an historical introduction (1¹–⁵); a short survey of the events of the journey from Mt. Sinai to the Jordan, with practical reflections on Israel's duty.

Second discourse, 5–11, with an historical introduction (4⁴⁵–⁴⁹). This comprises D laws (*cf.* the Decalogue, 5⁶–²¹) but mainly exhortations on Israel's duty to worship and serve Yahweh as the only true God. The sin of idolatry is constantly emphasized.

Third Discourse, 12–26 with 28, including an historical introduction (4⁴⁴). This consists of laws political, social, and religious (with promises and threats in 28), ostensibly for the government of the nation when it has settled in its new home. Here for the first time in the book (see 12⁵) the fundamental principle of the D legislation, the centralisation of worship, is taught, the earlier laws of J, E, etc., being modified to suit this principle (see especially 16¹–¹⁷, the laws of the three annual festivals).

Fourth discourse, 29¹–30²⁰; exhortations to observe the terms of the covenant with Yahweh, with threats of punishment for disobedience and promise of restoration from exile for obedience.

Fifth discourse, 31¹–¹³; Moses encourages the people, appoints Joshua his successor, and places the new (D) law in charge of the Levites.

Sixth discourse, the so-called Song of Moses (32¹–⁴⁷), with introduction (31¹⁶–³⁰, except 23).

Seventh discourse, 33; containing the "Blessing of Moses." The rest of the book has been interwoven or added to so as to complete the history and literary form, such as the accounts of the death and burial of Moses (32⁴⁸–⁵² P, 34 P, J, E, RD).

It is interesting that in Ex.–Nu. God is the speaker, Moses being the reporter. In D, on the contrary, Moses is the speaker (see 5¹ff.): this is in accordance with the wish of the people expressed to Moses (see 15,25–31, 18¹⁵; Ex. 20¹⁹ (E)).

IV. Authorship and Date. 1. Negatively.—The following statements are capable of conclusive demonstration. (*a*) That Moses is not the author of Dt. Nowhere throughout the Pentateuch does he appear as author (p. 121). Many passages in Dt. imply that the writer resided W. of the Jordan, *i.e.* in Canaan (1¹*, etc.). There are innumerable passages which Moses could not have written (see 2³⁴ ("at that time"), 3¹¹, and especially 34¹⁰–¹²). The teaching of the book is later than that of Amos, Hosea, and even Isaiah, not to speak of Moses. The present writer holds, nevertheless, that the basal teaching about God, pure worship, and right conduct taught in Dt. (*cf.* especially the Decalogue, 5⁶–²¹) is traceable farther back than even the age of Moses. (*b*) That the author or authors of Dt. could not have written the preceding four books of the Pentateuch, because the laws in Dt. (*cf.* those about the festivals, 16), representing a certain stage in the evolution of Heb. legislation, contradict those of J, E, and P in the previous books, and the same is true of the general teaching about God, sin, sacrifice, etc. There are, besides, many historical discrepancies between Dt. and the preceding books (*cf.* 1⁹–¹³ and Ex. 18¹³–²⁶ (J), etc.) (*c*) That Dt. cannot have proceeded from one hand, though the sources used (J, E, P, D, etc.) have been so selected and manipulated that the whole book, with slight exceptions, bears the stamp of one man's dominating mind and is pervaded by the same practical religious spirit. Dt. stands in sharp contrast with the first four books of the Pentateuch in this respect.

2. Positively.—The peculiar legislation of Dt. does not seem to have been applied, even if it was known, before the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. If the reforms instituted by Josiah (640–609 B.C.) about 620 B.C. (see 2 K. 23¹–¹⁵) be compared with the teaching of Dt. 12ff., it will be seen that he acted in harmony with this code. Thus the high places were suppressed (12³; *cf.* 2 K. 23⁸–¹⁰,¹³), heathen altars and idols destroyed (12³; *cf.* 2 K. 23⁴–¹²), etc. Now it is expressly stated in 2 K. 22f. that Josiah was induced to set about these religious reforms by the discovery in the Temple of a book of the Law in accordance with which he acted. Most modern scholars agree that this "book of the Law" is identical with the original part of Dt. (at least Dt. 12–19¹³ with slight omissions). It is noteworthy that the doctrine of one sanctuary and the consequent sinfulness of sacrificing at high places is not taught by any prophet before Jeremiah, who lived when Josiah's Law-book was discovered and that king's reforms were inaugurated. Moreover, the peculiar phraseology of Dt. occurs throughout Jeremiah (see Driver, ICC, p. xciii). It is

natural to conclude from these and many other considerations that Josiah's Law-book and D are the same. The influence of D is traceable in portions of Samuel, throughout Kings (see on these books), and in late (P) parts of Gen., Nu.: or must we assume an earlier date than 621 B.C. for centralisation of worship and the consecration of Levi to the priesthood? (See 10 5f.* and 33 8–11*.) Yet that the Law-book found by Hilkiah was not identical with our Dt. is almost certain. (*a*) It was read through twice in one day (2 K. 22 8, 23 2). (*b*) It was pre-eminently a book of precepts about worship, sacrifice, etc. (*c*) It is in 12–19 13 that the doctrine of a central sanctuary and its consequences are taught, and this may represent the original D. (*d*) On the other hand, 12–26 with 28 go well together, and form a unity as regards teaching and style, and not improbably these chapters (with slight omissions) constitute the original code. The curses of 28 for disobedience would explain Josiah's fears of the consequences if the new law were not obeyed (2 K. 22 13). We must add 4 44, apparently an introduction to 12ff. 5–11 is an independent piece in which no notice at all is taken of the great law of D—that all sacrificial worship must be at the one place which Yahweh should choose.

It is evident from 2 K. 22 that the Law-book found in the Temple had been written long enough before it was discovered to have been lost and even forgotten. According to 2 K. 18 1–8 (unnecessarily rejected by some) Hezekiah (727–699 B.C.) inaugurated reforms similar to those required by D and carried out by Josiah (2 K. 22). It seems a likely hypothesis that the Dt. code was compiled about that time, but that owing to the religious persecutions of the next reign (Manasseh, 698–643 B.C.) the reform movement was stopped and its literary endorsement (D) suppressed (but see pp. 45, 74f., 129).

The present Dt. makes large use of JE, the laws in which are adapted, and the historical parts of which it follows, but a later editor has drawn upon P. though in a very few instances (1 3, 32 48–52, 34 1,7–9, etc.). It may, however, be safely assumed that Dt. was written in ignorance of P and before P was compiled, *i.e.* before *c.* 500 B.C.: though an editor of subsequent times made some additions as late as *c.* 400 B.C.

Jerome (died A.D. 420) was the first to suggest that Dt. and Josiah's Law-book were identical; but his suggestion was ignored by nearly all scholars until comparatively recent times.

Staerk, Steuernagel, and Cornill (IOT, p. 60) hold that the parts where Israel is addressed in singular ("thou," etc.) and plural ("ye," etc.) represent different sources, a view which involves an unnatural breaking up of sections and verses.

Bearing of the Aramaic Papyri on the Question of the Date of D.—According to the Aramaic papyri (p. 79, Jer. 24 8) recently discovered in Upper Egypt and edited by Sayce-Cowley, Sachau, and others, there was at Syene (=Assouan) in 525 B.C., when Cambyses invaded Egypt, a Jewish temple with its priesthood and ritual (sacrifice, etc.). This was in contravention of the law of one sanctuary. Some have drawn the conclusion that D is later than 525 B.C. Others, supporting an early (Mosaic ?) date, see in these papyri evidence that the non-observance of the D code is no proof of its non-existence. The present writer makes the following suggestions: (*a*) This temple may have been erected immediately after the destruction of the Jerusalem sanctuary and intended to take its place, at least temporarily. (*b*) It is possible that the Jews of Egypt, finding the Jerusalem Temple too distant, felt themselves justified in setting up a temple of their own. There might well have been among them members of the Levitical guild. (*c*) Perhaps this temple at Syene was erected by priests and others belonging to the northern kingdom soon after its fall in 722 B.C., *i.e.* prior to the publication of D: indeed, this kingdom could hardly be expected to recognise a code which implied its own effacement and the cessation of its own religious life.

Peculiar Teaching of Deuteronomy.—The main points are the following: (*a*) That Yahweh is the only true God, the only God that really exists (see 3 24, 6 4). (*b*) That He has chosen Israel to be His peculiar people (10 15, etc.). (*c*) That the tribe of Levi is to be set apart for the priesthood (see 10 8). (*d*) That all sacrificial worship should be performed at the one place which Yahweh should choose (*i.e.* Jerusalem, see 12 1–28*). (*e*) That obedience to Yahweh pays here and now (see 4 1).

Literature.—For works dealing with the sources of the Hexateuch in general (including Dt.), see p. 132.

Commentaries: (*a*) **Wheeler Robinson** (Cent.B, a skilful compend of notes based on the latest authorities); (*b*) **Driver** (ICC, the best in English, makes large but independent use of Dillmann); (*c*) **Dillmann** (KEH, very full and scholarly); Steuernagel (HK); Bertholet (KHC); Hoffmann (on 1 1–21 9 cites Jewish authorities and defends traditional views). *Other literature:* P. Kleinert, *Das Deut.*; Staerk, *Das Deut.*; Steuernagel, *Der Rahmen des Deut.* and *Die Entstehung des Deut.*; Pukko, *Das Deut.*; McNeile, *Deuteronomy, its place in Revelation*; Articles in Bible Dictionaries, especially EBi. (Moore).

I. 1–5. Historical introduction to 1 6ff.: a compilation, perhaps intended to introduce the whole book. **1. beyond Jordan:** therefore the writer dwelt W. of the Jordan; so 5 and often, 3 8,20,25.—**Arabah** (lit. "waste region"): the low-lying valley of the Jordan, the Sea of Galilee and Dead Sea, extending from the Sea of Galilee to the Red Sea (Gulf of Akabah — **2. Horeb** in D and E=Sinai in J and P (see 33 2).— **3.** From P: its P origin is revealed by the date note and the word translated "eleventh."—**4. Sihon:** Nu. 21 21*. —**Og:** p. 64, Nu. 21 33*.—**Amorites** in E and D=Canaanites in J, *i.e.* the pre-Israelite population of W. Palestine. Read (with LXX) "and at Edrei": Og had two royal residences.—**5. began:** the Heb. means "to undertake" or "set about a task."—**this law:** *i.e.* the D law which, however, begins at 12. The word translated "law" (*torah*) means "instruction," though following the LXX (*nomos*) and Vulg. (*lex*) it is rendered by a word="law" in most modern VSS. The Heb. word came to denote the authoritative teaching of prophets (1 S. 10 25, Is. 1 10*, etc.) and of priests (see Lev. 10 11, etc.). In D and in writings of the D school it becomes a technical term for the D code (see Ezra (Cent.B), pp. 8ff.). The Jews use the word for the Pentateuch, but it never has that sense in the OT. See p. 121, Pr. 3 1*.

I. 6–IV. 40. Moses' first discourse, based on JE in Ex. and Nu. though possessing peculiar features due to a Deuteronomic editor.

I. 6–III. 29. Moses Reviews the Journey of the Israelites from Horeb.—I. 6–8. The words suggest that the Israelites would be able to take possession of the land immediately they entered it; *cf.* Joshua, which describes such an entrance into Canaan. The more historical view is that given by Judges.

6. The Lord . . . spake: where? (*cf.* Ex. 33 1).— **7. hill country,** etc.: a common name for W. Palestine from its leading physical characteristics; 4*

(*Amorites*).—**all the places,** etc.: render, "all their bordering peoples" (or tribes).—**Arabah:** 1*. Here it means that part of it which stretched from S. of Sea of Galilee to some fifty miles S. of Dead Sea.—**lowland:** (pp. 31f.), the flat country of the Philistines. —**South:** Heb. *Negeb*, the technical term for the barren region S. of the Judæan mountains (p. 32). The writer's use of the word for S. shows that he lived W. of the Jordan.—**the sea shore:** *i.e.* the maritime plain to the N. of Philistia.—**the land of the Canaanites:** probably an interpolation.—**Lebanon . . . Euphrates:** the ideal boundaries N. and E.; 11$_{24}$, *cf.* Jos. 14.—**8.** This oath is often mentioned by JE (Gen. 24$_7$, etc.) and in Dt. (35, 6$_{10,18,23}$, etc.). The contents of the oath are expressly stated in Gen. 22$_{16}$f. only (see Gen. 26$_3$f. (J)—**9–18**—*cf.* Ex. 18$_{13-26}$* (E)). The idea of appointing judges to assist Moses is in Ex. 18$_{17-23}$ suggested by Jethro not, as here, by Moses himself. The parallel passage differs also as to the time. See 16$_{18-20}$* and 17$_{8-13}$*, where further provision is made for the administration of justice.—**15. officers:** 16$_{18}$*.—**16. a man and his brother:** a Hebraism meaning "one man and another."—**the stranger:** better "sojourner" (p. 110, Lev. 17$_{8}$f.*). The Heb. word (*ger*) denotes an alien who has settled permanently among the Israelites. In the earlier codes he had no legal status, and was, therefore, liable to be oppressed and wronged; see Ex. 22$_{21}$, 23$_9$ (JE). In post-exilic times (P, etc.) he had become a naturalised Jew (*i.e.* a proselyte, the word used in the LXX), having the privileges and responsibilities of full citizenship; *cf.* Ex. 12$_{49}$ (P), Lev. 24$_{22}$ (H), etc. See HSDB, *Stranger*. Heb. treated the alien much more humanely than Bab. law (15$_{12-18}$*).—**17.** God decides through the Urim and Thummim (Ex. 28$_{30}$, pp. 100f.). and through His laws.—In 19–46 (from Horeb to Kadesh) the narrative interrupted by 9–18 is resumed. —**19. great and terrible wilderness** (815): *i.e.* the desert of et-Tih between the peninsula of Sinai and S. Palestine.—**as . . . commanded us:** *cf.* 7.—**24. valley of Eshcol:** Nu. 13$_{23}$*.—**28. sons of the Anakim:** Heb. "necked," *i.e.* "long-necked" people. The phrase means simply tall, giant-like folk. Anak is not a proper name (see Nu. 13$_{28}$).—**32.** Render, "Yet in spite of this utterance" (of mine), etc.—**33.** Ex. 13 21* (J) and 40$_{34-38}$* (P), *cf.* Nu. 9$_{15-22}$, 10$_{11}$f., Nu. 14$_{14}$, Ps. 105$_{39}$ (see note in Cent.B).—**35. of this evil generation:** omit with LXX and Nu. 14$_{22}$ff.; its omission is required by the sense and by Heb. grammar.—**36. save Caleb:** so D and J (Nu. 14$_{24}$); in P (Nu. 14$_{30}$) Joshua is added.—**the land:** *i.e.* Hebron and neighbourhood (Nu. 13$_{22}$ff. (JE), Jos. 14 12–14).—**the Lord** (Yahweh): read, "me" (Heb. consonants identical).—**37.** According to D (see also 3$_{26}$, 4$_{21}$) Moses is prevented from entering Canaan on account of the people's disobedience at Kadesh in the second year of the Exodus, but according to P (32$_{50}$f., Nu. 20$_{12}$, 27$_{13}$f.) it is on account of his own presumption at the same spot thirty-seven years later when he struck the rock.—**38. standeth before:** the attitude of one who serves (see 1 K. 10$_8$, *cf.* Ex. 33$_{11}$).—**39.** The verse should begin with, "But your children"; the foregoing words, absent from the LXX and superfluous for the sense, are taken from Nu. 14$_{31}$.—**40. Red Sea:** so LXX, Vulg.; Heb. "Sea of Reeds"; probably the Gulf of Akabah.—**41–46.** Nu. 14$_{39-45}$ (JE).

II. 1–15. From Kadesh-barnea to Wady-Zered.—The present passage seems to contradict the parallel narrative in Nu. 20f.—**1*b***. *i.e.* we lingered in the neighbourhood of Mt. Seir a good length of time, viz. thirty-eight years (7,14).—**4. border:** better, "bordered territory," the Heb. word means both.—**your brethren:** *i.e.* kinsmen (see Gen. 25$_{23-26}$, 36$_{43}$, Am. 1$_{11}$, Ob. 10,12, Mal. 1$_2$). In 23$_7$ the Israelites are commanded to treat their Edomite kinsmen in a friendly way. But from the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. onwards, the feelings between the Jews and Edomites (from Edom = Esau) continued to be bitterly hostile. —**6.** *cf.* Gen. 14$_{23}$.—**8. by:** read (with LXX, Vulg.) "through."—**8*b*–25.** They are to pass through the territory of Moab and Ammon, but without harassing them (*cf.* 3ff. of the Edomites). Moab and Ammon were sons of Lot by his elder and younger daughter respectively (Gen. 19$_{36}$f.). Since Lot was Abraham's nephew, the Moabites and Ammonites were likewise kinsmen of the Hebrews. But in Gen., etc. personal names stand generally for families or tribes.—**9. Ar:** Nu. 21$_{15}$* (E).—**10–12.** An archæological note by an editor. The men of a fabled past have often figured in folklore as giants (see ERE, vi. pp. 191ff.)—**10*f*. Emim, Rephaim:** Gen. 14$_5$*.—**Anakim:** 1$_{28}$*.—**12. Horites:** Gen. 14$_6$*.—**as Israel did:** betraying a writer who lived long after the Conquest.—**13. Zered:** *i.e.* the modern Wady Kerak, which enters the Dead Sea at its N. end.—**20–23.** Antiquarian note by an editor (*cf.* 10–12).—**20. Zamzummim:** the Zuzim of Gen. 14$_5$*, so Keil and others.—**22. unto this day:** frequent in Dt. (3$_{14}$, etc.), Jos., and Jg. in a similar context. The implication is that the state of things described continued down to the writer's day.—**23. Avvim** (better "Awwim") dispossessed by the Philistines (2$_{12}$, 21f.) with whom, however, they are mentioned in Jos. 13$_4$.—**Caphtor** (the home of the Philistines, Am. 9$_7$*, Jer. 47$_4$) is Crete.—**24–37.** Nu. 21$_{21-32}$* (JE), which is older. The Israelites were not restrained by ties of kinship from attacking the Amorites and their king Sihon when their request was refused.—**24. Arnon:** pp. 32f., Nu. 21$_{13}$f.*—**29.** It is not distinctly stated (except in the LXX) in 2–8 that the Edomites ("children of Esau") acceded to Israel's request; nor is the contrary stated or suggested. According to 23$_4$ and Nu. 20$_{18-21}$ (JE) they definitely rejected Israel's proposal and according to 23$_4$ the Moabites did the same. We have to do simply with different traditions. Many, however (Driver, etc.), hold that Edom's refusal belongs to an earlier period, and that it took place in W. not E. Moab.—**30. hardened:** Ex. 4$_{21}$ (E), 7$_3$* (P).—**his spirit, his heart:** *i.e.* him. The emphatic personal pronoun is often thus expressed (4$_9$*). The parallel clauses "hardened him," "made him obstinate," mean the same thing.—**32. at:** render, "to"—**34. utterly destroyed:** Heb. "to put under a ban," "to tabu." The verbal root occurs in the cognate languages as well as Heb., and denotes literally to cut off, to separate; then to withdraw from common use (tabu) with a view to complete surrender to deity as a sacrifice. Hence it comes to mean, "to destroy utterly." In the Moabite Stone (lines 11–17) Mesha says he had *devoted* (same Semitic word) Israel to Ishtar. Generally among the Israelites, as among other people, the ban arose from a vow to devote to deity a part or the whole of the booty obtained in the event of victory. In the OT, and especially in Dt. (see 20$_{17}$ff.), the ethical character of the ban is strongly insisted upon. The *goim* or non-Israelites are to be offered up as a sacrifice to Yahweh lest they should corrupt the morals and religion of the chosen race. Three degrees of the war-ban may be traced in Dt. and in other parts of the OT. (*a*) That in which every man, woman, and child of the enemy and also their property of every kind was devoted, *i.e.* utterly destroyed (see 13$_{16}$, etc.). (*b*) The ban of

the second degree stopped short with the devotion, *i.e.* the destruction, of men, women, and children; cattle and the rest of the spoil being reserved by the victors for their own use (see 34f. 36f. 72, etc.). (*c*) The third degree is represented by the law laid down in 2010–15, men alone being devoted to destruction. In Nu. 3117f. (P 8) and Jg. 2111f. (LXX^B) it is the virgins only that are spared (see pp 99, 114, Jos. 617*, and "Ban" in HSDB).—**36.** Gilead proper was divided by the Jabbok into a northern and southern half. Sihon's kingdom lay S. of this river (310*).

III. 1–7. A shorter account of the victory over Og, king of Bashan, occurs in Nu. 2133–35, based on the present passage, the first person plural being changed to the third to suit the new context.—**8–17** gives an account of the distribution, between Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, of the territories taken from the two Amorite kings, Sihon and Og.—**8. beyond Jordan:** see 11.—**9.** The same mountain bore the names (*a*) Hermon, *i.e.* sacred mount, perhaps the root is that of the verb "to devote" (234*), *cf. harem* (Arabic), temple, women's enclosure; (*b*) Sirion, the Sidonian name; (*c*) Senir (so read in 448 for "Sion"), the Amorite name. Yet in 1 Ch. 523 and Ca. 48 Senir and Hermon are differentiated.—**10** continues 8, 9 being an editorial insertion.—**plain:** the elevated plateau N. of the Arnon on which Moab lay (443, Jos. 139).—**Gilead** here includes the two halves (so Nu. 3229). In 236* the southern, in Jos. 1331 the northern half is alone meant.—**11. his . . . iron:** render, "his sarcophagus was a sarcophagus of black-basalt." The Heb. *barzel* is used not only for iron, but also for black-basalt, one-fifth of which is usually iron (89). Huge black-basalt sarcophagi have been discovered in the region here spoken of. There is a later and fuller version of the narrative of 12–20 (settlement of the E. Jordan tribes) in Nu. 321–38*. The two accounts differ in many respects.—**14–17** (supplementary notices of the territory of the E. Jordan tribes) is evidently a late and clumsy compilation, repeating, and in part contradicting 12f., designed probably to reconcile 12f. with Nu. 3239*, 41*, from which 14f. is in part taken.—**14. Jair,** *i.e.* **Havvoth-jair:** Nu. 3241* (P).—**unto this day:** 222*.—**16.** Omit (with LXX) the words, "The middle . . . thereof," or render, "the middle of the Wady being the border (or boundary)."—**17. slopes:** the same Heb. word occurs in Nu. 2115.

III. 18–20. The E. Jordan tribes had promised to help the others to conquer the territory W. of the Jordan (Nu. 3228–32*).—**21–29.** Moses encourages his successor (21f. absent from Nu. 332) and prays, though in vain, to be allowed to cross the Jordan (23–29 recorded here only).—**24***b*. Which of the gods in whose existence and power the heathen believe can perform the mighty things which Thou hast wrought? The words do not necessarily prove that the writer believed in the real existence of heathen deities (*cf.* Ex. 1511 (J), 1811 (E), Pss. 7119, 7713, etc., see 64).—**25. beyond Jordan:** 11*.—**that goodly mountain:** render, "that good (fertile) mountainous country."—**26.** See 137*.—**27.** See 341–4.

IV. 1–40. Second Part of Moses' First Address.—This contains exhortations to obedience from motives of self-interest and of gratitude to Yahweh, and forms an apparent logical unity with 16–329: but the two pieces had probably a separate origin. The lessons in 1–40 are not drawn immediately from chs. 1–3. The writer of 1–3 has in mind the events which followed the departure from Horeb: that of 41–40 concentrates attention upon the theophany on Horeb.—**27–31** seems to imply that the exile has taken place. Yet the editor of Dt. evidently regarded 16–440 as a unity, and the characteristic language and spirit of D runs through the whole.

IV. 1–4. Long life and possession of Canaan are often mentioned in Dt. as rewards of obedience.—**statutes and judgments:** 445*. The principle of a fixed Canon of Scripture is involved in 2. At the close of his Code Hammurabi pronounces a blessing upon the man who will not deface or alter his law, and a curse upon anyone who will change it in the least degree.—**3. because of:** read, "in" (see Nu. 251–5).—**4.** The idea of cleaving to Yahweh is peculiar to Dt.—**5.** Render, "I teach," etc.—**7. a god:** render, "gods."—**9. thy soul:** Hebraism = "thyself" (emphatic), 230*.—**thy children:** Dt. lays stress on the duty of training children (67, etc.).—**10***f. Cf.* Ex. 199f.,17f.—**10. in Horeb:** *i.e.* in the space in front of Horeb, so 98, 1816. The duty of fearing Yahweh (Job 11) is often insisted upon in Dt.—**13.** The idea of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel holds a conspicuous place in Dt. and in allied writings of the OT, especially in Jer. Dt. mentions three covenants: (*a*) That made with the fathers in which Yahweh promises a numerous posterity (1317) and the possession of the land of Canaan (618, *cf.* Gen. 1518 (JE), etc.). (*b*) The covenant made at Horeb based upon the Decalogue (see 57ff., 99f., *cf.* 423). (*c*) That made in the land of Moab, sharply distinguished from that of Mount Horeb in 291 (Heb. rightly 2869), see 2919,12,14,21, 2617–19. It is not strictly true that the conception of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel occurs first in D (see Hos. 28, 67f., Gen. 1518 (J), 261–4 (J), and 2813f. (J).—**ten commandments:** Heb. "ten words" (Ex. 3428), hence the technical term "Decalogue" from the Gr. (LXX) rendering (*deka logoi*).—**two tables of stone:** in P "the two tables of the testimony" (Ex. 3118).—**15–24** gives reasons why Israel should not worship idols.—**16. corrupt yourselves:** render, "act corruptly."—**graven image:** Ex. 204*. The specific forms follow (*cf.* "molten image," 912).—**18. the water under the earth:** the abyss of waters on which the earth was supposed to rest; see Gen. 16–8*, 4925, Ex. 204, and Cent.B, "Psalms," vol. ii. p. 174f.—**20. iron furnace:** one heated sufficiently to melt iron (see Jer.114, etc.).—a **people of inheritance:** a Hebraism, meaning "a possessed people" (see 76).—**21. for your sakes:** 137*, *cf.* 326.—**sware:** Yahweh's oath to exclude Moses from Canaan is not mentioned elsewhere. Some omit the clause.—**giveth:** better here and elsewhere in the same connexion, "is about to give."—**25–31** seems to presuppose the Exile if not also the Restoration.—**25. provoke:** the Heb. word, common in Dt., Jer., etc. means, "to annoy," "bother," not "to make angry" (so 918, 3129, 3216,21; *cf.* 97*a**).—**26.** Heaven and earth are summoned as abiding witnesses; see 3019, 3128, 32; Is. 12, Jer. 212, 619.—**31. merciful:** better, "compassionate."—**33***f.* **God:** render in both verses "a god."—**34. temptations:** better, "testings" (see 616). These and also the "signs" and "wonders" (lit. outstanding acts) refer all of them to the plagues of Egypt viewed on different sides.—**by a mighty hand,** etc.: a frequent expression in Dt. (515, etc.), *cf.* Jer. 3221.—**35, 39** teach absolute monotheism.—**36. instruct:** in the moral and religiou, sense (see 85, "chasten," same verb).—Add to 36 "and didst live" (see 33), and omit the first word of 37. The difference in the Heb. is slight.—**37. loved:** Dt. dwells much on Yahweh's love (78,13, etc.) and also on Israel's duty to love Yahweh.—**with his presence:** Hebraism for "Himself"; "my presence" (lit. "face") in Heb. means, "I myself" (see Ex. 3314

(J), and *cf.* 230*, 49*).—**40.** Obedience pays, so Dt. constantly teaches (see 516,33, etc.). **41–43** (three cities of refuge E. of the Jordan) is an interpolation, and has no connexion here with the preceding or succeeding verses. The sites are unknown (see 191ff.*, where the subject is introduced as if for the first time.—**45–49** is the proper introduction to 6–11 as 44 is that to 12–26 and 28.—**44. law:** 15*.—**45.** Render "these are the admonitions" (lit. "commands given in the presence of witnesses") "and the statutes" (lit. what is engraved on wood or stone, *cf.* CH) "and the ordinances" (lit. judicial decisions, then precedent laws).—**Moses . . . Egypt:** Moses could not have written so.—**48. Sion:** a clerical slip for "Sirion" (39*).

V.–XI. Moses' Second Address.—This contains laws (56–21) and (mainly) exhortation based on the fundamental conception of Yahweh's uniqueness. This discourse had probably an independent origin, but it is exceedingly homogeneous, and conforms throughout with the type of composition characteristic of D. Many of the best scholars, including Driver, regard 5–26 with 28 as one continuous composition, not improbably (they think) the original D code.

V. 1–21. Yahweh's covenant (413*) with Israel at Horeb (12*) and its obligations (6–21). With D's version of the Decalogue (6–21) compare the earlier form in Ex. 201–17* (E). Wellhausen is wrong in holding that there is a third (an older) version in Ex. 3410–26. The following are the principal characteristics of Dt.'s rendering: (*a*) There are hortatory additions. (*b*) The statements are more definite and emphatic. (*c*) The wife's status is higher. (*d*) Dt. substitutes a humanitarian motive for the observance of the Sabbath (*cf.* Ex. 2011*). (*e*) Dt. gives additional motives for honouring parents. (*f*) 14 adds ox, ass, man-servant, woman-servant to the list in Ex. 201of.

VI.–XI. Consists of a lengthy homily based on the first commandment (56). Israel is to worship and serve Yahweh alone.

VI. 1–3. Exhortation to obey Yahweh's commands, referring to the Decalogue (56–21) or to 12ff. to which it would make an excellent introduction, as it may have been originally.—**1. commandment:** better, "commandments"; Heb. uses the singular where in other languages the plural would stand.—**2. fear:** 410*.—**3.** See 41*.—**milk and honey:** Ex. 38*.

VI. 4–XI. General precepts resting upon the doctrine that Yahweh is the only true God.—**4–9.** Called by Jews the *Shema* from the first word—"Hear." The Shema, with other words from Scripture, is written on the parchment in the two phylacteries and in the door mezuzah, but that 8f. had no reference to such practices is evident from the context and from Ex. 139–16, Pr. 19, 33, 621, where the figurative sense is alone possible. Phylacteries as the name implies, and also the mezuzah, were originally counter-charms among the Jews, as similar articles were among the Egyptians and other peoples. They are never referred to in the OT or in the Apocrypha, but they are mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 1, viii. 13), as phylacteries are in the NT (Mt. 235*, etc.).—**10–15.** In the land promised them they will be tempted to substitute Canaanite deities for Yahweh and to swear by them. Oaths formed part of the social and commercial fabric of the time, and they are not forbidden here. Contrast Christ's teaching (Mt. 534f.). In trading with Canaanites it would require courage to refuse to swear by their gods.—**16.** See Ex. 177*, *cf.* Mt. 47.—**tempt:** better "test"; *cf.* the cognate noun ("temptation =testing) in 434*.—**Massah** (=testing) is another cognate noun (Ex. 177*). The word-play is lost in the translation.—**20–25.** See 410.—**25. righteousness:** *i.e.* prosperity as in II Isaiah.

VII. The native races of Canaan are to be exterminated and everything connected with their religion destroyed, lest Israel be seduced by them to idolatry. For the list of nations, see Gen. 1519–21* and Ex. 38*; see also Dt. 14.—**2. utterly destroy:** 234*.—**4. me:** render "Yahweh" (same Heb. consonants). Moses is the speaker.—**5. pillars** (pp. 98f.): lofty altars, obelisks, used in heathen, perhaps sun-worship.—**Asherim:** p. 100, 1 K. 1513*. (A.V. "groves"; so Welsh, following LXX, Vulg.), representations in wood of the old Semitic goddess Ashera, mentioned (*Ashirta*) in the Tell el-Amarna tablets (p. 55). That pillars and Asherim are so often mentioned together supports the theory that the first were such altars as were used in sacrificing to the second.

6–24 gives reasons why Israel ought to serve Yahweh.—**9.** Render, "know therefore that Yahweh thy God is the" (*i.e.* the true, see 435) "God, the faithful God, one who keeps His covenant to show lovingkindness to them," etc.—**10.** Note the individualism of Dt. (see 211–9*).—**13. corn . . . wine** (fresh made wine) and fresh (olive) oil are Yahweh's gifts, not those of the Baalim or Ashtaroth (gods and goddesses of the Canaanites).—**15. evil diseases of Egypt:** *e.g.* dysentery, elephantiasis, and ophthalmia.—**16. snare:** *i.e.* what leads to ruin, not what acts as an entícement to sin (see Is. 2921).—**20. hornet:** Ex. 2328.—**26.** See Jos. 7.—**devoted thing:** 234*.

VIII. Israel's duty to be faithful and obedient to Yahweh enforced by a recital of His loving treatment of them in the wilderness (1–17). Unless they are faithful they will perish as the Canaanites did (18–20).—**2. prove:** 616* ("tempt," same Heb. verb).—**3. manna:** Ex. 1614–35, Nu. 117–9*. The lesson of the manna is, that Yahweh can sustain human life by whatever means He wills or commands. Jesus quotes but spiritualises the words (Mt. 44).—**4.** The miracle of the food was matched by another of the clothing—they were not out during all the forty years (see 1018, Gen. 2820). Rashi on this passage says that, as the children grew older, their clothes grew also, just as the shells of snails do.—**swell:** render "blister."—**5. chasteneth:** 436* ("instruct").—**7. brooks of water:** better, "water wadies," *i.e.* such wadies as never become dry.—**depths:** *i.e.* the waters under the earth (see 418*.—**9. iron:** render "basalt" (311*).—**brass:** render "copper." Brass was then unknown.—With 11–18 *cf.* the similar warning in 612.—**11. judgements,** etc.: 445*.—**15. fiery** (*i.e.* "stinging") **serpents:** Nu. 216*, *cf.* Jer. 817.—The scorpion (mentioned in Dt. only) belongs to the spider family, its sting causing extreme pain and sometimes even death. The proper name "Akrabbim" (Jos. 153) means scorpions.—**18. as at this day:** 222*.

IX. 1–7*a*. Israel's victory over the Canaanites due to the wickedness of their foes and Yahweh's promise.—**6. stiffnecked:** lit. hard, *i.e.* obstinate, of neck (Ex. 329). The figure is that of an animal which refuses to take the yoke.—**7*a*. provokedst . . . to wrath:** 425* where a Heb. verb of different meaning is similarly translated.

IX. 7*b*–X. 11 (or **X. 9**). Narrative of the legislation on Mount Horeb; for the purpose apparently of illustrating *7a*. This historical survey suddenly thrust into a hortatory context closely resembles 1–3, and is thought by Horst and Bertholet to be by the same author. They agree with Steuernagel (who, however, says its closest affinities are with 5) in holding it to be an interpolation here. But surely the history in this

section is didactic and therefore hortatory. 10ff. is, however, evidently an editorial addition. The narrative in 9*b*,ff. follows JE (Ex. 24 12f., 32 10,15,19, 34 1).

IX. 9. tables of stone: Ex. 24 12*.—**covenant:** 4 13*. —**9–11. forty days:** Ex. 24 18* (E).—**I did . . . water:** so Ex. 34 28, but the latter refers to Moses' third ascent of the mountain, not the first.—**10** is perhaps a marginal gloss. 10*a* essentially = 11*b*.—**finger of God:** not of Yahweh; so the Divine finger (Ex. 31 18*).— **12. molten image:** Ex. 32 4 (*cf.* graven image, 4 16, etc.).—**13** repeats substance of 12; Bertholet, therefore, rejects it.—**14***f.* See Ex. 32 10,15,19.—**18. I fell down:** better, "I lay me down."—**as at the first:** as regards time (forty days) and accompanying action (fasting, 9). Moses spent forty days on the mountain waiting to receive the tables (J) and another forty days making intercession.—**19. that time also:** when besides did Yahweh listen to Moses' intercession? All the incidents of Moses' life are not recorded.—**20.** Not mentioned in Ex.—**21. sin:** that by which they sinned (see Am. 8 14, Mi. 1 5). Ex. 32 20 adds that Moses made the people drink the water of the wady.— **25.** A continuation and in part a repetition of 18. Though in vocabulary and matter 26–29 resembles Ex. 32 11–13 (the first intercession) the occasion is different, the latter belonging to the time before the first descent (15 = Ex. 32 15).—**28.** *Cf.* Ex. 32 12, Nu. 14 16.

X. 1–3. Follows Ex. 34 1*f.*,4 (JE), adding the allusion to the Ark, which, according to Ex. 37 1–10 (P), was made by Bezalel—a proof that D is independent of P and at times even of JE.—**6***f.* A fragment of a lost itinerary, perhaps from E (Nu. 33 31–33 (P)). These verses are obviously an interpolation.—**6. there:** *i.e.* at Moserah; according to the fuller account in Nu. 20 22–29 (P) Aaron died on Mount Hor. The Levitical priesthood characteristic of D (see 17 9,18, etc.) is here implied. If with Dillmann and Driver we refer 6f. to E and 8f. to JE we have evidence of the existence of the Levitical and even of the Aaronic (see 6) priesthood about 800 B.C. The duties imposed upon the Levites in 8 belong exclusively to the Aaronites in P (see Nu. 4 1*f.*, 3 10, 6 23). The words **unto this day** prove that the writer knew nothing of the Priestly Code or of Ezek. 40–48.—**9.** The Levites are to be supported out of the Temple gifts (see 12 12, 14 27,29, and especially 18 1*f.*; *cf.* Jos. 13 14,33). They are often commended to the practical sympathy of Israel, but more especially the disestablished Levites ("the Levites") of the local sanctuaries (18 1–8*).—**10** (render, "And I, even I, had stayed") summarises 9 18f., 11 concluding the Horeb narrative, though it is doubtful whether 10f. belongs to what precedes (Dillmann, Driver) or to what follows (Bertholet). Perhaps it should be omitted.

X. 12–XI. 32. Resumes Moses' second address interrupted by the long didactic narrative of 9 7*b*–10 11.

X. 12–22–XI. Reasons why Israel should fear and serve Yahweh.—**12.** *Cf.* Mi. 6 8.—**16.** Physical circumcision implied consecration of the entire man to Yahweh. The verb "to circumcise" came thus to be used figuratively of the heart (30*) as here (so 30 6, Jer. 4 4), of the lips (Ex. 6 12), of the ear (Jer. 6 10).—**17. God of gods and Lord of lords:** one form of the Heb. superlative, *i.e.* the greatest God, lord (32 4*).—**reward:** better, "bribe" (see 16 19, 27 25, Ex. 23 8).—**18.** Render, "securing justice for the orphan and widow and loving the sojourner" (see 1 16*), etc. The three classes mentioned were specially exposed to injustice through bribery, social influence, etc. They are often, therefore, along with the Levites (9*) described as objects of pity and help.—**21. praise:** *i.e.* object of praise (Jer. 17 14).—**22.** Omit **with.** The Heb. construction (*beth essentiae*) implies that they went down *as* (not with) seventy persons.—**threescore and ten persons:** *i.e.* all the Israelites in Egypt at the time. In Ex. 1 5 (P) it covers all the descendants of Jacob (including Joseph, his sons, etc.). In Gen. 46 (P) the two traditions are combined.

XI. Continues the exhortation to love and obey Yahweh, giving motives and promises and pointing out the consequence of disobedience.—**2–7.** Read (adding one Heb. consonant), "for ye are not as your children who know not and have not seen . . . midst of all Israel: for your eyes, etc."—**chastisement:** 4 36*. —**5.** See Ex. 15, Nu. 32.—**6.** See Nu. 16 25,27,32 (JE). Dt. using JE is silent about Korah mentioned by P (Nu. 26 9–11).—**8***b*. See 4 1.—**9. land . . . honey:** Ex. 3 8*.—**10. wateredst . . . foot:** probably some irrigation contrivance is meant, by which water sluices communicating with the Nile were opened and closed. Erman affirms, but W. Max Müller denies, that the water-wheel (*cf.* modern Egypt) was used in ancient Egypt. A plentiful supply of rain, a great necessity in Palestine, is often mentioned in the OT as a proof of Yahweh's loving care; see Lev. 26 4, Is. 55 10f., Ezek. 34 26, Hos. 6 3.—**14. former rain:** in November and December after seed-sowing.—**latter rain:** in March to April, it matures the grain, vitalised by the autumnal showers.—**18–20.** Almost *verbatim* as 6–9*, though 21 (*cf.* 9) adds a promise. Steuernagel and Bertholet omit 18–21.—**24.** Read, "from the wilderness" (in the S.) "to Lebanon" (in the N.) "and from the great river" (Euphrates in the E.) "to the western sea" (the Mediterranean). For these ideal boundaries, see 17*. The Hebrews commonly named the cardinal points from their direction looking east, hence "hinder" = west.—**30.** Read, "Are they" (Gerizim and Ebal) "not on the other side of the Jordan, west of it" (adding one consonant) "on the western road in the land of the Canaanites, opposite to that Gilgal which is alongside the diviner's terebinth?" Omit **which dwell in the Arabah:** it is senseless. The **Gilgal** named is the modern Julejib, 2½ miles SE. of Nablous (Shechem).—**oaks of Moreh:** render, "the diviner's terebinth" (Gen. 12 6, 13 18, 18 1, Jos. 24 26, Jg. 6 11). The oak (including the terebinth) was among the ancient Semites and Kelts a sacred tree; hence oracles were sought from the deity supposed to dwell in it.

XII.–XXVI. and XXVIII. A code of laws (1–26) followed by promises to the obedient and threats of punishment for the rest (28): see Introd., p. 231. The great Deuteronomic law of one sanctuary is taught or implied in 12 1–19 13 and hardly in any other part of Dt. This section may, therefore, represent essentially the original Deuteronomic code (see Introd.).

XII. 1–28. The Law of One Sanctuary.—The local sanctuaries (originally Canaanite) with everything belonging to them, are to be destroyed, and all sacrifices are to be offered at the place which Yahweh should choose. Yet (15f.) animals intended for food alone may be killed and eaten locally. Though the name Jerusalem does not occur in D, it is fairly evident that no other place can be intended by "the place which Yahweh . . . shall choose," etc., though A. Duff holds that the Deut. code originated in the Northern Kingdom before its fall, and that it aimed at making Shechem the one worship centre for both kingdoms (see his *OT Theology*, ii. 24ff.). Jer. and Dt. have so much in common (see Introd.) that one may be used

to interpret the other. In Jer. 7 4–9, 31 6–12 Zion is distinctly mentioned as the one sanctuary. In P and related writings (Ezek., Ch., etc.) centralisation of worship at Jerusalem is assumed as undisputed. If Shechem were intended it is strange that no hint of this occurs in any extant document. Besides, there is evidence to show that D was not written until after the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 722 B.C. (see Introd.).

5. place: the Heb. word (*maqom*), as the cognate Arabic one, means a sacred place. Dt. does not use the word *bamah*, "high place."—**6.** The sacred gifts (pp. 98–100) to be brought to the one sanctuary are the following (note the translation): (*a*) Whole-offerings, *'oloth* (Gen. 8 20, Lev. 1*); lit. "that which goes (wholly) up" (to Yahweh); "burnt offerings" (EV) is misleading since other offerings were in part burnt. The idea of pure worship is best seen in this species of sacrifice, since the whole was offered up to Yahweh in the form of sacrificial smoke. (*b*) Partial offerings (EV "sacrifices"). The Heb. word (*zebahim*) usually denotes animal sacrifices in general, in P as contrasted with the cereal (meal) offerings (see Nu. 28); but in 6, 11, 27, etc., it represents *shelamim* (Lev. 3*), compensation offerings (EV wrongly "peace offerings"), part of which was offered to Yahweh, the rest being reserved for the social meal (7). The latter Heb. term occurs in Dt. but once, 27 7, which is dependent on Ex. 20 24 (E). (*c*) Tithes (Lev. 27 30, Nu. 18 21–24*). (*d*) Contributions (EV, "heave offerings of your hand" (see on Ex. 25 2 (P)). (*e*) Votive offerings, and (*f*) voluntary offerings, *i.e.* such as were given in addition to the legal requirements with (*e*) or without (*f*) a preceding vow (23 21–23). Neither sin nor guilt (trespass) offerings are mentioned; sacrifice in D has a joyous character.—**11. your choice vows:** better, "your chosen votive offerings," *i.e.* "what you choose to vow."—**12. the Levite:** 10 8.—**within your gates:** *i.e.* in cities other than Jerusalem (see 15).—15*f.* is probably a marginal summary of 20–25 and should be omitted.—**15. the unclean and the clean:** *i.e.* ceremonially so (1 S. 20 26); the law concerning sacrificial was more rigid than that concerning ordinary food.—**17** continues 14, but restores partial offerings (EV sacrifice).—**20–22.** This concession was due to the suppression of the local sanctuaries: animal food (formerly partaken of at sacrificial meals only) could under the Deuteronomic law be eaten at Jerusalem alone. Animals killed and eaten locally came now under the category of food and not sacrifice, the regulation being less stringent (144ff.).—**23–25.** The prohibition of blood (because containing the "soul" not "life" is common to many peoples (see Gen. 9 4*, Lev. 3 17, and *cf.* Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 239–251).—**26. Holy things . . . and . . . vows**=obligatory and voluntary altar gifts.

XII. 29–XIII. Yahwism must be kept free from all taint of Canaanite heathenism when Israel has entered Canaan. The danger would arise from the ancient belief that everyone should worship the god of the country in which he resides. D is an uncompromising Yahwist.

XII. 32–XIII. 18. Three classes of seducers to idolatry to be put to death. (*a*) The false prophet (12 32–13 5). (*b*) The friend or relative (13 6–11). (*c*) Worthless Israelites (13 12–18). In the last case the seducers and the city seduced shall be devoted (23 4*) In the Heb. 12 32 rightly begins 13.—**1.** Dreams are one medium of prophetic inspiration, especially in E (Nu. 12 6, Jl. 2 28); but it is not of the highest kind (Jer. 23 28).—**2.** A false prophet may foretell what really comes to pass. In 18 22 he is known by the fact that what he foretells does not come to pass. On the other hand, the word of the true prophet is fulfilled (Jer. 28 9). What stamps the prophet as false in the present context is the doctrine.—**6.** Read (with LXX Sam.) "If thy brother the son of thy father" (=a half-brother) "or the son of thy mother" (=a full brother), see Gen. 27 29, Ps., 50 20. In a polygamous (non-polyandrous) state of society (see 21 15) the same man has often two or more wives. In the East the woman never marries a second time.—**9.** The convicting witness, however nearly related to the culprit, must begin the punishment.—**10.** See Ex. 8 26. Stoning is the only form of capital punishment recognised in Heb. law. Perhaps it originated in the desire of avoiding blood-shedding (see 12 23–25, 21 22*, Gen. 4 10*).—**13. base fellows:** lit. "sons of worthlessness;" "sons of" in Heb. means persons possessing the quality of (see Cent.B on Ps. 79 11). Even if the Heb. word for the latter (Belial) is a proper name for the Babylonian Pluto (so Cheyne, Hommel, see Pr. 6 12*) the phrase bears the same sense (see Cent.B on Ps. 101 5).—**15.** See 2 34.—**16. every whit:** better, "as a whole offering," (*cf. mg.*). The Heb. word is used in 33 10; it does not occur in 12 6.—**a heap:** Heb. *tel* (*cf.* Tel el-kebir= "the great hill"); see Jos. 8 28 (Ai), Jer. 49 2 (Rabbah), *cf.* Is. 17 1, 25 2, Jer. 30 18.

XIV. 1–21. Heathen customs to be avoided.—1*f.* Heathen mourning rites.—**1. cut yourselves:** Lev. 19 28*, *cf.* Lev. 21 5.—**baldness:** the custom in mourning of shaving the hair between the eyes (*i.e.* on the top of the forehead). These are merely extreme forms of expressing grief; but most recent scholars regard them as survivals of acts of sacrifice, the blood and the hair being offered up to heathen deities or to dead but deified ancestors (p. 110). See Jer. 16 6, where both these customs are mentioned without censure.

3–20. Living creatures which may and which may not be eaten; see Lev. 11 2–23* (P), with which the present section agrees closely, and Introduction to that chapter; also pp. 82f. No earlier code mentions these laws, nor have they any logical connexion with the fundamental principle of D (one sanctuary) or with Josiah's reform (2 K. 22f.). The Bible does not explain the origin of the distinction between clean and unclean animals beyond tracing it to the Divine command (Lev. 11 1f.). Very many theories have been proposed: see the Bible Dictionaries.

21. What is forbidden to the Israelites (animals that have died of themselves and have, therefore, the blood in them, 12 23–25) may yet be offered to the sojourner (see 1 16*) or sold to a foreigner because their religion allowed the consumption of such food.—**Thou shalt not seethe . . . milk:** see Ex. 23 19* (E).

XIV. 22–29. Regulations respecting tithes. See Lev. 27 30–33* and Nu. 18 21–32* (both P). The older codes are silent about tithes, but *cf.* Gen. 28 22 (E). The clause concerning firstlings in 23 is an interpolation. They were given whole, not tithed, and the law as to them occurs in 15 19–23*. The tithing of cattle and sheep is mentioned in Lev. 27 32 (P) only. According to 28f. the tithe of the third year is to be kept in the several villages and towns (not taken to the one sanctuary to form a sacrificial meal, 26) and distributed locally among the poor and needy. In P (Nu. 18 21) the whole is to be divided among the clergy, showing the increased influence and selfishness of the priesthood (see 15 19–23*). On Tithes, see p. 99; also Driver, ICC, 166–173, and the Bible Dictionaries.

XV. 1–18. Three laws in the interest of the poor: the Sabbatical year, or year of release (p. 102, Ex.

21₂–₁₁*, Lev. 25₃₉–₅₅*).—**1–6.** Every seventh year (probably the same year was observed throughout the country) a creditor's right to distrain for debt was suspended (not, as some say, permanently cancelled). Foreigners, however (not sojourners, see 1₁₆*) were deprived of this privilege (1–3). If, however, obedient to Yahweh, Israel would not need to borrow (4–6).—**1. release:** lit. "a letting drop."

7–11. The proximity of the year of release must not be allowed to check the flow of ordinary charity.—**9.** The evil eye (28₅₄–₅₆) implies among many peoples jealousy (see Mt. 20₁₅).

12–18. See Ex. 21₂–₆* (JE), the older, and Lev. 25 39–46 (H), the later law, also p. 110. D goes beyond JE by including woman (12). H, however, allows foreigners (not sojourners) only to be slaves to Hebrews. CH, though it shows some concern for widows and the oppressed (§§ 171, 177) is yet on the whole a code of justice rather than one of pity for the needy; it makes a striking difference in the treatment of men and women (§ 193) and rich and poor (§§ 14, 196, 202). D shows great concern for the sojourner (1₁₆*), the poor and the slave (23₁₅f.), and recognises the claims of even dumb animals (22₆f., 25₄); the Babylonian code does none of those things.—**17.** For this rite (here a domestic one) see Ex. 21₆*, where it is a religious act. The change is necessitated by the Deuteronomic law of one sanctuary. The servant could not travel to Jerusalem in all such cases. [This is the view taken on p. 128, but possibly Ex. 21₆ contemplates taking the slave, not to the local sanctuary but to the threshold deities of the master's house (Ex. 12₂₂*). In that case the regulation is the same as here; but the Deuteronomist naturally drops the too heathenish reference to the Elohim.—A. S. P.]—**18. the double,** etc.: *i.e.* the master would have had to pay double what the slave had cost to a labourer hired in the usual way to do the same quantity of work.

XV. 19–23. The law concerning the first-born of cattle (not to be ploughed with) and sheep (not to be shorn) (see Ex. 13₁₁–₁₆*, 22₂₉f.*, 34₁₉f. (all JE), and Nu. 18₁₅–₁₈* (P)). The older laws are here modified to suit the law of one sanctuary, where alone the sacrificial family meal is now to be eaten. Ex. 22₃₀ cannot therefore be carried out. P reserves all the flesh for the priesthood (14₂₂–₂₉*).—**22.** See 12₁₅.

XVI. The Deuteronomic Laws of the Three Annual Pilgrimage Feasts.—These are adaptations of the older laws in Ex. 23₁₈*, 34₁₈–₂₀,₂₂f. (general regulations); 12₂₁–₂₇ (Passover); 13–10 (Unleavened Bread), all J or E (see also Lev. 23* (H) and Nu. 28f., 9₁–₄, Ex. 12₁–₂₀*, 43–49*, (all P), also pp. 102–104. D in the present chapter lays stress upon the following points: (*a*) The feasts are to be observed at the one sanctuary (16), *i.e.* at Jerusalem. (*b*) The occasions are to be characterised by joyousness and liberality (16f., etc.). (*c*) The Passover (1) becomes now a memorial feast. (*d*) See 1–8*.

XVI. 1–8. 1–3*a*, 4*b*–7 alone deal with the Passover, the rest treating of *Massoth* (Unleavened Bread). It is in D that these two originally distinct festivals are first fused into one, the former becoming virtually the opening day of the second (as in P).—**7. roast:** render, "boil" (*cf. mg.*). EV renders "roast" to reconcile with Ex. 12₉* (P), which, however, reflects the later custom.

XVI. 9–12. Law of the Feast of Weeks.—See Ex. 34 22. It has these features: (*a*) D makes no allusion to the first-fruits as the other codes do. (*b*) D agrees with H (Lev. 23₁₅f.) in fixing the date of its observance (seven weeks—a week of weeks, hence the name—after the Passover), only the later law H mentions the specific day from which the calculation is to be made. (*c*) D shows, as usual, a special interest in the social and joyous aspect of the feast.

XVI. 13–15. D is the first to fix the duration of the feast of Booths, though he does not name the exact days as H does (Lev. 23₃₉). An eighth day is added in P (Lev. 23₃₆, Nu. 29₃₅), and is mentioned in later literature (see Cent.B on Ex. 34).—16*f.* See Ex. 23₁₇ (JE).—**16. appear before:** read, "see" (*cf.* 31₁₁, Is. 1₁₂*).

XVI. 18–XVIII. 22 (except XVI. 21–XVII. 7, see below). Laws Concerning the Officials of the Nation.—Those mentioned are: judges, the king, priests, and prophets. These laws reveal an acquaintance with the political, social, and religious circumstances of the late monarchy.

XVI. 18–20. Local tribunals to be set up (the local sanctuaries used as such being now suppressed), presided over by lay judges and priestly assessors.—**18. officers:** Heb. "writers," *cf.* "scribes." Probably priests (associated in 17₈–₁₃ with lay judges) are meant; they acting as the legal authorities (*cf.* our "town clerk").

XVI. 21–XVII. 7. Laws Demanding Pure Worship and Suitable Sacrifices.—This breaks the connexion; its proper place is probably between 12 and 13.

XVI. 21*f.* **Asherah . . . pillar:** 7₅*.—**XVII. 1.** See Lev. 22₁₇–₂₅*.—**ox:** Heb. means any head of large cattle, bull, cow, calf.—**sheep:** Heb. means any head of small cattle, ram, ewe, lamb, goat, kid.—**2–7** probably preceded ch. 13 with which it has close affinities.—**2. within . . . gates:** 12₁₂*.—**covenant:** 4₁₃.—**6. two witnesses:** 19₁₅–₂₁, Nu. 35₃₀.

XVII. 8–XVIII. 22. Office-bearers.—This continues 16₁₈–₂₀*.

XVII. 8–13. A central tribunal to be established (at Jerusalem) to try cases too hard for the local courts (16₁₈–₂₀); see 1₉–₁₈*.—**8.** Two (three ?) sample cases are mentioned, viz. trials for murder (see Ex. 21₁₈) and for personal injury.—**between plea and plea:** probably a dittograph (*cf.* Heb.) If genuine, the reference will be to disputes about property, one putting his right or claim against another's (see Ex. 22₁f.).—**9.** In primitive times sanctuaries were asylums and courts of justice (19₁–₁₃*), the priests acting as magistrates. Here they seem to act as assessors (16₁₈ff.*).

XVII. 14–20. Law about the King that is to be.—This deals exclusively with the theocratic aspect peculiar to D: the picture of the ideal king here drawn was probably suggested by way of contrast to the reigning king (Hezekiah or Manasseh; *cf.* 1 S. 85, where D's antipathy to the monarchy inspired by what he saw is reflected).—**15. choose:** *cf.* 1 S. 10₂₄, 2 S. 6₂₁.—**6. horses** (for war, 20₁*).—**17. wives:** 1 K. 1 14f.—**silver and gold** (*cf.* Is. 39): as in Solomon's case.—**18. he shall write him:** Hebraism = "there shall be written for him."—**a copy:** *i.e.* a duplicate of the Deuteronomic law. The LXX translates wrongly by "this repetition of the law," thus originating and confirming the common mistake that D is essentially a later edition of the laws in the previous books of the Pentateuch. This is contrary to the sense of the Heb. and to the contents of Dt., which omits most of the laws in Ex., Lev., and Nu., and contains laws absent from these books (17₁₄–₂₀, etc.).

XVIII. 1–5. The Priests, the Levites to be Supported by Altar Gifts.—The Jerusalem priests are intended. 3*f.* Contrast the later laws of Lev. 7₃₄, Nu. 18₁₈, and 18₁₂ (all P).

XVIII. 6–8. The Levites (*i.e.* the disestablished local priests, see 10$_9$*) are on coming to Jerusalem to be accorded the status and emoluments of the priests of the central sanctuary. Contrast 2 K. 23$_9$; perhaps the indiscriminate application of this law was found impracticable.—**8. beside . . . patrimony:** read and render (with Steuernagel) "except those who acted as heathen priests and practised necromancy." The change in the Heb. is insignificant; the MT is bad Heb. and gives no suitable sense.

XVIII. 9–22. Concerning the Prophet.—The Israelites are to consult Yahweh through His accredited messenger the prophet, and not through diviners who seek oracles by heathen methods. There is no parallel law in JE because about 800 B.C. and earlier the religious community was simple and undifferentiated: nor in P, where the priest is everything. For the several technical terms in 10f. (all denoting diviners of various kinds), see EBi. 1117, 2895, and especially later and longer articles on "Divination" and "Magic" in *International Standard Bible Encyclopædia*. — **10. maketh . . . fire,** etc.: read (with Geiger) "that burneth . . . in the fire" (transposing two consonants). The reference is to child-sacrifice (common among the Phœnicians, etc.) practised as a means of obtaining an oracle.

XVIII. 15–18. Contains no primary reference to the Messiah, though the words naturally suggest to Christian readers the Great Prophet (Ac. 3$_{22}$, 7$_{37}$). **15*a*. prophet:** *i.e.* a succession of prophets.

18. The true prophet utters what comes to pass. Yet the false prophet may do the same (13$_2$*). The Heb. prophet is, however, one who speaks as Yahweh directs (the Heb. word means one inspired, lit. one made to bubble up), though his message may have reference to the future, especially in an ethical sense.

XIX. 1–13. The cities of refuge (lit. of reception, Nu. 35$_{12}$ P) were in criminal law the substitute for the local, now disestablished, sanctuaries, each sanctuary in ancient times affording temporary protection for criminals whose guilt was not obvious (Nu. 35*, Jos. 20*). British churches have served the same purpose, (*cf.* the Sanctuary Knocker of Durham Cathedral and Frithstool of Beverley Minster and of Hexham Abbey). Blood revenge was the police of the primitive Aryan and Semitic peoples, and it needed such restraint as the law of asylum supplied. For the earlier law, see Ex. 21$_{12–14}$* (JE), and for the later, Nu. 35 and Jos. 20$_{1–6}$ (both P). The need for this law arose through the operation of the principle of one sanctuary. In 19$_{1–7}$ Moses commands the establishment of three such cities W. of the Jordan, when the Israelites have settled in Canaan—no doubt on the sites of disused sanctuaries. When, however, Yahweh has extended their territory (8–10, see 17), they are to appoint three other cities of refuge, almost certainly E. of the Jordan. Nu. 35$_{13}$ff. speaks of six such cities, three E. and three W. of the Jordan.—**8–10** may be an addition based on Nu. 35$_{13}$ff., as Dt. 4$_{41–43}$ almost certainly is.—**11–13** provides sufficient security against the abuse of the right of asylum.

XIX. 14–XXV. Consists of miscellaneous laws having no apparent connexion with D's great law of the centralisation of worship. They deal with crime, war, marriage, family relations, and other matters. This part of Dt. is perhaps made up of additions appended from time to time to the original code, and for that reason has double versions of the same laws (*cf.* 20$_7$ and 24$_5$) and double references to the same thing (*cf.* 20$_{1–20}$ and 21$_{10–14}$, 23$_{9–14}$). *Cf.* the miscellaneous character of the books in the third canon of the OT (the Kethubim or Hagiographa, p. 38).

XIX. 14. In the East plots of ground belonging to different owners were conterminous, not separated by hedges (as in Great Britain) or canals (as in Holland), and were frequent subjects of dispute. See Hos. 5$_{10}$. *Cf.* the Roman god Terminus and the sacred character of boundary stones among the Babylonians and other ancient peoples (Clay Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 166f.).—**15–21.** See 17$_6$.—**16. an unrighteous witness:** Heb. "a witness intending violence."—**17. before the Lord** (Yahweh): *i.e.* at the central tribunal (17$_9$, *cf.* 12$_7$).—**21.** *Lex talionis:* see Ex. 21$_{24}$* (JE), *cf.* Lev. 24$_{18,20}$ (H), CH, §§ 192, 195, 218, 232–235; Quran, 2$_{273}$ff., *cf.* Mt. 5$_{38}$.

XX. Laws to be Observed during War.—Peculiar to Dt.; *cf.* 21$_{10–14}$ (which some attach immediately to ch. 20) and 23$_{9–14}$, 24$_5$ (see remarks prefixed to 19$_{14}$ff.). The general effect of these laws is to soften the barbarities of war, though in some respects (13–18) they perpetuate its grossest cruelties. What were the wars which suggested these regulations?—**1. horses, and chariots:** 17$_{16}$. The Assyrians and Egyptians were rich in these, and Israel had great fear of them (Jos. 17$_{16}$, Jg. 1$_{19}$). Palestine was unsuitable for both on account of its mountains; Israel is to trust in Yahweh (Hos. 14$_3$, Is. 2$_7$, 31$_1$, Pss. 20$_7$, 33$_{16}$f., 147$_{10}$).—**2. the priest:** these wars were, as those of early Islam, religious ones; *cf.* the phrase "to consecrate a war" (Mi. 3$_5$), *i.e.* to begin it with sacrifice (pp. 99, 114). Why is the king not mentioned? Had the monarchy ceased, this war code being then, like Ezekiel 40–48, an ideal programme?—**5–9.** Men to be excused from the war.—**10–18** reminds one of the early wars of Islam.—**17. utterly destroy:** 2$_{34}$*. This drastic treatment is reserved for the Canaanites alone.—**19.** This law is infringed in 2 K. 3$_{19,25}$.

XXI. 1–9. See W. R. Smith, *Kinship*[1], p. 263 (=64f. in *Kinship*[2]) for a similar law among the ancient Arabs. The ground of this law may be the belief that, until avenged or atoned for, a murdered man's blood defiles a land and its people. Note the idea that the community (here the nearest town) is responsible for the act of an individual. The conception of individual responsibility becomes specially prominent in Jer. 31$_{29}$, Ezek. 14$_{12}$ff., 18$_2$f. The solidarity of the family, tribe, and nation had been emphasized in early writings, the whole suffering for the sins of each one; see 1$_{37}$, Ex. 20$_5$f., CH, §§ 23f., and, for modern Arabia, Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 176; also the valuable treatise of M. Löhr, *Socialismus und Individualismus im AT* (reviewed by the present writer in RTP, viii. p. 578ff.).

XXI. 10–14. Another regulation (only here) pertaining to war (see ch. 20, which it should perhaps immediately follow). It is another example of D's humanitarianism (15$_{12–18}$*). The relief claimed for the captive woman could not apply to a Canaanitish woman, as no Israelite was allowed to marry such a woman (7$_3$); besides, when conquered, the entire Canaanite foe (including women and children), was to be utterly destroyed (20$_{16–18}$).

2. Shaving the head (14$_1$*) and paring the nails are acts of mourning (p. 110) as among the Arabs (see Lane, Arab Lex. 2409[4]; Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], p. 156; W. R. Smith, *Kinship*[1], p. 178, *Kinship*[2], p. 209; OTJC[2], p. 368; RS[2], 428, n. 3; Bertholet, p. 66. The woman in the present case mourns her parents as if they were dead.

XXI. 15–17. Only in Dt. The first-born of the first wife is to inherit a double portion.—**15. two wives:**

Gen. 2930 and 1 S. 16.—**hated:** better, "less loved."—**17. acknowledge,** etc.: read (with Graetz, Steuernagel, and also, though hesitatingly, Driver and Bertholet) "accord the first-born, first-born rights."—**double portion:** among the Babylonians, sons inherited equally, though the father might in his life make a special present to any son (see CH, § 165f.).

XXI. 18–21. Peculiar to D. Here respect for *both* parents is enforced (see Ex. 2012, 2115); *cf.* CH, § 195, "The son's hand which has smitten his *father* shall be cut off" (see 1512–18*).—**22***f.* This law (peculiar to D) rests upon the early belief that the soul of a dead person wanders about, often working mischief.—**22. hang:** render "impale," a common form of punishment in the ancient East. In the present case the criminal would be first stoned, the only Hebrew mode of capital punishment—his body being then spiked and exposed as a disgrace and a warning (see 1310*, Gal. 313, and Cent.B on Ezr. 611).

XXII. 1–4. See Ex. 234f.* (JE) and Lev. 61–7* (P), and *cf.* CH, §§ 9–13.—**5.** Peculiar to Dt. In one of the rites of Canaanite, Phœnician, and Syrian heathenism the sexes changed dresses (see references in Driver).—**6***f.* Respect for parenthood, so prominent in Dt. (2118–21, *cf.* 516) is the probable source of this law (peculiar to Dt.).—**8.** Another example of the humanitarianism (1512–18*) so characteristic of Dt. In the East people spend much of their evenings on the flat roof of their houses (Jg. 1627, 1 S. 925, 2 S. 112, etc.). They were used for religious ceremonies (Neh. 816, Jer. 1913, Zeph. 15) and for private prayer (Ac. 109). Without such a parapet as is here prescribed, accidents would be common. The present writer has spent many a social evening in Palestine on such a house-top, always protected by a parapet or surrounding wall.—**blood:** 1910.—**9–11.** Lev. 1919* (H).—**12.** See Nu. 1537–41*.—**fringes:** an inaccurate rendering due to LXX (*cf.* Mt. 920, "hem") [RV, "border"]. What is meant is a kind of tassel found still attached to the Jewish talith or prayer-shawl.

XXII. 13–30. Sins against Pure Marriages.—14. tokens of virginity: their absence is now known not to be necessarily a proof of pre-nuptial unchastity, though the ancient peoples held the contrary, as some peoples do still (see J. D. Michaelis, *The Laws of Moses,* i. p. 478ff.; Burckhardt, *The Bedouins, etc.,* p. 62f.; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage,* p. 123f.). The severe punishment for unchastity before (21) and after (22–29) marriage shows the uncompromising attitude of Dt. towards sexual sins—a striking contrast to the prevailing customs of surrounding nations: why the difference?—**22.** See Lev. 1820*, *cf.* CH, § 129.—**23***f.* In CH (§ 130) the man is put to death, the woman set free.—**28***f.* See Ex. 2216f.* (JE).—**30.** See Lev. 188*, 2011 (H).—**skirt:** bedsheet; in Lev. 188, "nakedness." Among the ancient Hebrews a man inherited his father's wives and concubines as his other property (Gen. 3522, 494, etc.), *cf.* W. R. Smith, *Kinship* [2], p. 104f.

XXIII. 1–8. Classes to be refused admission into the religious community.—**1.** Here two, but in Lev. 2224 two additional methods of making eunuchs are mentioned. Such mutilations were required in Syrian and other religions, and for that reason disqualify for Yahweh's Church; but see Is. 564f.—**2. bastard:** the offspring of an incestuous union.—**the assembly of the Lord** (Yahweh): P's designation of Israel as a religious community. The expression belongs almost wholly to post-exilic Judaism, whence and for other (unconvincing) reasons Bertholet dates 1–8 in the time of Nehemiah.—**3***f.* The exclusion of Ammonites and Moabites follows from 2 (see Gen. 1930f.), but the only reason given here is a historical one and the history seems to contradict 229 as regards the Moabites, though Driver denies this.—**4***b.* See Nu. 225ff.—**5.** See Nu. 11 25, 2410.—**6.** They are to do them no good, but neither are they commanded to do them harm. This verse is in conflict with the general spirit of D (see 1512–18*).—**peace:** better, "wellbeing." The Heb. means, "completeness, *cf.* "health" (derived from "whole"), nothing lacking (see Ezr. 912, Jer. 297).—**3***f.* is cited and the principle taught followed in Neh. 131ff. (see notes in Cent.B).—**7. brother:** better "kinsman" (24*).—**8. third generation:** *i.e.* of such Edomites and Egyptians as settled in Canaan and embraced Yahwism.

XXIII. 9–14. Another Section Dealing with War (see 201, 2110–14).—Regulations for securing the ceremonial purity of the camp (see Nu. 52–4 (P)). The reason stated (14) is that Yahweh is in the camp (*cf.* 201); Schwally and others suspect that the original motive is the belief that impurity attracted evil spirits. [J. G. Frazer (*Taboo and the Perils of the Soul,* pp. 158f.) points out that the rules of ceremonial purity, by which the Hebrew warriors were bound, are "identical with rules observed by Maoris and Australian black-fellows on the war-path." He connects these with the well-known dread lest anything belonging to the person should be procured by an enemy to work destruction by magic. In war the precautions are naturally more rigorous, and warriors are often taboo in the highest degree.—A. S. P.] Note the connexion here between physical cleanliness and holiness.—**15***f.* Contrast with this law demanding shelter for the runaway slave, CH, §§ 15f., which forbids such shelter (1512–18*).—**17***f.* **harlot . . . sodomite:** Heb. "a holy woman . . . a holy man" (*cf. mg.*). Among the Greeks and other ancient nations temple prostitutes were very numerous, as they are in modern India (see JThS, April 1913). They are often called after the Greek name *hierodules* (see 1 K. 1424, 2 K. 237). [R. H. Kennett thinks they were the sacred male slaves of the temples, "temporary or permanent embodiments of the deity, possessed from time to time by his divine spirit, acting in his name and speaking with his voice." J. G. Frazer, *Adonis Attis Osiris*[3], i. 72f.—A. S. P.]—**18. dog:** a term of contempt among Semites: but hierodules were apparently called "dogs" among the Phœnicians (see Driver and Bertholet).—**hire . . . wages:** many Indian temples are supported mainly from the proceeds of sacred prostitution.—**19***f.*, p. 112, Ex. 2225* (JE); Lev. 2536f.* (H). That a foreigner could be charged interest is stated here only (see Cent.B on Neh. 51–5). Pledges could be taken from an Israelite (2410–13).—**21–23.** On vows, see p. 105, 126* and Nu. 30*.—**23. a freewill offering:** see 126*.—**24***f.* Grapes may be plucked and corn taken to be eaten on the spot, but not to be carried away in a bag (see Mt. 121f., Mk. 223f., Lk. 61f.).

XXIV. 1–4. The right of divorce on man's part (not woman's) is taken for granted here and elsewhere in the OT (see 2219,29, Lev. 217,14, 2213f., Nu. 309; *cf.* Mt. 199). Later Judaism (*Kethuboth,* vii. 10) extended to woman the right of divorce under certain specified conditions.—**1. some unseemly thing:** the Heb. as in 2314 (*cf. mg.*), "unclean thing," LXX "an ugly" (lit. "unshapely") "thing." Unchastity is hardly meant, that is dealt with in 2213–30, but probably physical incapacity of some kind.—**5.** *Cf.* 207.

XXIV. 6*f.*, **10–13,** which stood perhaps originally together, belong to the many humanitarian laws of D (1512–18*). Corn is still ground in the home in Palestine: this is done by the rotation of an upper

on a lower round stone (*cf.* the British quern used in Scotland in 1880 according to E. B. Tylor (*Academy*, vol. xviii. (1880) p. 204).—**7.** Ex. 21$_{16}$ (JE). Here the law is narrower. In CH (§ 14) it is only the nobleman who may not be stolen (15$_{12-18}$*).—**8***f.* See Lev. 13$_{14}$f.* (P). JE is silent on the matter. Probably some lost code or *torah* is referred to in 8.—**10–13.** Ex. 22$_{26}$f.* Modern Arabs often sleep in their day clothes (*Aba*, etc.) as the present writer has himself in Palestine had to do on occasions, even when spending the night in an Arab sheikh's house.—**12.** *Cf.* 6.—**14***f.* Lev. 19$_{13}$ (H). In CH (§ 268–277) there is a scale of charges for the hire of animals (ox for threshing, etc.) or of things (ships, etc.).—**16.** See 21$_{1-9}$*.

XXIV. 17–22. Laws in the interest of the sojourner (see 1$_{16}$*), the orphan (EV, "fatherless" because the motherless orphan would be seen to by the father), and the widow (10$_{18}$*), classes for which D shows great concern (15$_{12-18}$*), the Levite (18$_{1-8}$*) being often added (26$_{12}$, etc.).—**17***f.* Ex. 22$_{21}$f.* (JE).—**19–22.** Lev. 19$_{9}$*, 23$_{22}$, *cf.* Ru. 2. The language here is that of D.

XXV. 1–3. Another of Dt.'s humanitarian laws. Punishment by the bastinado among the ancient Hebrews and Egyptians was common (see Wilkinson-Birch, *Ancient Egyptians*, i. pp. 305, 308). The present writer saw it in Egypt in 1888; see Ex. 21$_{20}$ (showing that a slave was sometimes beaten to death), Pr. 10$_{13}$, 19$_{29}$.—**3.** The forty stripes became thirty-nine (2 Cor. 11$_{24}$) in later times to prevent the proper number from being exceeded.—**4.** God cares even for oxen (1 Cor. 9$_{9}$f.* misapplies this verse) and other dumb animals (15$_{12-18}$, *cf.* Jon. 4$_{11}$). Oxen should be allowed to partake of the corn on which in threshing they tread.

XXV. 5–10. Levirate (Lat. *levir*, husband's brother) marriage (p. 109) prevailed widely in ancient times; McLennan traces it to polyandry. Here the motives are to secure succession on the male side and to prevent the family estate from being alienated (9).—**9. loose his shoe:** a sign of transference (Ru. 4$_{7}$*), here of the man's honour.—**spit:** Nu. 12$_{14}$, Job 30$_{10}$, Is. 50$_{6}$.—**10.** His family shares his disgrace (21$_{1-9}$*).

XXV. 11*f.* *Cf.* CH, § 195: "If a man has struck his father his hands shall be cut off" (often wrongly translated and then compared with 25$_{11}$f.).

XXV. 13–16. Lev. 19$_{35}$f.* (H). That this prohibition was needed is shown by Am. 8$_{5}$, Mi. 6$_{10}$f.; *cf.* Ezek. 45$_{10}$. The great weight was used for buying, the small for selling.

XXV. 17–19. Repeats Ex. 17$_{8-13}$* (H). Since the Amalekites had been exterminated under Saul (1 S. 14$_{48}$, 15, 27$_{8}$) and by David (1 S. 30$_{17}$, 2 S. 8$_{12}$; *cf.* Nu. 20) how could a command go forth in the seventh century B.C. to destroy them? D writes from the point of view of Moses' time.

XXVI. 1–11. A preliminary offering of first-fruits (18$_{4}$) is to be presented annually in a basket (28$_{5,17}$) at the Temple, a hymn or liturgy, acknowledging Yahweh's goodness, to be recited at the same time. **1.** = 17$_{14}$*a*.—**2.** Render, "some of the first-fruits of the ground." This seems to have constituted a small sacrificial meal, anticipatory of that supplied by the rest of the first-fruits.—**3. the priest** (17$_{9}$, 19$_{17}$): *i.e.* the principal of the priests at the central sanctuary, not the high priest of post-exilic times, of whom ever Ezekiel knows nothing.—**4** ("the priest") and 10 ("thou") seem to contradict each other. For this and other reasons Steuernagel, Bertholet, and others omit 3f.; 5 follows 2 well.—**5. answer:** better, "speak." The Heb. (*'anah*) means to be prompted to speak by something done or said.—**A Syrian:** render, "A wandering (*mg.*) Syrian was my father." Jacob is so called on account of his Syrian (Heb. "Aramæan") descent (see Gen. 24$_{4,10}$).—**few:** seventy according to Gen. 46$_{27}$ (MT., Syr., Sam., Targ., Vulg.) though the LXX (followed in Ac. 7$_{14}$) has seventy-five.—**6–9** consists mostly of bits taken from older sources (see RV refs.).

XXVI. 12–15. The liturgical formula to be used when the triennial charity tithe (the Deuteronomic poor rate) is offered in the various localities (14$_{28}$f.); for the tithes of the first and second year, see 12$_{6}$, 14$_{22}$f.*—**14.** The offerer must declare that this triennial tithe was free from pollution through contact with a mourner (Hos. 9$_{4}$) or with an unclean person (Lev. 22$_{1}$f.), or through having been in part eaten at a funeral feast (or in a sacrifice to the dead? 14$_{1}$*).

XXVI. 16–19. Concluding exhortations to obedience based upon the covenant (4$_{13}$*) between Yahweh and Israel, with its mutual obligations.—**17***f.* **avouched:** Heb. "caused to say," each of the contracting parties causing the other to acknowledge the obligations entered into; a strong anthropomorphism when applied to Yahweh.

XXVII. Consists of five paragraphs loosely strung together, none of them having affinities of thought or expression with 26 or 28. Moreover Moses is no longer the speaker, but is spoken of in the third person. This chapter is not consistent with itself (see 1–8*). Most modern scholars regard it as a late addition to D.

1–8. Seems to contain two distinct instructions: (*a*) The Israelites are immediately after crossing the Jordan to set up stones inscribing on them the (D?) law (1–4, 8). (*b*) They are subsequently (5–7) to erect on Mount Ebal (p. 30) an altar of unhewn stones (Jos. 8$_{30-35}$* (Rd), Ex. 20$_{25}$*, JE).—**7. peace offerings:** see 12$_{6}$*.

9*f.* *Cf.* 26$_{16-19}$.

11–13. Refers to 11$_{26-30}$. Six of Jacob's sons by his legitimate wives are chosen to pronounce the blessings, which are omitted from this chapter. The four sons by his two concubines, with the eldest and youngest sons of Leah, are to utter the curses (15–26). The execution of the commandment is described in Jos. 8$_{30-35}$ (Rd).

14–26. Twelve curses against the same number of offences are to be pronounced by the Levites (this contradicts 13). About some of the sins mentioned here D is silent. On the other hand, the sins emphasized most in D are unnamed here. For parallels in the other Codes see RV refs. and the notes on earlier passages.—**16.** See 21$_{18-21}$*.

XXVIII. Blessings and Curses.—This chapter is held by Kuenen, Dillmann, Driver, Addis, etc. to belong in the main to D (12–26 or 5–26?). In favour of this conclusion note: (*a*) Moses speaks in the first person as in 5–26. (*b*) It forms a fitting hortatory conclusion to 12–26 (or 5–26); *cf.* Ex. 23$_{20-33}$, and Lev. 26$_{3-43}$, which close the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20$_{22}$–23$_{33}$) and H (Lev. 17–26) respectively. (*c*) Many stylistic features characteristic of D recur in this chapter. (*d*) The curses of 15ff. may easily have excited in Josiah the strong emotion described in 2 K. 22$_{11-13}$; *cf.* 16f. Of this chapter the following parts are probably late additions: 25*b*, 36f., 41, 47f., 63–67, all of which presuppose the Exile; 49–57, which imply the Chaldean invasion, and 10 (*cf.* Lev. 24$_{11}$).

1–14. The blessings annexed to obedience to the new law are all of a temporal character (the consecration to Yahweh in 9f. is to special privileges as His elect people).—**5. basket:** see 26$_{2}$; it shall be blessed,

i.e. full.—**kneading-trough:** see Ex. 8₃, 12₃₄.—**6. comest in** and **goest out:** all the activities of human life (see 31₂, Ps. 12₁₈).—**7. seven:** an indefinite number, implying many (see 22, seven plagues), 25.—**12.** See 11₁₀*.—**15–68.** The curses to follow disobedience. These answer generally to the blessings of 1–6, only that the order 5, 4 is presumed and 1*b* and 2*b* are ignored.—**21. pestilence:** a general term; so Jer. 14₁₂.—**22.** See 7*.—**fiery heat:** *i.e.* a violent fever.—**sword:** read (with Targ., Vulg., same Heb. consonants), "drought."—**23. thy heaven . . . brass:** so that no rain can come through.—**the earth . . . iron:** so that nothing can grow out of it.—**25. seven:** see 7*.—**26.** See 1 S. 17₄₄, 2 S. 21₁₀.—**fray:** frighten.—**27. boil,** etc.: see Ex. 9₉*.—**28.** They will suffer in mind as well as in body: see Zech. 12₄.—**34. for . . . see:** *i.e.* through what thou shalt see.—**35.** *Cf.* 27, as a dittograph of which it should probably be omitted.—**36. thy king:** *i.e.* probably Jehoiachin, who in 597 B.C. was taken as captive to Babylon (see 2 K. 24₈f.).—**other gods:** see 32₄*.—**41.** repetition of 32: omit.—**43. stranger:** better, "sojourner" (11₆*).—**49. a nation,** etc.: *i.e.* the Chaldeans (see Jer. 5₁₅, Hab. 1 6–8).—**58. this law . . . written:** implying that the Deuteronomic law (if here meant) existed already in writing (see 5₆, 29₂₀f., 30₁₀). This contradicts 31₉: perhaps a section of D is meant: it may be the genuine parts of the present chapter.—**name:** *i.e.* the person named; see Lev. 24₁₁ and Ps. 79₉ (Cent.B).

XXIX. 1 belongs, as in the Heb. Bible, to the preceding chapter. It is the formal ending of the great discourse (4₄₄, 12–26, 28). 29 (except 1) and 30 form ostensibly Moses' third address, in the course of which Israel is urged to obey Yahweh and to enter into covenant relations with Him (29₂–15), words of warning (29₁₆–29) being followed by words of promise (30₁–10) and of exhortation (31₁₁–20). These chapters are probably later than D proper: (*a*) The Exile in Babylon is implied (see 29₂₈) and also the Return (30₁–10). (*b*) There are several words and phrases that are absent from 12ff. (see Addis, *Hexateuch*, i. p. 139). (*c*) They have much in common with 4₁–40, which also implies the Exile. Perhaps all these belong to one writer who desired to point out the lessons of the Exile.

XXIX. 3. See 4₃₄*.—**5.** See 8₂, Am. 2₁₀.—**7.** See 2₃₂f., 3₁f., 12f.—**9. covenant:** 4₁₃*.

XXIX. 10–29.—10. tribes: read (as implied in LXX, "judges" (Heb. letters much alike). See Jos. 8₃₃, 23₂, 24₁.—**11.** The inclusion of the sojourner (EV "stranger," 11₆*) and the hewer of wood, etc. (Jos. 9 21–27* P) in the Israelitish community that covenants with Yahweh belongs to post-exilic times (see HSDB, *Stranger*).—**17. abominations:** the Heb. word, frequent in Jer. and Ezek., is not that usually so translated; *cf.* 7₂₅, etc.: render, "detestable things." The word (*gillul*, lit. what is rolled, blocks of wood or stone) rendered **idols** is common in Ezek.—**18. lest,** etc.: render, "Beware lest," etc. The Heb. word translated "lest" implies the word supplied; so Is. 36₁₈, Job 32₁₃, 36₁₈, Jer. 51₄₆; or render, "let there not be," etc.—**a root,** etc.: referring to the fruits of idolatry (see Heb. 12₁₅).—**gall:** Heb. poison (Jer. 8₁₄*).—**wormwood:** represents bitterness (see 32₃₂). Both words occur in Lam. 3₁₉; *cf.* Am. 6₁₂, Hos. 10₄. The Heb. word rendered "curse" (19–21) is translated "oath" in 12, 14. In 28₁₅ the Heb. word rendered "curses" means "what bring into contempt," the Heb. for "cursed" in 16 having a third (different) root. The spoken word of blessing or curse was believed as such to realise itself (Gen. 9₂₅–27*); see *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews*, by the present writer, pp. 32ff.

XXX. 1–10 seems like an expansion of 4₂₉–31, and sums up the promises of D, expressing them from the standpoint of the Exile.—**1. the blessing and the curse:** referring to 28.—**3. turn thy captivity:** render, "restore thy fortunes" (Job 42₁₀).—**6. circumcise thy heart:** 10₁₆*.—*7f.* The curse now resting on Israel will be transferred to their enemies.

XXX. 11–20 was probably intended to close Dt.—**11–14** is applied and adapted by Paul in Rom. 6–8.—Prefix to 16 the following words found in the LXX and necessary for the sense: "If thou wilt listen to the commandments of Yahweh thy God" ("which," etc.).—**19**=4₂₆.—**20. to love:** 6₅.—**thy life:** *i.e.* the one that gives thee life.

XXXI.–XXXIV. Moses' last words and the closing events of his life. The narrative parts (based on JE and in part on P) resemble chs. 1–3, and are probably by the same author or compiler. 32₁–4 (the Song of Moses) and 33 (the Blessing of Moses) are independent pieces of unknown origin.

XXXI. 1–8. See RV refs. for parallel passages.—**1.** Read (with LXX), "And when Moses had finished speaking these words," etc.—**7. go with:** read (with Sam. Syr., Vulg., and two Heb. MSS), "bring," as in 23.

XXXI. 9–13. Part of D according to Kuenen, Dillmann, etc. It is this law (D) which is to be read at Tabernacles (16₁₃–15) and septennially in the year of release (15₁ff.*).—**11. appear before:** 16₁₆*.—**12.** See 29₁₁.—**13. children:** 4₉*.—**your:** read (with five MSS., Sam., Syr., Vulg.), "their."

XXXI. 14*f.*, 23 (JE). *Cf.* Nu. 27₂₂f. (P): two accounts of the appointment of Joshua to succeed Moses. See 1₃₇, 3₂₁f. for a third version.

XXXI. 16–30. Introduction to Moses' Song.—In 16–22 Yahweh tells Moses of what will happen after his death.—**16. sleep with thy fathers:** Gen. 47₃₀.—**whoring:** Ex. 34₁₆ (*cf.* Ezek. 6₉). Temple prostitution (23₁₇f.*) is hardly meant.—**21.** Read (with Sam., LXX, Syr.), "sware to their fathers."—**24, 26. this law:** read with Staerk, Steuernagel, Bertholet, "this song." The entire section (16–30) forms the prologue to the song of 32₁–43. If we retain the MT, 24–26 essentially repeats 9.—**25. Levites:** 10₈*.—**28. these words:** *i.e.* the song (32₁ff.).

XXXII. 1–43. Moses' Song is a didactic poem, a theodicy in which Yahweh's ways are vindicated. In its sentiments and artistic form it is unsurpassed in the poetry of the OT. Its dominant theme is Yahweh's justice and lovingkindness to Israel notwithstanding the nation's sinfulness. It is impossible to fix the date of this poem with any confidence. But points of contact with Jer., Is. 40–55, Ezek., and the Wisdom literature suggest the closing years of the Exile (say 550 B.C.). Moses is certainly not the author, for to the latter the Exodus belongs to his distant past (7–12), and the Israelites are already in Canaan (13f.). The words translated "doctrine" (2), "abominations" (16), "vanities" (21), and many others, together with several expressions, "the day of their calamity" (35), "as I live" (40, etc.), are common in exilic and post-exilic, but hardly exist in pre-exilic writings (see Driver, p. 348).

1. heaven . . . earth: see Is. 1₂.—**3. name:** 28₅₈*.—**4. Rock:** when a name of Yahweh, the LXX almost uniformly translates by "God" to obviate any suggestion of idolatry (see Cent.B on Ps. 75₅).—Render "A God faithful and without iniquity."—**5.** Read (with Driver, etc.), "those not His sons have corrupted

their faithfulness to Him, a perverse," etc.—**6. bought:** render "begotten."—**8. children of men:** a Hebraism, meaning "men."—**9.** Read, "But Yahweh's portion is His people Jacob; Israel is the lot which He inherited" (*i.e.* possessed); so essentially LXX.—**10. the apple:** lit. "the little man"; so called because it reflects an onlooker's face; so in Arabic and Assyrian. —**11.** For the imagery, see ET, xxvi. pp. 101ff.—**12. strange:** better "foreign" (see 31 16).—**14.** Render, "of rams . . . of goats."—Kidney-fat is the richest (Lev. 3 4, Is. 34 6).—**blood:** Gen. 49 11*.—**15.** Prefix the following (found in the LXX, Sam., etc.), "Jacob ate and was satisfied," then continue, "and Jeshurun waxed fat."—**Jeshurun:** *i.e.* "the upright one," an ideal designation of Israel (33 5,26, Is. 44 2, *cf.* Nu. 23 10*, Jos. 10 13 *mg.*).—**17. demons:** so LXX *daimonia*; heathen deities are meant. The Heb. *shēd* = the Assyrian *shidu* = any Assyrian deity (see Cent.B on Ps. 106 37).—**20. froward:** Heb. "perverse" (plural of intensity).—**faith:** render "faithfulness."—**21. not God:** what is no live god.—**not a people,** lit. "a not people"; *i.e.* a mere rabble or crowd.—**22. the lowest Sheol** (*mg.*): *i.e.* the lowest part of Sheol.—**24. burning heat:** Heb. "the fire bolt," supposed to bring pestilence and death.—**26.** Render, "I should have said" (*i.e.* "to myself") "I will scatter" (so LXX).—**29.** Read, "They are not wise, nor do they understand this or consider their latter end" (*cf.* Sam. LXX). This verse continues the description of 28.—**latter end:** the issue of their present conduct (*cf.* 20).—**31. their rock:** *i.e.* the god of the heathen (4*).—**32. vine:** Israel is the genuine vine (see Hos. 10 1, Jer. 2 21). "Sodom" and "Gomorrah" are often types of wickedness (Is. 1 10, 3 9, Jer. 23 14, Ezek. 16 46–49). It is the sin of Israel's foes, not that of Israel, that is referred to in 32f.—**33. dragons** in Old English = "serpents."—**asps:** better "cobras." —**34. treasures:** *mg.* is better. The sin of Israel's enemies will be stored up (see Job 14 17, Hos. 13 12).—**35.** Read (with LXX, Sam.), "for the day of vengeance and of recompense, for the time," etc., joining immediately to 34 and continuing the question to "slide." Another reading is implied in Rom. 12 19 and Heb. 10 30, where 35*a* is quoted.—**36. shut up or left at large:** a Hebraism meaning all; *cf.* 1 K. 14 10. In the original the words are alliterative: *cf.* "fettered and free."—**40. to lift the hand:** in Arabic and Heb. means to make an oath appealing to deity (Gen. 14 22).—**As I live:** Yahweh swears by Himself (see Gen. 22 16, and *cf.* Heb. 6 13–18).—**42.** The blood is that which oozes from the head: render as RV.—**43.** Render, "Sing joyously of this people, O ye nations" (*i.e.* the heathen).—**44.** "Hoshea" read (with VSS) "Joshua": *cf.* 31 19.—**45–47.** Moses' last words commending the song.—**46. law:** read (with Staerk, Steuernagel and Bertholet), "song." If the MT is retained this section attaches immediately to 31 29, the intervening verses being an interpolation.

XXXII. 48–52. See Nu. 27 12–14 (P), on which it seems based.

XXXIII. The Blessing of Moses.—Of this poem (quite unconnected with the context) the following statements may be made: (*a*) It was composed during the prosperous reign of Jeroboam II (786–746 B.C.) A date after the disruption is required by 7; a period of prosperity by 13–17. Prior to 786 B.C. Israel had been ruled by petty kings, and after 746 B.C. the Northern Kingdom had a long and disastrous struggle with Damascus. (*b*) The writer belonged to the Northern Kingdom, and therefore gives far more prominence to Israel (Joseph) than to Judah. (*c*) He was a member of the priestly class (8–11). Accepting the above conclusions, it follows that Levi was a priestly tribe long before the date of D; Steuernagel and Bertholet hold that 6–25 (the blessings) form an independent piece by a native of the north who lived in the prosperous days of Jeroboam II; 1, at least, must go with 6–25. Moses could not be the author of 12, 27*b*. Besides, the whole chapter implies the non-existence of enemies.

2*f.* For the theophany here described, see Jg. 5 4, Hab. 3 3, Ps. 68 8f.—**2.** Yahweh came from His abode in Sinai (Ex. 3 1) to Palestine to His people's help.—**from the ten thousands of holy ones:** render, "from Meribah of Kadesh" (32 51). The late Jewish tradition (Ac. 7 53, Gal. 3 19, Heb. 2 2) arose through a misunderstanding of the original text.—**At . . . them:** read "From his right hand was a burning fire for them."—**3. peoples:** read (with LXX) "the people."—**saints** better, "holy ones." Driver (Kittel's text) for the rest of the verse, which is very corrupt, reads, "and he supports thy lot and keeps his covenant with thee." —**5. king:** *i.e.* "Yahweh."—**Jeshurun:** 32 15*.

6–25. Moses' blessings on the tribes. This passage should be compared with Jacob's blessings on his twelve sons in Gen. 49 J (see notes, and for a thorough discussion ICC, pp. 507ff.). The present section bears marks of dependence and is therefore later. Simeon, now absorbed into Judah, is here unmentioned.—*7d.* Read, "with thy hands strive thou for him."—**8. Thummim . . . Urim:** pp. 100f.—**godly:** render, "favoured," *i.e.* Levi.—**Massah:** see 6 16*, Ex. 17 1–7. —**Meribah:** see Nu. 20 2–13*.—**10.** Levi's duties.—**incense** (in the older sense) means the smoke of ordinary sacrifice.—**whole burnt offering:** see 12 6*.—**12. by him:** take these words with the next line and read, "the lofty one covereth (*i.e.* defends) him."—**his** (*i.e.* Benjamin's) **shoulders:** *i.e.* the mountains amid which the Temple was erected. This verse implies that the Temple was already built.—**13. heaven . . . dew:** read, "heaven above."—**the deep:** a personification; hardly a reference to the Babylonian Creation Myth, see *Oxford Apoc.* i. p. 653.—**16.** Render, "May the good will of Him that dwelt in the bush" (Ex. 3 2–4*) "come upon Joseph's head."—**separate:** render "crowned."—**17.** Read "May he" (Joseph) "be glorious and his horns as those of a wild ox" (Nu. 23 22*, Cent.B, Ps. 92 10): "with them may he gore the nations, even all the ends of the earth together."—**19. call:** *i.e.* summon to such religious festivals as accompany fairs, etc. in the East.—**mountain:** sacred site.—**hidden . . . sand:** probably small shell-fish from which dyes were made.—**20. lioness:** see Gen. 49 9.—**22. lion's whelp:** *cf.* Laish (=lion), which Dan seized (Jos. 19 47).—**23. west:** read (transposing and slightly changing) "the district of the sea" (of Galilee). —**24.** Render, "most blessed" (*i.e.* fortunate) "of sons be Asher" (=fortunate one).—**let him dip . . . in oil:** *i.e.* may his territory abound in olive-trees.—*25a. i.e.* "may thy bars" (of city gates) "be strong."

26–29. Israel's Good Fortune (conclusion of poem).—**26.** Read (with VSS), "the God of Jeshurun" (32 15*) —**27.** Read (changing slightly), "Above is the God o olden time, and below are the everlasting arms."

XXXIV. The Death of Moses on Mount Pisgah (JE). (1*b*–6.)—**1. over against:** lit. "in front," *i.e.* E. Render, "the land, that is, Gilead to Dan."—**2. hinder:** render "western" (11 24*, *cf.* 1).—**6.** *mg.*, though permitted by the Heb., is opposed to 6*b*.—**7.** See 31 2, Ex. 7 7, and Nu. 33 39 (Aaron).—**8. thirty days:** Nu. 20 29* (for Aaron). The custom continues among modern Jews.—**10. prophet,** etc.: see 18 15,18, *cf.* Nu. 12 6–8 (E).—**10–12** implies a date long after the death of Moses.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By Dr. F. J. FOAKES JACKSON

Bible History, "Prophetical."—The OT contains books which may be termed historical, but although they are grouped together in our Bibles, this is not the case in the arrangement adopted by the Jews. The only book which they perhaps recognised as history, the Chronicles (*Dibhrê hayyāmîm*, "words of years"), is placed at the very end of the sacred volume, whilst the main portion of the books known to us as "historical" is styled "prophetical." Thus the story of Israel is to the Jews in itself a prophecy (that is, a telling forth) of God's will and purpose to His people. In accordance with this ideal we find historical episodes interwoven, as in Isaiah and Jeremiah, with prophetic utterances. In judging the historical books, therefore, we must bear in mind that they do not conform to the standard demanded of modern historical writing. They are "prophetical"—that is, written with a view to edify and instruct—and are not designed to be text-books replete with colourless if accurate historical information.

Main Features of Historical Writing in the Bible.—The Hebrews are remarkable for the interest taken in the past of their nation, and this is the more strange as the Jew does not seem by nature to be disposed towards historical composition. Between the close of the OT story and the dissolution of the Jewish nation in the days of Hadrian, the people passed through some of the most stirring crises in the tragedy of humanity, yet many of the most important are scarcely recorded. But for the renegade Josephus we should have had no particulars of the fall of Jerusalem before the army of Titus. Yet in the OT, though the interest is almost entirely religious, we have a fairly complete record of Israel's fortunes from the conquest of its inheritance in Palestine to the restoration of the Jewish polity by Nehemiah.

Variety.—Bible history is remarkable, among other things, for its variety. No book in its present form is arranged like the others. Judges is unmistakable as compared with Joshua; Samuel and Kings have little resemblance; whilst Ezra-Nehemiah belongs to an entirely different school of thought, and Esther is absolutely unique in the OT and even in the Apocrypha. The materials, moreover, of which many of the books are composed are of the most varied description. We have in Kings, to take but a single example, the framework of a chronological history arranged in regnal years, chronicles of the kingdoms, Temple records, biographies, intermingled with which are stories told with all the magic art of portraying scenes inherent in the Eastern raconteur. We find in other books an admixture of pious exhortation, legal formulæ, genealogies, and the like. In short, it may be said of the OT books of history that each has its own variegated pattern, which reveals the individuality of its author or compiler.

Choice of Subjects.—In their choice of subjects the prophetical historians of the Hebrew nation display characteristic peculiarities. We are surprised alike at what they tell us and what they omit. They are in a sense the least, and in another the most, patriotic of historians. They dwell but little on the national glories. How briefly are the successes of Saul over the Philistines, or the victories of Omri or Jeroboam II, or even those of the pious kings of Judah, recorded! Their story is often rather that of the nation's failure to reach its ideal, and even of how it fell short of the standard attained by less favoured peoples. And yet we cannot read the historical books without feeling that they are instinct with a love of country and filled with a sense of Yahweh's protecting power. But the seeker after historical information will often be disappointed at the lack of facts where he most desires them. No details are given as to how Joshua conquered Central Palestine and conducted the nation to Shechem, its ancient capital. We learn nothing about the arrival of the Philistines, those formidable enemies of Israel. Nothing except the bare fact is preserved of the conquest of Og and his seventy cities. We seek in vain for the cause of David's feebleness, which made the revolt of Absalom so formidable. On the other hand, we have abundant details about the feuds with the Shechemites of a person so comparatively unimportant as Abimelech, the son of Gideon, of David's flight and his escapes from Saul, etc. The historical books were, as has been asserted, written for edification rather than for information; and it is not always easy, at times it is even impossible, to make a connected narrative out of them. Much of the story as related by the biblical writers must be reconstructed by a process which can hardly receive a name more honourable than that of guesswork.

Chronology.—One of the most formidable difficulties which the student of OT history has to face is that of chronology. In the later parts of the historical and prophetical books we are on fairly sure ground, because the writers give us the date by the year of the reigning kings of Persia. Even in the Books of Kings, though there are serious discrepancies in the periods assigned to the kings of Israel and Judah respectively, we are able to date an event within say, ten years or so. We are also assisted by the more accurate chronology of the Assyrians. But the earliest date in Israelite history is that of a defeat inflicted on Ahab and his allies, which is not alluded to in the Bible. This is 854 B.C. From it we can infer that David lived, roughly, about 1000 B.C., but beyond this all is uncertainty. According to 1 K. 41, Solomon's Temple was erected 480 years after the Exodus; but, by adding together the periods of affliction and repose given in the Book of Judges, we

get an even longer period. But we are told in Ex. 1 11 that the Israelites during their oppression built Pithom and Raamses in Egypt, presumably under the great Rameses II, whose long reign was in the thirteenth century B.C. Consequently the Exodus must have taken place not much earlier than 200 or 250 years before the building of the Temple. The fact is that the ancient Hebrews seem to have used the number 40 and its multiples to express a period of time with considerable vagueness, and we really cannot tell whether they are speaking literally when they mention periods of 40, 20, or 120 years. To give a date even approximately before David is, to say the least, hazardous. We know that Jaddua, the last high priest mentioned in the OT, was alive in 333 B.C., and that Ezra and Nehemiah were in Jerusalem about 432 B.C.; but as to when the Exodus took place, or Joshua conquered Palestine and the events related in the historical books strictly so called begin, we have only the faintest idea.

Survey of Period of "Prophetic History."—The **Book of Joshua,** with which the history of Israel opens, has now generally been recognised as an integral part of the Pentateuch or five books of the Law. It certainly possesses the same structural peculiarities. It begins, where Deuteronomy leaves off, when Israel is encamped in the plains of Moab. Moses is dead, and Joshua is recognised as his successor. To him God says: "As I have been with Moses, so will I be with thee." The conquest of W. Palestine by Joshua is related under two headings: (1) the reduction of the south—the fall of Jericho and Ai and the defeat of the five kings; (2) the victory over the northern king, Jabin of Hazor (but see Jg. 4). Central Palestine, viz. Shechem, is assumed already to have fallen into Israelite hands. Only two tribes, Joseph and Judah, receive inheritances from Joshua, Gad and Reuben having already been allotted territory in E. Palestine by Moses. The remaining seven tribes cast lots for the territory which they are permitted to conquer. The different inheritances are given with an abundance of detail, characteristic of P. Joshua charges Israel, as Moses did before his death, and dies on his property at Timnath Serah.

Judges is professedly a continuation of Joshua, but it is very different in style, scope, and arrangement; whereas Joshua is closely akin to the legal books, Judges rather resembles the historical. It covers a much longer period, extending over twelve judgeships, and is arranged on a distinct plan. In each case Israel sins, God punishes by an invasion, the nation repents, and a deliverer is raised up. Two supplementary narratives close the book, to show the state of the country when there was no king. It may be that the Book of **Ruth** is a third supplement, to show the origin of the great royal house of David.

The next four books, **Samuel** and **Kings,** are called by the Greek translators Books of "Kingdoms" (*βασιλειῶν*). 1 S. opens with the story of Samuel's birth in the days of Eli, the priestly judge, and gives an account of the loss of the Ark and the utter degradation of Israel under the Philistine yoke. Samuel, the first of the prophets, is the leader in the great struggle, and is compelled by the people to set a king over the nation in the person of Saul, who does much for the emancipation of his people, but is rejected by God and falls in battle against the Philistines. The main part of the last half of 1 S. is chiefly occupied with the hairbreadth escapes and adventures of David, the real founder of the monarchy, who is described as the "man after God's own heart." More space is given to him than to any other person mentioned in the Bible, about half 1 S., all 2 S., and two chapters of 1 K. forming his biography. **1 Kings** is divided between the reign of Solomon, with an elaborate account of the Temple and its dedication, and the story of the division of the kingdom till the death of Ahab. The second book carries the reader down through the later history of the divided monarchy, relating the fall of the northern, and concluding with a history of the southern kingdom, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Captivity, to the restoration of Jehoiachin to a certain degree of honour by the son of Nebuchadrezzar. The latter period has to be supplemented by the historical portions of Jeremiah and the allusions to contemporary events in Isaiah and Ezekiel.

Characteristics of Prophetical History.—The books we have already considered represent the standpoint of the prophets of Israel; and, as we have seen, **Joshua, Judges, Samuel,** and **Kings** are known as the first four of the prophetical books. Generally speaking, the view they take of the nation is that it is the people of God, who are specially bound to act in accordance with their high calling, though as a rule they fail lamentably to attain the standard demanded of them. But in no case is Israel represented as having a law like that known in after days as the "Law of Moses"; or, if it had, the majority of the nation, priests and prophets included, were completely ignorant of its contents. The ritual practices of all the saints and heroes of Israel throughout these books are quite different from those prescribed in Lev. and Nu., and if there is any Law it is rather that of the earliest legal chapters in Ex. (20–23).

Later Historical Writings.—Of the remaining historical books, **Chronicles, Ezra,** and **Nehemiah** (the two latter being often reckoned as one book) form a complete series. **Chronicles** is a sort of revised edition of all the earlier history, whilst the two other books continue the narrative. The object of the writer of Chronicles is to give the impression that the kings of Judah—for Israel is only incidentally mentioned—were scrupulous in carrying out the Pentateuchal Law as it appears in the Priest's Code. Thus David will allow only Levites to bear the Ark, and we read much of his care to provide for the ritual, and especially the music, of the sanctuary. Solomon, represented as a powerful though not always faithful monarch in the Book of Kings, here appears as a blameless ruler. When a king like Uzziah presumes to undertake priestly functions, he is smitten with disease. In short, the whole is permeated by a priestly conception of history entirely foreign to the Book of Kings. Chronicles takes us to the end of the Captivity, and closes with the decree of Cyrus commanding the Jews to return and rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. **Ezra-Nehemiah,** for the two books are really one, opens with this edict, relates how the altar was set up and the Temple commenced, and how the proceedings were hindered by the "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" (*i.e.* the Samaritans). During the reign of two Persian kings nothing was done, but under Darius the work was resumed and completed about 516 B.C. Then there is a complete silence for nearly two generations, when, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (464–424 B.C.), Ezra, a Jewish priest, was permitted to lead a company of exiles back to Jerusalem. A Jewish governor named Nehemiah was then appointed, and we are told how he and Ezra restored Jerusalem, and made the nation obey the Law of Moses. With these two great men the Bible history concludes about the year 432 B.C.

Extant Hebrew History the Fragment of a Lost Literature.—There is little doubt that the literature of ancient Israel was not confined to the OT as we now have it. On the contrary, the books bear evident traces of having been compressed into their present limits by the omission of facts which must have been recorded, and are almost necessary to a right understanding of what stands recorded. To take but a single example: the reign of Omri (1 K. 16$^{29-34}$) is related with the utmost brevity, and many things are omitted which would have thrown light on the subsequent history, and cannot fail to have been known by the author. Nothing, for instance, in Kings would lead us to suppose that the king who defeated Tibni and built Samaria was so important that rulers of Israel, though belonging to the very dynasty which had supplanted his own, should call themselves "sons of Omri." 2 K. 3 relates a rebellion of Moab against Israel, and we know from the Moabite Stone (p. 305) that Omri had oppressed Moab and probably imposed upon it the onerous conditions hinted at in this chapter. Further, the severe terms exacted by the Syrians in the days of Omri (1 K. 20) imply a serious defeat of Israel, to which no allusion is made. Although it cannot be proved that these were recorded in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel, it is highly probable that this was the case, and that the writer of Kings deliberately hurried over this important reign in order to record events which seemed to him to be of greater interest or more to the edification of his readers.

But the historical writers in the OT openly confess the fact that there was a considerable literature to which their readers might have access. The Book of Jashar (Jos., 2 S.), the Chronicles of Israel and of Judah, alluded to in Kings, and the many works cited in the late Book of Chronicles, show that there was an extensive literature in existence even as late as 300 B.C. which has completely disappeared, and that we have only fragments from which to reconstruct the story of ancient Israel.

The External Sources of Hebrew History.—Besides the sources mentioned in the historical books we may mention the external sources which connect the history of the Hebrews with that of the world at large, in addition to those which criticism has indicated as the materials used by the writers and redactors of the historical books.

(*a*) One of the most serious objections to the antiquity of the Jewish people, which Josephus had to answer, was the silence of the Greek authors regarding them. He accounts for this by the fact that the ancestors of the Jews did not inhabit a maritime country and engaged little in trade, being occupied in living their own peculiarly religious life (*Apion.* 12). Josephus appeals, however, to the Tyrian records for the building of Solomon's Temple, quoting Dius (ch. 17) and Menander of Ephesus (ch. 18). He also quotes the testimony of the Babylonian Berossus (ch. 19) to the story of Noah, and on the treatment of the Jews by Nebuchadrezzar, and he relates that a writer named Megasthenes alludes to the first destruction of Jerusalem. But Josephus is evidently able to give his readers very little testimony, external to the Scriptures, for the history of Israel.

(*b*) Nor was more light thrown upon the subject till recent years, when the secrets of the hieroglyphic and of the cuneiform characters were revealed. Direct allusions to the Israelites are few, and can be easily enumerated: (*a*) The word *Is-ra-e-ru*, "Israelite," occurs on the stele of Merenptah (thirteenth century B.C.), describing Egyptian victories over Israel; (*b*) Shishak (1 K.) relates his devastation of Palestine (tenth century B.C.); (*c*) Ahab is mentioned in the Qarqara inscription as one of the kings allied against Assyria (854 B.C.); (*d*) Jehu's name, as of a king paying tribute to Shalmaneser II, is found on the Black Obelisk (British Museum), 842 B.C.; (*e*) Pekah and Hoshea (2 K. 15) appear in an inscription, 737 B.C. and the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.; (*f*) Hezekiah's name appears on the Taylor Cylinder (British Museum), 701 B.C.; (*g*) at an earlier date, probably in the ninth century B.C., we have on the Moabite stone Mesha's account of his rebellion against Israel (2 K. 3^{1}).

(*c*) As in the case of the Pentateuch, the materials used by the writers other than those specified by them are mainly matters of conjecture, but they may be roughly enumerated as follows: Judges, like the Pentateuch, is probably made up of two early documents, J and E, which were thrown into their present form—subject, however, to revision—by a Deuteronomic editor, whilst portions were added by a reviser of the school of P. The Books of Samuel, like Judges, have been subject to Deuteronomic and post-exilic revisions; but in the life of Saul we have a combination of two works, one hostile and the other friendly to monarchical institutions. The compiler drew upon traditions of David, a life of Samuel, and a very ancient account of David's reign (2 S. 9–20). In 2 S. 1^{18} the Book of Jashar (*cf.* Jos. 10$^{12-14}$) is quoted. The author of Kings alludes to the chronicles of the kings of Israel and the chronicles of the kings of Judah, and he probably had before him independent narratives of Solomon, Elijah, Elisha, etc., as well as the records of the Temple at Jerusalem.

The Miraculous in Hebrew History.—The historian has a natural distrust of the miraculous when he meets with it in records, not because he cannot believe in its possibility—for experience has taught him to be very cautious in saying that any event could not have occurred—but because a natural love of the marvellous makes men credulous in accepting supernatural explanations of events. Moreover, it is undeniable that the Hebrew writers regarded the whole story of the nation as a far greater miracle than any apparent interference with the laws of nature, because in every event they thought they saw the hand of the Lord of the whole earth shaping and directing the destinies of Israel. Nevertheless the impartial reader is impressed more by the absence than by the superabundance of miracle in the story of a people so intimately connected with its God as Israel, in so ancient and confessedly so religious a record as that found in the historical Scriptures. When we divide the miraculous events into (*a*) subjective wonders—*i.e.* visions, Divine messages, and the like, which may, at any rate, be accounted for by the state of mind of those who experienced them; (*b*) signs which were an acknowledged medium of God's communication with Israel; and (*c*) wonders interrupting the natural course of history, we have to acknowledge the comparative rarity of the last-named.

Taking 1 K. as an example, the presence of the miraculous under the above classification is:

In 1 K. 1–11, which relates the accession of Solomon and his reign, only two miracles are recorded—Solomon's vision at Gibeon (1 K. 3^{5}), and the cloud filling the Temple at its dedication (1 K. 8^{10}). These may be classed under (*a*) visions and (*b*) signs respectively.

1 K. 12–16, the account of the division of the kingdoms. No miracle appears except the signs which accompany the denunciation of the schism of Jero-

boam in 13—*i.e.* the temporary drying up of the king's hand, the rending of the altar, and the punishment of the disobedient prophet. These all come into the category (*b*), *signs*.

1 K. 17–2 K. 2. Even in the life of Elijah, a man with admittedly supernatural powers, miracle is rare. His being fed by ravens is perhaps a doubtful miracle (see Commentary). The multiplying of the widow's cruse, the raising of her son from the dead, and the destruction of the captains of fifty, come under class (*c*) wonders; unless we include the descent of fire at Carmel on the sacrifice, which may be regarded as a sign (*b*), or the prophet's ascension, which may also be explained as a vision (*a*). Considering its momentous character and the great men who lived in it, in the period from David to Elijah miracles are conspicuous by their absence.

History as Compared with Prophecy.—Though, as we have seen, the supernatural as manifested in miracle is of comparatively rare occurrence in Hebrew history, it is assumed throughout that events are under the control of Yahweh, the God of Israel. This is, as a rule, revealed in history by the prophets. It is their function to declare the will of God and His immediate purpose, together with the punishment which will follow if it be disregarded. Rarely is the prophet made to disclose the remote future, as when the messenger to Jeroboam predicts the destruction of his altar by a king of Judah, "Josiah by name." As a rule the prophets in history play somewhat the same part as the chorus in a Greek play: they explain events as the tragedy of Israel progresses. It is not till a late period, almost at the close of the history of the northern kingdom, that we get the literary prophet supplementing the narrative, and that we are able to construct history from the fragments preserved in the utterances of the prophets. The literary prophets from the eighth century onward stand in much the same relation to the recorded history in the OT as do the Epistles of Paul towards the Acts of the Apostles. Both are documents contemporary with the events, but, as a rule, these abound in allusions, the meaning of which can only be conjectured. Amos and Hosea give a view of Israel's later history, and Isaiah of Judah's relations with Assyria, differing from the records in Kings; just as the Epistle to the Galatians gives a very different impression of the controversy between the Jewish and Gentile Christians from what could be gathered from the Acts. It is, however, necessary to exercise much discretion in the use of the prophets for historical purposes, as both the Hebrew text and the genuineness of many passages are subjects of considerable dispute.

How far does the OT Give us Strict History?—The Bible, it has been already suggested, can hardly be said to record history with the strict accuracy demanded of a modern work. As it is easy to see from the Pss., the prophets, the Apocryphal literature, and the NT, the religious interest in history practically ceased with David, and was mainly centred in the primitive story as told in Genesis and in the deliverance from Egypt and the wanderings in the wilderness. The record from Joshua to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans as it appears in the OT is a fragmentary story of Israel, gathered from a number of lost sources and told for the sake of showing how the nation fell short of the ideal designed for it, and of the punishments which ensued. The writers or compilers, living centuries after the event, are usually less interested in the accuracy of their narrative than in the moral they wished to point. Formerly what was called inspiration was deemed to be so bound up with the exact truth of the record as to stand or fall with it. Consequently the unbeliever made his main point of attack some disputable statement, which the faithful were in honour bound to defend. Now, however, it is generally recognised that no early record can be expected to give the exact circumstances, especially when much of it is demonstrably not contemporary with the events; and in a work like the historical section of the OT we look rather to the purpose of the author than the details in which it is discoverable. The former is, in the biblical narrative, sufficiently clear. The history is professedly a commentary on the dealing of Yahweh with His people, showing in what manner He bore with their backslidings, punished and delivered them. The books were never intended to supply an accurate and exhaustive chronicle of events for the modern historian. All that can be claimed for them is that they give an outline, often singularly dispassionate and impartial, of the fortunes which befell the nation of Israel.

JOSHUA

By the Rev. SAMUEL HOLMES

The Book of Joshua professes to narrate the invasion and conquest of Palestine by the Hebrews. The date of these events, according to tradition, is about 1450 B.C. From Egyptian history, however, we know that Palestine was under Egyptian dominion from about 1600 to 1200 B.C., so that the traditional date is probably wrong by about 200 years and must be corrected. We have also to correct the general account of the invasion given in this book. The impression is conveyed that Joshua invaded a country which was previously Canaanitish and on his death left it practically Israelitish. That this view is erroneous, we see from the more reliable traditions retained in Jg. 1; from the well-known passage in Ex. 23$_{30}$, repeated in Dt. 7$_{22}$ ("By little and little I will drive them out from before thee"); together with Jg. 2$_{20-36}$, where three reasons are offered why the Canaanites were not driven out at once. The representation of rapid conquest given in our book is due to writers of a much later age, who summed up as having happened in a few years, events that required generations for their accomplishment.

It will perhaps be well to state shortly what we know about the inhabitants and rulers of Canaan prior to the occupation of the country by the Hebrews. (See further p. 63.)

The Canaanites, like the Hebrews themselves, belonged to the Semitic stock, and had occupied the country since about 2000 B.C. They were first under the rule of Babylon, then from 1600 to 1200, except for a short interval, under Egypt. Our knowledge of the Babylonian supremacy is indirect. "When, or how, this (*i.e.* the Babylonian) influence began we do not definitely know . . . but, at all events, Canaan had remained under it so long that, at least for official purposes, the practice of using the language and writing of Babylonia continued to prevail, even after Canaan had become a province of the Egyptian Empire" (Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, p. 34). Our knowledge, however, of the Egyptian supremacy rests upon contemporary inscriptions and other documentary evidence. In 1887 there were discovered the famous Tell el-Amarna tablets (p. 55), dating from the reigns of Amenhetep III (1414–1383) and Amenhetep IV (1383–1365), which throw considerable light upon the dependent condition of the Canaanites and their exposure to attack from their neighbours, the moment Egyptian help was withdrawn. We learn that the Canaanites were at this time attacked by certain invaders whom they called Khabiri (pp. 34, 55), and being unable to defend themselves sent pitiful supplications to Egypt for help. This help Amenhetep IV was unable to afford, and the rule of Egypt over Canaan practically lapsed. Forty or fifty years later, however, the Egyptians under Sety I (1326–1300) recovered their supremacy and kept it till about 1200, when they themselves fell into a state of confusion and anarchy. Being no longer able to maintain their hold over Canaan, they left the way open for others to invade and dominate the country. The Hebrew invasion was the result.

As stated above, records of the Egyptian supremacy are found in contemporary inscriptions which have been discovered in the last twenty or thirty years. From these we obtain three facts which have an important bearing on early Hebrew history. (1) In an inscription of Thothmes III (1500–1450) recording his conquests in Palestine, we find Jacob-el certainly, and Joseph-el possibly, as names of places in Central Palestine. (2) Again in a document dating from the reign of Rameses II (1300–1234) the title "Mount of User" (*i.e.* Asher) is given to a district in the north of Palestine; and finally (3) in an inscription of Merenptah (1243–1214) recording the overthrow of certain places in South Palestine, Israel is mentioned after Gezer, as a people that had been "destroyed."

The significance of these three facts in helping us to reconstruct the history will appear later on.

A tentative reconstruction may be given as follows. It is, no doubt, historically true that some Semitic clans or tribes known as Leah tribes and Rachel tribes established themselves on the E. of Jordan and made occasional raids into Palestine across the river. In doing this they only followed the practice of the E. Jordan tribes they had conquered or allied themselves with, as we see from the Tell el-Amarna tablets.

On the basis of Gen. 38 some scholars have gone so far as to affirm that there was no organised invasion of Palestine at all by the Hebrews; but most have been content to admit that some time after the sporadic raids of the Leah tribes, Joshua led the Rachel tribe or tribes across the Jordan and wrested a considerable amount of territory from the Canaanites in the hill country in the centre of Palestine.

We may assume, then, that the first incursions into Palestine by the Hebrews were probably begun by three of the Leah tribes—Judah, Simeon, and Levi; the other Leah tribe, Reuben, remained on the E. of the Jordan contented with its lot. The invading or immigrating tribes came into the centre of Palestine round about Shechem and settled there peaceably. But Simeon and Levi came to grief on account of a treacherous attack on the Shechemites, Judah was driven S. and according to the general interpretation of Gen. 38 established itself by alliances with various Canaanitish clans: the alliance with the Kenites, Calebites, and others took place later. So far as we can judge, it occupied the district where we find Israel mentioned in the inscriptions of Merenptah referred to above, and we may conjecture that it adopted the name Israel as that of its ancestor. It is true that there is in Jg. 1 an account of the raids of Simeon and Judah which is inconsistent with the above, but the indirect accounts preserved in the old

legends are of more value than the direct statements of later times.

Some time later the Rachel tribes or tribe invaded the centre of Palestine. The notice in Jg. 1 of Joseph's treacherous capture of Bethel may have some historical basis, and indeed may be a doublet of the original narrative of the taking of Jericho. These Rachel clans settled down in districts where, as we learn from the inscription of Thothmes III, towns named Jacob-el and perhaps Joseph-el were situated. In the same way as Judah had adopted Israel, the Rachel tribes adopted Jacob and perhaps Joseph as their ancestors; Joseph being regarded as the son, since his territory was occupied later than that of Jacob-el. When the tribes were united under the monarchy, it was necessary to identify Israel with Jacob, and this was done in the well-known story in Gen. 32.

The name Joseph was still remembered as the designation of the Rachel tribe when the earliest part of the Book of Joshua was written. The tribe subsequently split up into Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin. Ephraim, no doubt, means "a fertile tract," Benjamin "the son of the south," while the meaning of Manasseh is still unknown. When Joseph broke up into Ephraim and Manasseh, Ephraim retained the centre of Palestine, and Manasseh settled a little to the N.; while its territory on the E. of the Jordan, which, according to tradition, was allotted to it by Moses, was probably gained by conquest when the settlements on the W. side were found to be insufficient. This conjecture is as early as Ewald, and is strengthened by Budde's emendation in Jos. 17^{11}, where the tribe of Joseph asks for more territory. (In passing, it may be noted that the request, and the granting of it, are quite inconsistent with the division of the land as narrated in the last part of the book.) Benjamin was, in all probability, the southern part of the Joseph or Ephraim tribe. In 2 S. 19^{20}, Shimei, of the tribe of Benjamin, claims to be of the house of Joseph.

When we come to discuss the origin of the other northern tribes we are involved in obscurities. We can only say that the Song of Deborah shows that some two or three generations after the conquest of the hill country by Rachel tribes, other Hebrew clans had settled in the N. It is possible also that some native Canaanitish tribes allied themselves to the invaders and became members of the confederacy. The likelihood of this is illustrated by the case of Asher. As already mentioned, a district in N. Palestine was called User or Asher before the date of the Conquest, while in historical times Asher was the name of a tribe of Israel located in the same neighbourhood. The explanation of this may be that a Hebrew clan took possession of the district called Asher and adopted the ancient name as its own, or else that the Asherites, a Canaanitish clan, deliberately allied themselves to the Hebrews. The narrative of the Gibeonites shows that the latter theory has some probability on its side. Why Issachar and Zebulun should be connected with the Leah tribes is not clear. It is possible that they were earlier settlers than the Rachel tribes, and were, on that account, reckoned to Leah by the early writers. The Zilpah and Bilhah tribes—Gad and Asher, Dan and Naphtali—probably joined the Hebrew confederacy last. Zilpah and Bilhah were, therefore, said to have been concubines of Jacob. The assignment of two sons or tribes to each may be arbitrary, but it is worth noticing that it corresponds to the breaking up of Joseph into the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.

The account of Judah's marriage and offspring in Gen. 38, which shows very plainly that this tribe made alliances with the Canaanites, is no doubt the reason why some scholars have denied any historicity to the account of the Conquest in our book. But against this must be set the fact that Judah apparently took some time to assimilate the other clans and present a united front to its neighbours and enemies; while the northern tribes, if we may judge from the Song of Deborah, were capable of resisting an oppressor; *i.e.* were more of a fighting unit than Judah was. Such unity would come from their having obtained their territory by conquest. The Rachel tribes may have obtained their land by the sword and the Book of Joshua may contain reminiscences of it.

If this reconstruction of the history of the Conquest is approximately true, the narratives of our book are simply an unscientific endeavour to account for certain historical facts known to the writers. In historical times the nation was divided into twelve tribes (see the Blessing of Jacob and the Blessing of Moses). The Israelitish historians naturally asked how this division came to pass. Their answer is given in Joshua, but it has no basis in history, and has no more value than the stories about some of the tribes in 1 Ch. 4f.; or to take an instance from our own book, the account of the institution of circumcision at Gilgal.

The events recorded in chs. 1–12 can, according to most scholars, be taken as having some historical basis. We have the capture of Jericho, Ai, and Bethel, and the defeat of two coalitions against Israel, one in the S. at Beth-horon, and the other in the N. at the waters of Merom.

The last twelve chapters of the book are generally admitted to have little if any historical value. The casting of lots by the tribes for their territory is purely "ideal." There are, however, some fragments which contain material for history, *e.g.* 15^{13}ff., the conquest of Hebron by Caleb and of Kirjath-sepher by Othniel. We may also accept 17^{11}ff., referred to above, as showing that part of the Joseph tribe migrated to the W. of the Jordan in search of further territory. Most of these later chapters come from the Priestly writer, and were written after the Exile; they tell us the positions which the tribes occupied in historical times, and are so far valuable in enabling us to locate roughly where they were settled.

In the last two chapters we have two "ideal" speeches of Joshua, *i.e.* they contain sentiments such as the writers thought Joshua would be likely to utter under the given circumstances.

The great uncertainty which exists as to the history of the Hebrews before the Conquest can be seen from the fact that Professor Flinders Petrie, the eminent Egyptologist, considers that the invaders of Palestine were descended from the Hyksos kings who, having reigned over Egypt for some generations, were finally expelled about 1600 B.C. and found a temporary home at Sharuhen (see 196*). These kings were probably Semites, they occupied a powerful position in Egypt, and were subsequently driven out (pp. 52, 54). These are historical facts, which is more than we can say for the accounts in Genesis.

Literature. — *Commentaries:* (*a*) **Cooke** (CB), **J. S. Black** (SCB), **Bennett** (SBOT), **Robinson** (Cent. B), (*c*) **Dillmann** (KEH), **Steuernagel** (HK), **Holzinger** (KHC). *Other Literature:* articles in HDB, EBi, SDB^2; Holmes, *Joshua, the Hebrew and Greek Texts;* Driver, *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible* (Schweich Lectures).

I. Joshua's Commission; Preparation for the Passage of the Jordan.—This chapter does not call for much comment. It is, for the most part, an introduction to

the whole book from a Deuteronomic writer. There may have been a Deuteronomic account of the conquest of the land which the compiler of our book used, but more probably the old narrative of JE was taken over by the Deuteronomist, who managed to superimpose his own views by means of an introduction and various additions. These additions are very considerable; hardly any chapters have escaped.

4. The boundaries of the land are strangely indicated, and the passage should no doubt read, "From the wilderness in the south to Lebanon; and from the river Euphrates to the western sea (*i.e.* the Mediterranean) shall be your border"—or rather, territory. In reality, the kingdom never extended as far as this from E. to W., though the N. and S. boundaries would hold good for David's time.—**12–15.** See Nu. 32.

II. Two Hebrew Spies Visit Jericho and Evade Capture.—The narrative is inconsistent with 11, "Within three days ye are to pass over Jordan." The events in ch. 2 must have taken longer than three days, for 22 tells us that the spies abode three days in the mountains; and with one day to go and another to return, five days at least would be required. This is an indication that 2 and 1 are from different sources. And perhaps 2 itself is composite. The narrative reads consistently if 15–17 is omitted, for we can hardly think of the conversation being continued between Rahab at the window and the spies on the ground outside the wall.

1. Shittim: Nu. 251.—**6.** *Cf.* 2 S. 1718–20.—**10f.** belongs to the Deuteronomist. The passage is an interesting example of how the Biblical writers ascribe to ancient characters their own ideas. Rahab is made a pure monotheist at a time when we know that the Hebrews themselves were only monolatrous. The great example of this method of writing history is found in the Books of Chronicles, where the writer carries back to David's time the later ecclesiastical usages; but no greater anachronism can be found than the one here, where a Canaanitish heathen is made to utter a monotheism worthy of Amos. The words put into Rahab's mouth, "Yahweh is God in heaven above and on the earth beneath," are an exact repetition of Dt. 439.—**15.** *Cf.* 1 S. 1912, Ac. 925, 2 Cor. 1133.

III. 1–V. 1. The Crossing of Jordan.—Here we begin to meet with more serious difficulties. The old tradition was that after the Israelites had crossed the Jordan, they commemorated the event by the erection of twelve stones. But this simple narrative existed in two recensions, which differed as to the destination of these memorial stones. According to one account, they were to be placed in the midst of the river; according to the other, they were to be set up on the W. side of the Jordan in the place where the army encamped for the night. Deuteronomic additions have been made to these narratives, *i.e.* additions of a religious colouring as in 7, "And Yahweh said unto Joshua, This day will I begin to magnify thee in the sight of all Israel, that they may know that as I was with Moses so I will be with thee." In spite of this, ch. 3 on the whole presents an intelligible narrative if the first clause of 4, which speaks of the distance to be maintained between the Ark and the people, is made a parenthesis. It is probably an insertion in the spirit of the priestly writers, emphasizing the sacred character of the Ark in accordance with Nu. 415ff. As the text stands, we must take 5 as spoken the day before 6, and in 6 insert some such phrase as "and on the morrow." We must also delete 12, which has no connexion with what precedes or follows. With these alterations, the narrative is straightforward. In ch. 4, however, we get into hopeless confusion. In 1 the people have completely passed over Jordan. Then twelve men are commanded to go back and fetch twelve stones from the bed of the river. But in 4f. the twelve men are ordered to pass over before the Ark, and the narrative of the crossing which we have already had at the end of ch. 3 is repeated down to 19.

Moreover, instead of the two accounts of the stones which we expect in the two narratives, there are, practically, three. One tells us quite plainly that twelve stones were taken out of the midst of the river, and the second just as plainly says that twelve stones were set up in the midst of the river; while the account we should naturally expect, that twelve stones were taken across the river from one side to another, only appears if we take the last half of 3 by itself; viz. the words, "And carry them over with you and put them in the lodging place where ye shall lodge to-night." These words, taken alone, certainly seem to speak of the transference of stones from one side of the river to the other. Further, the four words previous to those just quoted can be translated as follows: "Prepare (*hākin*) twelve stones (and carry them over," etc.), a command which fits in with the rest of the verse. But by the words in the first part of 3, which speak of taking stones *out* of the river, the purport of this command is entirely altered. It is here maintained that all the references to stones being taken out of the bed of the river are insertions which arose from a misunderstanding of 5. But it will be asked—Does not 5 speak of taking up stones from the river? At first sight it does; but the command, "Cross over before the ark into Jordan and take every man of you a stone upon his shoulder," is given to the men who are already on the bank of the river where the stones are in readiness, so that the taking up of the stones would be the first thing to be done. But as the words "lift up the stones" came after the words "cross over before the ark," it was thought that the action corresponded with this order; that the stones were lifted up after the men had marched into the bed of the river; hence arose the erroneous idea that stones were taken up out of the bed of the river, after the twelve men had marched into position before the Ark. This led first to the insertion of the words, "out of the midst of Jordan" in 8, and afterwards to another insertion at the beginning of 3.

When the text has been cleared in this way, ch. 4 gives a second account of the crossing, with the usual additions of the Deuteronomist. 9 is out of place unless it is explained, as the Greek translation does, by the insertion of the word "other" before the words "twelve stones."

[**III. 3. The priests the Levites:** *i.e.* the Levitical priests. The term is Deuteronomic. In Dt. the whole tribe of Levi, not the descendants of Aaron merely, exercise priestly functions. *Cf.* Dt. 181.—**4.** The sanctity of the Ark was such that the people must keep far from it, lest Yahweh should "break forth upon them." *Cf.* 1 S. 53*, 619f, 2 S. 66–8.—A. S. P.] —**5. Sanctify yourselves.**—War was a sacred act among the Israelites, for which they prepared, as for any other sacred function, by ceremonial purification (p. 99 and see W. R. Smith, RS², p. 455).—[**16.** A remarkable parallel is quoted by Clermont Ganneau (see article by C. M. Watson, *Pal. Expl. Fund Quarterly*, 1895, pp. 253 ff. See also HDB, ii. p. 265, EBi, cols. 2399f.) from the Arabic chronicler Nowairi. He describes how, in December 1267, the Jordan was dammed for several hours in this neighbourhood by a landslip. Smaller landslips, in fact, still occur in the district.—A. S. P.]—**20.** The

words "out of Jordan" should be "from Jordan."—IV. 3. The statement that twelve stones were to be set up in the lodging place is doubtless an endeavour to account for a sacred stone circle which existed from prehistoric times at Gilgal. Large stones, or rather pillars (Heb. *mazzeboth*, pp. 98f.), formed part of every holy place even in the time of Hosea. They were, however, forbidden in Dt. For an excellent photograph of such stones at Gezer, see Driver, *Schweich Lec.*, p. 63.

V. 2–9. Joshua Circumcises the Israelites.—Here we have an interesting but quite unhistorical account of the institution of circumcision. Circumcision (pp. 83, 99f.) is a prehistoric rite practised by many nations in antiquity and by the South Sea Islanders, African, and Australian aborigines in the present day. Here we have an attempt to date its origin in Israel from the entry into Palestine, while in Gen. 17* (P) its origin is dated from the command given by God to Abraham. The endeavours of subsequent scribes to bring the two accounts into conformity with one another are seen in the insertion of 3–8. The original narrative is probably to be found in 2 and 9. Joshua is ordered to circumcise the nation by Yahweh, who says, "This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you." The only meaning to be attached to these words is that the Egyptians had reproached the Israelites with being uncircumcised, just as the Israelites themselves subsequently reproached the Philistines. Later writers however, especially in the face of Gen. 17, could not admit that the Israelites were uncircumcised in Egypt; 3–8 was accordingly added, stating that the Israelites who were circumcised at Gilgal were those who had been born in the wilderness, and for some unexplained reason had never undergone the rite, though this, of course, leaves the words, "This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you," quite without meaning. That the original account gave offence to later editors is also seen from the interesting fact that the stone knives here mentioned are again found in LXX 2142 and 2430, where they are said to have been preserved at Timnath-serah. These passages, no doubt, belong to the old tradition that circumcision was instituted by Joshua at Gilgal, but as being in conflict with the priestly account in Gen. 17 were omitted from the Hebrew text.

[2f. knives of flint: this, like the parallel case of Zipporah's circumcision of her son with a flint (Ex. 425), is an example of what is known as "the conservatism of the religious instinct." The rite dated back beyond the period when metal knives were in use. A Central Australian tradition (Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 223f., 394–402) carries us back beyond even stone knives to the use of the fire-stick for circumcision, but stone knives are said to have been introduced because so many of the boys died under the operation (pp. 224, 401f.). Any deviation from traditional routine is felt to be dangerous in religious ceremonies, and just as the fire-stick was employed after flint knives were known, so the latter relic of the Stone Age continued to be used after metal knives had been introduced. See 831*.—A. S. P.]

V. 10–12, which records the eating of the first passover in the Promised Land, belongs to the Priestly writer. The editor took care to put the account of the circumcision before that of the Passover, for, according to Ex. 1248, "no uncircumcised person shall eat thereof."

V. 13–VI. 27. The Capture of Jericho.—The narrative begins at 513; 61 is an insertion (observe that RV places it in brackets), so that 62 should immediately follow 515. The captain of Yahweh's host is therefore Yahweh Himself. In the rest of the chapter we have a composite narrative, so skilfully compiled that at first sight there is not much fault to find. Closer inspection, however, shows that there are two signals for the fall of the walls—(*a*) a shout after a blast of the trumpets (5), and (*b*) a shout after Joshua's command (10). Further, the priests and the rearguard also are said to have sounded the trumpets during the circuit of the walls: this is probably a very late addition. Wellhausen's suggestion, which has been generally accepted, is that two accounts are combined; in the first the Israelites marched round the walls once a day for seven days, while in the second the Israelites went round the walls seven times in one day. These stories were combined by an editor who may have added the statement that the trumpets were sounded during the circuit of the walls. Most scholars are satisfied that this is the best solution as yet offered.

It is, however, possible that the first and simplest narrative is based on a still earlier and simpler account, of which traces remain in the LXX. Here we find that the command at the beginning of the chapter contains no reference at all to marching round the walls of the city. 3f. runs in LXX as follows: "And do thou set the men of war round the city, and it shall be when ye blow with the trumpet, let all the people shout together, and when they shout, the walls of the city shall fall down of themselves and all the people shall hasten to enter into the city." Here the command is, Surround the city, give a signal by blowing a trumpet, raise the battle-cry and deliver the assault. That the walls should fall down of themselves, is a vivid statement of the fact that the army would encounter no resistance. The Rahab clan in the city would open the gates, or find some other means of letting the invaders within the walls. The capture of Bethel, as recounted in Jg. 124, should be read in connexion with this. [The recent excavations at Jericho do not support the historicity of the statement that the walls collapsed. Handcock says, "none of the fortification works at Jericho shows any sign of having been destroyed to the extent that a reader of *Joshua* VI would naturally suppose" (*Archæology of the Holy Land*, p. 101).—A. S. P.]

The original and simple narrative that the city was surrounded and taken by assault, aided by the co-operation of some of the inhabitants, was gradually enlarged. The additions would probably begin with the introduction of the Ark. When it was felt that the Ark ought to have some place of honour in the taking of Jericho, as it had in the crossing of the Jordan, the command to surround the city would become a command to march round the city, with the Ark in a position of honour. Naturally the priests would have to accompany the Ark. Hence a simple historical fact has been altered out of all recognition. (*Cf.* the transformation which the earlier narrative in Jg. 5 has suffered in Jg. 4 and the similar alterations in Ch.; especially the narrative of the bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem; *cf.* 2 S. 6 with 1 Ch. 13 and 15.)

[17. devoted: *i.e.* placed under the ban (*herem*), devoted to utter destruction. To save anything alive or appropriate anything thus devoted, as Achan did, was counted a grievous sin (*cf.* Dt. 234*, 1 S. 15, pp. 99, 114).—A. S. P.]

26b. The exact meaning of these words is difficult to determine (1 K. 1634*). The simplest solution is to believe that the builder offered his firstborn as a foundation sacrifice and his youngest son as a final sacrifice on the completion of the rebuilding, and that the religious feeling of later times (*cf.* Mi. 67) transformed the

sacrifices into a punishment. It was a well-known custom in primitive times for the foundation of a house to be inaugurated with a human sacrifice. We feel reluctant to admit that this custom obtained in Israel, but after the excavations at Gezer it is impossible to deny the existence of human foundation sacrifices as late as "the latter half of the Jewish monarchy" (pp. 83, 99, Ex. 13_2*). See Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, pp. 69–72, where a photograph is given, and objections to the theory that a foundation sacrifice is here referred to are stated. The actual rebuilding of the Canaanitish city of Jericho appears not to have been attempted. Archæological evidence seems to show that another city was built not far from the old site (see Driver, p. 92).

VII. Achan's Trespass, Israel's Defeat, Achan's Punishment.—**1.** The name should probably be Achar. The narrative presents no difficulties till the end of the chapter, where Achan's punishment is recorded.—**2. Ai**: probably 2 miles SE. of Bethel (p. 31).—**9. And what wilt thou do for** (or on account of) **thy great name?** The meaning is that if Israel is destroyed there will be none to worship Yahweh; an interesting example of the ancient belief in the close connexion between the deity and his worshippers.—[**19. Give . . . Lord**: *i.e.*, tell the truth, *cf.* Jn. 9_{24}.—A. S. P.].—**24.** The text has undergone considerable alteration. Originally, as the Heb. shows, the clause ran, "And Joshua took Achan the son of Zerach and all Israel with him and brought him to the valley of Achor." The insertion was probably made under the influence of Dt. 13_{15}f. It has been suggested that Achan alone was put to death, but considering the views of ancient times, it is probable that the original narrator considered "him" to include Achan's household.

VIII. 1–29. Capture of Ai.—Here we have the second and the successful attempt to take Ai. That two accounts have been combined is obvious. In 3 Joshua sends 30,000 men as an ambuscade against the city; in 12, he sends 5000 men. No doubt 30,000 is an error for 3000. The writer of 20, who tells us that the whole population of Ai was 12,000, is also the writer of 3. We may take it that he was far more likely to write 3000 than 30,000. In 17 the words "and Bethel" are an unintelligent insertion of a late editor. They are not in the LXX, and if the ambush was between Bethel and Ai, it is difficult to see how the inhabitants of Bethel could come out to pursue after the main army of Joshua.

13 requires a slight emendation to give sense. We must read, They placed the people, the whole camp, *i.e.* the main army, north of the city, and the ambush in the west. This gives us the second account. In the first, Joshua marches from the E. into the valley towards Ai and sends an ambush from thence to the other, *i.e.* the W. side of the city. In the second he draws up his army on the N. of Ai and sends his ambush as in the first case to lie "behind," *i.e.* to the W. of Ai.—**11–13** is more detailed in giving the position of Joshua himself, and may be an insertion with that end in view, or it may be from an independent account. —**14.** "At the time (*mg.* to the place) appointed, before the Arabah" is a difficult phrase. As it stands it is unintelligible. If we emend "to the *slope* (*morad* for *mo'ed*) before the Arabah," then we get a possible meaning. In 7 5 we read that the men of Ai in the first battle smote the Israelites on the "morad," the slope or descent, as they were fleeing to their camp. The idea may be that on the second occasion Joshua did not approach so near to the city as on the first, but remained near the sloping ground where the Israelites had been overtaken and slain before. But in any case it is an insertion in the original text.—[**18.** It is questionable if this is a signal; it looks like a piece of sympathetic magic. The pointing of the deadly weapon at the city is a symbol, but not an empty symbol. It helps to achieve what it represents. We may compare the ebb and flow of victory as the hands of Moses sank or rose, his hand held the wonder-working rod, as the hand of Joshua held the javelin, (Ex. 17_{9-13}). And as Moses' hands were upheld till victory was won, so Joshua did not withdraw the javelin till the ban was executed (26).—A. S. P.]—**29.** We should read with LXX "cast it into a pit."

VIII. 30–35. Altar Erected on Ebal, the Law Inscribed and Read.—This comes in a strange place. The middle of Canaan has not yet been conquered, so that such a proceeding was impossible if our narrative is complete. On this account most scholars take it that 30–35 is the end of an account which narrated the conquest of the middle of the country, and that for some reason or other the editor omitted it. The passage is Deuteronomic, and the objection that it violates the law of the single sanctuary rests on a misconception. According to the Deuteronomic view, the single sanctuary was to be set up when "Yahweh hath given you rest from your enemies round about." This refers to the reign of Solomon: until then a multiplicity of altars was regarded as legitimate, as is seen from the fact that Samuel is not considered to have done wrong by sacrificing at various places, while the kings and people who did so after the erection of Solomon's Temple are spoken of with disapproval.

[**30. Ebal**: pp. 30f.—**31. an altar . . . iron**: see Ex. 20_{25}, Dt. 27_{5}f. It is another example of the conservatism of the religious instinct (see 52f.*). Iron came into use for implements last of the metals, and there was a dread for long after of using it in religious rites. Religion remains in the Bronze Age after ordinary life has passed into the Iron Age. Iron may, however, be used as a protective against spirits or fairies (thus the horse-shoe brings luck), since they have an aversion to the new-fangled metal (see HDB, iv. 833; Frazer, *The Magic Art*, pp. 225–236).—A. S. P.].—**33. Gerizim**: p. 30.

IX. The Stratagem of the Gibeonites.—This account, though composite, is straightforward enough if 17–21 be omitted. These verses give an account by the priestly writer in which the "princes of the congregation" take the leading part, and make a treaty which immediately afterwards is made again by Joshua. 22 is plainly the continuation of 16. That a treaty was made with the Gibeonites at an early date is a historical fact, but that treaty was very far from making them hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Temple (23,27), which, of course, did not yet exist. We read in 2 S. 21 that a three years' famine which occurred was considered to be a punishment on Israel for an attempt made by Saul to extirpate the Gibeonites in spite of the existence of an alliance. This looks as if the Gibeonites were independent allies. If so, they were not reduced until the time of Solomon, when with the rest of the Canaanites they were made to furnish labourers for Solomon's building operations (see 1 K. 9_{21}ff.) including, of course, the Temple—the house of Yahweh. The words "hewer of wood and drawer of water" in Dt. 29_{10} show that the phrase simply means menial labourers, and it is with this meaning that the words were used in the earlier narrative. The Priestly writer is responsible for turning it into the definite meaning of Temple servants.

X. 1–27. Defeat and Death of the Five Kings.—Here we have the account of the famous battle of Beth-

horon. Five kings band themselves together against Gibeon; the Gibeonites send for help to Joshua, who comes upon the enemy suddenly and completely routs them. It is hardly necessary to say that the adjuration to the sun to stand still is purely poetical, and is to be compared with the words of Deborah's song, "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera." The compiler of this book, however, took it as an actual prayer that was really granted, as is seen from the words, "So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven." Mr. Stanley Cook would omit the third line and make the fourth line part of the appeal, which would then run, "Sun, stand thou still at Gibeon, and thou, moon, on the valley of Aijalon, till Yahweh (not the people) hath avenged himself on his enemies." He also gives the interesting information that "Syrian peasants still cry in song to the sun to hasten his going down that they may rest" (EBi, article "Jashar)." For the book of Jashar, see p. 45.

12. Valley of Aijalon: p. 31.—**15** must be omitted; it is not in the LXX and is suspicious for other reasons.

X. 28–40. Conquest of S. Canaan.—This section is late and is from the hand of the Deuteronomist. Well-known passages in this and other books show it to be quite unhistorical. In 33 the king of Gezer (Jg 129*,1 K. 916*,) is said to have been slain with all his people, though from 1610 we know that Gezer maintained its independence, and from Kings it appears that it did so till the time of Solomon. In 36–39 Hebron and Debir are taken, and all the inhabitants destroyed, though later on, in 1513, we read that Caleb goes up against these towns and takes possession of them. According to the tradition in Jg. 1 this happened after the death of Joshua.

XI. Defeat of Jabin and his Coalition.—Jabin, king of Hazor, gathers a vast army of Canaanites at the Waters of Merom (locality uncertain, p. 32). The coalition was utterly defeated, the king was slain, and his city burnt. In Jg. 4, a king of the same name and the same city appears, who "for twenty years mightily oppressed the children of Israel." Joshua's victory here seems to be inconsistent with the account given of Jabin in Jg. 4. The original story of Barak's campaign (Jg. 5) has no reference to Jabin, but only to Sisera. The prose narrative (Jg. 4) combines the war against Sisera with that against Jabin, and makes the former the general of the latter. It is noticeable that the terms of the short narrative in which the battle is here described are very vague and general, and 8, with its statement that the Israelites pursued their enemies as far as Zidon in the N. and Mizpah in the E. is simply the result of the writer's ignorance of the distances of these places from the battle-field. That there may have been some severe conflict in the N. is quite possible, but that such a sweeping victory took place, which had so little effect that it had to be repeated some time afterwards, is against all probability. 1–9 is, in the main, from JE, 10–23 from the Deuteronomist.

13. cities that stood upon their mounds: this may be illustrated by a quotation from Driver's *Schweich Lectures* (p. 87). He says, "At Gezer we have first the rough earth rampart, with stone facings, of the aboriginal Neolithic population, followed by the more massive stone walls built by subsequent occupiers." The "rough earth rampart" would constitute the "Tell" or mound, and would doubtless be known to the writer.

XII. List of the Conquered Kings.—The whole of this chapter, which is a detailed expansion of 1116, "So Joshua took all that land," is a late composition of the Deuteronomic school; of which it can only be said that the first six verses are probably less removed from historical verity than the last eighteen. The statement (6) that Moses had given the half tribe of Manasseh land on the east of the Jordan is unhistorical (ch. 17*). 10 (*cf.* Jg. 17) mentions the king of Jerusalem, but *cf.* 1563 and Jg. 121.

XIII. Parts of the Land as yet Unconquered. Inheritance of the Two and a Half Tribes on the E. of Jordan.—In 1 we meet with a statement which causes surprise. The whole land has been subdued (1123–12), yet now we read that even in Joshua's old age there remained "very much land to be possessed." This plainly comes from an older source than ch. 12, and is very much nearer the true state of things. The later writer, however, in order to bring the statement into harmony with what he has written in 12, proceeds to explain the phrase "very much land" by referring it to distant places in the W. and N. (2–6), some of which certainly never came into the possession of Israel at all. And these places were to be divided amongst the tribes and constitute their inheritance! For 29–31, which is unhistorical, see end of ch. 17.*

XIV.–XIX. The Division of the Land on the W. of Jordan.

141–5 is P's introduction to the division of the land by lot, but instead of going on at once with his account of the inheritance of Judah the editor inserts (6–15) a Deuteronomic account of Caleb's claim to Hebron in accordance with the promise given him by Moses in Nu. After this we get in 151–12, P's account of the boundaries of Judah. But before giving the names of the various cities of Judah, the editor inserted another account (13–19) of Caleb's conquests from a source older than the Deuteronomic section just mentioned in 146–15. Then in 20–62 we get the names of the cities of Judah. In 63 we have an old fragment of genuine historical interest stating that the Jebusites maintained their ground in Jerusalem, a duplicate of which is found in Jg. 121 with the erroneous alteration of Benjamin for Judah.

XIV. 1–5 reads rather confusedly. The statement is made that the following is the inheritance of Israel—a late writer, wishing to be more exact, says the 9½ tribes, and then proceeds to point out how the number 9½ was obtained.

XVII. This section deals with the inheritance of the Joseph tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. It is composite, but the different parts are easily separated. The old narrative speaks of the tribe of Joseph, the new, *i.e.* P, of Ephraim and Manasseh. The section begins with three verses (161–3) from the older source which give the dividing line of the lot of Joseph, *i.e.* the boundary between the N. and S.; the line goes from Jordan near Jericho, leaving Jericho on the S., and is drawn by Bethel, Beth-horon, and Gezer. One would naturally expect that this line would be the same as the southern border of Ephraim which P gives in the following verses (4–9). But for some reason, which we can only conjecture, the borders of Ephraim are confused and unintelligible. It has been suggested that as P was written after the Exile by a scribe in Judah, his knowledge of the northern part of Palestine would be very imperfect, hence the unsatisfactory nature of the account. 10, which states that the inhabitants of Gezer maintained their ground, is another fragment of the same kind, as 1563, and like it, has a duplicate in Jg. 1, viz. in 29.

171–10, from a Priestly writer, describes the inheritance of Manasseh. In 7–10 the boundaries are

given, but as in the case of Ephraim, no definite boundary line can be drawn from the names given in the text. The only point of interest is the assignment of inheritance to the daughters of Zelophehad in accordance with Nu. 27 1ff. There Moses ordains that the daughters of a man who has no sons shall take their father's inheritance. This is in opposition to ancient law, which recognised the sons only as heirs. Later feeling was against this, and the writer of Nu. 27 1ff. gave effect to it by the imaginary instance of Zelophehad and his daughters. For a discussion of this kind of "legal fiction," see W. R. Smith, OTJC², p. 386. The remainder of the chapter (11–18) consists of two passages from an older source, the first of which states that Manasseh could not drive out the Canaanites from Bethshean and some other cities. This resembles 15 63, and should be compared with Jg. 1 27. The second passage (14–18) gives the demand of "Joseph" for an extension of territory. The request is granted, but in somewhat obscure terms. The statement ascribed to the Joseph tribe, "Thou hast given me but *one* lot," shows that the oldest tradition knew nothing of any territory E. of the Jordan being assigned to Manasseh by Moses, and this view is supported by the fact that in the song of Deborah, Machir, which is only another name for Manasseh, is regarded as a W. Jordan tribe. It has therefore been argued with great probability that the settlements of the Manassite clans E. of the Jordan were subsequent to the settlements on the W. But the passage in the text does not put this definitely; accordingly Budde emends Joshua's answer as follows: "But the hill country *of Gilead* shall be thine." Whether this emendation is accepted or not, a large number of scholars are agreed that the first settlements of Manasseh were in W. Palestine and that those in the E. were acquired later; the present passage, with its distinct statement about the "one lot," certainly supports that view.

The first verse of ch. 18 belongs to P, and its original position was before 14 1. It was placed here by the editor before what is probably a Deuteronomic passage (2–10) with which it does not connect very well. So far, only Judah and Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) have had their inheritance assigned to them by lot. The old tradition was that Judah and Joseph were the first to obtain their territory by conquest; the way in which P conformed to this was by saying that their inheritance was assigned to them first by lot when the whole of the W. Jordan territory was divided. The writer of 2–10 (D ?) apparently follows the older narrative, that Judah and Joseph obtained their lands by conquest, but thinks that the remaining seven tribes obtained theirs by lot. This the editor retained. But the passage has suffered from subsequent revision, for the LXX shows that it did not originally contain the references to Shiloh in 8–10. These references were inserted to make the passage agree with 1. After this passage, P is resumed and the lots of the seven tribes given in the remainder of 18 and in 19. In 19 47, we have a fragment of the older history, or rather the fragment of a fragment. The meaningless words "went out beyond them" should be "were too narrow for them." This restores sense to the passage as it stands. But the original passage, as we see it from the LXX, corresponded to Jg. 1 34, from which it appears that the Amorites effectually prevented the Danites from settling in the SW. of Palestine. The last editor of Joshua desired that this should not remain on record, and accordingly cut down the original passage to its present form.

XIX. 6. Sharuhen is interesting as the city to which the Hyksos (pp. 52, 54) or Semitic Shepherd Kings fled when they were driven out of Egypt, and where they are said to have been besieged for six years (Driver, *Exodus*, p. xliii).

XX. The Cities of Refuge.—The cities of refuge (p. 113) were not appointed till after the Deuteronomic reform under Josiah in 621. In early times the asylum or refuge for the manslayer was the altar at the local sanctuary. This is seen from the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 21 14): "If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from my altar that he may die." See also 1 K. 1 50, where Adonijah, in fear of his life, flees to the altar for safety. When the law of the single sanctuary was promulgated in Dt., other provision had to be made for asylum; hence the institution of the cities of refuge. As Dt. says that Moses commanded the institution of these cities, a later writer, ignorant of the exact standpoint of the Deuteronomic school, naturally concluded that Joshua carried out that command; he accordingly stated that what he thought must or ought to have occurred, did, as a fact, actually occur. The standpoint of Dt. was that the cities of refuge were to be appointed after the Temple of Solomon had been built and the law of the single sanctuary had thus become possible. This being so, there was no need for Joshua to appoint these cities. See further Nu. 35*, Dt. 19 1–13*.

XXI. 1–42. The Levitical Cities.—The cities promised by Moses to the Levites are here assigned to them. The sons of Aaron have 13 in Judah, the Levites 10 in Ephraim and Manasseh, 13 in Galilee, and 12 in the E. Jordan territory. Both promises and performance are unhistorical. The simple fact that the descendants of Aaron could at this time have numbered only a few families shows the assignment of 13 cities to them to be purely imaginary. For the true history of the priesthood, reference must be made to the Introduction to the Pentateuch.

11 is an interesting piece of "harmonising." The conquest and possession of the city of Hebron by Caleb was so prominent in the old tradition that the assignment of it to the Priests had to be explained. The fields and villages are therefore said to have been assigned to Caleb, while the city and the suburbs go to the Priests.

XXI. 43–XXII. 8. Yahweh's Promise of Conquest Completely Fulfilled, so that the E. Jordan Tribes are Set Free to Return Home.—We have here the introduction to the last section of our book. The land has now, according to the Deuteronomist, been conquered and divided amongst the 9½ tribes; consequently the 2½ tribes, having fulfilled their duty, are dismissed with thanks to their own possessions on the other side of the Jordan.

XXII. 9–34. The Altar of Witness Erected by the E. Jordan Tribes.—This narrative is clearly not historical, and the question arises, Why should it have been composed? The answer is that it is a Midrash (p. 314, 2 Ch. 13 22*) of the same nature as those in Nu. 15 32, the man gathering sticks on the Sabbath, and 31 25, the law for the division of the spoil. In this connexion we may quote the admirable words of Mr. Ball: "We have to bear in mind a fact familiar enough to students of Talmudic and Midrashic literature, the inveterate tendency to convey their doctrine not in the form of abstract discourse, but in a mode appealing directly to the imagination. . . . The Rabbi embodies his lesson in a story, whether parable, or allegory, or seeming historical narrative; and the last thing he or his disciples would think of is to ask whether the selected persons,

events, and circumstances which so vividly suggest the doctrine are in themselves real or fictitious. The doctrine is everything; the mode of presentation has no independent value." (*Speaker's Comm. on the Apocrypha*, vol. ii. p. 307.)

There is only one legitimate altar, according to the Deuteronomist, but this regulation was supposed to come into force only after the building of the Temple by Solomon. This view is not accepted by the Priestly writers: according to them, the command to sacrifice at the central sanctuary was valid from the very beginning. It was to emphasize this that the story was written. Not even for tribes so far away from Jerusalem as Reuben and Gad, was another altar to be allowed. The story has been skilfully composed, and the time skilfully chosen for the purpose. The doctrine of the single sanctuary is emphasized in an unmistakable manner, and yet no blame attaches to those who erected the second altar. It has, however, been suggested that the narrative may have reference to some ancient altar whose existence had to be explained and made consistent with the law of the single sanctuary. In support of this it should be noticed that Joshua does not appear in the narrative, or Eleazar either, so that it could not have originally been written in connexion with the return of the 2½ tribes. This is confirmed by the fact that the words "the half tribe of Manasseh" are a later insertion where they occur; in 25, 32, and 34, they do not appear; the narrative originally concerned the tribes of Reuben and Gad only.

[**29.** The E. side of Jordan might seem a different land from W. Palestine, and therefore cut off from the sanctifying influence of the Tabernacle. If that was really the case, the law of the single sanctuary must remain inviolate, and E. Jordan be regarded as unclean. Since the 2½ tribes could not remain in an unclean land they would have to cross the Jordan and settle in the West.—A. S. P.]

XXIII. Address by Joshua.—We have in this chapter a Deuteronomic homily or exhortation such as we find in Dt. 28. In both places the writer points out the evil consequence of disobedience to, and the beneficial results of compliance with, the commandments of Yahweh. These discourses are an amplification of the well-known words of Isaiah, "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land, but if ye refuse and rebel ye shall be devoured with the sword, for the mouth of the LORD hath spoken it." If this chapter is compared with the next, the reader will see at once the difference between the exhortations of the Deuteronomic school and those of the earlier "prophetic" writers. The Deuteronomist generalises, the earlier writer refers to historical facts.

XXIV. Joshua Addresses the People, Makes a Covenant, and Erects a Stone of Witness. Death of Joshua.—This chapter is unanimously assigned to the Elohist (E). The appeal of Joshua is to the history of the nation, beginning with Abraham. In 9 the words "and fought against Israel" should be omitted. Balak did not join battle with Israel. In 11 "the Amorite, etc." should be omitted. The hornets here in 12 and in Ex. 2328 and Dt. 720 are a well-known perplexity. Could it have been a picturesque way of referring to the fact that before 1200 the Canaanites had been in subjection to the Egyptians and Hittites, and therefore unprepared to oppose an invader? In 12 for the "two" kings of the Amorites we may read with the LXX, "twelve." It is quite possible, however, that in the original no number at all was given. In 14 and 23 the exhortation to put away false gods is, no doubt, a reference to the idols which we know were worshipped by the Israelites even in Isaiah's time. The writer, as a member of the prophetic school, opposed them, and puts his own teaching into Joshua's speech. As to the book of the law mentioned in 26, it is difficult to say what is meant. Some scholars have thought that a "book of the law" was in existence of which we know nothing; but it has been pointed out (Oxf. Hex.) that if there had been such a book of the law there would have been no necessity to erect a stone as a witness: the book would be a much better one. The words are therefore probably an insertion. On 32 *cf.* Gen. 3319*.

The LXX has three or four additional verses which are not represented in the Heb. or in our version. As one of them says that the Ark was carried about among the Israelites, later editors would not care to preserve a notice which militated against their ideal view of the early history of the nation.

On looking back over the Book of Joshua, the student will probably experience a feeling of disappointment. According to critical investigation the book appears to be a medley of contradictory narratives, most of which are unhistorical. It has to be admitted that the Hebrew writers knew nothing of history in the modern sense of the term: myth, legend, tradition were all accepted without question. But on the other hand they believed, and that rightly, that the destiny of their nation was one of great importance in the history of the world; and the Book of Joshua was written and edited in the belief that events contributory to the realisation of that destiny are to be seen in the conquest and occupation of Palestine. The traditional and legendary accounts of these events were narrated in all good faith by the aid of the only materials then available. Such considerations as these will always render the investigation of the obscure history of early Israel a subject of abiding interest to modern students of religion. In the great epic of Israel's history the Book of Joshua has its place.

JUDGES

By Professor JAMES STRAHAN

Israel's New Environment.—When the Israelites came up from the Arabian Desert and invaded the fertile lands of Syria, they took the most important step in human progress. They ceased to be nomads and became tillers of the ground. Their contact with Egypt had made a profound impression upon them. While it rekindled their passion for freedom, it gave them a new sense of the benefits of civilisation. It spoiled them for ever for the old Bedouin life. They could never again feel themselves doomed to the drudgery of wandering as shepherds from well to well, and from one scant pasture to another. It dawned upon them that they and their children were called to a fuller, richer life, in which they would have all the desert freedom without any of the desert poverty. What was their redemption from Egypt worth if they were simply to be flung back into the treeless, waterless waste? Inspired with a new faith in Yahweh, who had brought them out of the house of bondage, they felt that He was summoning them to inherit a land of their own in which He would make them a great nation. There are, indeed, indications that the life in walled cities was begun with some qualms and fears, while the taste and aptitude for husbandry and vine-dressing were doubtless but slowly acquired. Even after centuries in the goodly land of Canaan there were still adherents of the old order, who lived in tents and abjured wine (Jer. 35*), for ever harking back to the time when Yahweh's people were not contaminated and enfeebled by the luxuries and the vices of cities (p. 85). But no nation can live on its past. When the Jordan was once crossed, the die was cast, and the new era, for good or ill, commenced in the country of the Canaanites and Amorites.

The Times of the Judges.—This era, extending roughly from 1250 to 1000 B.C., was the raw, crude, formative period of Israel's history. Each tribe, or group of clans, acting independently of the others, had first to find for itself a home, and then to adapt itself to its new conditions. Even in the most desirable place of rest it was difficult enough to abandon the habits of ages. The spirit of the nomad was not to be tamed and domesticated in a day or a year. The language of the settler continued to smack of the desert. "To your tents, O Israel," was a cry heard long after the tribes had ceased to roam the desert. And many generations passed before a real national union was consolidated. Fused at the time of the conquest in the fierce heat of a new religious passion, the old individualism yet inevitably reasserted itself in the widely-scattered settlements. No tribe exercised an undisputed pre-eminence. No second master-mind completed the work of Moses. In the absence of social and economic interests common to the whole nation, and of an authority effective over a wide area, the tribes were outwardly held together only by ties of the loosest kind. There was neither court nor capital, neither high-priest nor central shrine, to focus the political and religious aspirations of the young nation. The key of the situation would appear to be found in the fact which this Book emphasizes by frequent repetition: "In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes" (Jg. 17$_6$; *cf.* 18$_1$, 19$_1$, 21$_{25}$). Yet that was only half the truth. For Yahweh had become the Lord of Israel's conscience, and in the days of its youth the nation slowly learned to remember its Creator and to do that which was right in His eyes. Therein lay the whole secret of Israel's coming greatness.

The School of War.—Like all the other nations which have played a conspicuous part in history, the Israelites had to be disciplined in warfare. The territory which they had won could not be maintained without great difficulty. They were surrounded on every hand by jealous neighbours, and their life and property were in constant danger. Not only was every unconquered Canaanite town a hotbed of rebellion, but the land was frequently invaded, now by a wild horde of Midianites from the desert, now by a regular army of Ammonites from beyond the Jordan, or of Philistines from the Maritime Plain. "These are the nations which Yahweh left, to prove Israel by them . . . to teach them war" (Jg. 3$_{1f.}$). Without this discipline the Israelites might have become, like the Phœnicians, a nation of merchants, but in the defence of their country they perforce became martial and heroic. Nearly all the wars in the time of the Judges were wars of defence, not of aggression, and the recurrent dangers evoked not only the dauntless spirit but the religious passion of the race. It was Israel's firm belief that Yahweh went with them into battle and gave them the victory. Their first history was "The book of the Wars of Yahweh." There never was a more thrilling war-cry than "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon"; patriotism never found so magnificent expression as in the Song of Deborah; and no maiden ever rose to a grander height of self-sacrifice than Jephthah's daughter, when she realised that her life was the price to be paid for her father's victory over Ammon.

The Title of the Book.—Among the neighbouring nations with which Israel was destined to be brought into very close contact were the Phœnicians. Centuries, indeed, elapse before they receive more than a passing mention, but in the title of our Book there is an interesting evidence of the early intercourse between the two kindred races. During an interregnum the Phœnicians were in the habit of entrusting the supreme power in their country to a *suffet*, and in Carthage and other Punic cities the *suffetes* were the chief magistrates, corresponding to the Roman consuls. It cannot be a mere coincidence that the highest power in Israel was for some centuries placed in the hands of the *shophet*, or Judge, a term which had a much wider meaning than our English word. When a man of

valour was raised up to be a Judge in Israel, his first task was to deliver his tribe, or group of tribes, from an oppressor; and when peace was restored, he became the political head of one or more tribes, though never of the whole nation. The office of the Judge is thus "the first trace of the influence of Syrian usages on the fortunes of the Chosen People, the first-fruits of the pagan inheritance to which the Jewish and the Christian Church has succeeded" (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, p. 258).

The Influence of the Philistines.—From this western people (pp. 56f.) the land of the Canaanites received the name by which it is still best known—Palestine (p. 26). Their influence in Syria was undoubtedly great, though the OT gives us but a glimpse of the facts. They were for centuries Israel's most stubborn enemy, and it was in a life-and-death struggle with them that the tribes ultimately became a united nation. "Philistine" has now become a term for a person of a boorish mind. But the monuments unearthed during the last few years in Palestine, Egypt, and Crete have begun to revolutionise our ideas of that ancient people. They were, as Professor Macalister says, "of the remnant of the dying glories of Crete" (*A Hist. of Civilisation in Pal.*, p. 54). Sprung from that ancient home of art, they brought with them the instincts of their race, and were the only cultured people who ever occupied the soil of Palestine till the time of the Greeks. "Whatsoever things raised life in the country above the dull animal existence of the Fellahin were due to this people" (p. 58). Through contact with them the Israelites made two strides forward—they learned the use of iron and of alphabetic writing. Without the second of these arts how different would all our sacred and classical books have been! The Phœnicians used to be regarded as the givers of this boon and blessing to men. But opinion is changing. "Whoever invented the alphabet laid the foundation-stone of civilisation. Can it be that we owe this gift to the Philistines, of all people?" (R. A. S. Macalister, *The Philistines*, p. 130).

The Sources of the Book.—The style is the man, and variety of styles indicates diversity of authorship. The literary analysis of this Book is, on the whole, not difficult. (*a*) The main and central part, 2₆–16₃₁, consists of traditions which have been fitted into a framework by a writer (D) imbued with the ideas of the Book of Deuteronomy. His thoughts, and the language with which he clothes them, make his contribution very apparent. His work is not history but commentary. He indicates the moral of the traditions which he edits. Like the prophets, he sees the hand of God so controlling events that Israel invariably enjoys prosperity as the reward of faithfulness, and endures adversity as the wages of sin. It will be found that in applying this moral to successive eras, he regards the heroes of particular tribes as if they were the Judges of the whole of Israel. He probably wrote about the beginning of the sixth century B.C. He utilised, without materially altering, the work of two earlier writers, or schools of writers, the Yahwist (J) of Southern Israel and the Elohist (E) of Northern Israel, whose works had already been combined into a pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges. The ultimate source of most of the materials embodied in the writings of both these earlier authors was the oral traditions preserved in the different tribes of Israel. It is probable, however, that the Song of Deborah, which unquestionably dates from the time of the events which it celebrates, was extracted from one or other of two books which have not come down to us—"The book of the Wars of Yahweh," or "The book of the Just." (*b*) The introduction, 1₁–2₅, which is almost identical with fragments scattered throughout the Book of Joshua (13₁₃, 15₁₃–₁₉,₆₃, 16₁₀, 17₁₁–₁₃), is of very great value to the historian. It states in the most explicit terms that Israel's conquest of Canaan was at the outset by no means complete, but that many cities and great tracts of country remained unsubdued. (*c*) The last five chapters, 17–21, form two supplements which D omitted, though he doubtless found them in the earlier Book of Judges. These chapters were afterwards edited with extensive additions, and restored to their original position, by a redactor of the post-exilic priestly school (R). His hand is unmistakable in the last two chapters. He probably wrote in the fourth century B.C.

The Value of the Book.—Not only to the historian, but to the student of life and character, this is one of the most interesting books in the Holy Scriptures. What a wealth of incident and experience, what food for mind and heart, are found in its mingled comedy and tragedy! One can readily imagine how the stories were told with weeping and with laughter in ancient Israel. And they have a message for all ages and lands. What reader's spirit is not kindled by the fervent patriotism of Deborah, thrilled by the valour of Gideon and Jephthah and Samson, awed by the meek submission of Jephthah's daughter? How reluctant we still are to condemn, how ready to applaud, even the wild justice of Jael! "Other portions of Scripture have been more profitable for doctrine, for correction, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness; but for merely human interest—for the lively touches of ancient manners, for the succession of romantic incidents, for the consciousness that we are living with the persons described, for the tragical pathos of events and character—there is nothing like the history of the Judges from Othniel to Eli" (Stanley, p. 252).

Literature. — *Commentaries:* (*a*) **Cooke** (CB), Thatcher (Cent.B), Moore (SBOT Eng.); (*b*) **Moore** (ICC); (*c*) Budde (KHC), **Nowack** (HK), Lagrange. *Other Literature:* The Histories mentioned in the article on the "History of Israel"; Budde's *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, Kautzsch's *Religion of Israel* in HDB, Marti's *Religion of the OT.*, Loisy's *Religion of Israel*, and other works mentioned in article "Religion of Israel," Macalister's *History of Civilisation in Palestine*.

I. 1–II. 5. The Conquests and Settlements of the Israelites in Western Palestine.—From this introduction, which is one of the most valuable parts of early Hebrew history, we learn that the various tribes invaded the land either singly or in small groups; that they had failures as well as successes; that in many instances they did not destroy the older population, but settled peacefully among them; and that, in particular, the larger cities of Canaan, as well as the fertile valleys and the Maritime Plain, remained in the possession of the Canaanites. The conquests of Judah were separated from those of Joseph by a belt of walled cities with Jerusalem in its centre. Another line of strongholds, extending from Beth-shan near the Jordan to Dor on the sea coast, shut up Ephraim and Manasseh in the central highlands, and separated them from the tribes of Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, which settled in Galilee. The fortunes of Israel in the time of the Judges were largely determined by these facts.

I. 1–21. The Settlements of Judah.—At Jericho (1₆) the tribes inquire of the oracle—probably by the

casting of lots—which tribe shall open the attack upon Canaan, and, in accordance with the response, Judah and Simeon begin the invasion. They capture the mountain towns of Hebron, Debir, and Hormah, but fail to conquer the coast plain.

1. The words "after the death of Joshua," added probably by R, are meant to connect this book with the end of the previous one (see Jos. 24$_{29}$); but events are presently narrated which expressly occurred in the lifetime of Joshua (2$_6$). The Canaanites were the inhabitants of Western Palestine generally. The Phœnicians also called their land Canaan and themselves Canaanites.—**2f.** The tribes of Israel are figuratively regarded as individuals. Judah has the precedence, as in the story of Joseph (Gen. 43f.). He is accompanied by Simeon. Both were Leah tribes (Gen. 29$_{33,35}$). An attempt made by Simeon and Levi to securea settlement at Shechem (pp. 65, 248)—probably about this very time, though no allusion is made to it here—ended in disaster (Gen. 49$_{5-7}$). Simeon was thereafter merged in the tribe of Judah.—**3.** The idea suggested by "my lot" and "thy lot" is that the oracle assigned to each tribe the region which it was to conquer—its allotment.—**4.** The Perizzites (Gen. 13$_7$*) were the peasantry of Palestine, who lived in unwalled villages (*Perazoth*). The text is in some confusion, the victory being mentioned before the battle. The round number 10,000 was probably added by R.—**5.** Adonibezek may be another form of the name Adonizedek (Jos. 10$_{1,3}$). Moore suggests that the oldest narrator (J) wrote "Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem." Bezek was near Jerusalem, but the site is unknown. The Bezek of 1 S. 11$_8$ is far to the north of Judah.—**6.** The cutting off of thumbs and great toes was a mild barbarity in comparison with many of the atrocities of modern warfare.—**7.** The seventy kings may be regarded as another round number. In those days every petty chief was the "king" of his town or village. The eating under the table is, of course, hyperbolical. Adonibezek felt and expressed the grim irony of a fate which he accepted as a Divine retribution. In the end of the verse, "they" is ambiguous, meaning either the men of Judah or the king's own servants. The latter interpretation gives a good sense, and avoids an historical contradiction, for the capture of Jerusalem did not take place till long after Israel invaded Canaan, being one of David's great achievements (2 S. 5$_{6-9}$).—**8.** This must be regarded as a late insertion, intended to explain how the men of Judah could take the king to Jerusalem. Its variance with 21 is unmistakable.—**9.** The mountain (or Highlands), the South (or Negeb (p. 32)), and the lowland (or Shephelah (p. 31)) are the familiar names of the three constituent parts of the land of Canaan—the central backbone, the steppe which merges in the Sinaitic desert, and the coast plain.—**10.** The capture of Hebron (p. 31), which is elsewhere ascribed to Caleb (Jos. 15$_{13}$f.), is here attributed to Judah. Kiriath-arba, the original name of Hebron, probably means Tetrapolis, or city of four quarters (*cf.* Tripoli). It lay in an upland valley, 20 m. S of Jerusalem, and 3040 ft. above the sea. Its modern Arabic name is el-Halil, "the Friend," from its association with Abraham, the friend of God (2 Ch. 20$_7$, Is. 41$_8$, Jas. 2$_{23}$). After the names of the three giants the LXX adds "the sons of Anak" (but see 20).—**11.** The pronoun "he" means Caleb (see 20). Debir is probably ed-Ḍaharīyeh, to the SW. of Hebron. It once bore the name of Kiriath-sepher, "Book City," which has suggested to scholars many curious fancies. In Jos. 15$_{49}$ the name is given as Kiriath-sannah.—**12–15.** Caleb's offer of his daughter's hand brings on the scene his nephew Othniel, who bravely captures a city and wins a bride. Caleb and Othniel were really clan names, and the latter's marriage doubtless points to an ancient union of the two clans.—**14.** Instead of "she moved him," the LXX and Vulg. have the more obvious reading "he moved her," but the text, which means "she persuaded him that they should ask," may be correct. Achsah lighted down from her ass in token of respect (*cf.* Gen. 24$_{64}$).—**15.** The "blessing" she asks is not verbal but substantial—a present. Her plea is that she has received a home in the waterless South (the Negeb), and she begs that most coveted of eastern possessions—an estate in which there are springs of water. She has her desire, becoming the happy owner of Upper and Lower Springs (these are really proper names). In the clan of Othniel the story would ever afterwards be as good as a title-deed. The wells must have lain between Debir and Hebron, and were probably the fourteen springs of the modern Seil ed-Dilbeh.—**16.** Probably "Hobab" or "Jethro" has fallen out of the text before "the Kenite." The Kenites, a branch of the nomadic Midianites, lived in the Negeb on friendly terms with Judah (1 S. 30$_{29}$), in which they were ultimately absorbed. This verse, if the text is correct, seems to indicate that the fusion took place even at the time of the Conquest. But for "the people" (*'am*) we should probably read, with some MSS. of the LXX, "the Amalekites." In that case the meaning is, that as yet the Kenites were true to their nomadic instincts; they still heard the call of the desert. "Arad" survives in the modern Tell 'arad, 18 m. SE. of Hebron.—**17.** Zepheth is named only here; site unknown. The city was "utterly destroyed," lit. "devoted," "put under a ban" (*herem*. pp. 99, 114), which means that it was razed to the ground and its inhabitants exterminated, to the glory of God! Such being its fate, the city was called Hormah, "Devoted City." The derivation, however, is fanciful, and the more likely meaning is "Sacred City" (*cf.* Hermon).—**18.** The statement that three of the cities of the Philistines were captured is at variance with the very next verse, and with Jos. 13$_2$f. The sentence must be regarded as an interpolation. The LXX reads "Judah did not take."—**19.** The "chariots of iron," which rendered the dwellers in the plains invincible, were wooden chariots plated or studded with iron. On the use of iron (pp. 57, 252) in Palestine, see Macalister, *History of Civilisation in Palestine*, pp. 43, 59.—**20.** This verse would be in its proper context before 10. Instead of "sons of Anak" read "giants," lit. "sons of (long) neck" (*'anak*). It is a mistake to suppose that there was a giant called Anak (Nu. 13$_{28}$*, Dt. 1$_{28}$*).—**21.** In Jos. 15$_{63}$*, which is almost identical with this verse, Judah stands in the place of Benjamin, and the former word is doubtless original. Benjamin was introduced by R, who regarded Jerusalem as being in the territory of that tribe.

I. 22–26. The Josephites Capture Bethel.—This is the only exploit of Ephraim and Manasseh recorded here, the purpose of the writer being rather to emphasize the incompleteness of the conquest than to enumerate victories. Bethel is the modern Beitin, 10 m. N. of Jerusalem.—**24.** What "the watchers," or scouts, wished to discover was not the gate, which they could see with their own eyes, but the point where the defences were weakest and an entrance could be most easily effected.—**25.** The citizen whom they questioned was put on the horns of a dilemma, having either to defy his enemies or to betray his friends. He chose the safe course, which meant death to all the inhabi-

tants of the town except himself and his own family.—**26.** With no apparent qualms of conscience, or sense of dishonour, he went and founded a new Luz in the "land of the Hittites," *i.e.* Northern Syria, as the Amarna tablets indicate. The exact site of the new Luz is unknown.

I. 27–34. Partial Successes.—Several of the tribes failed to win the prizes they coveted. Much of the allotted territory remained in the hands of the Canaanites. —**27.** Beth-shan is now Beisān. Situated in a fertile part of the Jordan Valley, 3 m. W. of the river, it commanded the Vale of Jezreel (Wady Jālūd), which led up to the plain of Esdraelon. Its "daughters" are its daughter towns, or dependencies. Taanach and Megiddo (p. 30), towns 5 m. apart, were on the south side of the Great Plain; the one is now Ta'annek, the other probably Tell el-Mutesellim, the ancient name being lost. Both have been recently explored, and have yielded a wealth of pre-Israelite and Israelite remains (Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, 1909, pp. 80–86), Ibleam may be Khirbet Bal'ame, 8 m. SE. of Taanach. The Canaanites "would dwell" in that territory, *i.e.* they emphatically and resolutely maintained themselves in it.—**28.** It was not till the days of David that the Israelites "waxed strong" and captured those cities, after which Solomon put the Canaanites to task work (1 K. 9¹⁵–¹⁷).—**29.** Gezer (Jos. 10³³*, 1 K. 9¹⁶*), now Tell-Jezer, was in the SW. of Ephraim, at the edge of the Shephelah. It has been lately explored by Professor Macalister (Driver, *Schweich Lectures*, pp. 46–59).—**30–32.** The sites of Kitron and Nahalol are unknown. The tribe of Zebulun, whose allotment was in S. Galilee, was more successful than that of Asher (pp. 248f.), which settled in the Hinterland of Phœnicia, or that of Naphtali, which penetrated the eastern half of Upper Galilee. While "the Canaanites dwelt among" the first of these Galilean tribes, and were put to task work, the other two "dwelt among the Canaanites," *i.e.* they achieved at first no real conquest, but settled as best they could. Acco (p. 28), Zidon, and Achzib are now Akka, Saida, and ez-Zib. The sites of the other towns are unknown.—**34f.** The Danites took possession of a fertile valley in the SW. of Ephraim, and tried to get a footing in the rich land towards the coast, but were driven back into the district about Zorah and Eshtaol (see Jg. 13–16). Cramped in this territory, the main body of the tribe migrated to the source of the Jordan (Jg. 18). Mount Heres, Aijalon, and Shaalbim, along with Jerusalem and other towns, formed a belt of Canaanite strongholds separating Judah from Ephraim. Har-heres ("mount of the sun") is named only here. It is probably the same as Beth-shemesh ("temple of the sun"), the modern Ain-shems. Aijalon is now Yālō, 14 m. W. of Jerusalem. Shaalbim has not been identified.—**36.** The text is uncertain, and there was no proper "border" between the Israelites and the Amorites. Some recensions of the LXX read "the Edomites," which is accepted by most scholars. The ascent of Akrabbim ("the scorpions") is perhaps Nakb eṣ-Ṣafā, on the way from Hebron to Petra. The position of Sela is not known (2 K. 14⁷*); it is natural to think of Petra, but that is too far south.

II. 1–5. The Consecration of Bethel.—The Israelites having now entered the land of Canaan, the religious centre was changed from Gilgal, in the plain of Jericho, to Bethel, in the central highlands, where sacrifice was offered to Yahweh. The "angel of Yahweh" (Gen. 16⁷*) is not a prophet, as the Rabbis taught, but Yahweh Himself manifesting His presence, here in some undefined way, often in human form (*e.g.* 6¹¹, 13³). His moving from Gilgal, where He appeared as "the captain of the host of the Lord," to Bethel suffices to create a new sanctuary. The LXX reads "Bethel" instead of "Bochim," the latter finding its fitting place only in 5. The speech (of the nature of a Midrash) contained in 1*b*–3, reproving the Israelites for associating with the Canaanites and not breaking down their altars, is post-exilic in spirit and diction.—**3.** The words "as thorns" are taken over from Nu. 33⁵⁵ to make sense, the Hebrew text—"they shall be sides to you"—being evidently at fault. The LXX suggests "they shall be enemies to you." The name Bochim ("weepers") is found only here: *cf.* the Oak of Weeping (Gen. 35⁸), and the Valley of Weeping (Ps. 84⁶). Perhaps Bochim may be another form of Bekaim (balsam trees, 2 S. 5²³f.). Probably 5*b* originally followed 1.

II. 6–III. 6. The Deuteronomist's Introduction to the Book of Judges proper (3⁵–16³¹).—In the view of this interpreter of sacred history, the whole era of the Judges falls into longer or shorter times of national prosperity, in which Yahweh protects and blesses His faithful people, alternating with times of national calamity, in which He withdraws His favour and blessing from apostates. On the beneficent strength of the Judge the pillars of state rest secure for a whole generation, and his decease is like the removal of the key-stone of an arch. The writer's general principle—his philosophy of history—is based on sound prophetic teaching, but his application of it to the period of the Judges involves a *tour de force*, for the traditions deal for the most part not with national but with local heroes whose exploits affect, in the first instance, only their own tribe or group of tribes.—**6–9** is almost identical with Jos. 24²⁸–³⁰. The influence of Joshua and the "elders that outlived him"—a phrase of frequent occurrence in Dt. (4²⁶,⁴⁰, 5³³, etc.)—kept all Israel true to Yahweh during their lifetime.—**7.** "The great work of the Lord" was the miracles of the Exodus, the Wanderings, and the Conquest.—**9.** Timnath-heres, where Joshua was buried, may be the modern Tibneh, about 10 m. NW. of Bethel. Gaash is unknown.—**11.** The Baalim (p. 87), whom the Israelites of the generation after Joshua began to serve, were the local gods of Canaan, the "lords" of different cities and districts, who were distinguished from one another by the addition of place-names, *e.g.* Baal of Hermon (3³), Baal of Tamar (20³³). For centuries after the Conquest it was legitimate to call Yahweh himself the Baal of the country, and Hosea (2¹⁶f.) was apparently the first to denounce this practice. Thereafter it became the custom to change such names as Ish-baal (man of Baal) into Ish-bosheth (man of shame), Jerubbaal into Jerubbesheth (2 S. 11²¹). See p. 280.—**13.** For "the Ashtaroth" read "Ashtoreth," *i.e.* the goddess who was the Phœnician Astarte and the Babylonian Ishtar (1 K. 11⁵*).—**14–23.** The Israelites having become apostate, God's anger is kindled (14); He gives them over to His enemies (14); they are distressed, and groan under oppression (14, 18); He is moved to pity and raises up a Judge (16); and when the Judge dies, the people return to their evil ways (19).—**17** breaks the connexion between 16 and 18, and is probably an editorial insertion. The figure of whoring after other gods—spiritual adultery—is taken from Hosea (1–3) (*cf.* Jg. 8²⁷–³³, Ex. 34¹⁵f., Dt. 31¹⁶).—**18.** Instead of "it repented the Lord" read "the Lord was moved to pity."

III. 1–6. Yahweh's Purpose in Sparing the Nations round about Israel.—The most ancient source (J) simply states that the individual tribes *could* not overcome some of their enemies (1¹⁹, etc.). But this raised

the question, Why did not Yahweh give them power, as He might have done, to subdue even those who fought in iron chariots? He must have had reasons for His determination to spare the nations. They are stated here: He wished to prove His people (1, 4); and He thought it necessary or expedient, to teach them the art of war.—**2.** This sentence is scarcely grammatical: after "might know" we expect an object, but a new clause, "to teach them war," is introduced. Perhaps we should read, with the LXX, "solely for the sake of the successive generations of the Israelites, to teach them war."—**3.** The "five lords" of the Philistines were the chiefs of their five principal cities (1 S. 6₁₇). The word for "lord" (*seren*) is almost the only native Philistine word which has come down to us. "Zidonians" is a general term for Phœnicians. For "Hivites" we should probably read "Hittites" (*cf.* 126), to whom the Lebanon region belonged in those days. Instead of "Hermon" the Heb. has "the mount of (the town of) Baal-Hermon"—a very unlikely phrase. Probably "mount" should be omitted. The town is commonly identified with Banias, at the source of the Jordan. Hamath (2 K. 14₂₅*, Is. 10₉*, Am. 6₂*) is Hama on the Orontes. Its "entering in," or Gateway—which was afterwards known as Cœle-Syria, and is now called el-Bika—was often mentioned as the ideal northern boundary of Israel (Am. 6₁₄, etc.). —**6.** Intermarriage with alien races led to a tolerance of their religion (*cf.* 1 K. 11f.). The practice was, therefore, condemned all through the history of Israel, and became the subject of legislation (see Ezr. 9f.), though such marriages as that of Boaz and Ruth proved that the law might be more honoured in the breach than the observance.

III. 7–11. Othniel the Kenite.—The brief account of the oppression of Israel by the Aramæans, and of their deliverance by Othniel, is the work of D, whose familiar categories—apostasy, Divine anger, oppression, repentance, deliverance, peace—practically make up the whole narrative. Not a single detail of the conflict is supplied. The statement that the invaders from the far north of Syria were turned back by Othniel, whose seat was at Debir, in the extreme south, is not historically probable. The basis of the narrative may be the tradition of a struggle between Othniel (*i.e.* the Kenizzites) and the Bedouin of the south-east, for "Cushan" means Lydian. Graetz proposes to read Edom instead of Aram.—**9.** On Othniel, see 1₁₃.—**10.** The spirit of Yahweh came upon him, as later upon other Judges (6₃₄, 11₂₉, 13₂₅, 14₆,₁₉). Any extraordinary display of power—physical force, heroic valour, artistic skill, poetic genius, prophetic insight—is ascribed in the OT to the spirit (*ruah*) of God. For the gigantic tasks of the Judges, in a rude, semi-savage time, there was need of physical prowess, patriotic fervour, religious enthusiasm; and it was not by mere human might or power, but by Yahweh's spirit, that their victories were achieved.—Cushan-Rishathaim means "Nubian of double-dyed wickedness," evidently the nickname of some ruthless invader. Mesopotamia is in Heb. Aram-naharaim, Syria of the two rivers, *i.e.* the whole region between the Tigris and the Euphrates (Gen. 24₁₀*).

III. 12–30. Ehud, the Benjamite.—D's setting of the story of Ehud is apparent in 12–15*a* and 30. The story itself is a genuine folk-tale, handed down from century to century before being committed to writing. One can readily imagine with what zest it was told in the tribe of Benjamin, where the left-handed Ehud was a popular hero. On the moral question raised by his conduct, the facts at our disposal do not enable us to pronounce with confidence. To our minds Ehud is not very attractive either as a man or as a patriot.—**12.** The Edomites were in possession of the country to the E. of the Dead Sea, with the Arnon (pp. 32f.) as their northern border (Jg. 11₁₈). They had kings before the Israelites (Gen. 36₃₁–₃₉), a people with whom their feud was chronic. The name of the king who figures in this story—Eglon, meaning "calf"—speaks of primitive bucolic simplicity.—**13.** Here, as elsewhere (2 Ch. 20₁, Ps. 83₆f.), Ammon is the ally of Moab. His territory was to the NE. of the country of Moab. The Amalekites were nomads in the N. and NE. of the Sinaitic Peninsula. At Jericho, the city of palm-trees, which the Edomites contrived to seize, there still wave a few isolated palms. Recent excavations have laid bare its famous walls (Jos. 6₅,₂₀).—**15.** Ehud is called the son of Gera, but Gera is probably the clan to which he belonged; *cf.* Shimei ben Gera (2 S. 16₅). He was a man left-handed, lit. "restricted as to his right hand," like many others of his tribe (Jg. 20₁₆). This peculiarity has a bearing on what is to follow, as it was turned to advantage in his daring plot for the overthrow of the oppressor. The "present" of which he was the bearer was only euphemistically so called, being really the tribute which subjects had to pay to their overlord.—**16.** The right thigh was the natural place for the sword of a left-handed man, while the guards, if their suspicions were aroused, would feel for a concealed weapon in the usual place—at the left side. Ehud's dirk was 13 in. long. The word translated cubit is found only here, and, according to the Rabbis, means the length from the elbow to the knuckles of the clenched fist (Gr. πυγμή). This detail also has its connexion with the narrative which follows.—**18f.** The "people that bare the present" were the Israelite carriers of the tribute. For "quarries" we should read "graven images," rudely sculptured stones. These were connected with the sanctuary of Gilgal, a proper name which itself probably means "circle of sacred stones," such as is called in the West a cromlech.—**19.** Ehud persuades the king's servants to take in to their master the message, "I have a secret communication to thee, O king." The punctual payment of the tribute had disarmed suspicion; the "secret communication" suggested something revealed in a dream or by an oracle; and the king, favourably impressed, gives his servants the order "Keep silence," meaning "Leave me in privacy."—**20.** The king was sitting in his "summer-parlour," his cool roof-chamber. The Arabs still give this room its old name (*'aliyah*). While Ehud, left alone with the king, repeats that he has a message—he now dares to call it a message from God—his mind is bent upon other things, and his hand is feeling for his hidden dagger. The king's rising, out of respect for the messenger of God, gives Ehud his chance. With one fierce thrust he plunges his dagger, haft and all, into the king's body.—**22.** The ugly words at the end may be deleted as a dittograph, being similar to 23*a*.—**23.** The word for "porch" is found only here, and the translation is a guess; "staircase" and "vestibule" have also been suggested. The "doors" were the two leaves or wings of the door. A grammatical error suggests that "and locked them" is a later addition.—**24.** Finding the door locked, the servants thought their master was "covering his feet"—a Heb. euphemism—and waited till they began to be "ashamed," surprised and confused.—**25.** The Eastern door-key, which is probably the same to-day as in the time of Ehud, is described by Lane, *Modern Egyptians*[5], 19f.—**28.** We might read "and crossed (the

Jordan) near the sculptured stones." The site of Seirah is unknown, but it was evidently in the highlands of Ephraim.—**27.** After "come" we have to understand "thither." The "hill country," was the whole backbone of Palestine from the Great Plain to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.—**28.** Ehud and his followers seized the fords of Jordan—those nearest the Dead Sea, beside Gilgal—and cut off the retreat of the Moabites who were on the western side. The numbers slain are not to be taken as rigidly accurate.

III. 31. The Exploit of Shamgar.—The absence of D's formulæ, and of a chronological scheme, suggests that this verse was introduced by an editor who wished to bring the number of the Judges up to ten, not counting Abimelech worthy to rank as one. The verse interrupts the flow of the narrative—observe "when Ehud was dead" in 42. Shamgar ben Anath is a foreign and heathenish name, Anath being a goddess whose name is found on an Egyptian stele now in the British Museum; and a reference to Shamgar in the Song of Deborah suggests that he had been an oppressor rather than a deliverer of Israel (*cf.* Moore, 143). The ox-goad, with which Shamgar performed his exploit, is a pole from 6 to 8 ft. long, tipped with an iron spike.

IV.–V. Deborah and Barak Deliver Israel.—The record of this deliverance appears first in a prose and then in a poetical form, of which the latter is the older, written without doubt under the inspiration of the actual events. There are some striking differences between the two versions. In the prose narrative the oppressor of Israel is Jabin, king of Hazor, whose captain is Sisera; Deborah's home is in Mount Ephraim; only the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali fight the tyrant; and Jael murders Sisera when he lies asleep in her tent. In the triumphal Ode there is no Jabin; Sisera is at the head of the kings of Canaan, himself the greatest king of all; Deborah appears to belong to the tribe of Issachar; all the tribes around the Great Plain (p. 29) take part in the conflict; and Jael slays Sisera while he is standing and drinking. The discrepancies are due partly to the prose writer's attempt to combine the story of Sisera with an independent story of Jabin, king of Hazor (see Jos. 11r–5), and partly to his misunderstanding of some lines in the Ode (526).

IV. 1–13. The Preparation for War.—D's framework is found in 1–4 and 23f.—**2.** He gives Jabin the title "king of Canaan," an evident misnomer, for Canaan had no single king, but a great many petty chiefs—called in 519 "the kings of Canaan"—each governing his own town or district. Jabin reigned in Hazor (p. 29), which was near Kedesh-Naphtali (Jos. 1936, 2 K. 1529) on the west side of the lake of Ḥūleh, far north from the Plain of Esdraelon. Sisera, on the other hand, dwelt in Harosheth (p. 29), which is identified with Ḥarithīyeh, at the SW. corner of the plain. His town was called "Harosheth of the nations," or foreigners, and Professor Macalister "wonders whether it might not bear the special meaning of the foreigners *par excellence*, the most outlandish people with whom the Hebrews came into contact—that is to say, the Philistines and their cognate tribes." This idea leads to the further suggestion that the war of Deborah and Barak was waged not against the Canaanites, but against the Philistines. But it is difficult to suppose that the Philistine kings could be called "the kings of Canaan." And the ring of finality in the triumphal Ode—"So let thine enemies perish, O Yahweh" (531)—would, on this theory, after all be delusive, since the Philistines, instead of being crushed, were at the beginning of their great and, for a time, victorious career. These arguments, however, are not quite decisive, and it must be admitted that Sisera's "chariots of iron" (3) are strongly in favour of the new theory, for it seems certain that the use of iron was introduced into Syria by the Philistines (pp. 57, 257), and that they kept the monopoly of the iron trade for a long time in their own hands (1 S. 1319–23).—**4.** Deborah was a prophetess, a woman inspired to declare the will of God.—**5** is probably a late addition, made by a writer who committed two mistakes, confounding the Deborah of this story with the one in Gen. 358, and giving the word "Judge" (4) a legal significance. Deborah sitting under a palm-tree as an arbitress of disputes is an imaginary figure. Ramah was 5 m. and Bethel 12 m. N. of Jerusalem, while Deborah in all probability belonged to the tribe of Issachar, far in the north (515).—**6.** The champion whom she summoned to her side bore the name of Barak, which means "lightning"; *cf.* the Punic name Barkas. Kedesh-Naphtali (p. 29), so called in distinction from Kedesh-Barnea in the Negeb, is now Ḳades, 4 m. NW. of the lake of Huleh. Tabor (p. 29), the dome-shaped mountain at the NE. corner of the Great Plain, was the natural mustering place for the Galilean tribes. Naphtali and Zebulun had their settlements in the region to the west of the Sea of Galilee, and in this narrative it appears as if they alone were involved in the conflict with Sisera.—**7.** The Kishon (p. 29), on whose banks the battle was fought, rises near Jenin, and flows westward through the Great Plain, at one season contracted into a small muddy stream, at another swollen into a raging torrent.—**8f.** Barak wishes the prophetess to accompany him in his campaign, that she may counsel himself and inspire his followers. She consents to go, but predicts that the glory of the victory will not be his. For the reader, certainly, the interest of the story, and still more of the poem, hinges on the action of two women, and in the end he divides the honours between them.—**11.** This is inserted to explain how Heber the Kenite, whose home would naturally be in the Negeb, came to be encamped so far north. For "in Zaanannim" read Bezaanim; site doubtful.

IV. 14–23. The Battle of the Kishon and the Death of Sisera.—The Galilean highlanders rushed like a torrent down the slope of Mt. Tabor, and swept the enemy before them. When Sisera left his chariot and fled on foot (15), he made westward for Harosheth. The tent of Jael was pitched somewhere in the Great Plain, not (as 11, 17 would imply) away north in the neighbourhood of Kedesh or Hazor. The account of Sisera's death given in this chapter differs materially from the representation in the triumphal Ode. Jael covers him "with a rug," or perhaps the word (which is found only here) means "a tent curtain"; she opens her milk-skin, and bids him drink; she apparently agrees to stand at the tent door and put his pursuers off the scent; and she waits till he has fallen into a deep sleep before she lifts her hammer and drives a tent-pin through his temples. Contrast with this the older account which is found in 524–27. We cannot doubt for a moment which of these versions is to be accepted. Criticism has vindicated a woman's honour.

V. The Song of Deliverance.—The Song of Deborah—so called because of the words "I, Deborah, arose" (7)—is a splendid battle-ode, evidently contemporaneous with the events which it celebrates. It breathes the patriotic fervour and religious enthusiasm which inspired the loftiest minds in Israel, and proves that a great faith was already working wonders in the tribes which till lately had been desert nomads. "It is a work of genius, and therefore a work of that

highest art which is not studied and artificial, but spontaneous and inevitable" (Moore, 135). R. H. Hutton calls it "the greatest war-song of any age or nation." Unfortunately the text has suffered a good deal, and in some passages we can do no more than guess the sense.—**1f.** Yahweh is praised for two reasons: because the leaders of the people *were* leaders, taking their proper place at the post of honour and danger; and because the battle was fought not by conscripts but by volunteers (*cf.* Ps.110$_3$).—**3.** Read "I, to Yahweh I will sing," where it is possible, though not necessary, that "I," as in many of the Psalms, means collective Israel. "I will sing praise" means, I will make melody with voice and instruments. —**4f.** Yahweh's special place of abode was still Seir, in the field of Edom, from which He is conceived as coming forth in a thunderstorm. As He passes, the earth trembles and the heavens are in commotion (so the LXX). The second half of 5 disturbs the flow of ideas, and is probably a marginal gloss which has found its way into the text.—**6.** If Shamgar was one of the Judges (3$_{31}$), it is very strange that he should be named here as if he had recently been a leading oppressor of Israel, perhaps the immediate forerunner of Sisera. Moore treats the words "in the days of Jael" as a gloss. The Heb. of 7*b* is ambiguous, meaning either "till I, Deborah, arose," or "till thou, Deborah, didst arise." The LXX has "till Deborah arose."—**8a** yields no certain sense.—**8b** means that the Israelites had to fight with such poor weapons as they could find.—**10f.** Very obscure.

V. 12–18. Glory and Shame.—Deborah and Barak are apostrophised. She is called to awake and utter a battle-song, such as will arouse a slumbering people like the sound of a trumpet; a *Men of Harlech* or a *Marseillaise*, that summons heroes to victory or death; not a song *after* battle, like the pæan we are interpreting.—**13.** Read, "Then came down Israel like noble ones, the people of Yahweh came down for Him like heroes."—**14–18.** The response to the martial call is varied. Some of the tribes, leaping to arms, achieve deathless honour; others, lagging at home, are covered with eternal shame and contempt. Phrase after phrase seizes the reader's memory. How striking is the contrast between shirkers and heroes—Reuben sitting among the sheep-folds, listening to the calling of the flocks, Gilead abiding beyond Jordan, Dan remaining by his ships, and Asher sitting still in his creeks at the shore, while Zebulun, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin quit their mountain homes, Issachar provides a commander-in-chief, Zebulun and Naphtali come down from the high places to jeopardise their lives unto the death!—**14.** Machir was the eldest son, *i.e.* the chief clan, of Manasseh (Jos. 17$_1$).—**15.** In Reuben there are great searchings or soundings of heart—to be or not to be—craven deliberations and discussions while the enemy's chariots are thundering through the land and a nation's existence is at stake.

V. 19–22. The Battle of Megiddo.—The waters of Megiddo were tributaries of the Kishon. Taanach and Megiddo (p. 30) were both towns on the left bank of the river. The battle-field of Megiddo long afterwards suggested the name of the last weird battle of the nations—the apocalyptic Armageddon (Rev. 16$_{16}$).—**20.** The very stars take part in the fight—a magnificent poetical way of saying that all the forces of the universe are arrayed on the side of righteousness. The battle must have been fought in winter or spring. Yahweh's storm-clouds burst, and the swollen river swept many of Israel's enemies away.—In **22b** there is an attempt to imitate the galloping of horses in flight.—**23.** The curse of Meroz brands with everlasting guilt and shame an otherwise long-forgotten town, whose inhabitants missed the greatest opportunity ever given to man or nation—the opportunity of helping God. Venturing nothing, Meroz lost everything that men of honour care to live for, while she earned the coward's curse. This verse was a favourite text of the old Covenanters. Instead of "against the mighty" one may equally well read "among the heroes"; a great idea either way.

V. 24–26. The Blessing of Jael.—Jael's deed is unhesitatingly and emphatically approved. While the oppressor of Israel stood in her tent, drinking the milk she gave him, she suddenly felled him to the earth with her tent-hammer. In 26 read, "She put her hand to the mallet, Her right hand to the hammer, And she hammered Sisera." It is often supposed that, seizing a wooden tent-peg in her left hand and a hammer in her right, she drove the peg through his temples into his brain—surely a difficult thing to do to a standing warrior. But according to the laws of Heb. parallelism, the second line of 26 is merely a variation of the first, so that she had only one weapon, called now a mallet and now a hammer, with which she dealt the death-blow. And when a woman of leonine courage, burning with a sense of intolerable wrongs, becomes the minister of a country's vengeance and of Yahweh's justice, we hold our breath and are silent. Who will blame her? If her victim had fallen in battle, or been led a captive to his doom, everyone would have given thanks. And if the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon Gideon and upon Jephthah when they went to overthrow the enemies of Israel, who will say that the same spirit did not impel the wife of Heber to take the life of Sisera, and inspire the prophetess Deborah to call her blessed among women?—**25.** For "butter" read "sour milk," which is still the most refreshing drink among the Bedouin.

V. 28–30. The Mother of Sisera.—There is irony—almost matchless irony—in the closing lines of the poem, but it is not cruel mocking irony. The words were neither written, nor meant to be recited or sung, in a spirit of derision. Can any one read them now without emotions of pity and fear? With inimitable art, in the manner of the highest tragedy, the poet depicts a group of high-born, light-hearted women, upon whom is falling, unseen, the shadow of death. The scene in the *harim* of Sisera's palace—the face at the lattice-window, the feverish waiting for the home-coming hero, the chiding of lingering chariot wheels, the questions of fretful impatience, the quick and confident rejoinders, the feeding of fancy with visions of conquest and spoil—how vividly all this has been conceived! And, having painted his picture, the artist leaves it. A lesser poet, like the writer of a famous French war-song would have sent a messenger with the tidings that the hero was *mort et enterré*. Nothing of the kind happens here. That face is left at the lattice—the face of a mother for ever waiting a son who never will return. [Perhaps we should adopt *mg.* in 29; the mother, too anxious to accept the reassurance of her ladies, keeps muttering her forebodings to herself—a fine touch of nature.—A. S. P.] With 31, *cf.* Pss. 68$_{2f.}$, 92$_9$. It is assumed that, the enemies of Israel being Yahweh's enemies, the victory is a victory for Him; and it is remarkable that even thus early—perhaps in the twelfth century B.C.—those who serve Him, and fight His battles, are described not as those who fear Him but as those who love Him. Does not that fact explain everything?

VI.–VIII. Gideon Delivers Israel from the Midianites.—The next war was waged, not against disciplined soldiers, but against a horde of nomads from the eastern desert. The Midianites are represented in the OT sometimes as peaceful shepherds (Ex. 2 15f.*), sometimes as caravan traders (Gen. 37 28, 36), and sometimes as Bedouin marauders. It was in the last of these rôles that they became a plague to the Israelites, especially to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. The hero chosen to deliver the nation from them was the Manassite Gideon, who was impelled by various motives—patriotism, for he identified himself with his oppressed people (6 13); personal revenge, for some of his own brothers had been murdered by the raiders (8 19); and, above all, the consciousness of a Divine vocation and inspiration (6 14, 34). The memory of his victory became a proudly cherished tradition, and centuries afterwards a reference to "the Day of Midian" still reminded Israel how "the yoke of his (Israel's) burden, and the staff of his shoulder, and the rod of his oppressor" had been broken (Is. 9 4; *cf.* 10 26, Ps. 83 9). Time added picturesque details to the original story, and editors attempted, without complete success, to fuse the various elements into a literary whole.

VI. 1–6. The Depredations of the Midianites.—D, whose phrases occur in 1f., 6, sees in the ebb and flow of Israel's fortune an index of their moral and spiritual condition. National suffering he regards as the punishment of national sin; the hand of Midian is in a sense the hand of God; yet, while he blames, he cannot help sympathising.—**2.** Dens, caves, and mountain fastnesses were the only refuges for peaceful citizens, fleeing in terror from hearth and home (*cf.* 1 S. 13 6, Heb. 11 38). The invaders swarmed like locusts, which devour every green thing and turn a fertile, smiling country-side into a bare waste. The spoilers left no "sustenance" for man or beast in Israel. [Observe that the ass was at this time used for food in Israel, *cf.* 2 K. 6 25. It is still eaten by the Arabs and Persians. It is forbidden in Lev. 11, Dt. 14. —A. S. P.]—**5.** "They came unto the land to destroy it," as the Huns in the fourth century overran France and Italy, and the Germans in the twentieth century devastated Belgium.

VI. 7–10. A second writer (probably E) introduces a prophet who reproves Israel for disloyalty and ingratitude to Yahweh their God. The brief speech is a torso. Reflective rather than prophetic, it opens impressively, but ends abruptly, like a sermon without application; and then one of the main traditions begins.

VI. 11–24. The Call of Gideon.—The destined deliverer received his call at Ophrah, on what was thereafter holy ground. An altar, with the distinctive name of Yahweh-shalom (Yahweh is peace), commemorated a theophany, and there God was worshipped for ages. The site of Ophrah is unknown; it belonged to the Abiezrites, a clan of the Benjamites, and must have been near Shechem.—**11.** On the angel of Yahweh see 2 1, Gen. 16 7*. For "oak" read "terebinth." While the primitive Semites were animists, the Israelites came to associate Yahweh's own presence with sacred trees (p. 100, Gen. 18 1).—**12.** With the assurance "Yahweh is with thee" *cf.* the faith grandly expressed in the name Immanuel, "God is with us" (Is. 7 14). On hearing the words "Yahweh is with *thee*," Gideon replies, "Oh, my lord, if Yahweh is with *us*" (used five times in 13). He cannot detach himself from the community. He becomes heroic because he has a public soul.—**14.** "Looked upon him" is better than "turned towards him." Thus far Yahweh's angel is to Gideon a Traveller Unknown, though His glance is so searching, His tones so commanding. He has more faith in Gideon than Gideon in himself. "Go in this thy might" is an injunction to a hero to realise himself. He is to go in the strength of his manhood—with all his physical and moral force, native and acquired.—**15.** Gideon has that humility which is praiseworthy if it remembers, blameworthy if it forgets, the Great Companion. He keenly feels his insufficiency, till Yahweh, at once rebuking and reassuring him, promises, "Surely I will be with thee" (*cf.* Ex. 3 13, 2 Cor. 3 5).—**17–24.** Gideon prepares a meal, which to his astonishment becomes a sacrifice. When the stranger touches the food with the tip of his staff, a supernatural fire leaps from the rock, and consumes the food. Realising at length that he has seen Yahweh's angel face to face, Gideon fears death (*cf.* Jg. 13 22). [The rock may have had one or more cup-holes on the surface, into which the broth would be poured. Many examples have been discovered in Palestine of rocks in which cup-like holes had been carved, some of them of considerable size. They date back in many instances to the pre-Semitic cave-dwellers of the Neolithic period. An easily accessible account is given in Handcock's *The Archæology of the Holy Land*.—A. S. P.]—**21.** The departure of Yahweh's angel is mentioned too soon, for he still speaks in 23. The words have probably been misplaced from the end of 23.

VI. 25–32. The Destruction of the Altar of Baal.—We have seen that after the Conquest Yahweh was reverently and innocently called the Baal (Lord) of the land, and that loyal Israelites gave their children Baal names. The present section, in which the Baal of Ophrah is *distinguished* from Yahweh, and regarded as a heathen god, must have been written after the time of Hosea, who was the first to condemn the practice of applying the name Baal to the God of Israel (Hos. 2 17). The point of the story is that Baal, who, if worth his salt, should be able to "plead for himself," is challenged to do so, and found to be impotent. Baal has fallen on evil days, when any daring spirit can laugh at him with impunity as Elijah mocked the Phœnician Baal (1 K. 18 27).—**32.** It need not be said that originally the name Jerubbaal, given to a son by a father who worshipped Yahweh as Baal, had a different meaning from what is suggested here, being another form of Jeremiah, *i.e.* "Baal (*or* Yahweh) founds."

VI. 33–40. The Midianite Raid, and the Sign of the Fleece.—The broad and deep Vale of Jezreel, lying between Gilboa and Moreh, leads up from Jordan to the Great Plain.—**34.** Gideon now felt the Divine impulse—the spirit of Yahweh came upon him, lit. "clothed itself with him," put him on like a garment, possessed him, inspired him. He then blew his trumpet to awaken others. It was his own Abiezer clansmen who answered his call, and they apparently became his famous three hundred.—**36–40.** The sign of the fleece is probably the record of a dream. Gideon had often seen the heavy dew fall on a summer night upon the hills of Manasseh, and his perceptions wove themselves into mysterious visions, in which he seemed to have power to bend the Divine will to his own. He thus became more than ever convinced that Yahweh designed to save Israel by his hand.

VII. 1–8. The Reduction of Gideon's Army.—This section teaches that Yahweh is the giver of victory, and that it is as easy for Him to save by few as by many (1 S. 14 6). The spring of Harod ("trembling," *cf.* 3) may be 'Ain Jālūd, 2 m. from Jezreel, at the

foot of Gilboa (p. 30). The hill of Moreh may be Little Hermon. Gilead (3) is on the eastern side of the Jordan, and we should probably read Gilboa.—**3.** The number of those who, in modern phrase, showed the white feather, is surprisingly great. Gideon lets them go, having no use for the "fearful and trembling."—**5.** The second test is a very singular one, and has given interpreters much trouble. The words "putting their hand to their mouth" are evidently wrong where they stand. They should either be struck out as a gloss, or transferred to the end of the verse, where they would explain how the majority drank on their knees. But why should those who put their lips into the stream and lapped like a dog, instead of using their hands, be chosen as alone fit for the combat? Was it because they did not let their weapons leave their hands for a moment? Or because they were satisfied with a little water, when they might have drunk their fill? Or was the test purely arbitrary? "If any significance may be ascribed to the way in which the 300 drank, we should find it in the comparison to dogs; they were the rude, fierce men; compare the name Caleb" (Moore).

VII. 9–15. Gideon's Visit to the Midianite Camp.—The heroic leader was next encouraged, not by a dream of his own, but by one which he heard told at night in the camp of the enemy. The significant features of the dream are the tent, the symbol of the Midianite nomads, and the cake of barley bread, the symbol of the Israelite peasants. As the little barley cake overturns the huge tent, so Israel is to defeat the host of Midian.—**14.** Read "This is nothing but the men of Israel," the words "Gideon the son of Joash" being probably a later insertion. It is not Gideon, but Gideon's little band of gallant yeomen (15*b*), that corresponds to the dreamer's cake.

VII. 16–25. The Night Alarm and Rout.—Gideon's stratagem consisted in the division of his small force into three companies, who charged the enemy from three sides at once, making an uproar and producing a panic.—**18.** The battle-cry agreed upon was "For Yahweh and for Gideon!" When the actual conflict began, many or all prefixed to this "A sword," suggested by the gleaming weapons they had unsheathed. The words express with splendid terseness a double loyalty, to God and a trusted leader; an ideal, Yahweh's victory and glory; and a means of attaining it, the sword.—**20.** If each soldier carried a trumpet, a torch, an empty pitcher, and a sword, his hands were too full. There are awkward repetitions in the narrative (see 20 and 22), and it is possible that the trumpets are derived from one source, the jars and torches from another.—**23.** It is strange to see how the men who had no heart for the attack are ready to join in the pursuit. Some think that the verse is a later addition.—**24.** The words "even Jordan" (twice) seem meaningless. Perhaps we should read with the Peshitto "as far as Bethbara upon (the bank of) Jordan."

VIII. 1–3. The Ephraimites Appeased.—After defeating the mighty foreign foe, Gideon had to settle a domestic dispute which might easily have become serious, and he again proved himself equal to the occasion. He is a man of wit and humour as well as of military prowess. He knows that a soft answer turns away wrath, and he can make the tongue as effective a weapon as the sword. He stoops to conquer. When the jealous Ephraimites complain that he has not given them the first place in his army (which would have entitled them to the best of the spoils), he returns a humble answer, in which they do not perceive any flavour of delicate irony. How should he ever compare his little clan with a mighty tribe? The mere gleanings of Ephraim are more than the vintage—the whole harvest—of Abiezer. We shall find later that while such treatment appeased the Ephraimites it did not cure them. Jephthah had experience of the same jealous temper, and was not so patient with it (12₁–6).

VIII. 4–21. The Pursuit on the East of Jordan.—This section is not continuous with the preceding one. The men of Israel, who were gathered together after the battle (7₂₃), and the Ephraimites, who were so eager to prove what they could do, are heard of no more. Gideon is again alone with his 300 (84); the men of Succoth and Penuel, ignorant of any battle or rout, think his campaign against the Midianites a hopeless affair; and when he at length reaches the enemy he finds them "secure," apparently having neither been, nor expecting to be, disturbed (11). Plainly we have here a different tradition.—**4.** For "faint and (not 'yet') pursuing" the LXX has "faint and hungry," which suits the next verse, where there is a request for bread. Succoth (Gen. 33₁₇) and Penuel (Gen. 32₃₀f.) have not been identified; they must have been near the Jabbok.—**7.** For "tear" read "thresh." Provoked by the inhospitality of the princes of Succoth, Gideon threatens to throw them naked into a bed of thorns and trample them down.—**10.** The site of Karkor is also unknown. The enormous figures, as in 19–21, were probably due to R.—[**14.** This lad could write (*mg.*) an interesting and rather suggestive fact, but it would be extravagant to infer that writing was a universal accomplishment. — A. S. P.] — **16.** For "taught" read with LXX, "threshed." The savage threat is carried out. It is difficult to believe that the Gideon of this tradition is the man whom we know and love in the other stories. But compare what even David is said to have done (2 S. 12₃₁), and contrast Lk. 9₅₆.—**18–21.** The two nomad chieftains faced death with the stoical fortitude of American Indians.

VIII. 22–27. Gideon Refuses a Kingdom, and Erects an Ephod.—Long before the Israelites had any human kings, Yahweh was regarded as their Divine King, and Gideon, like Samuel (1 S. 8₇, 10₁₉, 12₁₂,₁₇,₁₉), expresses the view that the Divine kingship leaves no room for a human sovereignty. This view became prevalent in the eighth century B.C., when a succession of wicked kings was ruining the northern kingdom (Hos. 8₄,13₁₁).—**24–27.** In gratitude to Yahweh, who had stood by him and given him victory, Gideon uses the spoils of war to make a golden ephod, which he sets up to Yahweh's glory at Ophrah. This act is spoken of without disapproval, except in 27*b*, which many scholars regard as an editorial addition. "A later age, trained in more spiritual conceptions, took offence at Gideon's action, and saw in it the cause of the disaster which befell his house" (G. A. Cooke). The nature and purpose of an ephod in the time of the Judges are not explicitly stated. It certainly was not a sacred vest, such as was worn by the High Priest in the second Temple. It was clearly an image of some kind, and it was used in the service of Yahweh (p. 100).

VIII. 33–35 contains the familiar phrases of D, who is grieved at Israel's ingratitude, first to Yahweh their deliverer, and then to Gideon their earthly benefactor. [Observe also the characteristic generalisation of the purely local and Canaanite cult of Baal-berith (9₄,₄₆) into a cult adopted by Israel as a whole.—A. S. P.]

IX. The Kingship and Fall of Abimelech.—The story of Gideon's half-Canaanite son does not equal the finest parts of the book in dramatic interest, but the glimpse which it affords of the relations subsisting

between the mixed races of Palestine in the time of the Judges is of great value to the historian. The whole narrative is ancient, though not quite uniform. Here D makes no contribution. Apparently he did not regard Abimelech as worthy to rank among the Judges, and therefore he omitted this section, which was restored to its place by R.

IX. 1–6. Abimelech Made King of Shechem.—"Abimelech" probably means "the (Divine) King is Father," which throws some light on Gideon's conception of his God. He and other Israelites were already feeling after that great truth of the Divine Fatherhood, which is the heart of Christianity. Shechem (1 K. 12₁*), now called Nāblūs (the Roman Neapolis), lies in a fertile valley between Mount Ebal and Gerizim. Abimelech was not, of course, made king of all the twelve tribes, nor even of one whole tribe, but only of the town of Shechem and its neighbourhood. His rule was on a par with that of the kings who are mentioned in the Song of Deborah (Jg. 5₁₉).—**2.** The young man made a skilful use of his pedigree. Would not the Shechemites prefer that one of themselves, one who had lived among them all his days, rather than a stranger, should reign over them? His mother, as a *sadica* wife (W. R. Smith, *Kinship*, 93f.), would be among her own people at Shechem, not among Gideon's at Ophrah. The idiom "your bone and your flesh" answers to the English "your flesh and blood."—**4.** Abimelech begins his reign, as new kings so often do in the East, by hiring assassins to put all possible rivals out of the way (*cf.* 2 K. 10₁–₁₁, 11₁). For "vain and light" read "reckless and worthless."—[**5. Upon one stone:** as if it was an altar and the murder a sacrificial rite (1 S. 14₃₃–₃₅). Thus presumably the blood was safely disposed of, and would not cry for vengeance.—A. S. P.]—**6.** The coronation took place at "the oak of the pillar," or "Monument-tree," *i.e.* a holy oak beside which there was a standing stone. For "the house of Millo" read "Beth-millo," apparently a town near Shechem.

IX. 7–21. Jotham's Fable.—Only in an apologue could Jotham, the sole survivor of Abimelech's massacre, express what was in his bitter, broken heart. The point of his fable is easily caught. His father and his brothers were the fruitful trees—olive, fig-tree and vine—who declined to rule over the other trees; his half-brother is the bramble who has accepted the kingship, but who will presently set on fire the cedars of Lebanon. If the Shechemites have acted in good faith to Jerubbaal in choosing Abimelech as king, may they have joy of the choice; but if not, may their king be a devouring fire among them!—**7.** How Jotham got an audience at the top of Gerizim is not said. The language is not to be pressed, and a well-known crag overlooking the town has been pointed out as a natural pulpit.—**9.** Read "Shall I leave my fatness, with which gods and men are honoured?" This plain sense was avoided, from motives of reverence, in some versions, but see 13, where read "gods" for "God." Oil was used in Semitic religious observances, being poured upon the sacred stones which were associated with the Divine presence (Gen. 28₁₈, 35₁₄). Wine was used in libations and sacred feasts.—**15.** The bramble is the *rhamnus*; "thorns" in Ps. 58₉. The exquisite absurdity of the political situation at Shechem, as conceived by Jotham, is suggested by the bramble's self-complacent "Come and put your trust in my shadow." Fine words, but the bramble will soon show its true character; the crackling of thorns under the cedars will reveal the incendiary.

IX. 22–41. The Sedition of the Shechemites.—The statement that Abimelech was "prince over Israel" is an exaggeration, and the chronological note is probably by R.—**23.** The Shechemites soon tired of the government of their "brother" (3). God sent an evil spirit between the king and his subjects; *cf.* the evil spirit from the Lord that possessed Saul (1 S. 16₁₄, 18₁₀), and misled the prophets of Ahab (1 K. 22₁₉–₂₃); and recall the classical saying, *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*.—**26.** The spirit of disaffection at Shechem gave a self-seeking demagogue his chance. Gaal is called "the son of Ebed," *i.e.* of a slave. That was probably a popular nickname; his real name would be Gaal ben Obed (= Obadiah).—**27–29.** The sedition is described with great vividness. When the vintagers were heated with wine, Gaal made a speech in the heathen temple, contrasting the rule of the Israelite half-breed with the government of the honourable house of Hamor, the native and ancient aristocracy of the city.—**27.** The heathen festival, or religious festivities, consisted largely in merry-making.—**28.** Most critics now read, "Were not this Abimelech and Zebul his lieutenant subjects of the family of Hamor? Why, then, should we serve him?"—**30.** The LXX greatly improves the sense by reading, not "and I said," but "and I would say."—**31.** Read "in Arumah" (where Abimelech lived, 41), instead of "craftily"; and, at the end of the verse, "they are stirring up the city against thee."—**37.** Read with *mg.* "the navel of the land" and "the augurs' oak," places which would be familiar to every Shechemite.—**38.** Zebul, the absent king's governor in the city, takes the demagogue down by asking him "Where is now thy mouth?" At the approach of danger the man's boastings and vapourings cease.—**40.** Read "fell slain."—**41.** The site of Arumah is uncertain; it may be el-'Orme, two hours SE. of Shechem.

IX. 42–49. Abimelech Destroys Shechem.—These verses seem to contain a second, independent account of the attack on Shechem, the sequel to 22–25.—**43.** Abimelech adopts the same tactics whereby his father routed the Midianites (7₁₆).—**44.** Read, with the LXX, "the company that was with me."—**45.** To sow a city with salt was to declare symbolically that it was henceforth to be as fruitless and desolate as a salt desert (Dt. 9₂₃, Ps. 107₃₄). But, in the case of Shechem, nature itself made that impossible.—**46.** Read "Migdal-Shechem," evidently a town in the neighbourhood. El-berith is another name for Baal-berith (8₃₃), which the LXX has here. The translation "hold" is a guess; the word may mean an underground chamber. Mount Zalmon is unknown.—**49.** Abimelech burns the town of Shechem; King Bramble's fire devours the cedars as Jotham had predicted.

IX. 50–59. The Death of Abimelech.—He went on burning and destroying till from the tower of Thebez (p. 30) a woman threw a mill-stone which crashed through his skull. That he might not be said to have died by a woman's hand he begged his armour-bearer to give him the *coup de grace*. His death scene is strikingly like that of Saul, in whose person the kingship was revived (2 S. 1₉).—**56.** The closing verses point the moral of a tale which Greek poets would have woven into a tragic drama of fate. In the field of destiny men reap as they have sown.

X. 1–5. Tola and Jair.—These are the first of five minor Judges, the other three being named in 12₈–₁₅. Of the exploits of these Judges we know nothing. Only a few bare facts regarding their parentage, place of abode, years of rule, number of sons, and place of burial, are set down. Three of the five are elsewhere

spoken of not as individuals but as clans, and the other two are naturally to be regarded in the same light. Probably they were not introduced by D, but by a later editor.—**1.** Tola is here the son of Puah. Elsewhere these are brothers, sons of Issachar, *i.e.* brother clans (Gen. 46¹³, Nu. 26²³, 1 Ch. 7¹). The site of Shemir is unknown.—**3.** Jair was a son, *i.e.* a clan, of Manasseh (Nu. 32¹⁴, Dt. 3¹⁴). Gilead was a mountainous region on the eastern side of the Jordan, well watered and wooded, providing rich pasturage. Havvoth-Jair means "tent dwellings of Jair," a reminiscence of nomadic days, though encampments had now given place to cities. Jair's thirty "sons" are thirty settlements of the clan, just as our Colonies are the "daughters" of Britannia. Kamon may be the Kamun of Polybius (v. 70, 12).

X. 6–18. Introduction to the Story of Jephthah.—In this section we see the hand of D, and hear the recurrent notes of sin, suffering, repentance, and deliverance.—**7.** The reference to the Philistines seems to be out of place, unless the section is meant to serve as an introduction to Samson's as well as Jephthah's exploits.—**8.** Text faulty: "eighteen years" should probably stand at the end of 7, and 8 should perhaps read "and they vexed and oppressed the children of Israel that were beyond Jordan," the rest being a gloss.—**11.** Moore thinks that all the proper names after "the Egyptians" have been added by the latest editor. "Maonites" may survive in Ma'an, seven hours from Petra; some read "Midianites" with LXX (*mg.*).—**17f.** A mere editorial summary of 11.

XI. 1–11. Jephthah's Youth.—Jephthah (God *opens* the womb) is the Othello of Israelitish history, a splendid barbarian, "little blessed with the soft phrase of peace," familiar with "moving accidents by flood and field," who by his valour delivers his country, and by a mysterious fate sacrifices a life dearer to him than his own. A great warrior, he was handicapped in the race of life, and persecuted by his own flesh and blood, because he came into the world with the cruel stain of illegitimacy. All the greater honour will be his if he can "burst his birth's invidious bar." Tradition did not preserve the real name of the hero's father, who is simply called Gilead, which was properly the name of a district or its people (see 10³). Like Ishmael, another "unwanted" son, Jephthah was driven from his home and cast upon a cold world. But he found his way to the land of Tob ("good"), which proved a good land to him, a land where a brave youth could carve his way to fortune. (It is mentioned again in 2 S. 10⁶⁻⁸; district unknown.) For a time he was, like young David, a free-booter; he and his comrades "went out"—a well-understood term, meaning went out on raids. In this way he got himself ready to be the deliverer of his country—from raiders! He had the chance of his lifetime in his country's day of peril. The elders (sheikhs) of Gilead—some of his own brothers perhaps among them—came to Tob to beg him to come home. Gilead was in need of a military leader to break the power of the enemy. The hour was come, and Jephthah was the man. Desiring to be sure of his position, he put to the elders some awkward questions, which they evaded. Note their solemnly inconsequent "therefore," a touch of comedy on the writer's part. Jephthah did not think the word of the elders as good as their bond, and would not budge an inch without their adjuration, "Yahweh be witness between us."—**11b** scarcely makes sense here, and many scholars think its right place is after 31. Such errors frequently occurred in the copying of MSS.

XI. 12–28. Jephthah's Negotiations with the King of Ammon.—As generally happens, there was a war of diplomacy before the war of swords. The history of 300 years was reviewed in an attempt to settle a present question of *meum* and *tuum*. Jephthah speedily acquainted himself with the rights and wrongs of the case, and would not have it said that he made no effort to settle matters amicably. But he argued in vain. Perhaps he was not sorry when the solemn palaver was over, and the hour come for the stern arbitrament of war. He was essentially a soldier, only incidentally and reluctantly a politician.—**14–28.** The point of the long speech of Jephthah's messengers is that the Israelites, in their journey from Egypt, scrupulously respected the neutrality of Ammon. They failed to obtain a transit through either Edom or Moab, and rather than trespass on forbidden ground they "compassed" both these lands. The only territory which they seized to the east of Jordan was that of Sihon, king of the Amorites. (These facts are stated in Nu. 20¹⁴⁻¹⁸, 21²¹⁻²⁴, only there is no reference to an embassy to Moab.) It will be observed that from 15 onwards there is a flaw in the argument of the messengers, who reason as if they were negotiating with Moab instead of Ammon; and the error becomes most apparent in 24, where they speak of "Chemosh thy god." Chemosh was the god of Moab, Milcom of Ammon. The Israelites speak as men who have a national deity, Yahweh, to men who have a national deity, Chemosh. While they devoutly worshipped the one, they did not question the reality of the other. The truth of monotheism had not yet dawned on even the greatest minds in Israel.

XI. 29–33. Jephthah's Vow, and his Campaign against Ammon.—**29b** is probably an editorial note, "a somewhat unskilful attempt to fasten the new cloth (12–28) into the old garment" (Moore.) Jephthah's vow was made at the holy place of Mizpah in Gilead, like Jacob's at Bethel (Gen. 28²⁴f., 31¹³). In hope of victory, or dread of disaster, men vowed, or devoted, to Yahweh something very precious—it might even be a human life—believing they would thus propitate His favour and secure His aid.—**31.** "Whatsoever" is entirely wrong; read "whosoever" (*mg.*). Jephthah intended a human sacrifice. To suggest that he thought of an animal—say a sheep or a goat—crossing his path when he neared his home, is to trifle with tragedy.—**33.** Aroer is not the city of that name on the Arnon (26), but another near the ancient Rabbah, which is the modern Ammān (Jos. 13²⁵). Minnith was probably near Heshbon. Abel-cheramim, "Vineyard-meadow," is unknown.—**34.** Read "came to his home at Mizpah." Like Miriam at the Red Sea (Ex. 15²⁰), and the women who welcomed home Saul and David (1 S. 18⁶), Jephthah's daughter came forth to meet her father with timbrels and dances. This implies that she had companions (*cf.* 37), but the poignant fact was that she, as the conqueror's daughter, was leading the dance.—**34b** is unsurpassable in its pathos; equalled only by Gen. 22². The sacrifice of an only child—what sorrow can compare with that? (*cf.* Jer. 42⁶, Am. 8¹⁰, Zech. 12¹⁰). "What is a victory, what are triumphal arches, and the praise of all creation, to a lonely man?" (Mark Rutherford).—**35.** Read "thou hast stricken me, *thou* (emphatic) art one that bringeth disaster upon me."—**36.** The pure and innocent maiden whose life was to be sacrificed is known only as Jephthah's Daughter, and she was worthy, more than worthy, of that name. With her father's heroic spirit, she had a still nobler nature. There is nothing in all literature finer than her answer in this verse. No wonder that her words

have inspired poets. Tennyson paraphrases them in "My God, my land, my father," and Byron in "Since our country, our God—oh, my sire."—**37.** She asks for a respite of two months. "Life is sweet, brothers, who would wish to die?"—**39.** But Jephthah "did to her as he had vowed to do." That is the last act of the tragedy. It is only suggested. No angel of the Lord interposed, as in the story of Isaac, with an injunction "Lay not thine hand on the maiden" (*cf.* Gen. 22^{12}). No prophet had yet arisen to ask, "Shall I give the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" (Mi. 6^{7}). From the Christian point of view we may, with Dante, think Jephthah was wrong

> "Blindly to execute a rash resolve,
> Whom better it had suited to exclaim
> 'I have done ill,' than to redeem his pledge
> By doing worse."

But his blindness detracts nothing from the heroism of his daughter, who gave herself, without a murmur, to her people and her God; who was led to the altar, not as a bride adorned for her husband, but as a virgin-martyr; whose love of life was less than her love of her country and its freedom. Did not Byron rightly divine that she smiled as she died? [The view that she was not put to death but doomed to remain unwedded, is almost certainly incorrect, though it has been recently revived by Benzinger.—A. S. P.]

XII. 1–6. Civil War between Gilead and Ephraim.—The Ephraimites hankered after the primacy among the tribes. Their *amour propre* was easily offended, their anger quickly enflamed. Instead of praising God for Jephthah's great victory, they were furious because he won it without their aid. They insulted him as they once insulted Gideon, and perhaps expected an equally meek and flattering answer. But Jephthah was a man of a different mould and temper. Hurling a few scathing words at heroes who were brave when the war was over, he presumed, judging from their insolence, that they now wished to fight *with him*, and he was ready. The result deeply stirs the reader's imagination. Led by a general like Jephthah, Gilead was more than a match for Ephraim, and the western tribe was not only put to flight, but found the fords of Jordan guarded to bar their passage. Every man who wished to cross was subjected to a singular test. His life hung on the pronunciation of a sibilant. He was asked to say "Shibboleth" (ear of corn), and if he said "Sibboleth," he was slain there and then. His speech betrayed him. "So in the Sicilian vespers, March 31, 1282, the French were made to betray themselves by the pronunciation of *ceci e ciceri;* those who pronounced c as in French (*sesi e siseri*) were hewn down on the spot." (Moore).—**4.** The words "because they said, Ye are fugitives of Mount Ephraim" make no sense in their present position, and probably should stand after "Jordan" in 6. The huge numbers are doubtless the work of R.—**7.** The Heb. text "in the cities of Gilead," is evidently wrong; the LXX has "in his city of Gilead."

XII. 8–15. The Three Minor Judges.—Ibzan's home was probably Bethlehem in Zebulun (Jos. 19^{15}), 7 m. from Nazareth, still called Beit-lahm. For Aijalon we should probably read Elon (so the LXX). Pirathon is perhaps Far'ata, near Nāblūs.

XIII.–XV. Samson and the Philistines.—About the same time as the Israelites entered Canaan from the east the Purasati (of the Egyptian monuments), or Philistines, came over the sea from Caphtor (Crete), and settled in the rich coast-lands between Carmel and Gaza (p. 28). For centuries it was a question which of the two races was to have the mastery. The inevitable conflict began early, and was not ended till the time of David. Samson, Israel's Hercules, is said to have saved and judged Israel in the days of the Philistines (13^{5}, 15^{20}, 16^{31}), but he did not, like the other Judges, call his tribesmen to arms and lead them into battle. His exploits were single-handed adventures. As a popular hero he is on a somewhat lower level than Gideon, Barak, Jephthah, David, and Samuel, with whom he is named in Heb. 11^{32}. That the tales of his escapades were popular can well be believed. "The scrapes into which Samson's weakness for women brought him, the way in which he turned the tables on those who thought they had got the best of him, the hard knocks he dealt the uncircumcised, and the practical jokes he played on them must have made these stories great favourites with the story-loving race, such as all the Semites are" (Moore, 315).

XIII. 1–24. The Birth of Samson.—**1.** D's usual introduction.—**2.** Zorah (p. 31) is now Ṣar'a, 800 ft. above the valley of Sorek (Wady es-Surār), 17 m. W. of Jerusalem. In Jos. 15^{33} and 2 Ch. 11^{10} it is no longer Danite, but Judahite, evidently because the Danites of the town had moved to the north (Jg. 18).—**3.** On the angel of the Lord see 2^{1}*. The words "but thou shalt conceive and bear a son" belong to 5, and should be deleted here.—**4.** The idea was that a person who partook of anything fermented or putrified was thereby rendered unfit for consecration to the Deity.—**5.** As a Nazirite (pp. 103, 105) Samson was "set apart," not by his own voluntary act but by the will of God, from the day of his birth and during his whole life, the sign of his consecration being his unshorn hair. He was not required to abstain from wine. The post-exilic Nazirite (Nu. 6*) bound himself by a vow for a time, during which he abstained from wine, and on the expiry of his vow he cut off his hair and presented it at the sanctuary. In 5*b* read "he will be the first to deliver Israel."—**6.** A man of God was an inspired man, a prophet (1 S. 2^{27}, 9$^{6-8}$; 1 K. 12^{22}, etc.). So impressed was Manoah's wife that she abstained from asking the questions which she would have put to an ordinary stranger: "What is thy name? Whence comest thou?"—**12.** Manoah asks (1) what will be the "manner" of the child, the mode of his upbringing, the regimen prescribed for him, and (2) what will be his calling or occupation. Instead of answering his questions, Yahweh's angel repeats the injunctions already given to the mother.—**16.** With His refusal to eat bread contrast Gen 18^{8}, noting the gradual spiritualising of ideas regarding God.—**17 f.** Like Jacob (Gen. 32^{29}*), Manoah asks, but in vain, what is the Divine name, which is inscrutable. Not God's unwillingness to reveal Himself, but man's incapacity for a fuller revelation, is the ground of mystery.—**19.** *Cf.* 6$^{19-21}$. Many scholars read "unto the Lord that doeth wondrously." The remaining words belong to 20.—**21** indicates another advance in theological reflection. Once on a time God walked and talked with men; now it is death to see God (*cf.* 1 S. 28^{13}). Yet a woman's quick instinct conquers fear.—**24.** "Samson" comes from *Shemesh*, "the sun," and means either "sunny" or "little sun." Only the width of the valley separated Zorah from Beth-Shemesh (p. 31), "the house of the sun," evidently an ancient centre of sun-worship.—**25.** The superhuman energy which Samson began to display is ascribed to the working of Yahweh's spirit in him (see 3^{10}*). What is said of Mahaneh-dan does not agree with 18^{12}; and some pro-

pose to read Manahath-dan, the home of the Manoah clan.

XIV. 1–4. Samson at Timnath.—Samson's adventures are all bound up with his relations to Philistine women—one in Timnath, a second in Gaza, and a third in the valley of Sorek. The name of only one of them is given, and it has become synonymous with an evil enchantress.—**1.** Timnath (p. 31) is the modern Tibnah, 3½ m. to the SW. of Zorah.—**2.** The young man's parents objected to a marriage with an alien (*cf.* Gen. 24₃, 26₃₄f., 27₄₆).—**3.** Among the neighbours of the Israelites the Philistines alone did not practise circumcision, and all the racial hatred of those dreaded rivals is put into the opprobrious epithet, "the uncircumcised" (1 S. 14₆, etc.).—**4.** Even the best Israelites (among them the writer J) assumed that Yahweh was "against the Philistines," and that He sought "an occasion" for a quarrel with them.

XIV. 5–20. Samson's Marriage.—As he could not take an unwelcomed bride to his father's house, Samson resolved to contract a marriage in which his wife would remain at her father's house (9₂*). **5** conveys the idea that his parents after all gave their consent, and even went down with him to the wedding. This in itself is improbable, and there is no indication of their presence at Timnath or of their returning home. Moore plausibly suggests that a later writer, taking offence at the story of an improper marriage, inserted "and his father and his mother" in order to regularise it. The same applies to 10.—**6.** *Cf.* David's and Benaiah's exploits (1 S. 17₃₄–₃₆, 2 S. 23₂₀) and Hercules' fight with a Nemean lion.—**8.** Omit "to take her," a gloss which spoils the sense. Samson was returning home when he turned aside to see the lion's carcase.—**10.** Read "And he went down to the woman, and made a feast there." For "young men" read "bridegrooms."—**11.** The sense is not good, "they" being undefined. Making a slight change, read "and he took thirty companions, and they were with him." At Syrian village weddings the bridegroom is still attended by a bodyguard of young men (Ca. 3₁f.).—**14.** As a poetical expression of a remarkable incident, Samson's couplet is perfect; but it was not a good riddle, as the Philistines could know nothing of the facts alluded to.—**15.** They got the answer not by wit, but by guile. Probably "in three days" and "on the seventh day" should be omitted. Read "And they were not able to guess the riddle, so they said to Samson's wife," etc. He is called her husband, and she his wife, though as yet they were only betrothed.—The end of 15 reads in some MSS and the Targum, "Have ye called us hither to impoverish us?"—**18.** The word for "sun" cannot be right, and a very slight change gives the reading: "Before he entered into the chamber." The week of ante-nuptial festivities was ending, the marriage day had at length come, when the thirty youths read the riddle and enjoyed their triumph.—Samson's retort expressed his fierce contempt for the Philistines who had played him false, the women and the men alike.—**19.** In his rage he rushed away home, leaving the marriage unconsummated, regardless of the feelings of the bride and her family.—**19a** is evidently a later insertion.—**20.** The indignant father at once gave the bride to Samson's groomsman, and the interrupted wedding was completed.

XV. Samson against the Philistines.—His anger having cooled, Samson went down to appease his betrothed and complete the marriage. When he learned how things stood, he was angrier than ever, and determined to wreak his revenge upon the Philistines. The stories of the burning of their corn and the slaughter of a thousand of them with an ass's jawbone are good examples of Heb. folklore. [For parallels, especially to a Roman ceremony at the *Cerealia*, to the story of the foxes, see ICC and CB, also Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i., pp. 296 f. The corn-spirit is sometimes thought to assume the shape of a fox, but this has probably no bearing on this story.—A. S. P.]—**4.** Instead of foxes (which do not roam in packs) read "jackals." The feud between Samson and the Philistines now became deadly.—**6.** Read, with some Heb. MSS. and ancient VSS., "her and her father's house" (*i.e.* family).—The rock Etam is not certainly known.—**17–19.** The etymologies are of course popular, not scientific. Ramath-lehi did not originally mean "the throwing away of the jaw bone," but (*cf. mg.*) Jawbone Hill (*cf.* Ramoth-gilead). The "hollow place" that is in Lehi—called the Maktēsh or Mortar from its shape—was cleft by God long before Samson came on the scene. And En-hakkore did not signify "the well of him that called," but the Partridge's (Caller's) Spring.

XVI. 1–3. Samson Carries off the Gates of Gaza.—Gaza was the last coast town on the way down to Egypt, about 30 m. from Samson's home; to-day a town of 16,000 inhabitants.—**2b** does not agree with **2a**. There would be no need to keep watch by night, when the gates were closed. The Philistines "were quiet all the night," *i.e.* they took no precautions. Probably the words "compassed . . . city" are a later addition.—**3.** The gate consisted of two wings, which were flanked by two posts and secured by a bar let into the posts. Samson pulled the posts out of the ground, put the whole framework on his shoulders, and carried it to the top of the hill that faces Hebron, 40 m. from Gaza.

XVI. 4–22. Samson and Delilah.—It was quite near his own home, in the Vale of Sorek ("Grape Valley"), that the Philistines, aided by the woman who had him in thrall, ultimately got the giant under their power. A ruined site near Zorah is still called Sūrīk. The Jaffa-Jerusalem railway now runs through the valley. The meaning of "Delilah" is unknown: perhaps it was a Philistine word, as the term for "lords" or "tyrants" (*seren*, pl. *sarnē*) certainly was. Delilah was to receive £150 from each of the five for the betrayal of her lover.—**7.** Instead of "withes," or flexible twigs, read "seven cords of fresh sinews," *i.e.* moist gut; Moore has "bowstrings." Seven was first a magical and then a sacred number (*cf.* 13).—**10–13.** In the second attempt to discover the secret everything is clear.—**13b** is an unfinished sentence. The LXX has, "If thou weave the seven braids of my head along with the web, and beat up with the pin, my strength will fail and I shall be like other men. So while he slept Delilah took the seven braids of his head, and wove them . . . and said," etc. She wove his hair into the warp with her fingers, beating it tight with the pin or batten. Samson awoke, and pulled up the whole framework—fixed posts and loom—by the hair of his head. Omit "the pin of," which was inserted by some reader who mistook the nature of the pin.—**19.** Probably we should read "and he shaved him"; and the LXX proceeds "and he began to be afflicted," or "humbled."—**20.** Yahweh departed from him because he had ceased to be a Nazirite.

XVI. 23–31. The Death of Samson.—Dagon, the god of the Philistines, had been worshipped in the Maritime Plain long before their coming. They adopted the god of the district, just as many Israelites learned to worship the Baals of Canaan. One of the Amarna

letter-writers was called Dagon-takala. There is still a Beit Dajan near Joppa, and another near Nāblūs.—**24.** In the Heb. the words "Our god . . . many of us" form a rhymed five-line song, each short line ending in *ēnū*.—**25.** The blind giant apparently made sport by harmless exhibitions of his strength.—**27.** "And all the lords . . . women" is probably a later insertion to heighten the effect. Codex B of the LXX has 70 instead of 3000.—**28.** In the Heb., Samson prays, with grim humour, for strength to avenge himself for *one* of his two eyes. The Eng. trans. follows the VSS.—**30.** Lit. "Let my soul die with the Philistines." The soul was not immortal; when a man died his soul died; after death he still existed, but only as a shade, not as a soul. The chapter ends with a note by D. [A discussion of the narrative is given in R. A. S. Macalister's *Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*, pp. 127–138. It is argued there that Samson performed his feats in front of the temple. The lords were in a large deep portico, the crowd on the roof of the portico. Samson was brought within the portico to rest in the shade. The pillars were wooden, and what Samson did was to push them off their stone bases, so that the lords in the portico and the crowd on its roof were killed, but not those on the roof of the temple itself, except such as might be killed in the panic.—A. S. P.]

XVII.–XVIII. This section is the first of two supplements. It explains the origin of the famous shrine at Dan, and the *naïveté* of its moral and religious ideas proves how ancient it is. In not a few places the text has evidently been tampered with by scribes, who took offence at practices which were from a later point of view irregular. The events in question must have occurred before the time of Deborah (517).

XVII. 1–6. Micah's Graven Image.—The dread of a curse, uttered by an indignant mother against the unknown thief of her money, made the culprit, her own son, confess his guilt. At a certain stage of religious development, blessings and curses are supposed to have supernatural potency (p. 143). In this instance the mother made her curse still more effective by "devoting" the lost money to Yahweh.—**2f.** Change the order: "I took it; now therefore I restore it to thee. And his mother said," etc.—**4.** Comparing "a graven image and a molten image" with "*it* was in the house" and "the graven image" in 18₃₀f., we conclude that "a molten image" is throughout a later addition.—**5.** Read "house of God" (Beth-elohim), Micah being a worshipper of Yahweh. As a wealthy man he had his own shrine. On ephod see 8₂₇*. Teraphim were also images, but for private, domestic use (p. 101). Micah consecrated, lit. "filled the hand of" (Lev. 8*. Nu. 3₃*, 1 Ch. 29₅*), one of his sons, as priest.—**6.** This is the apology of a later writer for proceedings of which his age could not approve.

XVII. 7–13. Micah Secures a Levite as Priest.—**7.** The young man was a Judæan by birth, and a Levite by profession. It is a contradiction to say that he "sojourned" among his own people. The clause should perhaps stand after "a man" in 11.—**8.** End with "to fulfil the purpose of the journey."—**10.** Even a young Levite could be a "father," the title being given out of respect for himself or his sacred office. Ten pieces of silver is about thirty shillings.—**14.** Micah had a priest before (5), but only a layman, his own son. Now he has a Levite, trained for the sacred office, skilful in using the oracles and interpreting Yahweh's mind.

XVIII. 1–7. The Danite Scouts at the House of Micah.—This chapter is of great value as an illustration of the mode in which an Israelitish tribe found a settlement in the country. We are taken back almost to the time of the Conquest. On the difficulty which the Danites had in taking possession of the territory first allotted to them see 1₃₄. Some of them determined to seek their fortune in fresh fields. Their five scouts passed the house of Micah on the way north. How they knew the Levite's voice we are not told. Either he was an old acquaintance, or the words mean that they heard a voice intoning, which they knew to be a Levite's. Seizing their opportunity, they bade him ask counsel of God for them, and obtained a gratifying response.

XVIII. 8–10. The Scouts at Laish.—Laish was at the source of the Jordan, being either the modern Tell el Kādi or Banias (p. 32). "Zidonians" stands here for Phœnicians (*cf.* 10₁₂). These were a quiet, industrious trading people, and the men of Laish were after their "manner," being, indeed perhaps a Phœnician settlement. They were the kind of people for whom the Danite scouts were looking—a people easy to conquer! The moral question as to the right of overpowering and disinheriting a "quiet and secure" peasantry was never raised. At the Bedouin stage of culture, might is right.

XVIII. 11–26. The Danites Get Possession of a Sacred Image.—Kiriath-jearim (the city of forests) is perhaps Kuriat el 'enab. There was a Mahaneh-dan (camp of Dan) between Zorah and Eshtaol, but more than one place might bear such a name.—**14.** "Consider what he hath to do" is the language of highwaymen. What *had* the Danites to do? To respect the rights of property? To avoid sacrilege? They knew better.—**19.** They stole not only the *sacra* but the priest, whose "heart was glad," for was it not better to be the "father and priest" of a tribe than of a single family?—**25.** Unmoved by the despairing cry of one who had been robbed of his most sacred treasures, the Danites warned Micah that there were angry fellows among them, who might, if molested, proceed to extremities. Finding no redress, Micah turns back, and disappears from the scene. At least his life had been spared; but the "angry fellows" treat their next victims differently. "They came unto Laish, and to a people quiet and secure, and smote them with the edge of the sword, and they burned the city with fire, and there was no deliverer." How modern it all seems—with the exception of the last clause! Beth-rehob ("house of the broad place") may be another name of Banias.—**30.** The name and descent of the young Levite, who was the first priest of the famous sanctuary, are stated at the end of the story. He was a grandson of Moses; but by the insertion of an "n" the great name was afterwards changed into Manasseh, the idolatrous king! "The day of the captivity of the land" was either 734 or 721 B.C.—**31.** It is nowhere stated how or when Shiloh lost its importance as a sacred shrine. The destruction of its temple is first distinctly mentioned in Jer. 7₁₂,₁₄, 26₉.

XIX–XXI. In the story of the outrage of Gibeah, there is a combination of history and midrash. Hosea (9₉) makes allusion to the "days of Gibeah," as a time of notorious moral depravity in Israel, and the events which he had in view doubtless form the basis of the present chapter. But when Israel is called "the congregation" (20₁₈), when the "elders of the congregation" are introduced, and when the tribes come automatically together "as one man" (20₁,₁₁), making a national army ten times as great as Barak's, it is apparent that this is a modernised version of the story,

written in the language of the "congregation." It is the task of criticism to separate the original narrative from its accretions.

XIX. The Outrage of Gibeah.—**1.** On "sojourning," sée 176. The "farther side" of the highlands of Ephraim meant the northern part. The relation of concubinage had the sanction of widespread custom (*cf.* 831, Gen. 2224, etc.), and the concubine's father became the man's father-in-law (4).—**6-8.** The repetitions are very awkward, and nothing is lost if the whole of 6*b* to 8 is omitted.—**10.** It used to be supposed that Jebus was the old Canaanite name of the city. But the Amarna tablets, written before the coming of the Israelites, have the name Uru-salim. Jebus is a literary, not an historical name.—**12.** "Stranger" means alien, foreigner; and "that" refers to city, not to stranger. In Gibeah, an Israelitish city, a kindlier welcome was to be expected than among the Jebusites.—**13.** Gibeah is perhaps Tell el-Fûl, 3 m. N. of Jerusalem. Some seven Gibeahs are mentioned in the OT. The word means "an isolated hill," as distinguished from the hill-country (*har*).—**15.** For "street" read "broad place" or "market-place," the *Rĕhōb* of an eastern town corresponding somewhat to the Agora or Forum of Greek and Roman cities.—**16.** As in Sodom, so in Gibeah, the one hospitable man was a stranger. 16*b* is probably a late addition, for what early writer would require to tell his readers that "the men of the place were Benjamites"?—**22.** "Sons of Belial" meant vile scoundrels. "Belial" (worthlessness) did not become a proper name till the apocalyptic period (Pr. 612*).—**23.** "Folly" is too weak; "wanton deed" comes nearer the sense. The Heb. "fool" was a person as devoid of moral as of religious feeling (p. 344, Pr. 17*).—**24.** This horrible detail is deliberately added for the purpose of making the picture of Gibeah as like that of Sodom as possible (Gen. 198). Happily nothing more is said of the maiden, and the whole verse seems to be an irrelevant addition.—**25.** To the modern mind the Levite, who throws his wife out into the dark street, is as guilty as the rabble to whom he surrenders her. But that was not the ancient point of view. This is the story, not of the avenging of a woman's violated honour, but of the vindication (1) of a man's sacred rights of property (in his wife), and (2) of the laws of hospitality.—**27.** The picture of the woman lying, when the day dawns," at the door of the house, with her hands upon the threshold," has a tragic pathos of which the narrator of the story seems but dimly conscious.—**30.** The LXX reads, "and he commanded the men whom he sent out: Thus shall ye say to all the men of Israel, Did ever a thing like this happen, from the day . . . unto this day. And everyone who saw it said, Such a thing as this has not happened or been seen from the day . . . unto this day."

XX. The Outrage Avenged.—"The congregation" (LXX Synagōgē) is a post-exilic term. The words "as one man" suggest a unity of action such as was not secured till long after the time of the Judges. "The assembly of the people of God" was a phrase often heard in the second Temple, but not in the days of the Judges.—**2.** Contrast the army mustered against Sisera, 40,000 men strong (Jg. 58).—**10.** Each of the three clauses means precisely the same thing.—**15.** The figures are in some confusion, the size of the Benjamite force being indicated three times, and each time differently (15, 35, 44–47).—**16.** According to the VSS, 16*a* should be omitted (note the repetition of "700 chosen men"); and "every one" means each of the 26,000 men who were all left-handed. The skill of the Benjamites as archers and slingers is alluded to in 2 Ch. 122f.—**23** should evidently stand before 22–27f. The words in brackets were added by an editor or scribe who counted it improper to offer sacrifice except where the Ark was housed, and who therefore inferred that Bethel, instead of Shiloh, possessed the *sacra* for a time. History gives no hint of this arrangement.—**30–48.** The account of the third day's fighting is extremely confused. In 35 the battle is over; in 36*b* it begins again.—**33.** Baal-tamar is unknown. For "Maareh-geba" read (with LXX) "the West of Gibeah."—**37.** The ruse practised is very like that employed by Joshua against Ai (Jos. 814f.).—**40.** The last words may be translated, "And, behold, the holocaust of the city went up to heaven." The smoking and blazing city are imaged as a sacrifice. Heaven has been offered many such "holocausts of barbarian vengeance."—**43.** Text corrupt. Moore suggests "they cut Benjamin to pieces from Nohah as far as opposite Geba, eastward."—**45.** The rock Rimmon is now Rammōn, 3 m. E. of Bethel.—**48.** Benjamin is made a *herem*, as if it were a heathen tribe "devoted" in war.

XXI. Benjamin Saved from Extinction.—Two versions of this story have been editorially combined. The second is evidently the older. It was stated that the children of Israel came together as one man (201,11), but it now appears that Jabesh-gilead, the city that was so loyal to Saul the Benjamite (1 S. 111f., 3111f., 2 S. 25f., 2112f.), did not send a single man to fight against Benjamin. For this sin, all the inhabitants are "devoted," except the maidens, who are given, willing or unwilling, to the Benjamite remnant. The second version (16–24) is quite independent of the first, and entirely different in spirit. It is unquestionably very ancient, and the glimpse which it gives of an autumn "feast of Yahweh" at Shiloh, when young maidens performed choral dances in the vineyards, is full of interest. The Benjamite marriage by capture strongly resembles the famous rape of the Sabine women (Livy, i. 9).—**22.** Text uncertain. For "complain unto us" read "strive with you" (LXX). With an emended text 22*b* may run, "Be gracious to them, for if ye had given them (your daughters) unto them, you would surely now be guilty." The rest of the verse, "Because . . . battle," is an editorial attempt to join the early Shiloh story to the late Jabesh-gilead one.

RUTH

By Professor JAMES STRAHAN

The Book of Ruth is found near the end of the Heb. Bible. It is the second of the five "Festal Rolls" (*Megilloth*, p. 418), Ca., Lam., Ec., and Est. being the other four. Its transference by the LXX, followed by the Vulgate and the modern versions, to a position between Jg. and Sam. is due to its opening words, "Now it came to pass in the days when the judges ruled." But in spirit it differs entirely from Jg. It is like a pastoral symphony after a surfeit of martial music. Even the Bible scarcely contains a sweeter tale of love. Goethe characterised it as "the loveliest little idyll that tradition has transmitted to us." Only in later portions of the OT do we find somewhat similar pictures of pastoral peace and domestic love, *e.g.* in Job 1₁–5, Pss. 127, 128, 133, Pr. 31₁₀–₃₁. (See further, p. 22.)

Several facts indicate that the book was not written before, but probably a considerable time after, the Exile: the fairly numerous Aramaic words and forms which the writer uses; his allusion to a custom familiar enough in the seventh century B.C. (Dt. 25₉f.), but obsolete in his own day (Ru. 4₇); and his attitude towards mixed marriages, which points to a time subsequent to that of Ezra and Nehemiah. The writer was evidently a man of wide sympathies and warm affections. To him the laws of Israel were not as "the laws of the Medes and Persians, which alter not." For his book quietly ignores, if it does not deliberately oppose, the law in Dt. 23₃: "An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of the Lord; even to the tenth generation shall none belonging to them enter into the assembly of the Lord for ever." Ezra found it necessary to enforce the law, and demanded the divorce of foreign women married to Israelites (Ezr. 9f.; *cf.* Neh. 13₂₃f.). But even Ezra would not have had the heart to divorce Ruth from Boaz. Their marriage was too manifestly made in heaven, planned by a God who educates His people by giving laws to one generation and modifying them for another, never destroying but always perfecting His work.

Literature.— *Commentaries:* (*a*) **Cooke** (CB), Thatcher (Cent.B); (*c*) **Nowack** (HK), Bertholet (KHC). *Other literature*: Gunkel, *Reden und Aufsätse*, pp. 65–92.

I. 1–22. Ruth and Naomi.—Bethlehem ceased for a time to be what its name signified—a house of bread. Under stress of famine Elimelech, with his wife Naomi, left his Judæan home, and went to sojourn in the land of Moab, where he died. His two sons married women of Moab, Orpah and Ruth, but died childless, so that Naomi and her daughters-in-law were left together in lonely widowhood.—**1.** Seen from the uplands of Judea, the mountains of Moab are like an immense wall rising beyond the mysterious gulf of the Dead Sea.—**2.** Elimelech, meaning "my God is king," is an ancient Palestinian name, which occurs in the Amarna tablets. Naomi means "my sweet one," a mother's fond name for her child. Ephrath was a district round about Bethlehem (*cf.* Gen. 35₁₉*, 1 S. 17₁₂).—**4.** The derivation of Orpah and Ruth is uncertain, but the latter appears to mean "the friend" or "companion."—**6.** Yahweh sometimes visited His people in grace (*e.g.* Ex. 4₃₁, 1 S. 2₂₁), and sometimes in displeasure (Jer. 6₁₅, 49₈).—**7.** Strictly speaking, only one of the three women could be said to "return" to the land of Judah.—**8.** The writer belonged to a time when Yahweh's power was known to extend far beyond the limits of Canaan. Jephthah spoke of Chemosh as the god of Moab (Jg. 11₂₄), but Naomi knows better, and prays that Yahweh may be kind to her daughters-in-law in the land of Moab.—**11–13.** It was the custom in Israel that a childless widow became the wife of her brother-in-law, and his first son by her was counted the heir of the deceased husband, whose name was thus preserved (p. 109, Dt. 25₅–₁₀*). But Naomi has no more sons. She knows the Levirate law (p. 109), but, alas, with the best will in the world she can do nothing for her daughters-in-law. It grieves her sore, not for her own sake, but for the sake of the girls whom her sons had wedded, that Yahweh's hand (not, as we say, "things") has gone against her.—**15–17.** But though she can give her daughters no *levirs* (brothers-in-law), one of them has found her heart's treasure in Naomi herself, and the passionate words in which she expresses the determination to remain with her in life and in death are unsurpassably beautiful. Yahweh had already become Ruth's God, and her words are prompted not only by a tender human affection, but by a deep religious feeling.—**19.** When the women came to Bethlehem, "the city was moved," as any quiet eastern town still is upon the arrival of strangers.—**20.** Naomi sadly asks her old neighbours to change her name from Naomi to Mara—from "sweet" to "bitter." It is remarkable that she uses nearly the same words as Job (27₂), giving God the same antique name of Shaddai (the Almighty). And was there not in her heart, as in Job's, a sense of the mystery of pain, a pathetic protest (in her case unspoken) against the old doctrine that suffering is always deserved? It would be difficult for any doctor of the old school to say why Yahweh had dealt very bitterly with, testified against, afflicted Naomi.—**22.** The beginning of barley harvest was in the month of April.

II. 1–23. The Meeting of Boaz and Ruth.—Naomi's "kinsman"—quite a different word from the "near kinsman" (goël) of 2₀—is introduced in Heb. words which sometimes denoted "a wealthy man," and sometimes "a valiant man," so that a peaceful farmer like Boaz is characterised in the same terms as warriors like Gideon and Jephthah (Jg. 6₁₂, 11₁). The name Boaz may mean "in Him is strength."—**2.** It was a custom, and it became a law, in Israel that the poor,

the stranger, the orphan, and the widow should be permitted to glean in the harvest fields (Dt. 24 19f., Lev. 23 22).—**3.** It was Ruth's "hap" to glean in Boaz's field. Even a writer who sees the hand of God in everything (1 13) may speak of some things as "happening": *cf.* our Lord's words, "By chance a certain priest came down that way" (Lk. 10 31).—**7.** Text uncertain, and "in the house" cannot be right. Probably the clause means simply "without resting a moment."—**8f.** It was the task of the "young men" to reap and of the "maidens" to gather the sheaves, as in western lands before the days of machinery.—**12.** Boaz offers a devout prayer for Ruth, a prayer which he is to be instrumental in fulfilling, though as yet this has not occurred to him.—**13.** Ruth gratefully acknowledges that he has comforted her by speaking kindly to her, lit. speaking to her heart (*cf.* Hos. 2 14, Is. 40 2). She was a stranger in a strange land, not without memories of home, and she needed to be comforted, though Keats goes somewhat too far in his sympathy for "the sad heart of Ruth, when sick for home she stood in tears amid the alien corn." Her home was now, in truth, where Naomi was, and her refuge under the wings of Yahweh, the God of Israel (12).—**14.** Ruth, in the eyes of the law a mere heathen, is invited to dip her morsel in the vinegar along with the reapers of Bethlehem, though the orthodox Jew has always avowed to the Gentile, "I will not eat with thee, drink with thee, nor pray with thee."—**16.** The "bundles" were the armfuls that were being gathered into sheaves.—**17.** At the end of the day Ruth had an ephah—almost a bushel—of barley to take home.—**18.** A more graphic reading is found in the ancient VSS, "and she showed her mother-in-law what she had gleaned."—**20.** This sounds like a recantation; after all Yahweh has *not* left off His kindness (contrast 12 of.). "One of our near kinsmen" means "one of those who have the right to redeem for us." Naomi and Ruth need a "redeemer" (goël), else Elimelech's property would go to strangers. The function of the "near kinsman" was of great importance in Heb. family life. If a man was so unfortunate as to have sold himself or his property, the goël's part was to redeem him or it; if he was killed, the goël was the avenger of blood; and if he died without personal issue, the goël endeavoured to prevent his estate from passing to strangers (Lev. 25 47–49).

III. Boaz as a Goël.—Elimelech and his two sons were dead. Would any member of the family have enough right and proper feeling to save his name from extinction? The nearest relative was in this case silent and inactive. But, with the originality of love, Naomi devised a plan not merely for the redemption of her late husband's estate and the continuation of the family succession, but for the happy settlement of Ruth in a Judæan home. Ignorant of the customs of Bethlehem, Ruth follows her mother-in-law's instructions to the letter. According to the sentiment of the time there was nothing immodest or unwomanly in their bold and unusual line of action. Rightly understood, it was only a gentle and delicate way of appealing to a kinsman's chivalry; and Ruth did not appeal in vain.—**1.** Better "a resting-place" (*mg.*); the beautiful Heb. word (*mĕnūḥā*) has much the same associations as our "home" (Ps. 132 14).—**3.** The time of the threshing was from four o'clock in the afternoon till half an hour after sunset, during which time a cool wind blows up from the sea.—**4.** The peasants of Palestine still sleep in the open air at the threshing time (Robinson, ii. 720).—**7.** The merriness of Boaz's heart seems as natural as its unaffected piety. The charm of this idyll lies in its perfect humanity.—**8–10.** The hero of a western song is represented as saying, "O wert thou in the cauld blast . . . my plaidie to the angry airt, I'd shelter thee"; here it is the unsheltered woman who, greatly daring, takes the initiative with the prayer, "Spread thy skirt over thine handmaiden." This act had a symbolic, indeed a sacred, meaning, being a kinsman's mode of signifying that, in loyalty to the dead, he was ready to act the part of a "redeemer," wedding and protecting one who would otherwise be homeless and friendless.—**11.** By this time all the city, lit. the "gate," knew Ruth's character. Just inside the gate of the city was "the broad place" (the *Rĕḥōb*), where all business was transacted and the news of the day discussed (4 1). Ruth was a "virtuous woman" in the sense of Pr. 31 10.—**16.** Naomi's question, "Who art thou?" can only mean How is it with thee? How hast thou fared? (*mg.*).

IV. Ruth's Marriage.—**1.** Instead of "such an one!" Boaz called the person's actual name, which the narrator either does not know or does not see any need for bringing into the story.—**2.** The elders of the city are called in as witnesses of an important transaction affecting the rights of a family. For "selleth" we ought to read "hath sold." The point is that the property had passed out of the family's hands and required to be redeemed.—**5.** Here the meaning is entirely missed in our translation. Read, "Thou buyest Ruth also" (*cf.* 10). Marriage by purchase was the ancient Semitic practice, but no more is meant here than that the redeemer of the property of Naomi was required at the same time to marry her daughter-in-law.—**6–8.** The next-of-kin, who at first expressed his willingness to redeem the property, drew back on second thoughts. Feeling that he could not afford to be so generous to the widow of a dead relative, he declined to "build up his brother's house" (Dt. 25 9). And in token of the fact that he renounced his rights, alike to the estate and to Ruth, he took off his sandal and handed it to Boaz, in the presence of the witnesses. The writer explains that this was "the custom in former times." The right to walk over an estate at will belonged only to the owner, and the shoe was the natural symbol of possession (*cf.* Ps. 60 8).—**9.** Boaz buys the estate which had belonged to Naomi; another indication of the lateness of the book, for the Mosaic Law did not admit the right of a widow to inherit her husband's property; but see Judith 8 7.—**14.** "Near kinsman" conveys only part of the meaning of goël; to get the full sense we need the combination "kinsman and redeemer." Some of the best interpreters think that in this verse a second goël now comes on the scene—the new-born child; but that is scarcely likely, though it is certainly the babe who is referred to at the end of this verse and in the next.—**17.** "Obed" means servant, *i.e.* servant of God. Here the idyll proper ends, the genealogy being doubtless the addition of another hand. It "may well have been added long after the Book itself was written, in an age that was devoted to the study of pedigrees" (Driver).

I. AND II. SAMUEL

By Principal W. H. BENNETT

Title. Our two Books of Samuel are the first and second parts of what was originally a single book in the Heb. In LXX the books are called 1 and 2 Kingdoms.

Composition.—The history of the book is very similar to that of the Hex. and Jg.; indeed it is sometimes thought that the books Gen.–Jg. and Samuel were compiled from the same sources, by the same literary process, and by the same series of editors. The reader should supplement the brief statement here by a careful study of the account of the methods of historical composition in Israel given in the previous commentaries and articles.

Samuel includes material from the period before the publication of Dt. in 621; material written under the influence of Dt.; and later material. The pre-Dt. material included three groups of sections:

(A) Sections often regarded as similar in character to the Pentateuchal material, J. The symbol (J) is used here for these sections, not as asserting their identity with the Hex. source, but as a recognition of the similarity between the two sets of material. This (J) includes a History of Saul and a History of David. These may be merely parts of the same work; or on the other hand, the (J) material concerning each of the two kings may be derived from two or more sources.

(B) Sections similar to the Pentateuchal E; these are denoted here by (E); *cf.* previous paragraph. These include a fragment of a History of the Ark, and material from a History or Histories of Saul and David.

(C) Sections similar to the later additions to the Pentateuchal source E; these sections are denoted here by the symbol (E^2); *cf.* above. They include a History of Samuel, and perhaps material from other sources. (E^2) was compiled about the same time as the publication of Dt. Some sections given to (E^2) here are sometimes regarded as Deuteronomic.

The Deuteronomic material is denoted by (D); and the later material by (R).

The general history of the book is as follows: During the early Monarchy, various accounts were written of the times of Samuel, Saul, and David; the material ascribed to (J) and (E) is derived from these accounts. Later on, especially towards the close of the Monarchy, other narratives were written and supplements were added to the earlier works. The material ascribed to (E^2) was derived from these accounts.

Also towards the close of the Monarchy, an editor, corresponding to the Pentateuchal R, made a compilation from (J), (E), (E^2), which may be described as a first edition of the Book of Samuel. During or after the Exile, scholars writing under the influence of Dt. revised this first edition, thus producing the second or Deuteronomic edition; the additions made by these scholars are denoted by (D). There was further revision later on by other editors and scribes; the additions made by them are denoted by (R). They gave the book its present form. Some, however, regard the Deuteronomic as the first edition; or otherwise vary somewhat the above scheme.

For the sake of simplicity we have given a very rough and approximate statement, omitting many details, qualifications, and possible alternatives. The theories and ascertained facts as given in the standard commentaries are detailed, various, and complicated; if we could fully determine the actual facts, they would probably turn out to be more complicated still.

We have tried to indicate that it is often difficult to decide how and how far the different sections are connected with each other; whether, for instance, 1 S. 19$^{11-17}$ is the sequel of 18^{27} or of 19^{10}, or is not connected with either of them. There are, however, groups of sections where there is clearly a connected sequence; we do not take into account minor additions. The more important of these groups are:

The Early Life of Samuel (1 S. 1, 2$^{11-26}$, 3^{1-4a}).

The History of the Ark (1 S. 4^{1b}–7^{1}).

The History of Saul (1 S. 9^{1}–10^{16}, 11, 13^{2-7a}, 13^{15b}–14^{46}).

David at Ziklag, Gilboa, David at Hebron, etc. (1 S. 27–2 S. 6).—The insertions, editorial and from other sources, are rather large in this series of sections, and there is uncertainty as to 1 S. 28, which see.

David, Bathsheba, Amnon, Absalom, Sheba (2 S. 9–20).—Sometimes called "The Court History of David."

The editorial process through which our book was developed from its sources can be only very imperfectly reconstructed; little can be added here to what has been said above. It is often suggested that 2 S. 9–20 was omitted from the Deuteronomic edition and restored by a later editor. The editorial arrangement of material has not always followed the order of time, *e.g.* the events described in 2 S. 21–24 are earlier than those in 1 S. 9–20. See the commentary on these and other passages.

It must be understood that all our statements as to derivation of sections from sources are largely approximate. When a section is said to be early, that does not exclude the possibility of its having been to some extent annotated or modified by later editors; and when a section is said to be late, that does not mean that a late writer sat down and made it all up out of his own head; he usually worked on the basis of older material, and it may often happen that phrases or sentences from ancient documents are preserved verbatim in late sections. Throughout, a number of minor additions and modifications have been ignored, partly because of the limitation of space, partly in order not to bewilder the reader. This neglect of details, mostly trivial and often merely technical, promotes, rather than hinders, the forming of a correct impression. In the following table, the figures are

even more approximate than elsewhere; in some cases the ascription in the table of a section to a source merely means that the bulk of the section is from that source; the more important of the additions will be found in other columns of the table or in the commentary. Especially see 1 S. 17₁–185, 28 for the complicated problems connected with those sections.

(J)	(E)	(E²)	(D)	(R)
1 S. 9₁–10, 16	4₁b–7₁	1, 2₁₁–16 3₁–4, 1a	2₂₇–36 7, 8 10₁₇–27	2₁–10
11				11₁₂ff.
13₁–7a		13, 7b–15a?	12	13₇b–15a?
13₁5b–23				
14		15		14₄₇–51
16₁4·23	17₁–185	16₁–13?		16₁–13?
18	18₁7–19	18₁of		
	19₁–17	19₁8–24?		19₁8–24?
20–23	24	21₁0–15		
25–31				
2 S. 1–6	1 6–10		7, 8	
	1₁3–16			
9–20				
21				22
23 8–39				23₁–7
24				

Evidence of Composition.—Our book abounds in the duplicate narratives discrepant statements and differences of standpoint which indicate composite authorship. For instance, there are two accounts of the institution of the Monarchy. In 1 S. 9₁—10₁6, 11, Samuel is an obscure local seer, and the Monarchy is a boon from Yahweh; in 8, 10₁7–27, 12, Samuel is the Judge of all Israel, and the Monarchy is an evil thing, granted as a punishment for the ungrateful importunity of the people. *Cf.* also 1 S. 2₂7–36 and 3; 13₇ff. and 15; 16₁4ff. and 17₅5ff.; 18₁of. and 19₈ff.; 18₁7ff. and 20 ff.; 21₁0 ff. and 27; 24 and 26; 1 S. 3₁4 and 2 S. 1₁0; 1 S. 17₅0 and 2 S. 21₁9.

History and Teaching.—Our book covers the period from the birth of Samuel to almost the close of the reign of David. Probably in an earlier and better division of the books, the history of Eli and Samuel, as the last of the judges, was included in Jg., and the account of the last days of David formed part of our book; so that *Samuel* began with 1 S. 13₁ and ended at 1 K. 2₁1.

(J) and (E) preserve the primitive tradition, and are of the greatest value for the historian; see especially on 2 S. 9–20.

These documents also provide us with important information as to the early religious beliefs and practices of Israel; see especially on 1 S. 3₃, 4₄, 5, 10₁0 ff., 14₃6ff., 16₁4ff., 19₁3, 26₁9ff., 28; 2 S. 6₆f., 15₂5f., 21, and 24. A comparison of the earlier sources with the later additions and with the prophetical and other later portions of OT, teaches us much concerning the methods and progress of the Divine Revelation to Israel. *Cf.* further the articles on the History of Israel and the Religion of Israel.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Kennedy** (Cent.B), Kirkpatrick (CB); (*b*) **Driver**, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel*², **Smith** (ICC); (*c*) **Budde** (KHC and SBOT), Klostermann (KHS), Nowack (HK); (*d*) Blaikie (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* Budde, *Richter u. Sam.*, 1890; Cheyne, *Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism;* Cook, *Hebraica*, 1900, p. 145ff.; and the relevant portions of dictionaries and of works on OT Hist., OTT, OTI, etc.

THE FIRST BOOK OF SAMUEL

I.–VII. Samuel, Eli, and the Ark.—This portion of 1 S. begins with an account of the judgeship of Eli and the misdeeds of his sons, combined with the story of the birth and early life of Samuel (1₁–4₁*a*). So far the material is taken from a life of Samuel probably composed towards the close of the Monarchy (*cf.* Introduction, p. 273) except 2₁–10, the Song of Hannah, an independent lyric inserted by the editor, and 2₂7–36, the Mission of the Man of God to Eli, which was probably added by a Deuteronomic editor. Next 4₁–7₁ is occupied with the fortunes of the Ark and the fate of Eli and his family. Samuel is not mentioned. This is one of the oldest portions of the book (*cf.* Introduction, p. 273).

In 7₂–17 Samuel reappears; the Temple page-boy and youthful seer has now become the leader of all Israel and their deliverer from the Philistines. The source of this section may be the life of Samuel referred to above or it may be Deuteronomic. See, however, the separate notes on these verses.

I. 1–8. Elkanah and his Rival Wives.—The book opens with a domestic scene which throws light on the practical working of polygamy in ancient Israel. The husband is an Ephraimite, Elkanah of Ramah, *i.e.* "the Height" perhaps Rimo, twelve miles west of Shiloh. Elkanah had two wives (a very common arrangement, *cf.* Rachel and Leah) whose names were Hannah (Grace) and Peninnah (Coral or Pearl). Peninnah had children, Hannah had none. The hero of the story, Samuel, was born as an answer to prayer to a mother hitherto barren—so Sarah and Isaac; Rebekah, Jacob and Esau; Rachel and Joseph. Elkanah and his family went yearly to a festival at Shiloh, probably the Vintage Festival, which was called later on the Feast of Tabernacles, a sort of Christmas away from home. What corresponded roughly to the Christmas dinner was the meal to which the sacrifice served as a somewhat elaborate grace. An ox or sheep was slain; portions were burnt on the altar with appropriate ritual; portions were given as a fee to the priest; the rest was eaten by the offerer, his household, and his guests (*cf.* 2₁3, 9₁2–24). It should have been a very happy occasion, but the two wives were jealous rivals, again like Rachel and Leah. This natural result of bigamy is illustrated by the fact that the one is called the *Çārâ* or rival of the other (6, so also in the Heb. Ecclus. 37₁1, *cf.* Dt. 21₁5). Accordingly Peninnah's nagging spoilt the feast.

1. of Ramathaim Zophim: we should perhaps read "of Ramah, a Zuphite."—**3. Lord of Hosts:** Yahweh Sebaoth, an ancient name of the God of Israel, a contraction of Yahweh, God of Hosts. The hosts were originally the armies of Israel, so 17₄5, Ex. 12₄1. Later on the hosts seem to have been understood as *angels*, so perhaps Jos. 5₁4f, or stars, 2 K. 17₁6.—**5. a double portion:** the original reading of the Heb. cannot be determined; LXX (*cf.* RVm) reads, "a single portion, because she had no child, yet, etc." This is probably nearer to the original than "a double portion."

I. 9–18. Hannah Prays for a Child.—In her distress Hannah betook herself to the sanctuary and prayed before Yahweh, *i.e.* before the Ark, for a son. She vowed that if a son were given her, she would devote him to Yahweh; the outward sign of his devotion being one of the peculiarities of the Nazirites (pp. 103. 105. Jg. 13₅*, Nu. 6*), viz. that his hair should be allowed to grow. The priest of the sanctuary, Eli, a local magnate,

also spoken of as "judge," (4¹⁸) occupied an official seat close by: he knew that the religious character of the occasion did not always prevent feasting from degenerating into excess (Is. 28⁷, Am. 2⁸), so that when he saw Hannah moving her lips without making any audible sound, he thought she was drunk and rebuked her; but she told him she was in trouble and he dismissed her with his blessing.

9. The LXX seems to show that in the original the first sentence read, "So Hannah rose up after they had eaten in Shiloh and stood before the Lord," *i.e.* presented herself at the Temple.—**Eli:** perhaps a contraction of "Eliel," "God is exalted," a name found in Semitic languages outside Israel. The names of Eli's sons, Hophni and Phinheas, were also apparently not Israelite. Eli is ignored in the genealogy of high priests (1 Ch. 6¹–¹⁵), and there is nothing to show that our document connected Eli with Aaron.—**16.** The phrase "sons of Belial" (Dt. 13¹³*, Pr. 6¹²*), "bad characters," is common, but **daughter of Belial** occurs only here. Under the conditions of Eastern life, women had fewer opportunities for getting into mischief publicly.—**18.** See p. 105.

I. 19–28. Samuel is Born and Dedicated to Yahweh.—The family went home and in due time a son was born to Hannah, whom she called Shemuel (Samuel), possibly, "His name is God." "His Name"=Yahweh, *i.e.* "Yahweh is God"; *cf.* Elijah and Joel, which have a similar meaning. When Samuel was weaned, *i.e.* after two years at least, perhaps longer, as he is said to have "ministered" apparently at once, Hannah took him to Shiloh, made an offering of a bullock (LXX of 24; *cf.* 25); and devoted the boy to the service of Yahweh as an attendant at the Temple. Note that he was not a Levite (*cf.* 1¹). Samuel has nothing to do with Sha'al, "asked"; possibly the etymology "because I have asked, etc.," is due to some similarity of sound, more probably to some alteration of the original text. It is curious that the etymology would suit Shā'ûl (Saul), which means "asked."

24. was young: read "was with her" or "them"—**28.** See below on 2¹¹.

II. 1–10. Song of Hannah.—This poem is quite unsuited to Hannah's circumstances; its theology is too advanced for primitive times (2, 5, 8), and the reference to the "king" (10) either implies an actual king and indicates the period of the Monarchy, or is Messianic, *i.e.* connected with the hope of an ideal king, and implies a post-exilic date. The natural occasion of the poem would be a victory which delivered Israel from distress and danger. The ascription to Hannah is due to 5*b*, "the barren hath borne seven."

The Song praises Yahweh for help given to Israel, whose horn is exalted—God has given him power and glory; his mouth is enlarged—he can speak big words against his enemies (*cf.* Ps. 35²¹). Yahweh is unique, a firm strong refuge, the Rock of Israel. His impartial justice humiliates the proud and exalts the lowly; He protects His own people and punishes the wicked.

3. by him actions are weighed: better than RVm "though actions be not weighed"; the difference in the Heb. is very slight.—**5. have ceased:** *i.e.* to hunger; better, by a slight alteration of the text, "have ceased to labour."—**6. maketh alive:** perhaps literally referring to resuscitation or resurrection; if so, an indication of late post-exilic date (Is. 26¹⁹*, Dan. 12²*); it may, however, mean "keepeth alive."—**grave:** rather Sheol (see Is. 14⁹–¹⁵*).—**10. anointed:** *Māshiaḥ*, "Messiah," originally a title of the kings of Israel.—**11.** Originally the immediate sequel of 1²⁸. Read instead of the last sentence of 1²⁸ and the first of 2¹¹, "And she left him there before Yahweh and went to Ramah to her house," partly on the authority of LXX.

II. 12–17. Wickedness of the Sons of Eli.—12. Belial (see 1¹⁶).—**12*f.*** Move full stop from after "Lord" to after "people," and render "they did not regard the Lord, nor the custom (*i.e.* customary share) of the priests from the people." What follows in 13*f.* is an abuse regularly practised, followed in 15*f.* by an account of a more serious abuse.—**15.** Burning the fat was an essential part of the sacrifice; so that to cut off some of the flesh before this rite had been performed was gross irreverence and spoilt the whole act of worship.—**16. thy soul:** better "thou" emphatic.—**17. men abhorred:** render "the men" (*i.e.* the sons of Eli), "despised" (*mg.*).

II. 18–21. Samuel's Ministry; his Mother's Yearly Gift; her Other Children.—18. ephod: priestly garment (p. 101, Ex. 25⁷, *cf.* 28).—**20. blessed . . . said . . . went:** used to bless, etc., on each yearly visit.

II. 22–26. Eli Remonstrates with his Sons.—22. and . . . how that. . . meeting: should probably be omitted with LXX (*cf.* Ex. 38⁸).—**tent of meeting:** see Ex. 33⁷.—**24. that I hear, etc.:** better, "which I hear the Lord's people do spread abroad" (*mg.*).—**25. judge him:** render "mediate for him."—**26.** *Cf.* Lk. 2⁵².

II. 27–36. A Prophet Foretells the Death of Eli's Sons, and the Expulsion of his Family from the Priesthood.—Composed by the Deuteronomic Editor (see above, p. 273), to connect the misconduct of the sons of Eli with the massacre of his house at Nob and deposition of his descendant, Abiathar, from the priesthood in favour of the house of Zadok (1 K. 2²⁶f.); and perhaps also with the unhappy condition of the priests of the high places, after these were suppressed (2 K. 23⁸f.), though there is no indication that the priests of the high-places as a class were reckoned descendants of Eli.

27. man of God: see Jg. 13⁶.—**Did I reveal,** etc.: these questions are a form of emphatic statement. The earlier sources of Samuel do not connect Eli with Aaron or Moses, but the author of this passage probably considered that because Eli was priest, he was descended from Aaron and inherited his election to the priesthood.—**in bondage to:** read with LXX "slaves to."—**28. wear an ephod:** rather "carry an ephod"; ephod here not the same as the linen ephod in 18, but an image or other piece of Temple furniture used in connexion with the sacred lots (p. 100); (see Jg. 8²⁴–²⁷*, and *cf.* 14³, 21⁹, 23⁶).—**29. kick ye at:** rather follow the LXX, "look at with shameless eye," and render "cast an evil eye upon," *i.e.* "treat with contempt."—**30. the Lord saith** (twice): *ne'um Yahweh*, a solemn, emphatic phrase, "Oracle of Y." (see Gen. 22¹⁶).—**I said,** etc.: this oracle is not in the Hex. (*cf.* 27).—**Be it far from me:** lit. "abominable to me" (see Gen. 44⁷).—**31*f.*** These verses do not make sense; the present wording cannot be the original one, but must be due to mistakes in the copying. We cannot now discover the original form. LXX omits "that there shall not be to . . . habitation." The general sense is that the house of Eli shall be brought low, "arm cut off," and none survive to old age; the reference is to the massacre at Nob (22²⁰).—**33.** The man, Abiathar, the sole survivor of that massacre, whose deposition by Solomon will "consume the eyes, etc." of Eli, who may be supposed to foresee it.—**shall die:** in the massacre.—**in the flower of their age:** rather, with LXX "by the sword of men."

34. *Cf.* 4¹¹.—**35. faithful priest:** Zadok (see above).—**build him a sure house:** the priesthood shall remain

permanently in his family. — **anointed:** *Māshiah*, "Messiah," as consecrated to God and endowed with His Spirit by the ceremony of anointing.—**36. piece of silver:** the word translated "piece" occurs only here it should perhaps be translated "payment."

III. 1–IV. 1a . . . all Israel.—Another section of the Life of Samuel (see above, p. 273).

III. 1–10. Call of Samuel.

1. child: *na'ar*, anything from a baby to a man of forty.—**precious . . . open,** rather "rare . . . frequent" (*mg.*).—**2. in the temple,** etc.: Samuel slept in the shrine where the Ark was, in order to protect it. Contrast this with the later arrangement which placed the Ark in the Holy of Holies, only entered by the high priest one day in the year.—**temple:** a building, not a tent; note the door in 15.—**3. ark:** *'aron*. "Ark" in "Noah's ark" and "the ark in the bulrushes" is *tebhah*.—**4, 6. Samuel:** LXX "Samuel, Samuel," as in 10.—**7. know the Lord:** explained by the rest of the verse.—**10. came and stood:** the writer is still in the primitive stage in which God is thought of as a glorified man.

III. 10–18. In Obedience to the Command of the Lord, Samuel Announces to Eli the Doom of his House.—Parallel to the Deuteronomic section (2$_{27}$).

12. Probably an addition by the Deuteronomic writer to connect with 2$_{27}$ff.—**13. I have told:** read, "thou shalt tell."

III. 19–IV. 1a . . . all Israel.—Samuel established as Prophet.

IV. 1b. Now Israel . . .–VII. 1 (E).—From **Ancient History of the Ark** (*cf.* above, p. 273).

IV. 1b–11. The Israelites, Defeated by the Philistines, Fetch the Ark. They are again Defeated.

1. Philistines: pp. 56f., 66f.—**Eben-ezer:** "Stone of Help" (*cf.* 7$_{12}$). Sites of Eben-ezer and Aphek (1 K. 20$_{26}$*) not known, probably NW. of Jerusalem, either near the city, or on the inland edge of the Maritime Plain.—**3. ark of the covenant of the Lord:** *cf.* 33. Deuteronomic title of the Ark; "covenant" is equivalent to the stone tables of the Ten Commandments which Dt. 10$_{2,5}$ place in the Ark. In this History of the Ark the title was originally either "A. of Yahweh" or "A. of God . . . our, etc. God"; the additional words in the titles having been added by editors. Here read "A. of our God," with LXX.—**that it may become:** perhaps read "that He, etc." The Ark is a talisman or Palladium, identified with Yahweh, or carrying His presence with it (2 S. 11$_{11}$*).—**4. which sitteth upon the cherubim:** editorial addition (see above). The Ark is thought of as the throne of Yahweh.—**cherubim:** see Gen. 3$_{24}$.—**4*f*. Lord . . . God . . . Lord:** note variation of Divine Names; it has been suggested that this is an indication of compilation from two sources, but this view is not generally adopted. At present there is no satisfactory explanation of this use of the Divine Names; possibly it is due to partial revision; originally the same name was used throughout.—**6. Hebrews:** the name for Israelites used by foreigners.—**8. in the wilderness:** the plagues were in Egypt and not in the wilderness; apparently either the author or an annotator got confused; unless we read "and with pestilence," which would require only a very slight change in the Hebrew.—**10. thirty thousand:** probably an exaggeration, even if it was a contemporary guess.

IV. 12–22. Death of Eli, Birth of Ichabod.

12. clothes rent, etc.: signs of mourning.—**18. forty:** LXX twenty.—**And he . . . years:** formula used by Deuteronomic editor of Jg. (Jg. 10$_{2}$f., 12$_{7,9}$, 11,14, 15$_{20}$) to conclude account of a Judge. This story may once have stood in Jg.—**21. Ichabod:** no-glory (*mg.*).

V. The Ark in the Philistine Cities.

1. Ashdod. 8. Gath. 10. Ekron: see Jos. 11$_{22}$, 13; p. 28.—**2. Dagon:** see Jg. 16$_{23}$*.—**3.** The Ark is thought of as possessing marvellous inherent powers; it brings disaster on those who treat it disrespectfully, Philistines, Bethshemites, Uzzah; and blessing on those whom it favours, Obed-edom (Jos. 34*).—**4. stump:** this word, absent from the Heb., is found in the versions, and belonged to the original text.—**5.** Erroneous theory; the rite is found elsewhere [Zeph. 1$_{9}$. For the probable explanation see Ex. 12$_{22}$*.—A. S. P.]—**6. tumours:** better "plague boils" (*mg.*). A natural theory would be that contagion was carried from one Philistine city to another, and then to Beth-shemesh.—[8. The advice seems strange, for if the Ark inflicted such mischief on Ashdod, similar calamities might be expected to fall on Gath; and the Ekronites in fact anticipate fatal consequences after its deadly work at Ashdod and Gath. The principle seems to be analogous to that on which Balak acts. When after sacrifice on one spot Balaam is forced to bless Israel, Balak changes the place, hoping that Yahweh who has frustrated his purpose in one locality will prove more amenable in another (Nu. 23$_{13}$*,$_{27}$). So the Philistines seem to argue; at first the thought does not occur to them to send back this most precious trophy, this powerful talisman. But obviously the deity resident in the Ark dislikes Ashod, perhaps Gath will be more agreeable.—A. S. P.]

VI. 1–VII. 1. Ark Brought back to Beth-shemesh; Plague Breaks out there; Ark Housed at Kiriath-jearim.

1 may not belong to the main story; 2 would be a better continuation of 5$_{12}$. At the end of the verse LXX adds "And their land swarmed with mice." This would prepare for the "mice" in 4f., 11, 18. Possibly these references to mice are survivals from a fuller form of the story, in which the mice figured more largely, or mice may have symbolised plague. One doubts whether it was known then that vermin carried the infection.—**2. diviners:** *qosem* (see Dt. 18$_{10}$).—**3. guilt-offering:** *'asham*, here not a sacrifice, but a compensation for injury; so also 2 K. 12$_{16}$; later on in the Priestly Code, a form of sacrifice (Lev. 5$_{6}$).—**4. tumours:** homœopathic treatment; magic often seeks to control a person or thing by an image thereof. [This is especially the case with disease or loss. The sufferer takes to the sanctuary "a figure of the diseased part of his body, fashioned of clay, bronze, or wax, and the peasant who has suffered a loss of cattle brings a representation of the animal." In the animistic stage of thought the image is thought to have a soul. "Through its immanent psychical power it is to exercise magical coercion over the soul of the god." See Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, pp. 438–440.—A. S. P.]—**6. wrought wonderfully among them:** better "made a mock of them" (*mg.*).—**8f.** If the kine made straight for the nearest point of Israelite territory, it would show that they were under the control of the God of Israel and that it was His will that the Ark should be returned to its own country.—**8. coffer:** The word so translated occurs only in this narrative and its meaning is not certain.—**9. Beth-shemesh:** Jos. 15$_{10}$, p. 31.—**14.** There is no question of limiting sacrifice to the Tabernacle. The great stone may have been a sacred stone, or may have been used as an altar (14$_{33-35}$).—**15.** Editorial addition; later custom required that Levites should be present, both in connexion with the sacrifice, and as guardians of the Ark. The offering of

further sacrifices seems out of place.—**16** continues 14.—**17. Gaza:** p. 28, Jg. 161*.—**Ashkelon:** see p. 28. —**19.** Read (*mg.*) with LXX, "And the sons of Jeconiah did not rejoice with the men of Beth-shemesh when they saw the ark of the Lord, and he smote of them seventy men, and the people mourned, etc."—**20.** Identifies the Ark with Yahweh. "Holy" here denotes terrible majesty, which brings disaster on those who do not show due reverence.—**21. Kiriath-jearim:** see Jos. 917.—**VII. 1. sanctified:** performed certain rites, ablutions, etc., which would be thought necessary to qualify Eleazar to become the custodian or priest of the Ark, and to protect him from its baleful holiness.—The Ark now disappears from the history till 2 S. 62, which see for its fortunes in the interval. Its presence in 1 S. 1418 is due to a mistake of a scribe. Probably the sanctuary at Shiloh was destroyed at this time, and our documents contained a statement to that effect, which for some reason has been omitted (*cf.* Jer. 712*).

VII. 2–17. Samuel as Judge.—Philistines subdued by Divine intervention; probably an ideal picture, by the Deuteronomic writer, of the happy results of Israel's repentance and Samuel's piety—peace, victory, and orthodoxy. The section is the typical form of the Deuteronomic accounts of the Judges—apostasy, oppression, repentance, deliverance. The statements that the Philistines ceased to invade Israel, and that the Israelites recovered the Philistine cities from Ekron to Gath, are inconsistent with the older narratives. On the other hand, the writer sees no difficulty in Samuel building an altar at Ramah, because his view was that the limitation of sacrifice to a central sanctuary did not come into force till Solomon built the Temple.

2–4. The return of the Ark leads the people to repent; Samuel encourages them in this by promising deliverance if they worship Yahweh only.

2. that the time . . . twenty years: probably these words should be omitted so that repentance immediately follows the return of the Ark.—**3. lamented:** probably read "repented."—**3f. Ashtaroth . . . Baalim:** see Jg. 211–13*.

5–12. Samuel calls all Israel together at Mizpah, N. of Jerusalem (Jg. 201), for fasting and confession; the Philistines suspect that the assembly has a warlike purpose, and advance to attack Israel; Samuel intercedes; Yahweh routs the Philistines by a thunderstorm (*cf.* Jos. 1011); Israel pursues and slaughters; Samuel sets up a memorial stone, Eben-ezer, "Stone of Help" (see 41).

6. water, etc.: *cf.* David at Adullam, 2 S. 2316.—**12. Shen:** "tooth," *i.e.* crag, but perhaps Jeshanah, 2 Ch. 1319, should be read with LXX: site unknown.

13–17. Israel lives in complete peace under Samuel.

16. Beth-el: Gen. 128.—**Gilgal:** Dt. 1130.—**17. Ramah:** Jos. 1825.

VIII. Demand for a King.—Opening section, continued 1017, of later account of Saul's appointment as king: either Deuteronomic or late stratum of E. Probably 1017–19*a* (to "over us") in the Deuteronomic document stood in the place of 810, giving the following sequence of events: appeal of the elders, convocation of assembly (as in 75), Saul's election, etc. Also, in 22, "Go ye every man unto his city," is, like 10, an editorial insertion, necessitated by the combination of different documents. In the Deuteronomic document 1019*b*, "Now therefore present yourselves, etc." immediately followed "And Samuel said unto the men of Israel" in 22. Note the hostile attitude to the Monarchy, as in Dt. 1714–20.

1–10. In Samuel's old age, his sons act as his representatives at Beersheba, in the extreme S. of Judah (p. 32): they take bribes. The elders (p. 112, Ex. 316*) ask Samuel for a king. Samuel is reluctant and lays the matter before Yahweh, who tells him that the request is a rejection of Himself; He should be their only king. Samuel is to bring home their iniquity to the people, but is to grant their request, explaining, however, that the request is granted as a punishment. (Here followed in the original arrangement, in the Deuteronomic document, the calling of an assembly at Mizpah; see above.)

11–22. Samuel explains that the advantages of Monarchy would be dearly bought. The king would be a selfish tyrant of the usual Oriental type: he would confiscate the best land for himself and his favourites, institute conscription and forced labour, and levy taxes. The primitive state of things, which knew little of either the authority or the burden of an organised, central government, would pass away. In spite of this warning, the people pressed their demand; by the direction of Yahweh, Samuel granted it.

13. confectionaries: rather, as RVm "perfumers."—**16. menservants . . . maidservants:** male and female slaves.—**young men:** better "cattle," with LXX.

IX. 1–X. 16. Samuel Anoints Saul as King.—(J), taken from one of the oldest narratives (see Introduction, p. 273). Note the absence of any connexion with the Deuteronomic narrative in the previous chapter—also the inconsistencies; in 713 the Philistines were permanently disposed of; in 916, 105, they are oppressing Israel and have a garrison in the heart of the country; in our present narrative we have no trace of hostility to the Monarchy. This section preserves important features of primitive religious life and faith; the local seer, taking fees for fortune-telling, standing in some relation to the ecstatic prophet, *nabhi'*; Samuel, seer, and possibly also prophet, but yet an outstanding inspired personality, far more than the mere professional seer or prophet, a forerunner of Elijah, Elisha, and the canonical prophets. At the same time the ecstatic prophets, in conjunction with Saul, had their share in keeping Israel loyal to Yahweh and in rousing the people to the patriotic struggle with the Philistines (pp. 66, 85). Note also how the Spirit of Yahweh "leaps" upon a man, takes violent possession of him, and moves him to violent acts, especially deeds of warlike prowess (Jg. 310*), as in the story of Samson. 99, 108 are editorial additions (see below).

1–14. Kish, a Benjamite chief, had a son Saul, exceptionally tall and handsome. Kish had lost some asses, and sent Saul and a slave to look for them. After a long and futile search, they found themselves at Ramah, the home of Samuel. Saul proposed to abandon the search, but adopted a suggestion of the slave that they should consult Samuel. They learnt that Samuel was about to preside over a sacrificial feast at the local sanctuary, "high place," *bama* (see 717, Lev. 2630, p. 98). As they went to the high place, they fell in with Samuel, who was also on his way thither.

1. mighty man of valour: rather man of wealth and position.—**2. Saul:** *Sha'ul*, asked (of God) (*cf.* 120).—**4. Shalishah . . . Shaalim:** sites unknown—**5. Zuph,** see 11.—**8. shekel:** Gen. 2315*.—**9.** An explanatory note; perhaps originally seers and prophets were two distinct classes, afterwards merged in one under the title "prophet."—**14. within the city:** read probably "within the gate" (*cf.* 18).

15–21. Yahweh had prepared Samuel for this meeting; He would send to him the future king. When they met, Samuel recognised the man chosen by Yahweh and made himself known to Saul; invited him to the feast; told him the asses were found, and that all that Israel could offer of wealth and honour were at his disposal, thus practically offering him the throne. According to the formula of Oriental etiquette—which is no more to be taken literally than "Your obedient servant" at the end of a letter—Saul protested his unworthiness.

16. upon my people: read with LXX. "upon the affliction of my people."

22.–X. 12. Samuel brings Saul to the sacrificial feast, gives him the place of honour and the portion reserved for the chief guest. Saul spends the night on the housetop of Samuel's house—a usual guest-chamber. In the morning he leaves, and Samuel sets him on his way. Before they part, Samuel keeps him with him, while the slave goes on. Then Samuel anoints him, and tells him plainly that he is to be king; and that certain things are to happen to him as signs. After he leaves Samuel, these duly come to pass. The last sign is Saul's encounter with a band of ecstatic prophets, *i.e.* men who excited themselves by music (2 K. 3 15) to wild singing and dancing, like the Mohammedan dervishes. When Saul left Samuel "God gave him another heart"; when he met the prophets, "the Spirit of God leaped upon him"; he caught the contagion of their ecstasy and prophesied—joined in the singing and dancing, to the astonishment of his friends: "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1924). Respectable people, of good family, with a "father," did not join in the antics of these mad fanatics—that would be the common view (*cf.* 2 K. 9 11). Then Saul went home.

IX. 24. that which was upon it: read "the fat tail"—of the sheep, a special delicacy.—**25f. he communed . . . arose early:** read with LXX, RVm, "They spread a couch for Saul on the housetop, and he lay down."—**X. 2. Rachel's sepulchre:** see Gen. 35 16*.—**Zelzah:** unknown.—**3. going up to God:** *i.e.* to the sanctuary.—[**7. The occasion** or opportunity which actually presents itself is the appeal from Jabesh-gilead, 11 4–7 (p. 66).—A. S. P.]—**8.** An editorial insertion, to connect this narrative with 13 7*b*–15*a*, an excerpt from another document.

X. 14–16. Saul's uncle tells him that the asses are found. Saul tells of his visit to Samuel, but says nothing as to the kingship.

X. 17–27. Saul Elected King by Lot.—Continues Deuteronomic narrative, sequel to 8 (see above).

17-19a (to "over us"). Sequel to 8f. Samuel calls an assembly "unto Yahweh to Mizpah," *i.e.* at the sanctuary there, and reproaches them for wanting a king. [In the Deuteronomic document this paragraph was followed by Samuel's speech (8 11–22). Then came . . .]

19b–24. Lots are cast "before Yahweh," *i.e.* by the priests at the sanctuary, and Saul is indicated as the king. Saul had hidden himself, but his hiding-place is made known by the oracle, and Samuel presents him to the people, who receive him with enthusiasm.

20f. *Cf.* Jos. 7 16ff.—**21. Matrites was taken:** add after this, with LXX, "and the family of the Matrites was brought near man by man."—**22. stuff:** baggage.

25–27. Samuel repeats his statement (8 11–22) as to the behaviour of the king, makes a copy of it, and places it in the archives of the sanctuary. [In the Deuteronomic document, Samuel's farewell speech, ch. 12, came at this point.] Samuel dismisses the assembly. Saul goes home, accompanied by the reputable citizens (so LXX); but some disreputable folk are disaffected.

XI. Saul Delivers Jabesh-gilead and Is Made King.—(J) continues the ancient narrative, sequel to 10 16. Putting aside 12–14, inserted by an editor to connect this chapter with the Deuteronomic document, the rest shows clearly that the writer knew nothing of any previous public appointment of Saul to be king: when the messengers come to Gibeah, they do not ask for Saul, and no one thinks of him until he himself intervenes. 8 is probably a later addition; the reference to Judah, before David comes upon the scene, and the exaggerated numbers, are not characteristic of the earlier documents in *Samuel*.

1–10. About a month after Saul's interview with Samuel, Nahash, king of Ammon, attacks Jabesh-gilead, which offers to submit on conditions. This is met by a proposal that they should allow their right eyes to be put out. They obtain seven days' respite to seek help and send messengers throughout Israel. When Saul hears, he is possessed by the Spirit of God, and summons the Israelites to follow him to the rescue: they respond, and Saul sends word that he will relieve the city. In order to lull the Ammonites into false security, the men of Jabesh promise to surrender unconditionally the next day.

X. 27, XI. 1. But he held his peace. Then Nahash: read, with LXX, "And it came to pass after about a month, that Nahash."—**1. Jabesh-gilead:** see Jg. 21 8.—**4. Gibeah:** Jos. 15 57.—**7.** *Cf.* Jg. 19 29.—**and after Samuel:** an addition; Samuel does not appear in this episode.—**8. Bezek:** Khirbet Ibzik, W. of Jordan, nearly opposite Jabesh-gilead.

XI. 11–15. Saul surprises and routs the Ammonites. [Here the editor again introduces Samuel into the story.] The people install Saul king at the sanctuary at Gilgal, with sacrifices—the equivalent of a modern coronation service.

11. morning watch: last of the three divisions of the night.—**15. peace offerings:** Ex. 20 24.

XII. Samuel's Farewell.—From the Deuteronomic document, where it separated the two clauses of 10 25, which see.

1–6*a* (to "witness"). In response to a solemn adjuration from Samuel, the people agree that his administration has been pure.

3. to blind mine eyes therewith: LXX "even a pair of shoes? Answer against me, and I will, etc." (*mg.*).

6*a*–11. Samuel briefly reviews the history of Israel, showing the gracious dealings of Yahweh with His people and their ingratitude. The author forgot that he was composing a speech for Samuel, and mentions him in the third person, as one of the deliverers of Israel.

8. made them: read with LXX, "He (Yahweh) made."—**11. Bedan:** read "Barak," with LXX.

12–25. Samuel reproaches the people for their disloyalty to Yahweh in asking for a king; in the future obedience will be rewarded, and disobedience punished. At Samuel's prayer, a miraculous thunderstorm (*cf.* 7 10), at a time ("wheat-harvest," May–June) when thunder was unusual, confirms his words. The terror-stricken people beg for Samuel's intercession. He reassures them and promises to pray for them and guide them.

XIII., XIV. Saul's Early Struggles with the Philistines.—(J), chiefly from the ancient narrative concerning Saul. Editorial notes, or additions from other sources, are 13 1; 7*b*, "but as for Saul . . . Benjamin," 15*a*; 19–22; 14 47–51.

XIII. 1. If the present Hebrew text were regarded as

correct and complete, the translation (*cf. mg.*) would be, "And Saul was a year old when he became king, and he reigned two years over Israel." Both periods are absurd. The editor intended to provide for Saul the usual introductory formula, as in 1 K. 14^{21}, etc. Not having any express information on the subject, he intended to calculate the periods later on; meanwhile, that he might not forget, he inserted the blank schedule, "Saul was . . . years old, when he became king; and he reigned . . . years"—leaving blanks to be filled afterwards; and then forgot. The fact that the blanks were not filled in by copyists, shows that from a certain date, later than the time of the editor or scribe who inserted this verse, the text was copied with mechanical fidelity, without correcting patent absurdities. As the words for "two" and "years" are very similar in Hebrew, it seems that the word for "years" was accidentally repeated, and then one of the words was slightly modified to read as "two." The "thirty" of RV is derived from two late MSS of the LXX$^{\text{L}}$; the verse is wanting in most MSS of the LXX, and is probably a very late insertion. As Jonathan was grown up when Saul became king, the latter must have been about forty at the time of his accession. Ac. 13^{21} and some texts of Josephus (*Ant.* VI. xiv. 9) give Saul a reign of forty years, but this is clearly too long; *Ant.* X. viii. 4 and some texts of VI. xiv. 9. give twenty years, which is probably much nearer the mark.

2–7a (to "Gilead"). Saul institutes a standing army. Jonathan having slain a Philistine official (not "garrison), [Saul makes a general levy of Israel at Gilgal?]. But when the Philistines advanced in force, the Israelites were seized with a panic, and fled to hiding-places or across the Jordan.

2. Michmash: *Mukhmas*, 7 miles N. of Jerusalem (p. 31).—**Gibeah:** here and in 15, 14^{2,16}, read Geba, as in 13^{3}, 16, 145.—**3–5.** These verses can hardly be in their original form. "Hebrews" is out of place in Saul's mouth; it is the name given to Israelites by foreigners. There are grounds for reading instead of "And the Philistines . . . hear," "And the Philistines heard saying: The Hebrews have revolted." The assembly at Gilgal, and the impossible numbers in 5, are editorial. Probably in the ancient narrative, the Philistines drove Saul back from Michmash to Geba, where we find him in 16 (ICC).

7b. but as for Saul . . . Benjamin, 15a.—An extract from a late document, whose history and date cannot be further determined. The editor has prepared the way for this section by inserting 10^{8} and 13^{4}, which may be based on the same document. It is not quite clear what Saul's sin was, but the following gives a probable interpretation:—Samuel had arranged with Saul to come to Gilgal on a certain day to offer the sacrifices which were necessary to inaugurate the campaign (p. 99). Samuel did not keep his appointment; time pressed, and Saul offered the sacrifices himself. Immediately Samuel appears and declares that Yahweh will punish Saul's impatience by transferring the kingship to "a man after his own heart," *i.e.* David. Possibly in the document, in its complete form, the condemnation of Saul seemed less harsh and arbitrary than it does here.

15b–18. The ancient narrative, continuing *7a*. Saul and Jonathan remain at Geba with 600 men; the Philistines make Michmash their headquarters and send out detachments to plunder the country.

17. Ophrah: Jos. 18^{23}.—**18. Shual:** not identified.—**Beth-horon:** p. 31, Jos. 10^{10}.—**Zeboim:** not identified.

19–22. An editorial note representing the Israelites as almost entirely disarmed, which would be an exaggeration (p. 57, Jg. 4^{2}*). As regards details the text is corrupt and it is not clear how it should be restored.

23.–XIV. 15. The ancient narrative, continuing 18. Saul was at Geba (see on 13^{2}), having with him the priest Ahijah, carrying the ephod—here not a garment, but some article used in casting the sacred lot (see 2^{28}*, Jg. 8^{27}). A valley lay between the two camps, dominated on either side by a steep crag, called respectively Bozez, "Shining," and Seneh, "Thorny." Unknown to Saul and the Israelites, Jonathan and his armourbearer descended into the valley, exchanged taunts with the Philistines on the crag above, climbed up, took the enemy by surprise, and, assisted by an earthquake (15), created a panic amongst them.

2. Migron: not identified.—**14b.** The text is corrupt and it is not clear how it should be restored.

XIV. 16–23. The Israelites observe the confusion among the Philistines, and find that Jonathan and his armour-bearer are missing. Saul proposes to obtain an oracle by means of the ephod. (Thus with LXX; the references to the Ark have been introduced by an editor.) But, seeing the growing panic amongst the enemy, the king cuts short the priest in his ritual, and leads the people in pursuit. They are joined by their fellow-countrymen who were serving with the Philistines, and by Israelite refugees. The pursuit is carried beyond Beth-horon. (So probably, instead of Beth-aven, which, however, some would retain and understand as Beth-el.)

24–30. In order to propitiate Yahweh and secure His continued assistance, Saul had laid a solemn taboo upon the people, forbidding them to take food till nightfall. Then there was honeycomb upon the ground, and the people came to the honeycomb, and behold the bees had gone away, but no one put his hand to his mouth, for the people were afraid. Jonathan, however, knowing nothing about the taboo, tasted a little honey, and was much refreshed. When he was told of it, he treated the matter lightly.

25f. Here we have followed the reconstruction of the text in SBOT, partly based on the LXX. The words for "forest" and "honeycomb" are the same in Hebrew.

31–35. The pursuit continued as far as Aijalon. When it stopped, the exhausted people flew upon the cattle and sheep and ate them with the blood, a ritual sin (Gen. 9^{4}*. Lev. 17$^{10-12}$*), at which Saul was greatly distressed; he was evidently punctilious as to religious observances. He had a great stone set up as an altar, and had the animals for food slain in proper sacrificial fashion.

36–46. The next episode strikingly illustrates the primitive religious faith and practice of Israel. Saul proposed to make a night-attack upon the Philistines, and asked the priest to obtain an oracle as to whether Yahweh would approve. The silence of the oracle showed that some sin had roused the Divine displeasure. Saul proceeded to discover the sinner by lot, and in the first instance the lot was to be cast between Israel generally on the one hand, and Saul and Jonathan on the other. "And Saul said; O Yahweh, God of Israel, why hast thou not answered thy servant this day? If this iniquity be in me or in my son Jonathan, O Yahweh, God of Israel, give Urim; but if it be in thy people Israel give Thummim. And Jonathan and Saul were taken and the people escaped." A further casting of lots showed that Jonathan was the culprit. Saul sought to put him to death, but the people rescued him. There was no more fighting.

41. The rendering of this verse is from the text as reconstructed in SBOT on the basis of the LXX. Urim and Thummim were the sacred lots, perhaps stones kept in the ephod. The Jewish scholars who added the vowels to the text, interpreted the words as "Lights" and "Perfection," but their meaning is uncertain (pp. 100f., Ex. 28$30^*$).—**42.** In the LXX, the people make an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the lot being cast between the king and his son.—**43. and, lo, I must die:** rather, "Here I am, let me die," *i.e.* (Cent.B) "I am ready to die."—**45. wrought this great salvation:** rather, "won this great victory."

47–51. In this section the editor gives a concluding summary concerning Saul as king, before narrating his deposition in the next chapter. In the editor's eyes, Saul ceased to be king *de jure*, when Samuel anointed David to supersede him. But, according to the older documents, David himself did not take this view (24$6$, 26$11$). Saul fought successfully against a number of the neighbouring tribes: Moab; Ammon; Edom; Zobah, a Syrian state to the NE. of Palestine; Philistines; Amalekites. Next, a list of Saul's children; here "Ishvi" is for "Ishyo," a contraction of "Ish-Yahweh," "Man of Yahweh," the same as Ishbaal. In early times Baal was used quite innocently as a title of Yahweh (*cf.* Hos. 2^{16}). In 2 S. 2^8, etc., the name is given in the form Ishbosheth, "Man of Shame," the later Jews expressing their repugnance to Baal by substituting "bosheth" for his name (Nu. 32^{38}*, 1 K. 16^{32}*). Then we are told that the commander-in-chief was the king's cousin: we should probably follow Josephus (*Ant.* VI. vi. 6) in reading 51 as "And Kish, the father of Saul, and Ner, the father of Abner, were the sons of Abiel." Ner is Saul's uncle, not (as 1 Ch. 833, 936) Abner (Driver and Cent.B).

52. The ancient narrative, continues 46.

XV. The War against Amalek; Saul's Disobedience and Deposition (E^2).—A section of a secondary narrative; according to the scheme adopted here, the last section of this document was 33–41.

1–9. Samuel bids Saul attack Amalek and subject it to the *herem* (pp. 99, 114), or sacred ban, by which all living creatures were put to death in honour of Yahweh. (*Cf.* the cases of Jericho and Achan, Jos. 6f.) Saul called a general levy to a rendezvous in the south of Judah—the numbers are probably exaggerated—and advanced against "the city of Amalek," possibly a tribal sanctuary which served as the headquarters of this nomad tribe; and lay in ambush in a neighbouring valley. The Kenites (Gen. 15^{19}, Jg. 1^{16}) were dwelling amongst the Amalekites, but at a warning from Saul they departed. Then Saul carried out Samuel's instructions, except that the Amalekite king, Agag, and the best of the cattle were spared.

7. from Havilah to Shur: ICC is probably right in suggesting that "our author [*i.e.* the author of the document from which this section is taken], whose geography is not very distinct, borrowed the whole phrase from Genesis," without verifying it, as a description of the whole extent of the Amalekite territory, wrongly identifying the latter with the Ishmaelites. The statement that the whole tribe was exterminated need not be taken literally; there would be refugees. The tribe appears again in ch. 30, and in 1 Ch. 443.

10–31. Yahweh tells Samuel of Saul's disobedience. Samuel's sympathies were with Saul; no doubt he still regarded him as the hope of Israel; and was angry with Yahweh—OT ideas of reverence were more elastic than ours—and spent the night in intercession, which clearly met with no response. In the morning he set out to look for Saul, and was told that he had gone to Carmel (12), a place to the S. of Hebron, also the scene of the Nabal story, not the better-known Carmel on the coast. Here he had set up a trophy of his victory, and had gone on to the sanctuary at Gilgal to sacrifice thank-offerings (21). Samuel followed him and was met by Saul with a profession that he had fulfilled his commands. He explained that the best of the cattle had been reserved for sacrifice. Such a proceeding, however, would not have been entirely disinterested, as an ordinary sacrifice was a feast, and the Amalekite spoil would have provided a magnificent banquet. Samuel rejects Saul's excuses, saying finally:

Is Yahweh pleased with whole burnt offerings and sacrifices
  As with obedience to the voice of Yahweh?
Behold, obedience is better than sacrifice,
  And to hearken than the fat of rams.
For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft,
  And self-will as the iniquity of teraphim.
Because thou hast rejected the word of Yahweh,
  He hath rejected thee from being king.

This oracle, like many of the prophetic utterances, is given in the form of verse, which imparted to it a special solemnity. It summarises much of the teaching of the prophets of the eighth century—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah—teaching which was repeatedly endorsed by their successors; in true religion conduct and character come before the external observances of worship, especially those which have no intrinsic spiritual value. The cruelty of the particular act of obedience with which these lines are associated detracts from their impressiveness; but there was no question of humanity at issue between Saul and Samuel; Saul had slain men, women, and children, and the writer probably means us to understand that he had spared Agag to gratify his vanity by exhibiting the conquered prince as his captive. If the document comes from the closing period of the Jewish monarchy, men were not only under the influence of the lofty teaching of the prophets; at the same time their feeings were embittered towards foreigners by the ruthless cruelties they had so often experienced at their hands. Dt. gives us an example of humanity towards fellow-countrymen combined with savage cruelty towards foreigners (Dt. 72, 221–4). Saul's penitent prayer for pardon was rejected, and he was told that the kingship would be given to someone more worthy.

23. teraphim: Gen. 3119, p. 100.—**29. the Strength of Israel:** the meaning of the word translated "Strength" is uncertain; RVm "Victory" or "Glory"; LXX. "and Israel shall be rent in two."

32–35. Then Samuel executed the *herem* upon Agag, hewing him in pieces at the altar at Gilgal. The text, and translation of 32 are uncertain; RVm gives "cheerfully" for "delicately," but we should probably accept the rendering of ICC, based on the LXX, "And Agag came unto him trembling. And Agag said, Surely death is bitter."

Then Saul and Samuel separated, never to meet again, though Samuel mourned for Saul. In 1923 Saul comes to Samuel at Naioth, but this of course belongs to a different document.

XVI. 1–13. Samuel Anoints David (E^2) **or** (R).—A better division would be in the middle of 1535, so as to begin the new section with "And Yahweh repented, etc." Many authorities regard this section as a late, possibly post-exilic, addition; but it seems the natural

sequel to the preceding chapter, and may probably be referred to the same document.

By the direction of Yahweh Samuel goes to Bethlehem, ostensibly to sacrifice, but really to anoint a son of Jesse to the kingship. He sanctified Jesse and his sons, *i.e.* he made them perform certain ritual acts, such as washings. At the sacrifice, seven sons of Jesse passed before Samuel, but Yahweh gave no sign, then David was sent for, and came, "and he was ruddy [or perhaps, red-haired], a youth with beautiful eyes and comely," as we should probably read and translate. At the bidding of Yahweh, Samuel anointed him, and the Spirit of Yahweh leaped upon him.

13. David: the only Biblical character bearing this name; the etymology is uncertain; the name may be a contraction of Dodavahu, "Beloved of Yahweh," or "Yahweh is beloved" (2 Ch. 20$_{37}$); or it may be connected with a deity: an Israelite sanctuary of DVDH, E. of Jordan, is mentioned on the Moabite Stone.

XVI. 14–23. David, Saul's Minstrel.—(J), the ancient narrative, continues 14$_{52}$. The earlier and more authentic of the two accounts of David's introduction to Saul (*cf.* 17$_{55}$ff.).

Saul became possessed with some form of recurrent mania, which the primitive combination of pathology and theology explained by saying that the Spirit of Yahweh had departed from him, and that Yahweh had sent an evil spirit to torment him; so, according to Micaiah, I K. 22$_{23}$, Yahweh put a lying spirit in the mouth of Ahab's prophets. For us such statements connect themselves with the problem of the relation between the Divine Omnipotence and the origin of evil, but here they show that the Israelites did not yet fully understand the ethical perfection of God. At the suggestion of his courtiers, Saul seeks relief from music, and sends for David, a skilful musician, a brave and experienced warrior, an orator, a man of fine presence, and happy in the favour of Yahweh. Saul is greatly taken with David, and makes him his armourbearer. When his spirit is troubled, he obtains relief from David's music.

18. a mighty man of valour and a man of war: HK and Cent.B propose to omit these words as irrelevant in an enumeration of the qualifications of a minstrel, and because the post of armourbearer would have been beneath the dignity of a "man of war." Neither consideration is cogent; the clause is a general panegyric, and to be the royal armourbearer would be a post of importance. The omission would lessen the discrepancy with 17$_{33}$ff., and so far it is tempting; but this kind of temptation should be resisted.—**20. an ass laden with bread:** read "ten loaves of bread."

XVII. 1–XVIII. 5. David and Goliath (E, with additions by R).—In this section two narratives seem to have been interwoven. For the sake of convenience, we may denote one set of passages by (A), and the other by (B), thus:

(A) 17$_{1-11,32-54}$.

(B) 17$_{12-31}$, 17$_{55-185}$.

The (B) passages, together with 17$_{41}$ and 50, are omitted by very many MSS. of the LXX, including the very important Vatican Codex. (A) by itself would form a complete narrative, and would not present any very glaring inconsistencies with the previous chapters (*cf.*, however, below). (B), even with the addition of 17$_{41}$ and 50, could hardly be read as a complete narrative.

Two explanations have been given of these facts:

(i) Apart from minor textual changes, the whole section, 17$_{1-185}$, belongs together and was taken from the same document. The (B) passages were omitted by LXX on account of the contradiction between them and 16$_{10-23}$. In 16$_{1}$ff., David is a member of the court, in favour with Saul, and known to Saul and his courtiers; in (B) David is introduced as if he had not been mentioned before (17$_{12-15}$), and neither Saul nor Abner knows anything about him.

The objection to this view is that such omissions "imply a critical insight which we cannot suppose in the translators"—their treatment of the text elsewhere does not suggest that they possessed such insight. Moreover, LXX makes similar omissions in the next section, where it seems clear that they are following a Hebrew original and not improving the story to suit their own critical judgment.

We should, therefore, prefer:

(ii) That (B) was added to the Hebrew text from some document other than that from which (A) was taken, and may be classed as R.

It remains to consider the origin of (A) and (B) respectively.

The simplest and most obvious view, is that (A) is from the ancient narrative, and continues 16$_{23}$. The difficulty is that David is spoken of as a youth, and apparently as unaccustomed to armour (17$_{33, 38, 40, 42}$), whereas in 16$_{18, 21}$, he is an experienced warrior, and an armourbearer. It may be possible to reconcile these verses, especially if we omit "a mighty man of valour and a man of war" in 16$_{18}$, but most authorities refer (A) and 16$_{10-23}$ to different sources, (A) being from a secondary source (E) (*cf.* p. 273). In 2 S. 21$_{19}$, it said that Elhanan slew Goliath.

(B), as we have said, is not a complete story. It is probably taken from another independent source, the rest of which is lost; it would probably be of late date.

These facts are important as showing that either the Hebrew text was substantially modified after LXX was made, or that as late as that time different Heb. MSS. presented substantial differences.

41 and 50 should perhaps be included in (B), or they may be independent editorial insertions, as is 54.

XVII. 1–11. There was again war with the Philistines; the opposing armies were encamped opposite each other, probably rather more than half-way from Bethlehem to Gath, when Goliath made his challenge.

4. six cubits and a span: about 9 ft. 6 in.—**5. five thousand shekels:** probably about 220 lb.

12–15. David is introduced in a brief notice.

17–31. Jesse sends David to the army: he hears Goliath's challenge, and learns that if any man kills him, the king will reward the victor by giving him his daughter with a large dowry, and will exempt his kinsfolk from taxes and tithes and forced labour. Eliab, David's eldest brother, rebukes his presumption in meddling in these high matters—apparently David's manner suggested that he might accept the challenge. David's answer is not clear; perhaps it should run, "What have I now done? Is it not a matter of importance?" David continued his excited talk to all and sundry, and at last they took him to the king (so important LXX MSS., instead of "and he sent for him").

32–39. David induces Saul to allow him to fight Goliath, and Saul clothes him with his own armour (so better than "apparel." The last clause of 38, "and he clad, etc.," may be omitted with LXX). But David found that Saul's arms and armour embarrassed him, and put them off.

40–51. So he went to meet Goliath, armed only with a sling and stones. After an interchange of taunts, David brought down Goliath with a shot from

his sling, and then cut off his head with his own (Goliath's) sword. The Philistines fled.

52–54. The Israelites pursue as far as Gath (not Gai) and Ekron, and then return and spoil their camp. 54 is apparently a very late addition. Jerusalem was still in the hands of the Jebusites, and as David had only just arrived from Bethlehem, he would have no tent.

55.–XVIII. 5. Saul finds out who David is, and makes him one of his captains. It can hardly be meant that he took the place of Abner as commander-in-chief, but the author may write in a rhetorical vein and ignore the actual circumstances. Jonathan forms a passionate friendship for David.

[3f. The covenant seems to be actually formed by this investiture of David with Jonathan's clothes and weapons. The clothes are, so to speak, impregnated with the personality of the wearer; there is thus an actual physical bond created between the original wearer and his successor. David carries about with him always something of Jonathan's personality. This physical contact, which in other forms plays a large part in covenants, is doubled if there is an exchange of garments. Nothing is said of such an exchange here, and David, of course, had no weapons. *Cf.* RS[2], p. 335.—A. S. P.]

XVIII. 6–9. Saul's Jealousy (J).—The victors, as they return, are greeted by the women with songs and dances; Saul's jealousy is aroused because David's achievements are spoken of as greater than his.

XVIII. 10–XIX. 17.—Saul's Plots against David. Compiled from various sources.

10f. (R). Saul makes an unsuccessful attempt to kill David. A premature duplicate of 19f. The verses are omitted by the LXX MSS which omit (B) in 17[1]–18[5], and will be from the same source as (B). 12ff. is the natural sequel to 9.

12–16 (J). Saul alarmed at David's popularity, removes him from court and gives him a military command. David's behaviour and success ingratiate him with the people.

12. Omit, "because the Lord . . . Saul" with Vatican LXX.

17–19 (E?). A variant of the next section, of uncertain origin, omitted by Vatican LXX. To stimulate David's warlike ardour, Saul offers him his elder daughter Merab, but eventually gives her to Adriel (*cf.* 2 S. 21[8]).

18. life: rather as RVm, "kinsfolk."

20–30 (J). Michal, Saul's daughter, loves David. Saul offers her to him on condition that he slays 100 Philistines; in the hope that he will be slain in the attempt. David accomplishes the task and marries Michal.

25. dowry: rather the price paid by a man for a wife.—**27. two hundred:** Vatican LXX, "one hundred" (*cf.* 2 S. 3[14]).—**29b, 30.** Omitted by Vatican LXX, late addition.

XIX. 1–7 (E). Saul bids Jonathan and his followers slay David, but Jonathan brings about a reconciliation.

8–17 (E). It is uncertain whether 11–17 is the sequel of 8–10, or comes from a different source. In any case the whole of 8–17 probably belongs to the ancient tradition.

Saul tries to kill David, but David escapes. Saul has his house watched, but Michal lets him down through the window and he escapes. She deceives Saul's messengers, by placing in the bed a dummy David, constructed out of the family teraphim (p. 100), with something—it is not clear what—for a pillow, and covering it up with a garment. ICC suggests that the Israelites, like the modern Arabs, may have covered their heads when they went to sleep.

XIX. 18–24. David at Ramah (R).—Of uncertain origin, probably late. Partly parallel to 10[10]ff.

David takes refuge with Samuel at "Naioth" in Ramah. "Naioth" is apparently not a proper name, but if it is not, its meaning is quite unknown. It has been conjectured that it may have been the quarter of the town inhabited by the prophets. The contagious nature of this ecstatic prophecy is shown by the fact that, first Saul's messengers, and then Saul himself, are seized by it when they come to Naioth. [For 24*b* *cf.* 10[11]f., another story as to the origin of the proverb.—A. S. P.]

XX. David and Jonathan (J).—20 has no obvious connexion with any of the preceding or following sections: "And David fled from Naioth in Ramah," is an editorial insertion to connect this section with the preceding, after the events narrated in 19[1–17], Jonathan could hardly assure David that Saul would not kill him, and that he was privy to all his father's plans. Similarly the literal translation of 21[1] is "And David came, etc." 20 is probably an extract from an early document, but the editor has omitted its context and supplied the gaps from other sources.

1–10. David tells Jonathan that he is convinced that Saul seeks his life. They arrange that Jonathan shall test Saul's intentions. To-morrow is the feast of the new moon; in the natural course of things, David would be amongst the king's guests, but saith he, "I will not sit with the king at meat," so LXX; "let me go that I may hide myself in the field until the evening," so LXX. Jonathan will gather Saul's intentions from what he says about David's absence; but how will David know?

11–17 (E). An insertion from another parallel narrative, probably also early. There is no reason why the conversation should be interrupted that they may "go out into the field."

Jonathan promises to tell David his father's intentions. At Jonathan's request, David swears that if he becomes king, he will show favour to Jonathan's family.

18–23 (J). Continues 10; perhaps 18 is an editorial addition.

Jonathan arranges that on the third day David shall be "by yonder heap of stones," so LXX, not "by the stone Ezel." Jonathan will come with a boy, as if to practise archery; by his words to the boy, he will give the desired information.

24–34 (J). Continues 23.

Accordingly, at the feast, Jonathan, sitting opposite his father (so LXX, not "stood up"), watches to see what Saul will say as to David's absence. The first day, Saul thinks he is kept away by some ceremonial uncleanness, but the next day, he asks Jonathan for an explanation. He gives the reply agreed upon between himself and David: David's family are holding their annual sacrifice at Bethlehem. Such a sacrifice would be a great banquet and reunion, at which every member of the family would be expected to be present, if it were in any way possible. The new moon (p. 101) would be a natural occasion for such a function: obviously the writer has no idea that it is lawful to offer sacrifices only at a single central sanctuary. Saul bursts into a passion, abuses David and Jonathan, insinuating that Jonathan is not his son, and throws a spear at him, so that he leaves the table in anger.

29. my brother: read, "my brethren" with Vatican LXX.

35–42 (J). The next morning, Jonathan gives David the signal agreed upon. Afterwards he dismisses his attendant and takes personal leave of David, who arose from the heap of stones, where he had hidden (*cf.* 19, so Vatican LXX), not "out of a place toward the south." According to many, 40–42 are an editorial addition; the elaborate arrangements for the signal would not have been necessary, if it had been safe for the friends to have a personal interview.

XXI. David at Nob and Gath.—1–9 (J). From one of the ancient documents; it is not clear which of the previous sections finds its sequel here. It is often connected with 19 17: if this is right, David fled straight from his own house to Nob. It is likely that originally stories of single episodes of David's adventures circulated separately by oral tradition or otherwise, not forming a connected narrative. When they were collected, different editors might arrange and connect them in different ways.

David fled to Nob to Ahimelech the priest. Nob was probably a little N. of Jerusalem, on the way from Gibeah to Bethlehem. According to 22 9 Ahimelech was the son of Ahitub, and therefore (14 3) the great-grandson of Eli. Probably Ahijah (14 3) and Ahimelech are equivalent names of the same person, the Divine title *Melech*, "king," replacing the Divine name *Jah*. In LXX this priest appears as Abimelech, and in Mk. 2 26 as Abiathar. Ahimelech is usually the father of Abiathar, but in 2 S. 8 17, we have Ahimelech, the son of Abiathar; facts which illustrate the tendency to an inaccurate transmission of names; a tendency not confined to the Bible. The LXX has Abimelech here. The genealogies imply that after the destruction of the sanctuary at Shiloh, (p. 277), its priesthood migrated to Nob. They no longer had charge of the Ark (7 1).

David appeared before Ahimelech alone, unarmed, and without provisions, showing in his person the signs of sudden departure and hurried flight; all of which would be explained by precipitate descent from a house beset by enemies. Ahimelech is startled to see the foremost captain of his day, the king's son-in-law, in this plight. David asks for food; the priest can only offer him the shewbread (Lev. 24 5–9*); but he is willing to give him this, if he and the companions, whom David has invented for the occasion, are ceremonially clean. David reassures him on this point, entering into technical details which we cannot altogether understand, partly because both text and translation are uncertain. David also obtained Goliath's sword, which was kept behind the ephod (here again something standing by itself and not a garment; *cf.* p. 275). All this was witnessed by Doeg, one of Saul's officers. The nature of Doeg's office is uncertain, owing to doubtful text and translation: alternatives are, "chief of the herdmen, muleherd, chief of the runners." He was detained before Yahweh, *i.e.* he had to remain in the sanctuary for some time in order to undergo purificatory rites—spiritual quarantine.

10–15. David at Gath.—Another anecdote, of uncertain origin and not connected with its present context: it is a premature duplicate of 27 1f. It is commonly regarded as a late addition; possibly the sequel of 19 18–24, and by the same hand. "The conception of the author who could put the question [Is not this David, the king of the land?] into the mouth of the Philistines at this date is naively unhistorical" (ICC).

David flees to the court of Achish, king of Gath: fearing the vengeance of the Philistines, he feigns madness, taking advantage of the fact that in the East then, as now, lunatics were respected as inspired.—**13. scrabbled:** scrawled; LXX has "drummed."

XXII. David at Adullam and Moab: Massacre at Nob (J).—The series of narratives in ch. 22 may very well come from the same ancient document, and be the continuation of 21 1–9.

1f. David takes refuge at Adullam (p. 31), about 12 miles SW. of Bethlehem: he is joined by his clan and by various unsatisfactory characters, to the number of about 400, *i.e.* he becomes a captain of bandits.

3–5. David takes his father and mother for safety to the king of Moab at Mizpeh (not identified). According to Ru. 4 21f., David's great-grandmother was a Moabitess, Ruth. The prophet Gad (*cf.* 2 S. 24 11, 1 Ch. 29 29) appears, and bids David leave Mizpeh and return to Judah—probably so with Syr., instead of, "Abide not in the hold," *i.e.* Adullam, as the latter was in Judah.

6–23 (J). Saul is sitting in state at Gibeah, under a tree on the height (so with RVm, not "in Ramah"), with his spear sceptre-wise in his hand, and his officers and courtiers about him; he hears from Doeg what has happened at Nob. He sends for the priests, and charges Ahimelech with treason. The priest protests that in helping the king's son-in-law, the commander of his bodyguard (HK; or chief of his subjects, ICC, with LXX, not "and is taken into thy council"), he thought he was serving a loyal servant of the king, and, therefore, the king himself. Nevertheless, Saul bids his guard slay the priests; but they refused, regarding their persons as sacred. However, a similar command to the Edomite Doeg was obeyed, and Doeg slew eighty-five priests who could work the ephod-oracle; only Abiathar, one of the sons of Ahimelech, escaped and fled to David. Doubtless Saul would still have priests of his own, but the story does not mention them, and the primitive tradition in its extant form attaches special importance to the house of Eli.

18. that did wear a linen ephod: so RV, rendering the Heb. text, which makes the ephod here the priestly garment (21 8*); the above follows the LXX.—**19.** Saul subjects Nob to the *herem* (see pp. 99, 114). Some regard this verse as a late addition.

XXIII. David Escapes from Saul (J).

1–13. David hears that the Philistines are raiding the territory of Keilah (p. 31), a little S. of Adullam. He ascertains by oracles, probably using the ephod and the Urim and Thummim (pp. 100f.), that Yahweh approves of his going to the rescue; he thus overcomes the reluctance of his men. The expedition is entirely successful, but the ungrateful citizens of Keilah offered to surrender David and his men to Saul. It is quite possible that this troop of bandits, now grown to 600, had quartered themselves on Keilah, and were treating it as a conquered city. It would be interesting to hear the story from the point of view of Keilah; they may have felt that this act of treachery was the only way of getting rid of an intolerable burden. David, however, heard rumours, which were confirmed by the oracle, and left the place; so the scheme was frustrated. It is possible that the whole affair, oracle and all, was a device to induce David to leave the city, and that there was no real intention of delivering him up to Saul.

6. Perhaps a later insertion, to explain the presence of the ephod in 9.

14–18. Continually hunted by Saul, David comes to Choresh, in the wilderness of Ziph, S. of Hebron, in fear of his life. Jonathan visits him and "strengthens his hand in God," *i.e.* encourages him by assurances of Divine favour.

15. saw that: rather "feared because."—**15f. wood:** better, as a proper name, Choresh.

19–29. Under the guidance of the Ziphites, Saul pursues David, and is on the point of capturing him, when he is recalled by the news of a Philistine invasion. David goes to Engedi, "the fountain of the kid," about half-way along the W. coast of the Dead Sea.

19. Jeshimon: (*mg.*) Nu. 21₂₀, p. 31.—**23. thousands:** families.—**24. wilderness of Maon:** part of the wilderness of Judah.—**Arabah:** the valley extending along the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and southward.—**28. Sela-hammahlekoth:** the better rendering is "Rock of Divisions," perhaps in reference to Saul having been divided, or separated, from David.

XXIV. David Spares Saul at Engedi (E).—Chs. 24 and 26 give two versions of the same story, located at different places. Probably both versions are early. It is not clear which is the earlier, but it is often considered that 26 has the more primitive flavour. It is not necessary to suppose that either story has been developed from the other; they are probably independent developments from the actual facts.

1–7. Saul resumes the pursuit of David; under the stress of a necessity of nature, he goes alone into a cave, in the recesses of which David and his men are hidden. His followers urge him to slay Saul, but he contents himself with secretly cutting off the skirt of his robe; and even then he has qualms of conscience as to taking this liberty with "his master, the Anointed of Yahweh." Saul goes out, unconscious of his danger.

8–15. David calls after Saul, tells him what has happened, and protests his innocence.

14. Commonly regarded as an editorial addition.

16–22. Saul is touched, and acknowledges David's consistent loyalty, of which his recent conduct has been the climax. He induces David to swear that when he becomes king he will not put to death Saul's family. They separate.

XXV. 1a. (to "Ramah"). Death and Burial of Samuel. (An editorial addition.)

1. in his house: in the grounds belonging to it.

XXV. 1b–44. David, Nabal, and Abigail (J).—From one of the oldest sources. The story is complete in itself, and has no obvious connexion with any of the other sections.

1b–13. David goes to the wilderness of Paran at the S. of the Arabah (23₂₄*). (Some read "Maon" for "Paran" with LXX.) At Carmel (15₁₂*) there was a wealthy sheikh, Nabal, a member of the clan Caleb, whose headquarters were at Hebron (Jg. 1₂₀). It is possible that the clan was not yet reckoned as part of Israel. He had a beautiful and sensible wife, Abigail; he himself was an ill-behaved churl, in fact a cur—Caleb means "dog." He was sheepshearing, an occasion for feasting (p. 101). David heard of it, and as he had protected Nabal's flocks and herds from other bandits, when they were grazing on the outlying pastures, he felt that the time had come when he should be rewarded. He sent a courteous request that he and his followers should be allowed to share in the "good day," *i.e.* the feast, and in anticipation of a generous response, he sent ten young men. Nabal replied that there were plenty of runaway slaves about, and he was not going to give them the food he had prepared for his shearers. On the receipt of the message, David set out for Nabal's house with 400 armed men.

14–19. But one of Nabal's men told Abigail what had happened. He dared not remonstrate with his master on account of his evil temper. Abigail promptly prepared a generous present, and set out to meet David, sending the present on in front. She said nothing to her husband.

17. son of Belial: Dt. 13₁₃*, Pr. 6₁₂*.—**18. bottles:** skins.—**measure:** *seah*, a third of an ephah, which latter probably contained about 8¼ gallons.

20–35. Abigail met David coming with the expressed intention of slaying every male of Nabal's household. She alighted and offered him the homage due from a subject to a prince. Let him leave Nabal out of account, as an ill-natured fool, and regard her as the guilty party, so that he may accept apology and compensation from her. "Yahweh," she says, "is preparing a great future for David as the issue of his present troubles. The life that Saul threatens will be preserved among the living, treasured by Yahweh with His most precious possessions; while his enemies will be hurled out of life, like a stone out of a sling. Let not that happy future be clouded by the guilt of shedding innocent blood." David accepted the present, and desisted from his purpose.

31. grief: the word so translated occurs only here, and its meaning is not certain; BDB "staggering" (*cf. mg.*), fig. "for qualm of conscience."—**offence of heart:** lit. stumbling-block, etc., *i.e.* as BDB, "ground for remorse."

36–44. Meanwhile Nabal had been holding a royal feast, and by the time Abigail got back, he was too drunk to be told what had happened. When his wife told him in the morning, he had a stroke; a second stroke, ten days later, killed him; or, as it is put, "Yahweh smote him." David sent Abigail an offer of marriage which she accepted. According to ICC, widows remarry in the East without much delay. David had already married Ahinoam of Jezreel in Judah, near the southern Carmel. When David fled, Saul gave Michal to a certain Phalti of Gallim, between Gibeah and Jerusalem.

41. This must not be taken literally; it need not denote excessive humility, but may be largely conventional etiquette.—**42.** The damsels walked behind their mistress.—**44.** Probably David's outlawry dissolved the marriage according to current custom.

XXVI. David Spares Saul in the Wilderness of Ziph (J).—From one of the oldest sources (*cf.* on ch. 24).

1–12. 1f. repeats briefly the substance and part of the wording of 23₁₉–₂₅: David is in the wilderness of Ziph, and Saul pursues him. But instead of the sequel given in 23, we have another version of the story in 24 of David's generous treatment of Saul.

David learns that Saul is again pursuing him and is in his immediate neighbourhood: "of a certainty" is clearly wrong, and RVm, "to a set place," is not much more likely. There may be a scribal error, and the name of a place may have stood here originally.

David went to see for himself, and found Saul and his followers in a camp protected by a circle of baggage-wagons—a "laager." He returned to his own men to find someone to accompany him in an expedition into Saul's camp; he offered the opportunity to Ahimelech the Hittite (*cf.* Gen. 15₂₀), and to Abishai, one of the Bᵉne Zeruiah: Abishai volunteered to go. They reached the camp and found Saul and all his people asleep. Abishai proposed to slay the king, but David refused, and they went away, taking with them the spear and pitcher of water which had been beside the sleeping king; the spear stuck in the ground, probably as a sign of the royal authority. Meanwhile nobody had wakened, because Yahweh had cast them into a supernatural trance, such as He had caused to fall upon Adam (Gen. 2₂₁) while He was constructing Eve out of one of his ribs.

13–20. David, having got far enough off, mounted an eminence and shouted, calling on Abner by name. When he replied, David taunted him with his lax guard of his master. When Saul intervened, David protested against Saul's persecution. David spoke, of course, according to the primitive religious ideas of the time and place. They may seem strange to us, but they were perfectly natural to the speaker and his hearers. What could have led an honourable man like Saul to be guilty of this cruel injustice? Perhaps it was the evil spirit from Yahweh; His dealings were often arbitrary and unaccountable, "His ways past finding out"; no one knew what might please or displease Him. Possibly He had taken offence at something that David had done quite innocently. But, if so, He could be conciliated by an offering, and then He would set Saul free from the delusion under which He had caused him to labour. But possibly the king had been misled by mere human slanderers; if so, may He curse them, for they had deprived David of his God, and Yahweh of a faithful and important servant. How could one worship Him, away from His own land? [—any more than one could attend Protestant services in a country where there were only Romanist churches]. Let Yahweh see to it. David had been careful to imply that no blame could rest on the king, but Saul acknowledges that he has been in the wrong. David returns the spear, and they separate.

6. Zeruiah: Abishai, Asahel, and Joab are called "sons of Zeruiah." According to 1 Ch. 2 16, Zeruiah was the sister of David. The mother's name may be given instead of the father's because of her relationship to David, or because the father was a foreigner and did not count (ICC). The relationship to David would explain the distinguished part played by this family during his reign. On the other hand, it is curious that the relationship is never referred to except in Ch., which is often of very slight authority.—**19f.** *Cf.* 2 K. 5 17, where Naaman needs two mules' burden of earth from the land of Yahweh, apparently in order that he may build an altar to Yahweh; so here, to die outside the territory of Israel is to die "away from the presence of Yahweh."—**20. flea:** a mistaken correction from 24 14; read, "my life" (so LXX).

XXVII. 1–XXVIII. 2. David at Gath (J).—Sequel to 26 25 (*cf.* 2 1 10–15).

1–6. As a last resource David takes refuge at Gath.

6. Ziklag: Jos. 15 31.

7–12. This paragraph does not simply give an account of a single episode, but describes David's habitual occupation during this period. He made raids upon the heathen tribes to the S. of Judah, the inhabitants of the land from Telam (so Driver and others, with some LXX MSS., for "of old") to the borders of Egypt. These were hostile to Israel, so that David was fighting for his own people. But in order to ingratiate himself with Achish, David said that he had raided the districts of the Negeb (p. 32), or extreme S. division of Palestine, which were inhabited by the allied and kindred tribes of the Judahites, Jerahmeelites, and Kenites. In order that Achish should not learn the truth, David massacred those whom he plundered, both men and women. The primitive documents do not seem to attach much importance to veracity, especially to foreigners (*cf.* the stories of the Patriarchs). When the Philistines are preparing for another campaign against Israel, Achish notifies David that he and his men will be expected to fight on the side of the Philistines. David gives an ambiguous answer, "Thou shalt see what thy servant will do," which Achish would take to mean, "You shall see the great things I will do to help you." Achish proposes to make him the captain of his bodyguard.

10. Jerahmeelites: a tribe in the Negeb, probably not originally Israelite, but later on reckoned to Israel.

XXVIII. 2 is continued by 29 1; the connexion is broken by the insertion of—

XXVIII. 3–25. Saul and the Witch of Endor.—This section interrupts the connexion; moreover, it would come naturally immediately before the battle of Gilboa. Saul is at Gilboa (p. 29) in 28 4. Opinions are divided; some hold that this section is from another source (E) than the bulk of 25–31, and some that it is from the same source (J), that originally it stood in that document immediately before ch. 31, and that it has got into the wrong place, because it was omitted from an edition of *Samuel*, and reinserted in a later edition (see p. 273). 3 is probably an editorial note.

4. Shunem: 2 K. 4 8*.

3–14. The two armies are encamped opposite each other in the E. of the plain of Esdraelon; Saul's heart fails him when he sees the superior numbers of the enemy. He seeks guidance from Yahweh, but can obtain no oracle by the regular, legitimate methods. He goes by night, in disguise, to Endor (p. 30), some distance to the N. in the rear of the Philistine camp, to consult a woman with an *'obh*, or "familiar spirit," some kind of witch, often regarded as a necromancer, which would suit this narrative. He induced her with some difficulty to work her magic, and bade her call up Samuel. So far the disguised king had not been recognised, but at this point she looked more closely at him, and saw that it was Saul, who had done his best to rid the land of witches. She was alarmed, but Saul reassured her, and the magic went on.

15–25. The king himself saw nothing, and only heard what the witch told him as to what she saw; he heard, or thought he heard, Samuel speaking; but this too has been explained by supposing that in reality the witch spoke after the fashion of a ventriloquist or a spiritualist medium. Samuel announces the doom of Saul.

19. be with me: Driver and others read with LXX, "with thee be fallen."

XXIX.–XXXI., 2 Samuel I. 1–5 (J). **Substantially these sections are a continuous narrative from the same document.**

XXIX. David is Dismissed from the Philistine Army.—Continues 28 1ff.

As the Philistines are mustering for the battle, Achish reluctantly dismisses David at the instance of the princes, and bids him withdraw next morning, adding (so Driver and others, with LXX), "And go ye to the place [Ziklag] which I have appointed for you, and do not harbour evil thoughts in thy heart, for thou hast my full confidence and favour," lit. "Do not put a pestilent word in thy heart, for thou art good before me." Probably the original Heb. for "pestilent word" was "word of Belial."

XXX. Amalekite Raid on Ziklag.—*Cf.* above.

1–6. On reaching Ziklag, David found that the Amalekites had sacked the town and carried off the families and property of himself and his followers. Apparently he had taken his whole force to Achish, leaving Ziklag without any adequate garrison.

7–20. Encouraged by an oracle from Yahweh, David went in pursuit, probably southwards, overtook the raiders, annihilated them all but 400, and recovered the captives and the spoil.

14. Cherethites: a tribe in the South or Negeb (*cf.* 27 10), probably akin to the Philistines (p. 56).—**17. ot the next day:** a copyist's mistake; it is uncertain what

the original reading was, but we may be sure that the slaughter only lasted "from twilight even unto the evening."—**twilight:** evening twilight.—**20.** As it stands, this verse states that David appropriated all the recovered cattle, which would not be consistent either with custom, policy, or David's character. The text and translation are hopelessly obscure and corrupt. Probably the verse in its original form stated that David not only recovered what had been lost, but also captured much other spoil.

21–25. During the pursuit 200 men had become too exhausted to keep up, and had been left behind. It was decided that they should share equally in the spoil. This became a precedent, and was the origin of the custom that those who guarded the camp and the baggage should share equally in the spoil with those who did the fighting.

26–31. Out of the spoil David sent presents to the authorities of the various places he had frequented during his outlawry. They seem to have all been in the Negeb, from Hebron southwards.

XXXI. Battle of Gilboa.—*Cf.* p. 285, and 2 S. 16–16*.

1–7. Israel was routed, Saul's sons slain, and he himself in danger of being taken prisoner. To avoid this he fell upon his own sword.

3. he was greatly distressed: perhaps read, with LXX, "he was wounded by the archers."—**4. and thrust me through** (*second occurrence*): omit with 1 Ch. 10₄. What Saul fears is not mutilation after death, but being taken alive, and, like Samson, being made to provide sport for the Philistines.—**7. they that were beyond Jordan:** omit with 1 Ch. 10₇.

8–13. The Philistines announced their victory by sending Saul's head round their land, "to carry the tidings to their idols and to the people" (1 Ch. 10₉ and LXX). They put his armour in the "House of Ashtaroth," *i.e.* the temple of Astarte (p. 299), and fastened the bodies of Saul and his sons outside the wall of Beth-shan (Jg. 1₂₇*). The men of Jabesh-gilead (11₁–₁₁) went by night, brought them away, and buried them. [Robertson Smith (RS², p. 373), says: "Saul's body was burned possibly to save it from the risk of exhumation by the Philistines, but perhaps rather with a religious intention, and almost as an act of worship, since his bones were buried under the sacred tamarisk at Jabesh."—A. S. P.]

10b. Ch. alters this into "and fastened his head in the house of Dagon," and omits "from the wall of Beth-shan" in 12. The S. text is the more correct.—**12. burnt them there:** many read "and lamented for them there," because burning was "incompatible with the established custom of Israel," SBOT. But ICC prefers to retain the present text, otherwise why "bones" in 13? 1 Ch. 10₁₂ omits the clause.

THE SECOND BOOK OF SAMUEL

I. 1–16. David Receives the News of Saul's Death.—The account of the death of Saul told by the fugitive here is different from that in 1 S. 31. A common explanation is that the fugitive falsely represented himself as the slayer of Saul, in the hope of receiving a reward from David. But it is now widely held that here also we have a blending of two documents: 1–4, 11f. are from the same document (J) as the bulk of 25–31; 6–10, 13–16 are from another source which may be fairly early. 5 is inserted by an editor to combine the two accounts.

1–5. A fugitive Israelite (?) from Saul's camp brings David the news of the disaster.

6–10. An Amalekite tells how, seeing Saul closely pursued by chariots and horsemen, he slew him at his own request, and took his crown and armlet, and brought them to David.

11f. David and his men rend their clothes and fast till evening.

12. and for the people of Yahweh: possibly, the army. LXX, "people of Judah." The clause may be an editorial insertion.

13–16. David asks the messenger who he is. He replies: an Amalekite, the son of a *ger*, or foreigner settled as a dependent among the Israelites (Lev. 17₈f.*, Dt. 1₁₆*, p 110). David has him executed (*cf.* 4₉).

I. 17–27. David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan.—This poem is almost universally accepted as the work of David. It was included in the Book of Jashar (Jos. 10₁₂ff., p. 45), and probably borrowed from that book by the author of one of the documents from which *Samuel* was composed (p. 273).

"Let the evil tidings be kept from the Philistines, lest they triumph over Israel. May Gilboa be accursed. Saul and Jonathan were mighty warriors, united in life and death. Let the Israelite women lament them. Alas for Jonathan."

18. he bade them . . . bow: the RV insertion of "the song of" represents a theory that "The Bow" was the title of the poem: this is hardly likely to be correct. Probably the text is corrupt. The favourite explanation is that 18*a* contains a corruption of the opening words of the poem. *Eg.*, SBOT proposes the following reconstruction of 18f.:

"Behold it is written in the Book of Jashar.—And he said:

Think on calamity, O Judah!
Grieve, O Israel!
On thy heights are the slain;
How are the mighty fallen!"

21. not anointed with oil: *i.e.* uncared for.—**25. Jonathan is slain upon thy high places:** the text and rendering are uncertain; Cent.B, following Budde, proposes to restore 25 thus:

How are the mighty fallen
In the midst of the battle!
Jonathan, my heart (?) by thy death
Is pierced through.

2 S. II.–VI. (J). Apart from minor additions and changes, it is very commonly held that these chapters form a continuous narrative from the same source.

II. 1–III. 5. Civil War between David, ruling at Hebron, and Ish-bosheth, ruling at Mahanaim (J).

1–7. David occupies Hebron (Jg. 1₁₀*, p. 31), and is anointed king by the men of Judah, doubtless with the consent of the Philistines, and as their vassal. He thanks the men of Jabesh-gilead for their loyalty to Saul.

8–11. Abner makes Ishbaal king over all Israel, except Judah, with his capital at Mahanaim. The connexion between Judah and the other tribes was always loose, and Israel is constantly used as here. The sentence enclosed by RV in brackets is an editorial addition; it interrupts the sequence. The "two years" is difficult; the impression conveyed by 5₁–₆ is that Ishbaal reigned all the time David was reigning at Hebron. 11 is also commonly regarded as editorial.

9. Ashurites: read, "Asherites."—**10. Ish-bosheth:** Ishbaal (1 S. 14₄₉*).

12–17. The opposing forces meet at the pool at Gibeon, N. of Jerusalem (Jos. 9₃); a contest between twelve champions from each party brought on a

general engagement, in which David's men were victorious.

18–23. Asahel pursued Abner. He, anxious to avoid a blood-feud with Asahel's grim and powerful brother Joab, warned Asahel not to drive him to extremities. But Asahel would not be warned, and Abner slew him.

23–32. At the appeal of Abner, Joab stays the pursuit. Both parties return home.

24. Ammah . . . Giah, 29. Bithron: none of these places are identified.

III. 1–5. An editorial note, including an account of David's family. It is curious that the last-named wife, Eglah, and she only, is expressly called "David's wife." The letters in the Heb. may be a corruption of some description which would have conveyed further information. ICC suggests that the original reading was "sister of David." 1313 shows that such marriages were legitimate in Israel at the time.

III. 6–IV. 12. Quarrel between Abner and Ishbaal. Treachery of Abner. Death of Abner, and of Ishbaal (J).—*Cf.* p. 286.

6–11. Abner went in to Rizpah, Saul's concubine; an act of *lèse majesté*, as the harem of a king was the property of his successor (12*a*, 16*a*22). He met Ishbaal's remonstrances with contemptuous and indignant anger. Was he, to whom the house of Saul owed so much, to be treated like a dog, on account of a trifling matter about a woman? He would soon show the nominal king who was master. Ishbaal dared not answer him.

8. a dog's head that belongeth to Judah: the expression "dog's head" is not found elsewhere. The words "that belongeth to Judah" should be omitted. Some scribe reading Dog (*caleb*) took it to mean the tribe, and added an explanatory note on that supposition.

12–21. Abner offers to bring all Israel under the authority of David. As a preliminary Michal is restored to David. Having sounded the elders of the various tribes, Abner visited David to arrange matters.

22–27. Joab had been absent on a foray during Abner's visit; on his return, he induced Abner to come back and meet him and then treacherously assassinated him, to avenge the death of Asahel.

26. Sirah: not identified.—**27. midst:** read, "side of" with LXX.

28–39. David made it clear that he had nothing to do with the murder. He gave Abner honourable burial, and king and people lamented him. The dirge in 33f. is generally accepted as the work of David.

IV. 1–12. It was clear that Ishbaal's authority could not long survive Abner. It was only a question who should carry out the schemes which Abner had set on foot. Two of Ishbaal's captains came to his house as he was enjoying his midday siesta. "And, behold the portress was cleaning wheat, and she had fallen sound asleep, and they got into the house without being noticed" (following LXX of 6. *cf. mg.*), and slew Ishbaal and took his head to David, who had them put to death.

There are two insertions in this narrative. 2*b*, 3 is an archæological note as to Beeroth (Dt. 10*b*). Its inhabitants, probably on the occasion of some hostile inroad, had fled to Gittaim (not identified), and were sojourners (*gerim*, 2 S. 1*a*3*) there, when the note was written.

4 probably implies that the only other legitimate (*cf.* 21*b*) representative of the house of Saul was a crippled boy, so that the murder of Ishbaal left the way open for David. The boy's name was really Meribbaal (1 Ch. 8*b*4), "Baal contends," or 1 Ch. 9*b*0, Meribaal, perhaps "Hero of Baal" (Gray, *Heb. Proper Names*, p. 201); Baal being a title of Yahweh. Mephibosheth has been explained (ICC), "that puffs at the shameful thing," but according to Gray it is a "mere, meaningless corruption." On the matter generally and for the change to *bosheth*, see 1 S. 1449*. 4 would be more in place at the beginning of, or at some point in, ch. 9. It might also have come at the end of this chapter.

V. 1–16. David Becomes King of united Israel and Judah. He Captures Jerusalem (J). (*Cf.* p. 282.)—Two notes have been added to this section (4f. and 13–16), of the same character as 2*b*10*a*,11, 31–5, and probably by the same hand.

1–3. On the basis of terms, "a covenant," agreed upon between him and the elders, or Sheikhs, of Israel, David is anointed king over Israel, thus becoming king of both Israel and Judah. This act brought Judah into organic union with the other tribes, for the first time, at any rate since the Settlement in Canaan. The looseness of the bond is shown by the ease with which it was broken at the death of Solomon.

4f. A chronological note, accepted, for the most part, as substantially correct.

6–12. David takes Jerusalem, in spite of the boast of the Jebusites that the place was so strong that it could be successfully defended by the blind and lame. 8 is unintelligible, and the text is hopelessly corrupt. The corresponding verse (1 Ch. 11*b*) runs, "And David said, Whoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. And Joab the son of Zeruiah went up first, and was made chief." Possibly Ch. preserves the original text; the corruption would be due to the introduction of glosses, and perhaps also to the desire to give David, and not Joab, the credit for the capture. Zion is usually held to have occupied part of the eastern of the two hills covered by the modern city (1 K. 81*). Millo here is apparently some part of the fortifications of the citadel of Jerusalem (EBi) (*cf.* 1 K. 9*b*15*). There was a "Millo" at Shechem (Jg. 9*b*).

By the establishment of the capital at Jerusalem, a fortress of exceptional strength, David did much to secure the permanence of the Jewish state, and the continuity of Revealed Religion.

David is encouraged by the friendship of the king of Tyre. His name is given as Hiram, *i.e.* Hiram I, the ally of Solomon; but the other data show that Hiram I cannot have been reigning so early in David's reign. Either the name of the familiar Hiram has been substituted for that of his less-known father, Abibaal, or the incident is transferred from the time of Solomon.

13–16. Note on David's family. Eliada is a variant of Baaliada (*cf.* 1 S. 1449).

V. 17–25. Victories over the Philistines (J). (*Cf.* p. 67.)—David twice defeats the Philistines in the Valley of Rephaim (p. 31, Is. 17*b*5*). The growing strength of David had roused the apprehensions of his suzerains. These incidents seem prior to the capture of Jerusalem, and are sometimes supposed to have been inserted from another document; they may, however, be from (J), having been transposed by the editor. The "hold" is perhaps Adullam. The fact that we are told that David named the place Baal-perazim, "Baal of Breaches," shows that the author saw nothing wrong in the use of Baal as a title of Yahweh (1 S. 449*.) The victors "took . . . away" the gods (so LXX and 1 Ch. 14*b*12) of the Philistines. The Chronicler, anxious that his readers should not suppose that David intended to worship them, changed 21*b* into "and they were burned with fire," AV here followed suit by altering

"took away" into "burned." In 24, it is Yahweh who marches.

25. Gezer: Jos. 10$_{33}$*, Jg. 1$_{29}$*, 1 K. 9$_{16}$*.

VI. David Brings the Ark to Jerusalem. Michal's Scorn. Her Punishment (J). (*Cf.* p. 286.)—Nothing has been heard of the Ark since 1 S. 7$_2$, before the accession of Saul. The introduction of the Ark in 1 S. 14$_{18}$, is due to corruption of the text. This silence is sometimes accounted for by supposing that the Ark was under the control of the Philistines and inaccessible to the Israelites (*cf.* Cent.B, and EBi, "Ark"). David's action gave added importance to the new capital; and the building of Solomon's Temple probably provided Jerusalem with the chief sanctuary in Israel.

1–11. David and the people go to Baal, or Baalah, Judah (not Baale), to fetch the Ark. This place is identified (Jos. 15$_{9}$f., 1 Ch. 13$_6$) with Kirjath-jearim, where the Ark was left in 1 S. 7$_1$. The identification however, may be due to a comparison of the two passages, and may not be correct. The two passages may come from different sources (*cf.* p. 276) which took different views of the history. They set out for Jerusalem in solemn procession; but a certain Uzzah put his hand on the Ark to steady it "and God smote him for his error." David abandoned his purpose, placed the Ark for a time in the house of Obed-edom of Gath, doubtless a *ger* (11$_3$*). There is no question as to the regulations of the Priestly Code concerning Priests and Levites. Apparently Uzzah's fault consisted in handling the Ark roughly and unceremoniously. The narrative illustrates the imperfect morality ascribed to Yahweh by the earlier documents (*cf.* 1 S. 26$_{19}$).

According to some, the Uzzah episode is mythical, having arisen as a conjectural and mistaken interpretation of the place-name Perez-uzzah, "Breach of Uzzah." If this were so, David found the Ark at the house of Obed-edom; which would lend some support to the view that up to this time the Ark was under Philistine control. But a mythical explanation is not probable. Another improbable view is that Uzzah died from the shock which came upon him when he realised that he had committed an act of irreverence. [Parallels to this may be found in Frazer's *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*.—A. S. P.] Sometimes, in the case of these ancient narratives, the safest course is to accept their substantial historicity without trying to explain everything. If we are to venture an explanation here, we might suggest that the death of Uzzah was due to excitement at the prospect of the Ark being thrown violently to the ground and broken; and to the sudden, strenuous effort needed to save it. Death under such circumstances would be interpreted as a sign of Divine displeasure and an "Act of God."

5. with all manner of instruments made of fir wood: read, with 1 Ch. 13$_8$, "with all their might and with songs."

12–23. Obed-edom prospering, David gathers that Yahweh is appeased, and makes another attempt to bring the Ark to Jerusalem. As soon as a start is made, sacrifices are offered and, nothing untoward happening, the procession marches on and reaches its destination in safety. David, intoxicated with religious fervour, abandons himself to an ecstatic dance before Yahweh, *i.e.* the Ark. David was merely clothed with the priestly linen ephod, which hardly supplied a decent covering in the wild movements of the dance (Cent.B); 1 Ch. 15$_{27}$ provides him with a robe. When David went home, Michal railed at him for his lack of dignity; probably not the first exhibition of temper on the part of this much-tried lady. David protected himself from similar experiences by relegating Michal to a separate establishment. This is probably the meaning of 23.

19. a portion *of flesh:* represents the single Heb. word *'eshpar*, the meaning of which is unknown; it occurs only here and 1 Ch. 16$_3$.

VII. David Proposes to Build a Temple for the Ark but Yahweh Prefers to Dwell in a Tent, as heretofore. He Promises David that his Dynasty shall always Occupy the Throne (D).—An independent narrative, complete in itself; not from any of the main sources, but probably composed towards the close of the Jewish Monarchy by a writer of the Deuteronomic school. 13, referring to Solomon and his Temple, is a later addition. This Divine promise of permanence to the Davidic dynasty is an early form of the Messianic Hope of Israel.

1–3. David proposes to build a house of cedar for the Ark; Nathan assures him of the Divine approval.

4–17. Nathan, however, was premature. Clearly, we are shown here that we are not intended to regard every utterance of a prophet recorded in Scripture as an infallible word of God. Yahweh bids Nathan tell David that He does not desire a house of cedar. There are some traces in OT of a view that the Temple of Solomon was a mistaken innovation. Yahweh will be gracious to His people, and the dynasty of David shall always rule over them.

7. tribes: read, "judges" with 1 Ch. 17$_6$.

18–29. David gives thanks glorifying Yahweh and His dealings with himself and with Israel.

19. and this too after the manner of men: the Heb. is unintelligible, and the text is hopelessly corrupt.

VIII. David's Victories. His Ministers (D).—A concluding summary, corresponding to the similar section on Saul (1 S. 14$_{47}$ff.) and by the same hand. Apparrently it formed the conclusion of an early edition of the Book of Samuel. It includes material and information from earlier sources.

1–8. David subdues the Philistines, Moabites, and Syrians.

1. the bridle of the mother city: the text is hopelessly corrupt.—**2.** Two-thirds were put to death.—**3–8.** Apparently a summary with variations of 10$_{6-19}$.—**3. Zobah:** 1 S. 14$_{47}$.—**the River:** Euphrates.—**8. Betah . . . Berothai:** not identified.

9–12. The king of Hamath sends presents to David; these, with the spoil from his various conquests, he dedicates to Yahweh, *i.e.* stores in the Temple treasury, primarily, possibly, for the use of the Temple, especially for equipment, decoration, and building; but probably also as a national reserve for other purposes, *e.g.* wars, which were "Wars of Yahweh," a sacred activity, waged by consecrated warriors (pp. 99, 114). Temples in ancient times served as banks, the deity being supposed to protect the treasure committed to his care; though doubtless other precautions were taken.

9. Hamath: 2 K. 14$_{25}$*, Is. 10$_9$*, Am. 6$_2$*.

13f. David subdues Edom.

13. Syrians: read Edom (*mg.*) with Ch., LXX, etc.—**Valley of Salt:** probably to the S. of Judah, in Edom.

15–18. In addition to a commander-in-chief, David had a "recorder," lit. "remembrancer," and a "scribe." There are no express statements as to the functions of these officials. We should expect that the scribe would have charge of any secretarial work needed at the court; the "recorder" was probably not the public annalist, but the king's confidential adviser. There were two groups of priests: the more strictly professional priests, who were probably described in

the original text as Zadok and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub; and the sons of David. In the present text Zadok is son of Ahitub, and therefore of the house of Eli, which is at variance with the rest of the history: Zadok became sole priest (*i.e.* of the royal sanctuary) when the house of Eli was deposed. A description of Zadok may have been lost; it is not clear that the early document connected either Eli or Zadok with Aaron. Note that in any case the priesthood is not limited to either the house of Aaron or the tribe of Levi; the royal princes are priests. This seemed impossible to late writers under the influence of the Priestly Code, and so 1 Ch. 18^{17} alters "priests" to "chief men about the king," AV and RVm follow suit with "chief rulers" and "chief ministers"; both mistranslations.

Then there was a captain of the Cherethites (1 S. 30^{13}) and Pelethites (p. 56), the bodyguard of foreign mercenaries, now first appearing in Israelite history. This body was often of great importance, on account of their personal devotion to the king, and their freedom from local ties. Pelethite only occurs in the phrase "Cherethites and Pelethites," the title of the bodyguard; it is generally regarded as a variant of Philistine (HDB).

2 S. IX.–XX. (J.) **These chapters are of the utmost value, both as literature and as history. They seem to be the work either of a contemporary, or of some one who was familiar with the facts through the testimony of contemporaries.**

IX. David shows Favour to Meri-baal (J).—David, asking as to survivors of the house of Saul, hears of Meri-baal (44*); he bestows upon him Saul's private estates, and gives him the status of a royal prince at his court.

X. War with the Ammonites and the Syrians (J).

1–5. The king of Ammon insults David's ambassadors. [J. G. Frazer (*Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 273) connects Hanun's action with the well-known belief that to get possession of the hair of a person is to have him in one's power. He supposes that Hanun, distrusting David's designs and desirous to have some guarantee of peace, thought he secured this by retaining half the beards and garments He quotes as a parallel the treatment of a traitor by two Moabite Arabs who shaved completely one side of his head and his moustache on the other, and set him at liberty.—A. S. P.]

6–14. The Ammonites hire mercenaries from the Syrian states; Joab takes command of the general levy of Israel and the standing army (read, "the host and the mighty men"; probably David's 600 were continued as the nucleus of a standing army). Joab marched to the gate, *i.e.* of Rabbah, the capital of Ammon; and though caught between the Ammonites and the Syrians, won a signal victory.

6. Beth-rehob: Nu. 13^{21}*.—**Maachah:** Dt. 3^{14}.—**Tob:** Jg. 11^{3}*.

15–19. Further victories over the Syrians. Apparently a variant of 8$^{3-8}$, which see; perhaps an editorial addition.

XI. David, Bath-sheba, and Uriah (J).

1–5. In the spring, at the beginning of the season suitable for military operations, Joab and the army set out to besiege Rabbah (Jer. 49^{2}*); David stayed at home. He committed adultery with Bath-sheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite, who was in the field with Joab. Uriah would be a *ger* (11^{3}*); his name, "Yahweh is light," shows that he was a worshipper of Yahweh.

6–13. David makes an unsuccessful attempt to conceal the facts. Note that the Ark was taken into the field as a talisman (11), as in 1 S. 4^{3}.

14–27. By David's instructions, Joab arranges that Uriah is slain by the enemy. On hearing the news, David marries Bath-sheba.

21. *Cf.* Jg. 9^{50}ff.—**Jerubbesheth:** Jerubbaal (*cf.* 1 S. 14^{49}*).—**22.** After this verse, LXX, probably giving the correct text, adds that David was angry and addressed the messenger in very much the words of 20f.

XII. David's Repentance. Capture of Rabbah (J).—The section concerning Nathan (1–15*a*) is sometimes regarded as a later addition by some one who was anxious to point out and emphasize the moral; but this view is not generally held. Only 10–12 need be regarded as editorial. The chapter is important because it shows that the primitive ideas as to the morality of Yahweh were very real, though they might be defective in some directions.

1–14. Nathan, by parable and admonition, brings David's guilt home to him; he makes penitent confession. Yahweh puts away his sin, which is thought of as a kind of disease, which would of itself kill the sinner, if it were not taken away.

15–25. David's child by Bath-sheba dies, but another son, Solomon, is born to them.

25. for the Lord's sake: an addition.

26–31. Joab having made sure of the capture of Rabbah by making himself master of the water supply. (read, "city of waters" for "royal city" in 26 as in 27), David takes the command that he may have the formal credit. Amongst other spoil, he took the crown from the idol of Milcom, the god of Ammon; in this crown was a jewel which was set on David's head, probably in his crown or diadem; so with 1 Ch. 20^{2}. He made his captives industrial slaves (*mg.*). Ch., however, makes him cut them with saws, etc.

XIII. Amnon, Tamar, and Absalom (J).

1–22. Amnon, David's eldest son, forces his half-sister, Tamar, the full sister of Absalom. He might have married her (3^{5}*) but did not choose to do so. She rent her royal tunic, probably a garment reaching to the hands and feet (*cf.* Gen. 37^{3}*); Joseph's "coat of many colours" represents the same Heb. word. David was angry, but he did not vex him by punishing him, for he loved him because he was his first-born (so LXX).

23–29. Two years later, Absalom induced Amnon to be his guest at the sheepshearing (p. 101) at Baal-hazor, near Beth-el; the other sons of David were also present. Absalom made them a royal feast (so LXX addition at the end of 27). Absalom had Amnon murdered at the feast.

30–39. The rumour reached the court that all the princes were slain, but Jonadab, Amnon's friend, reassured the king: only Amnon was dead; for Absalom had been waiting for an opportunity to kill him ever since the outrage upon Tamar. Meanwhile the watchman, on some neighbouring tower, lifted up his eyes and saw, and behold much people were coming on the Beth-horon road (p. 31), on the descent; and the watchman came and told the king, saying: I see men coming on the Beth-horon road on the side of the hill (so ICC, with LXX). Soon after, the princes arrived. Absalom fled to the king of Geshur, his grandfather (3^{3}), and remained there three years, and all the time David pined for his return.

37–39. The text is corrupt, but the sense is clearly as above.

XIV. The Return of Absalom (J).

1–8. Joab perceives the king's longing for his son (p. 67), and sends to him a woman of Tekoa (p. 31), about 5 miles S. of Beth-lehem, with a trumped-up tale that she was in danger of being left childless, because one of her two sons had killed his brother,

and the kinsfolk wished to put the survivor to death. The king promised to intervene.

9–17. The woman continued to importune him, and at last she seems to admit that her story is a parable and to apply it to the king. 14 is difficult; the first part, no doubt, means, "Life is uncertain, either the king or his son may die at any time; then it will be too late for them to be reconciled, or for Absalom to be reinstated." In the latter part, the text is probably corrupt; the favourite restoration is: "And God will not take away the life of him that thinketh thoughts in order not to banish from him (*i.e.* keep in exile), one that is banished," *i.e.* God will not condemn David for leniency to Absalom (*cf.* Driver). It seems a roundabout way of putting things, but that may be in keeping with the occasion and the woman's character.

15–17. These verses may have stood originally somewhere before 13, in which the woman reveals her real purpose.

18–24. The woman admits that she has been sent by Joab. The king allows Joab to fetch Absalom home, but will not allow the returned exile to enter the royal presence.

25–27. Absalom's beauty; his family. Probably a later addition.

26. two hundred shekels, after the king's weight: Cent.B estimates the weight at 3⅝ lb., and, with others, regards this phrase as modelled on legends on foreign weights, and as an indication of post-exilic authorship. —**27.** In 18¹⁸ Absalom has no sons, and in 1 K. 15², we read of Maacah, the daughter of Absalom.

28–33. Joab having refused to visit Absalom, the prince secures his attendance by a ruse, and induces Joab to complete the reconciliation between father and son.

30. Perhaps we should add at the end of this verse, "And Joab's servants came to him with their clothes rent and said: The servants of Absalom have set the field on fire."

XV. 1–XVI. 14. Revolt of Absalom. Flight of David (J).

1–6. Absalom makes himself popular by professing an interest in the litigation of the people.

7–12. After four years (so read with Syr. and some texts of LXX), having obtained the king's permission on a false pretext, Absalom goes to Hebron and organises revolt.

12. Giloh: Jos. 15⁵¹.

13–29. 17f. should be emended on the basis of LXX (so Driver and others), giving the following: David leaves Jerusalem with his ministers and officers, "servants"; they take their stand by the last house E. of the city, that the rest of David's partisans may pass before them. The general body come first, then the bodyguard of foreign mercenaries, the rear of the latter being brought up by a recent reinforcement under Ittai of Gath. David offers Ittai the opportunity of leaving him; he refuses. The fugitives pass on amidst the lamentation of the people; David stands by the brook Kidron and watches them pass on toward the olive-tree in the wilderness; 23 should be read thus, with SBOT, etc. 24 must be emended to read, "And behold, also Zadok and Abiathar carrying the ark of God, and they set down the ark until all the people had done passing out of the city." David bids them take the Ark back to the city. Yahweh could give him victory without this talisman, just as well as with it. This act shows that David had reached a more spiritual view of religion than that which had been generally held; his example would tell on others. At any rate, we hear nothing more of the Ark being carried to war; little importance need be attached to the obscure passage, 2 Ch. 35³. David arranges with the priests for their two sons to act as spies.

27. Art thou not a seer: read, "Behold do thou."

30–37. David arranges for Hushai the Archite (Jos. 16², "David's friend" (so LXX), his confidential adviser, an official title, to remain in Jerusalem as his secret agent and to attach himself to Absalom—become Absalom's "Friend."

XVI. 1–4. Soon after passing the summit of the Mt. of Olives David is met by Ziba, the servant of Meri-baal (4⁴), with a present of two asses laden with provisions. Ziba, representing that Meri-baal has turned traitor, obtains a grant of his property.

5–14. At Bahurim, somewhere on the way to the Jordan, Shimei, a kinsman of Saul, follows David, uttering curses and throwing stones. David refuses to retaliate, feeling that his sufferings may move Yahweh to pity him.

14. It is probable that the name of some place has dropped out.

XVI. 15–XVII. 14. Absalom Comes to Jerusalem. Ahithophel and Hushai (J).

15–23. Hushai joins Absalom. On the advice of Ahithophel, Absalom takes over his father's harem (3⁷*).

XVII. 1–14. Ahithophel advises the instant pursuit and capture of David. "I," he says, "will bring back all the people unto thee, as a bride returns to her husband; thou seekest the life of only one man, there shall be peace for all the people"; read 3 thus with LXX. Hushai advised delay, till an overwhelming force could be gathered which would overcome any possible resistance. Yahweh makes Absalom follow Hushai's counsel, to his own ruin.

XVII. 15–29. David Comes to Mahanaim (J).

15–21. Meanwhile David was in constant communication with his agents in Jerusalem through Jonathan and Ahimaaz. But one day, apparently when the news of Ahithophel's advice was being conveyed to David, they were seen and pursued, but escaped by being hidden in a well (*cf.* Jos. 2⁶), and got away and brought the news to the king.

17. En-rogel: 1 K. 1⁹*.—**20. brook:** *michal*, a word of unknown meaning, occurring only here.

22–26. David moves to Mahanaim, and Absalom pursues him with the whole levy of Israel. Ahithophel had committed suicide. Absalom's commander-in-chief was Amasa, son of Jether the Ishmaelite (so with 1 Ch. 2¹⁷), and of Abigail, the daughter of Jesse. (So Klostermann and others, with LXX and 1 Ch. 2¹⁷.) The "Nahash" of the Heb. text will be due to confusion with Abigail, wife of Nahash, and perhaps also to the presence of the name in 27. (*Cf.* on 1 S. 26⁶.)

27–29. The Sheikhs in the lands E. of the Jordan supply David and his followers with provisions. Shobi may now have been king of Ammon, tributary to David.

27. Rogelim: not identified. —**28. beds:** read "couches and rugs," with Budde and others, on the basis of LXX.—**parched pulse:** omit.—**cheese:** *shphoth* only occurs here, meaning unknown; is as likely to be cheese as anything else.

XVIII. 1–XIX. 8. Defeat and Death of Absalom. David's Grief (J).

1–8. Absalom's followers are defeated with great slaughter. Nothing is known as to the battle-field, "the Forest of Ephraim," beyond what may be gathered from this story. Many fugitives lost their lives by falling headlong in the broken, rocky country; some perhaps, especially the wounded, died of hunger

and exhaustion in these inhospitable tracts, with which they were not familiar. "Forest" here, as often in England, *e.g.* Ashdown Forest, denotes the kind of country described above, and not a continuous mass of trees (*cf.* Budde).

9–18. Absalom, fleeing, was caught by his head in an oak and left hanging there, while his mule galloped away. Nothing is said about his hair, and, in spite of the familiar pictures, it is difficult to imagine how he could be caught by the hair so that he could not extricate himself. Budde suggests that, riding headlong on uneven ground, he was carried with force into an oak, that his head stuck in a fork between two branches, and he perhaps lost consciousness. Tidings of his plight being brought to Joab, he and his attendants slew Absalom, and buried him in a neighbouring pit. The existing text seems to contrast this with the arrangements Absalom himself had made. But it is not clear what these were. The Heb. as it stands would naturally mean that Absalom took a *mâççebhâ* (p. 98), or sacred pillar, which was standing in the King's Dale, and removed it and set it up somewhere else as a memorial to himself. In view of the sacred character of the pillar, Absalom probably founded a sanctuary where family rites for the dead would be celebrated; something roughly corresponding to a Romanist memorial chapel in which masses are said for the departed. As, however, such rites were performed by sons or descendants, it is curious that his action is explained by the fact that he had no son. Possibly the more enlightened religion of later times objected to both the sanctuary and the ritual; and the narrative was modified accordingly in order to transform the sacred pillar into a purely secular monument. The ritual may possibly have been originally derived from ancestor-worship (p. 83); though religious rites in connexion with the dead need not have involved ancestor-worship in ancient Israel any more than in modern Italy. In 1427 Absalom has three sons. LXX differs from Heb., and Klostermann adduces reasons for supposing that, in the original, David erected the pillar to the memory of Absalom.

18. the king's dale: Gen. 1417.

19–23. Ahimaaz and the Cushite race to Mahanaim to carry the news of the victory.

24–33. David, sitting between the inner and outer gates of the city is waiting for tidings. Ahimaaz arrives first and salutes the king with the usual greeting, "Shalom," "Peace" (not "All is well"); he announces the victory but evades the king's question about Absalom. But this is answered by the Cushite, who comes up soon afterwards. David, overwhelmed with grief, secludes himself.

XIX. 1–8. Joab induces the king to present himself to the people.

XIX. 9–43. The Return of David (J).

9–15. The two parts of 11 must be transposed with the LXX, giving the following: Absalom's death left Western Palestine in a state of anarchy; the obvious remedy was the restoration of David, so that men said, "Why speak ye not a word of bringing the king back?" And the king learned what was being said throughout Israel; and king David sent to Zadok and to Abiathar the priests, saying, Speak unto the elders of Judah, saying, Why are ye the last to bring the king back? They were to promise Amasa that he should supplant Joab as commander-in-chief. The men of Judah invite the king to return, and come down to the Jordan to meet him.

16–23. Shimei makes his peace with David (*cf.* 165).

24–30. Meri-baal (44) comes to clear himself of the charges brought against him by Ziba (163). David despairs of arriving at the truth, or is too busy to give time to the matter, or does not think it politic to offend either party; so he divides the property (97, 164) between them. Meri-baal, with the usual exaggerated Eastern courtesy, replies, "Let him take the whole, now that my lord the king is safe home again"—words which, we may be sure, were not intended to be taken literally.

31–39. Barzillai (1727) escorts the king to the Jordan. It is generally agreed that the text and translation must be emended so as to make it clear that Barzillai came to the Jordan, but did not cross the river, thus: Barzillai declines an invitation to accompany the king to court; he will only (36) come with him as far as the Jordan; he commends Chimham, probably his son, to the royal favour. As the king stood (so read for "went over" in 39), watching his followers cross the river, he bade farewell to Barzillai.

40–43. David crosses the Jordan, escorted by Judah and a contingent from Israel. The two parties engage in an unseemly wrangle as to their relative claims on the king and rights in bringing him back. The episode shows how little Judah was even yet regarded as an integral part of Israel. In 43, instead of, "And we have also more right in David than you," we should read with LXX, "And I also am the firstborn rather than thou"; *i.e.* compared to Israel, Judah is a late and inferior addition to the community.

XX. The Revolt of Sheba (J).

1f. The result of this altercation was a fresh rebellion under a Benjamite, Sheba ben Bichri.

3. The members of the king's harem whom he had left in Jerusalem are condemned to pass the rest of their days in seclusion (*cf.* 1621).

4–12. David bade his new commander-in-chief, Amasa, assemble the general levy of Judah by a given day; the day came, but Amasa and the army did not appear. A few days before Amasa had been in command of an army fighting against Judah, and the men of Judah might be slow to trust him. Time pressed; David, still unwilling to forgive Joab, placed his brother, Abishai, in command of the bodyguard and the standing army, with Joab as a subordinate. Read, in 7, on the basis of the LXX, "And there went out after Abishai, Joab and the Cherethites, etc." Meanwhile Amasa had collected his force and also started northwards. The two armies met near Gibeon; Joab treacherously murdered Amasa by some ruse which is not clearly explained—the latter part of 8 is unintelligible. Joab then assumed the command.

13–22. Joab led the united force in pursuit of Sheba, who had been traversing the country trying unsuccessfully to gather adherents. 14 is obscure and the text doubtful; it is not clear how it should be restored. Some find in it a statement that Sheba was treated with contempt. Further, we should probably read "to Abel-beth-maacah," in the extreme N. of Palestine; "all the Bichrites," Sheba's kinsfolk. Joab shut up the rebels in Abel, and was preparing to storm the city. The inhabitants opened negotiations through a "Wise Woman," probably someone on the border line between a prophetess and a witch, two classes which were not always clearly distinguished. She appealed to the reputation of Abel as a stronghold of national tradition: "They used to say formerly: Let them ask in Abel and in Dan whether what the faithful in Israel established has come to an end" (so ICC, etc., on the basis of LXX). Such a city Joab was proposing to destroy. The negotiations ended in the people of Abel putting Sheba to death; whereupon Joab and

his army returned to Jerusalem. Apparently the king did not venture to dispute Joab's right to resume his post of commander-in-chief.

23–26. A second list of David's officers, varying somewhat from that in 8 16ff., which see. There is a new office, Master of the Tribute, or rather the forced labour (*cf.* 1 S. 8 16). David's sons disappear from the list of priests, but Ira, who takes their place, is neither Levite nor Aaronite, but belongs to Jair, a clan of E. Manasseh. The differences between the two lists may be due to changes in the course of the reign or to variations in the traditions. Probably neither list is exhaustive; no doubt there were other officers and other priests who might have been mentioned. The list will have been composed by an editor from ancient material, and at one time was the conclusion of an edition of the book which ended at this point.

XXI.–XXIV. These chapters form an appendix of material from various sources. One of the editors, perhaps the one to whom the book substantially owes its present form, seems to have met with difficulties in an attempted rearrangement of some of the material; finding no other convenient place for 21 1–14, 24, he added them at the end, as a kind of appendix. He or someone else inserted between them the catalogue of heroes (21 15–22, 23 8–39); later on someone inserted 22 and 23 8–39 in the middle of the catalogue. The reader must remember that ancient editors and scribes had no assistance from divisions of chapters and verses or headings; and that only the consonants were written, so that it was not possible to see at a glance where was the most suitable place for an addition.

The proper continuation of ch. 20 is 1 K. 1.

XXI. 1–14. The Story of Rizpah (J). (*Cf.* above.)—This section and ch. 24 are probably by the same hand. They are no doubt ancient, but do not belong to the same source as 9–20. We have here striking illustrations of the primitive theology of Israel: misfortune, *e.g.* famine, is regarded as necessarily the punishment of sin. When misfortune comes, the obvious course is to inquire what sin has caused it. Owing to the solidarity of the nation and the family, punishment of sin may fall on the fellow-countrymen or the kinsfolk of the sinner. Saul treacherously massacres the Gibeonites; therefore Israel is afflicted with a famine till the Gibeonites and Yahweh are appeased by the execution of seven of Saul's sons and grandsons. This event probably happened not long after David became king of all Israel.

1–9. To ascertain the cause of a prolonged famine, David seeks the face of Yahweh, *i.e.* inquires of an oracle; and learns that it is due to Saul having massacred the Gibeonites in spite of their covenant (Jos. 9), with Israel. In 1 read with LXX, "The guilt of blood rests on Saul and on his house." The Gibeonites decline compensation in money, and demand seven descendants of Saul, to be put to death at the sanctuary at Gibeon as a sacrifice to Yahweh. (So generally ICC, on the basis of LXX.) The meaning of the word, RV "hang," denoting the mode of execution, is unknown. Their request was granted and the famine ceased. [J. G. Frazer thinks that the "execution was not a mere punishment, but that it partook of the nature of a rain-charm," since magical ceremonies to procure rain are often performed with dead men's bones (*Adonis Attis Osiris*, i. 22). The famine was no doubt due to lack of rain.—A. S. P.] In 8 read Merab (1 S. 18 19) for Michal.

10–14. Rizpah, the mother of five of the victims, watches day and night over their remains till David has them buried with the bones of Saul and Jonathan.

XXI. 15–22. David's Heroes (first section). *Cf.* above. (J).—These verses are probably from the same source as 23 8ff., and the source is no doubt ancient. The events in 21 15ff. and 23 8ff. belong to various periods in the life of David.

15–17. Abishai Rescues David.—The text of 16 is corrupt; the general sense seems to have been:

At Gob, some place otherwise unknown, David was in danger from a giant whose name has been lost through corruption of the text.

18–22. David's warriors slay three Philistine giants; one of them Goliath, who is slain by Elhanan the son of Jair (so with 1 Ch. 20 5). Note the varying tradition as to Goliath; it seems more likely that the exploit of an obscure individual should be credited to David than *vice versa*. Ch. removes the discrepancy by altering Bethlehemite into "Lahmi the brother of" (Goliath), and AV has made a similar alteration.

XXII. Ps. 18.—This poem is dealt with in the commentary on the Psalms (pp. 367, 376f.).

XXIII. 1–7. The Last Words of David (*cf.* above).—This poem is generally held to be a late production and not composed by David. "Saith" (twice) in 1, is the solemn *ne'um*, "oracle" (Nu. 24 3). Instead of "sweet psalmist of Israel," render "him whom Israel delights to praise" (*cf.* RVm). 4 should run:

> He shall dawn like the light of morning,
> Like the sun on a morning without clouds.

The text and translation of the last line, and of 5–7, are uncertain; there is no agreement amongst scholars as to how they are to be restored, so that one cannot offer anything which is an assured improvement on RV, except at one or two points. 5 should open, "Verily my house is sure with God"; the last line of the verse should be taken with what follows.

XXIII. 8–39. David's Heroes (*continued*).—The Three and the Thirty (J). (*Cf.* above.)

8–12. 8 must be emended to read, instead of Josheb, etc., "Ishbaal the Hachmonite, chief of the three, he lifted up his spear against eight hundred, etc." 9 should read "Eleazar ben Dodo the Ahohite, one of the three mighty men, was with David at Pas-dammim (1 S. 17 1), when the Philistines were there gathered together to battle, and the men of Israel retreated." Shammah's exploit was when the Philistines were assembled "at Lehi" (Jg. 15 9), not "into a troop."

13–17. Read 13: And three of the thirty went down and came to the rock to David to the hold of Adullam," SBOT.

18–23. Read 18: "And Abishai . . . was chief of the Thirty . . . and had a name among the Thirty," or "like that of the Three." In 20, the text is hopelessly corrupt; but apparently Benaiah slew two young lions and a lion, "Ariel" having arisen through the mistaken combination of *'ari*, "lion" with letters belonging to another word. 22 should be emended at the end like 18.

24–39. Note that the Three are men of whom we learn nothing elsewhere, apparently remarkable for nothing but personal strength and skill in hand-to-hand fighting. They would enjoy public importance and popularity comparable to those accorded to famous cricketers and footballers nowadays; the Thirty enjoyed the same distinction in a less degree. They indeed include men of note in other ways: Asahel ben Zeruiah; also a son of Ahithophel, and Uriah the Hittite, besides Abishai, and Benaiah, the Captain of the Bodyguard. But the bulk of the Thirty are otherwise unknown. Joab, the most powerful man and the finest military commander in Israel, David himself

not excepted, belongs to neither body; but his armour-bearers belong to the Thirty; that indicates the value of the distinction. According to 39 the Thirty numbered thirty-seven. Possibly the original number was not adhered to; or the list may include some who were slain like Asahel and Uriah, together with those who replaced them.

XXIV. The Census (J). (*Cf.* p. 292.)—This event also may belong to the beginning of David's reign over all Israel.

1–9. Here is another illustration of the imperfect recognition of the moral nature of Yahweh in the primitive documents. No one is conscious of sin, yet Yahweh, for some inscrutable, arbitrary reason, is angry with His people. Accordingly, He induces David to commit an obvious sin, so that He may have a justification for punishing Israel. It is useless to ask why a census was sinful; such ideas go too far back for us to trace their origin (Nu. 31$_{50}$*). In the Priestly Code censuses are taken quite happily. The subsequent advance of religious thought in Israel is indicated by the fact that in 1 Ch. 21$_{1}$, it is Satan who induces David to take the census. Controlled by a baneful inspiration, David is incapable of listening to reason, he turns a deaf ear to the protests of Joab and his officers, and the census is taken. In considering the theology of this chapter, the reader will appreciate the relief which we obtain when we realise that such passages are records, preserved by the Divine Providence for our instruction, of a primitive and imperfect interpretation of the ways of God. The enumerators began at the S. of E. Palestine; went to the extreme N.; then westward; then they traversed W. Palestine from N. to S. The numbers differ in Ch. and in MSS of LXX, and are no doubt exaggerated.

6. Tahtim-hodshi . . . Dan-jaan: corrupt readings; there is no certain restoration; but it is clear that the enumerators went to the northern Dan, the extreme point of the territory of Israel northwards.

10–17. Yahweh now removes the misleading influence from David, so that he comes to himself and is penitent. Yahweh offers him a choice of three punishments; famine for three (so with 1 Ch. 21$_{12}$) years; disastrous war for three months; pestilence for three days. In 15 most scholars follow LXX in reading: "So David chose the pestilence. And in the days of the wheat harvest, the plague began among the people and slew of the people seventy thousand men." Then, when the plague was on the point of reaching Jerusalem, David interceded with Yahweh, and He stayed the plague, apparently before the three days had elapsed.

18–25. By Gad's direction David builds an altar and offers sacrifices; the plague is stayed. If 16f. belongs to the original story, Yahweh was not placated by the sacrifices, but had already bidden the destroying angel stay his hand. David buys a threshing floor and oxen for fifty shekels of silver—Araunah's offer of them as a gift is only another piece of Oriental courtesy. The site of this altar is identified with that of the altar of burnt offering in Solomon's Temple. In 1 Ch. 21 David buys "the place" for six hundred shekels of gold.

I. AND II. KINGS

By Dr. F. J. FOAKES JACKSON

The Books of Kings, originally contained in a single book, cover the history of Israel from the death of David (*c.* 1000 B.C.) to the death of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, who was treated with favour by the kings of Babylon from his liberation by Evil Merodach (562 B.C.) till the end of his life. It cannot therefore be earlier than the middle of the Babylonian Captivity. The different periods are not treated uniformly, some being dealt with in detail, whilst others are hastily passed over. The divisions of the books are roughly: (*a*) 1 K. 1–11. The death of David and reign of Solomon, a considerable portion being devoted to the building and dedication of the Temple. (*b*) 1 K. 12–2 K. 17. The history of the two kingdoms, Israel and Judah, especial prominence being given to the northern one. The lives of the northern prophets Elijah and Elisha occupy a large proportion of this section. From 1 K. 16 to 2 K. 8 the chief theme is their actions and adventures, whilst 9f. relates the consummation of their work, the destruction of the Baal worship in Israel. (*c*) 2 K. 18–25. The history of Judah after the ruin of Israel, the virtuous reigns of Hezekiah (18–20), and Josiah (22f.) occupy the main portion.

The general object is to trace the fall of the two kingdoms to their refusal to maintain the worship of Yahweh in its purity. The standpoint of the writer is Deuteronomic, *i.e.* he considers that sacrifice should be offered to Yahweh at a single national sanctuary only, and that the high places to which the Israelites were accustomed to resort were homes of a cultus little better than that of false gods. Hence the sin of Israel, which brought both nations to ruin, was that of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who set up rival sanctuaries to Jerusalem, and employed a non-Levitical priesthood. The author does ample justice, however, to the great work of Elijah and Elisha in striving against the Baal worship, although neither seems to have insisted on the one sanctuary.

The tone as well as the structure of the work is distinctly Deuteronomic throughout; but ancient sources were avowedly consulted, three being mentioned, the Acts of Solomon, and the separate books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel and Judah. In the opening chapters the author continues the reign of David, which was not brought to its conclusion in the Books of Samuel; he evidently had access to much valuable information regarding the Temple, and the accounts of Hezekiah and of the last days of Jerusalem find parallels in the books of Is. and Jer. respectively.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Rawlinson (Sp.), **Skinner** (Cent.B), Barnes (CB), Box; (*b*) **Burney**, Stade and Schwally (SBOT Heb.); (*c*) * Keil, **Kittel** (HK), Benzinger (KHC); (*d*) Farrar (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* see bibliographies in articles on "The History of Israel," "The Holy Land," articles on "Kings," "Israel," "Temple," etc. in HDB, EBi, EB, ERE. The article on *The History of Israel* in this volume may be consulted throughout.

THE FIRST BOOK OF KINGS

I. 1–53. Last Days of David and Accession of Solomon.—This chapter with the following has many analogies with the court history of David (2 S. 11–20). The narrative bears every sign of an authentic account of actual events, told with complete impartiality, and without any attempt to comment favourably or otherwise on the events related. David is represented as a very aged man nursed by his youngest wife, Abishag the Shunammite (3). Her beauty is especially noticed as it may have caused the death of David's son, Adonijah. Shunem, her native place, was a slope overlooking the plain of Esdraelon near Jezreel, and she is the Shulammite in the Song of Songs (Ca. 6^{13}). The pivot around which all revolves is the succession. The chief claimant was Adonijah the son of Haggith (9), whose conduct as well as his appearance (6) recalls Absalom. Adonijah evidently considered himself the legitimate heir, and assumed a semi-royal state without rebuke from David. Like Absalom he made use of chariots, which are first mentioned as employed by the Hebrews in connexion with these two princes (5, 2 S. 15^{1}, but see 1 S. 15^{13} LXX). Adonijah was supported by David's older counsellors, Joab the son of Zeruiah, David's sister, and Abiathar, the sole representative of the house of Eli, who had escaped the massacre of the priests at Nob (1 S. 22^{20}ff). Adonijah and his supporters evidently intended to force the aged David to acknowledge his claim. A great feast was held outside Jerusalem by the stone Zoheleth which is beside En-rogel (the fuller's well), probably near the village of Siloam (9), to which Adonijah invited all the great men of Judah, but purposely excluded his brother Solomon, son of David's favourite wife Bathsheba, together with his supporters, Zadok, Nathan and Benaiah, the captain of David's bodyguard of *Gibborim* (2 S. 23^{8}ff.). The plot was defeated by the machinations of Nathan, the prophet, who had so fearlessly rebuked David (2 S. 12^{1}), and Bathsheba. Nathan persuades the queen to go to the king and ask whether it was not his intention that Solomon should be his successor. He promised to come in afterwards to "confirm her words." Observe the art with which the historian makes Bathsheba expand the instructions given her by Nathan (17–21), and the prophet's diplomatic question as to whether the king had really appointed Adonijah (24–27). The old king is aroused to vigorous action. He orders Zadok, Nathan and Benaiah to take Solomon at once, and make him ride on the royal mule (33) to Gihon (p. 31), probably, like the stone Zoheleth, outside Jerusalem (2 Ch. 32^{30}, 33^{14}), and in the valley of the Kidron. There Zadok the priest

took the oil from the Tent Sanctuary in Jerusalem (2 S. 617, 72, 1 K. 228), and anointed Solomon, proclaiming to the sound of the trumpet that he was king (39). This is the only example in Israel of a son being anointed king in his father's lifetime. The RV has Tent and not Tabernacle here (as in Ex. 3311, because this sanctuary could not have been the "Tabernacle" of the Priestly Code, which, however, preserves the tradition that the anointing oil was kept in the sanctuary (Ex. 3111, 3938). Though, according to 2 Ch. 13, the Tabernacle at this time was at Gibeon, the Tent in which the oil was kept together with the Ark (2 S. 72) must have been in Jerusalem. The only kings after Solomon who are said to have been anointed in Judah are Joash (2 K. 1112), and Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah (2 K. 2330). An anointed king was considered a sacrosanct person, the Messiah of Yahweh.

The scene now shifts to the banquet of Adonijah, which, since the revellers heard the trumpets, must have been near the place where Solomon was proclaimed. Jonathan the son of Abiathar (2 S. 1536, 177) announces the news (43–49). Thereupon Adonijah's guests disperse in terror, and the pretender claims the protection of the altar (Nu. 35*, Dt. 191–13*). Solomon, with a magnanimity rare in Eastern story, promises to spare his brother's life if he will prove himself a "worthy man." Adonijah does homage to the new king, and is allowed to retire to his house (50–53).

II. 1–46. Death of David; Solomon Established on his Throne.—The main source of this chapter is the same as that of 1, but interspersed are Deuteronomic additions (3f., 10–12, 27). The authenticity of David's advice to Solomon has been disputed, especially the reasons given for procuring Joab's execution. Judged by any standard it places his character in an unamiable light. Solomon was advised to find a pretext for putting Joab and Shimei to death, and perfidy is inculcated as wisdom (6 and 9). Without attempting to justify its morality, two reasons for it may be suggested. The king may have felt that his son could never have been secure on his throne so long as Joab was alive. No character is more clearly drawn in the Bible than Joab's. His fidelity to David was as undoubted as his ruthlessness in removing all who, like Abner (2 S. 322–27), or Amasa (2 S. 208ff.), stood between him and the king. The slaying of Absalom contrary to David's express command (2 S. 1814), and the suppression of Sheba's revolt (2 S. 20), prove that he was more alive to his master's interests than the king himself; and his treacherous character was notorious in Israel (2 S. 1811–13). If he were allowed by Solomon to intrigue with impunity for Adonijah the young king's reign would have been brief. But there may have been a deeper reason, that urged by David (5), which we may accept. Joab, in slaying Abner and Amasa, had brought blood-guiltiness upon the house of David. In this case David would be swayed by the same motive as prompted the slaying of Saul's seven sons to relieve his land from blood-guiltiness (2 S. 21).

The sons of Barzillai (7) were commended to Solomon's care (2 S. 1727ff., 1931ff.). Another enemy to be destroyed was Shimei (2 S. 165, 1918ff.). Here again was David's advice prompted by policy or superstition? Shimei belonged to Saul's family, and may well have had influence to exert against David's successor. But David may also have dreaded the effect of the curse Shimei had pronounced on his family (see 44f.).

In order to understand the request of Adonijah and the conduct of Solomon it must be borne in mind that the wives of the deceased king passed to his successor. When, therefore, Abner had relations with Rizpah, Saul's concubine, Ishbosheth instantly suspected him of treason (2 S. 37*). In the same way Ahithophel advised Absalom to take David's concubines publicly in order to convince the people that he laid claim to his father's throne (2 S. 1621). Adonijah asks Bathsheba to assist him in obtaining Abishag, and appeals to her pity and good nature. As the eldest son he had a right to the throne, but he has lost that. May not he have the beautiful Abishag? As queen-mother Bathsheba enjoys a far more honourable position than as wife of the king (*cf.* 19 with 115f.). Solomon recognised behind her request the existence of a widespread conspiracy. Benaiah was at once ordered to slay Adonijah (24). Abiathar the priest, as the companion of David, was treated with comparative leniency, Solomon allowed him to retire to his estate at Anathoth (p. 31), a village two and a half miles NE. of Jerusalem. It was a priestly town in the days of Jeremiah (Jer. 11, 327; see also Jos. 2118, 1 Ch. 660). Why Zadok was associated with Abiathar in the priesthood does not transpire. The writer's object is to show how the priesthood passed out of the line of Eli (27; see 1 S. 2 27–36). The view that Abiathar and the house of Eli were representatives of Ithamar, the younger son of Aaron, while Zadok was descended from Eleazar, cannot be substantiated (1 Ch. 653). Zadok is said to have been made priest (35) in the room of Abiathar, as if the latter, though it is otherwise implied elsewhere (2 S. 817, 2024), were the superior (35). Joab evidently was conscious of guilt, and escaped to the Tent sanctuary in Jerusalem (133*). The altar of Yahweh with the Hebrews, as with other nations, was a place of refuge (for "horns" see Ex. 272).

Solomon had respected it in the case of Adonijah (150): but Joab, having been guilty of wilful murder in the cases of Abner and Amasa, was actually slain at the altar itself, and not taken from it to his death (Ex. 2114). In 33 Solomon accepts the view suggested in 5 that the death of Joab was necessary to remove from David's house any trace of guilt in respect to the death of Abner and Amasa. The fate of Shimei is next related (36–46). He was warned that if he passed the Kidron he would die. Strangely, he did not violate the letter of the command in going to Gath. Nevertheless he was slain, and with his death the kingdom was said to have been "established in the hand of Solomon."

III. 1–IV. 34. Early Days, Reign, and Wisdom of Solomon.—The sources of this section are various, and the arrangement of the narrative in the LXX should be noticed. There are (*a*) a statistical account of Solomon's reign, referred to, apparently in 1141, as "the book of the acts of Solomon"; (*b*) a number of narratives about this reign; (*c*) several Deuteronomic additions—*e.g.* 36,14, etc.: and (*d*) some very late passages, possibly originally explanatory notes. The history of Solomon's reign really extends from 31 to 1143, and the sources throughout are practically the same, with a special one on the Temple. The LXX has a different arrangement and some long additions, which, however, are as a rule only repetitions from other parts of the section belonging to Solomon. Two of the longest are found after 235 and 246. The chapters also are somewhat differently arranged, and especially 4 and 5.

III. 1. The verse describing Solomon's alliance with Pharaoh's daughter is misplaced. In the LXX it is combined with 916, the taking of Gezer by Pharaoh,

and placed at the end of 4. According to the Tell el-Amarna tablets (p. 55) an Egyptian princess might not marry a foreigner. It is therefore supposed that Solomon's father-in-law was a king, not of Egypt (Mizraim), but of Musri, in N. Arabia. But the tablets are at least four centuries earlier than Solomon.

The high-place worship alluded to in 3 is acknowledged and deplored throughout the book, and it is confessed that it existed even under virtuous monarchs. The high places were the regular sanctuaries, and no attempt was made to abolish them till the time of Hezekiah (2 K. 184,22), or possibly as late as Josiah (2 K. 23). The verse appears to be an explanatory gloss, for we find it repeated (1 K. 1514, 2 K. 123, etc.). It is obviously not a contemporary judgment of Solomon's age. The high place used by Solomon was Gibeon. A tradition preserved in 2 Ch. 13 placed the Mosaic Tabernacle there. But this is not borne out by what we read in the OT. Gibeon was a Hivite city (Jos 93ff) which had made a treaty with Israel. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2) reads Hebron, with some plausibility, because Hebron was the ancient seat of the Davidic monarchy (2 S. 21–3), and was the early sanctuary of the tribe of Judah (2 S. 157). He also tells us that Solomon was fourteen years old at the time of his accession. Solomon made a great sacrifice of a thousand burnt offerings (4) at Gibeon; when he returned to Jerusalem he offered burnt offerings and peace offerings before the Ark (15). Some commentators see in 15 an addition made to correct the impression that Solomon neglected the lawful altar. But the two sacrifices are different. At Gibeon the victims were wholly consumed; at Jerusalem only a few "burnt offerings" were made, and the peace offerings formed a great sacrificial meal.

It is remarkable that God speaks to Solomon not by prophets, but in dreams (*cf.* 91f.). Solomon chose wisdom, and was promised riches and honour in addition, and 16–28 is given as an example of his "wisdom." To the Hebrews "wisdom" did not mean philosophy so much as shrewdness). The young king's astuteness in the case of the two women would be particularly admired, especially as the duty of a king was to be accessible as a judge (*cf.* the widow of Tekoa and her alleged case submitted to David, 2 S. 14ff.). The simple device by which the youthful Daniel procured the acquittal of Susanna is similar to the story of the judgment of Solomon (Sus. 44–62).

IV. The list of Solomon's officers begins with Azariah the son of Zadok, whereas in 4 we read "Zadok and Abiathar were priests." This shows that the work of compilation leaves something to be desired, and the duplicate list in the LXX (246) is rather different. In the case of Saul (1 S. 1450) only the captain of the host is mentioned with Saul's father and uncle. David (2 S. 815ff.) has a captain of the host, a recorder, two priests, a scribe, and a commander of the Cherethites and Pelethites; in 2 S. 2024 Adoram is said to have been "over the tribute." In Solomon's court (2) the priests stand first; next, two scribes, a recorder, a commander of the hosts, a chief of the governors, a superintendent of the household, a "king's friend," and a ruler of the "tribute" or forced labour. In the LXX list (246f.) a son of Joab is said to be commander of the host. The names of many of David's officers occur in Solomon's list. Both here and in 2 S. 818, 2026 the name "priest" (Heb. *cohen*) is applied to officers and princes (*e.g.* David's sons, who apparently did not exercise the priestly office, or at any rate could not have been even Levites). The "tribute" (6) over which Adoram presided—whether the same person or not is questionable—under David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, was the forced labour or levy (1 K. 915, 1218), so unpopular among the Israelites.

In dividing his kingdom Solomon seems to have ignored or been ignorant of the tribal divisions mentioned in Joshua. Only four tribe names—Naphtali, Asher, Issachar, and Benjamin—occur in 8–19. Many of the place names are entirely unknown, but the districts can generally be conjectured. They are twelve in number: (*a*) Mount Ephraim (p. 30, Jos. 1715, etc.; Jg. 29). (*b*) The name Beth-shemesh in 9 shows that the ancient territory of Dan and the Philistine border is intended (Josh. 1510, 1 S. 67–20). (*c*) The third district, Arubboth, is unknown; there are two Socohs, one on the Philistine border (1 S. 171), and the other south of Hebron (for Hepher see Jos. 1217). The country here is probably that around the S. of Hebron. (*d*) Dor is S. of Carmel. (*e*) consisted of towns in the plain of Esdraelon (p. 29). (*f*) and (*g*) were on the E. of Jordan. (*h*), (*i*) Naphtali and Asher. (*j*) Issachar. (*k*) Benjamin. (*l*) Gilead. Of the names of the rulers five are patronymics, and in all cases the father's name is mentioned. It is remarkable that the name of the ruler of Benjamin is Shimei.

In 21 Solomon is said to have ruled over all the petty princes from the Euphrates (for this is always called "the River" in the Bible) to the border of Egypt. This was the ideal territory of Israel (Dt. 1124), but probably Solomon's dominions were not so extensive, the verse being a comparatively late addition. The words translated "on this side the River" really mean "beyond the River" (*mg.*), and are used in this sense by dwellers to the E. of the Euphrates. In Persian, and perhaps in Assyrian and Babylonian days, the western provinces were called "beyond the River" (Ezr. 53, 66). If this verse is post-exilic, it would be the natural way of describing Solomon's empire.

In 26 we have an allusion to Solomon's horses; "forty thousand" should probably be (*cf. mg.*) "four thousand." The horse was not used in early Israel, and the employment of chariots made the plains of Palestine very difficult to conquer from the inhabitants (Jos. 1718, Jg. 119). The Philistines used chariots (2 S. 16). Even David destroyed most of the horses he captured from the Syrians (2 S. 84), though he reserved a few for his chariots. After Solomon, the kings of both Israel and Judah habitually used horses in war. In the AV (28) the word "dromedaries" occurs; the RV renders it "swift steeds." It is used in Est. 810, and Mi. 113. The dromedary must be dropped from the list of Bible animals. The *wisdom* of Solomon (29–34) is described as consisting in "largeness of heart" and superior to the wisdom of the East, of Egypt, and of four famous sages. His poems were twofold—*gnomic*, composed of proverbs or similitudes; and lyric, *i.e.* songs. The subjects were taken from the vegetable and animal kingdoms. In later days it was assumed that Solomon was possessed of magical powers and could control spirits, and that he understood the language of all birds and animals. His superhuman wisdom is commemorated by Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, and the legends concerning it are inexhaustible.

V. 1–18. Solomon's Alliance with Hiram. Preparation for the Temple.—This chapter has a few Deuteronomic additions (3–5 and 12). In 4 there is a truly Deuteronomic touch: the one sanctuary could not come into existence till God had given the people rest (2 S. 711; Dt. 129, 2519).

The alliance was of mutual importance to the Israelites and the Tyrians. The corn-growing districts of N. Palestine were the granary of the Phœnicians in the time of Solomon (9), as in the days of of the Herods (Ac. 12$_{20}$). David had made a treaty with Tyre (2 S. 5$_{11}$). Zidon was probably the older city, and Hiram's people are called, in 6, Zidonians. The Tyrian trade was very extensive, and had reached to the Atlantic, and even to our own islands, in search of the tin mines. Hiram helped Solomon in his trade with the East (see below). Owing to the reading of the LXX, "And Hiram king of Tyre sent his servants to anoint Solomon," it has been supposed that Israel was a subject nation. There is, however, no hint of this elsewhere in the Bible. Tyre is the subject of two great prophecies (Is. 23 and Ezek. 27). In Ezekiel there is a striking description of the trade and prosperity of the great city. From the prophets we see that Israel looked on Tyre as the home of a civilisation greatly superior to their own. The skill of the Phœnician workmen (6) is confirmed by the testimony of Homer, Herodotus, and Strabo. Hiram was apparently overlord of the Phœnician coast and Zidon.

Hiram's name is variously spelt as Hiram, Hirom, and Huram; Josephus calls him *Eiromos*. The name is Phœnician, and was probably Ahi-ram, "brother of the exalted one" (Stenning in HDB). Josephus declares (*Ant.* viii.) that copies of the letters between Hiram and Solomon were preserved in the Tyrian archives. He also (*Apion*, i. 17$_{18}$) quotes the historians Dius and Menander of Ephesus, who say that Hiram was son of king Abibalus (Abi-baal) and therefore plainly an historical personage. Hiram provided timber for Solomon, which was brought on rafts to Joppa (2 Ch. 2$_{16}$), and in return Solomon supplied him with wheat and beaten oil—*i.e.* oil of the finest kind (11).

13–18 relates to Solomon's "levy" of forced service under Adoniram (or Adoram; see 46). The great stones were hewed by the servants of Hiram and the Gebalites. The LXX (B) omits the verse, and reads for Gebalites *Biblioi* (Ezek. 27$_9$); the AV has "stonesquarers." Gebal is a city on the sea at the foot of Lebanon. The modern name is Jubeil. The reading of 18 is very doubtful.

VI. 1–37. Description of Solomon's Temple.—The Temple area is on the eastern hill of Jerusalem, which overlooks the valley of the Kidron, with the Mount of Olives on the opposite side. It was probably not the Zion captured by David (2 S. 5), but the site was purchased by him from Ornan, or Araunah, the Jebusite (2 S. 24$_{18–25}$). It is marked by an outcrop of rock, now called the *Sakrah*. The Temple hill is divided from the Upper City on the western hill by a valley called the Tyropœan (cheese-makers). The Temple was part of a great scheme of building which has been restored by Stade, whose reconstruction is now generally adopted in descriptions of early Jerusalem. To understand aright the difficult account of Solomon's buildings in these chapters, Ezekiel's restored Temple (Ezek. 40–48) and Josephus' sketch of Herod's Temple (*Wars*, v. 5), should be consulted.

The foundations of the Temple were laid in the four hundred and eightieth year after the Exodus, and in the fourth year of Solomon (1). This is the earliest date given in the Bible. But the reading is doubtful. (*a*) The arrangement of chs. 5 and 6 is very different in the LXX. (*b*) Origen did not know the date. (*c*) Josephus says that the Temple was built 592 years after the Exodus, 1020 after Abraham left Mesopotamia, 1440 after the Flood, and 3102 after the Creation (*Ant.* viii. 3$_1$). The number 480 can be best explained by the Hebrew reckoning of a generation to be 40 years. By this reckoning, approximate at best, a similar period might be said to intervene between Solomon and the Captivity (430 years to the time of the last king, Zedekiah, and 50 years for the Captivity, the 70 being reckoned from the fall of Jehoiachin).

The Temple was sixty cubits long and twenty broad. It was approached by a porch, and around it were rooms or side chambers in three stories. The dimensions are twice those of the Tabernacle (Ex. 26$_{7–13}$). Small as they were even then, it must be borne in mind that an ancient temple was intended not as a place in which a congregation might assemble, but as a shrine or abode of the Deity. The Greeks drew a distinction between the whole building and grounds of a temple (*hieron*) and the sanctuary (*naos*). The "house" described in this chapter is the latter, though it consisted (16f.) of two parts, the *hekal* or temple, and the *debir*, translated "oracle," which was the *naos*, strictly speaking. The former corresponded to the "holy place" in the Tabernacle, the latter to the "holy of holies" (16, a P addition). The "oracle" was a perfect cube, being twenty cubits in length, breadth, and height respectively (20), the "holy place" being a double cube forty cubits in length. The table for the shewbread was of cedar (7$_{48}$). The huge winged cherubim were placed in the inner sanctuary. The Temple was seven years building, and was finished in the eighth month, Bul (Oct.–Nov.).

VII. Solomon's Palace (1–12). The Temple Implements (13–51).—Twenty years (*cf.* 9$_{10}$ with 1) was Solomon engaged in building. After completing the Temple he built his own palace, with its courts and approaches. These, according to Stade, were erected on the Ophel hill, which lay S. of the Temple mountain, and were constructed so as to lead up to the sanctuary itself. The whole chapter, like most of the 6th, is from a source descriptive of the Temple.

First came what was called, probably from its rows of cedar pillars, "the house of the forest of Lebanon" (2). Part of this was used as an armoury (10$_{17}$). It was by far the largest of all the buildings. Passing onward, one came to "the porch of pillars" (6), the same word being employed for the porch before the Temple (6$_3$). Next was the hall of judgment or throne-room (7), again called "a porch." Beyond this was Solomon's palace and the harem, in which must have been the "house for Pharaoh's daughter" (8). The whole, including the Temple, was surrounded by an outer wall, forming the "great court" (12). The last clause of 12 is very obscure. The LXX reading has been amended into "round about the inner court of the house of Yahweh and the court of the porch of the palace" (Burney, p. 83).

The account of Solomon's buildings is supplemented by a description of the implements fashioned by another Hiram, a worker in metals, who set up his foundry in the Jordan valley between Succoth and Zarethan (46). The chief works of this Hiram were: (*a*) the great twin pillars, Jachin and Boaz (15–22); (*b*) the molten "sea," supported by twelve oxen (23–26); (*c*) the ten brasen bases (27–45). The remainder of 7 (48–51) is occupied by an account of the lesser vessels of the Temple.

Hiram (13) in 2 Ch. 2$_{13}$ff. is introduced in a letter written by the king of Tyre to Solomon. He is there called Huram-abi (RV Huram my father's). In Kings he is said to be the son of a widow of Naphtali, but the Chronicler changes this to Dan, the tribe of

Aholiab, who assisted in the Tabernacle (Ex. 31$_6$). It is not certain whether the pillars were set up to support the porch (21). Probably they were not, but were intended to represent the sacred stones or obelisks set up in nearly every Semitic sanctuary. The Hebrew word, however, is not the same as that usually employed (*maççebah*). Some scholars consider they were used as altars. The molten sea (23) was perhaps the same as the "laver of brass" (Ex. 30$_{18}$) in connexion with the Tabernacle for the priests' ablutions. According to 1 Ch. 18$_8$ (*cf.* the parallel passage 2 S. 8$_8$), the brass was taken by David from two cities of Hadadezer, king of Syria. The measurements in 23 cannot be quite accurate, as the circumference is not three times the diameter. Burney accounts for this rough calculation by supposing that by ten cubits and thirty cubits is meant "ten by the cubit, etc."—so Heb. literally—and that the great basin was first measured across and then a line was drawn round and measured on the ground by a measuring rod, and that the result was given approximately. It has been suggested that this "molten sea" had not a practical purpose, as is indicated in Exodus and also 2 Ch. 4$_6$, but was intended to represent the world-wide ocean, the *tehom* of Gen. 1$_2$. The lavers (27ff.) and bases were probably large bowls placed on wheeled carriages and used to convey water for purposes of ablution, so necessary in a sacrificial worship. Burney gives miniature specimens of such apparatus discovered at Larnaka in Cyprus.

VIII. 1–66. Solomon's Dedication of the Temple, Prayer and Address.—This chapter is mainly Deuteronomic, being clearly written from the standpoint of one who has seen the Temple as the one national sanctuary of Israel, and has either witnessed its downfall or perceived that it was imminent. 1–11 is, however, probably from the early record of how the house of Yahweh was dedicated by Solomon, of which 62–66 is the continuation, the prayer of Solomon being Deuteronomic. In 12f. we may have preserved an authentic poetic utterance of Solomon himself in the words of the dedication of the Temple. As they are given in the LXX they read as follows:

"Yahweh set the sun in heaven,
He said he (himself) would dwell in thick darkness;
Build thou my house, a house suitable for thyself
To dwell (for ever).
Behold, is it not written in the book of the song?"

It has been suggested that the "book of the song" should be the "book of Jashar" (p. 45, Jos. 10$_{13}$, 2 S. 1$_{18}$).

The Ark was brought to the Temple (1–11). The LXX has some very striking omissions in 1–5, most of which is from a Priestly source. It is interesting to observe the differences between our account and that in 2 Ch. 5$_2$–14, which is obviously copied from it. In the latter the Levites, who are not mentioned in Kings, are introduced as bearers of the Ark. The Ark was brought from "the city of David, which is Zion." Here Zion is clearly distinguished from the Temple mountain, though not unfrequently in the OT the Temple is described as Zion. In the days of Josephus Zion was on the western or northern hill (Conder, *City of Jerusalem*, p. 39). It is, however, now generally assumed that by Zion at this time is meant the lower part of the eastern hill on which the Temple stood. Hence the phrase "to bring up." The Zion of Josephus was higher than the Temple hill.

The orations of Solomon consist (Skinner, Cent.B) of three parts: (1) Solomon's address to the people, 15–21; (2) dedicatory prayer, 22–53; (3) the benediction, 54–61. Because these speeches are, after the fashion of ancient writings, put into the mouth of Solomon, though composed at a later date, their value is considerable as showing the idea of the Jews concerning past history. The Temple, for example, was the one sanctuary which Yahweh had promised (Dt. 12$_{11}$) to provide for Israel when He had given them rest from their enemies (16). The prayer (22ff.) consists first of a petition that God will fulfil his promise to David (22–26). But though God cannot be contained by any house, Solomon prays that He may hearken when prayers are addressed to this Temple (27–30). Next he gives instances of how he prays that God will hear: in case of disputes (31f.), in defeat (33f.), when rain is needed (35f.), in time of plague or famine (37ff.), in case of strangers (41f.), in time of battle and captivity (44ff.). The chapter concludes with the blessing of the people by Solomon, and an account of the sacrifices offered.

IX. 1–10. The first few verses are a continuation of 8, and are likewise cast in a thoroughly Deuteronomic mould. Yahweh again appeared to the king and assured him of His protection. In 6 there is a sudden change from the singular "thou" and "thee" to the plural "ye," as if Yahweh were addressing Israel, threatening, in case of disobedience, to destroy the Temple and make its ruins a warning of the punishment He inflicts on those who do not obey His laws. Thus the section about the Temple closes, and the rest of the chapter, devoted to the reign of Solomon, takes up the account in 5, and deals with his public work, his splendour, his sin, and the adversaries whom Yahweh raised up against him.

IX. 10–27. Solomon's Dealings with Hiram. The Levy.—The source of this section seems to be the Acts of Solomon (see above).

After Solomon had completed his buildings he was obliged to give Hiram cities in Galilee (11). The Chronicler, regarding this as unworthy of the great king, makes Hiram give the cities to Solomon (2 Ch. 8$_2$). Galilee (pp. 28–30) is mentioned in Jos. 20$_7$, 21$_{32}$, 1 Ch. 6$_{76}$, and in 2 K. 15$_{29}$, nearly always in connexion with Kedesh in Naphtali in the extreme north. In Is. 9$_1$ we have the expression "Galilee of the nations" (*cf.* Jos. 12$_{23}$, LXX). The word Galilee is common in 1 Mac., Tob., and Judith. Josephus has a long description of Upper and Lower Galilee. The name means "a circuit," and is connected with Gilgal, Golgotha, etc. Hiram called the cities "the land of Cabul" (p. 29). Josephus (*Ant.* viii.) tells us that there is a similar Phœnician word meaning "not pleasing." A place named Cabul is mentioned (Jos. 19$_{27}$) on the frontier of Asher, and there seems no ground for the assertion of Josephus. For "the levy" (15) see 4$_6$. The Egyptian taskmasters (Ex. 1$_{11}$) are "princes of the levy" (*cf.* Est. 10$_1$). This organised forced labour was much resented by the free Israelites, and was one of the causes of the disruption of the two kingdoms. Solomon's public works were the Temple, the palace, the Millo, the wall of Jerusalem, and the cities Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer.

The Millo, always with the article, is generally supposed to be some mound or filling up of a ravine in Jerusalem (see 2 S. 5$_9$*, 1 K. 11$_{27}$). Hazor in the N. commanded Lake Huleh and Kadesh in Naphtali. Megiddo dominated the rich plain of Esdraelon and the trade route to Damascus. Gezer (16) is on the road from Joppa to Jerusalem, now Tel Jezer. It has recently been excavated by the Palestine Exploration Society. There are several cities buried, one beneath

the ruins of the other. The city is mentioned in the Tell el-Amarna tablets. It was a most important military position in the days of the Maccabees. It was before Solomon an old Canaanite city, apparently independent of both Philistines and Israelites, and had been taken by the Pharaoh in an expedition into Palestine only recorded here, and given to Solomon as a dowry with his daughter. Beth-horon, which was also fortified, commands the road from the sea to Jerusalem. It was the scene of three famous battles—the defeat of the five kings by Joshua (Jos. 10 1of.), of Seron by Judas Maccabæus (p. 607), and of Cestius Gallus (p. 610) at the outbreak of the Jewish war (A.D. 66). Tamar (18) is called (2 Ch. 84) Tadmor, which Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 61) says is Palmyra, the famous city in the desert, N.E. of Damascus. But it is more probable that Tamar in Judah is meant (Ezek. 47 19). It is expressly said here that Solomon did not put the Israelites to forced service, but only the subject Canaanites. This is contradicted by 513, and more forcibly by 11 28, "the levy of the house of Joseph." Israel, however, may still have been at this time an aristocracy ruling over a subject population (522).

Solomon does not seem (26) to have himself traded in the Mediterranean, but to have given his Phœnician allies access to the East by way of the Gulf of Akabah, the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. Ezion-geber, which is beside Elath, was the port, and was in the land of Edom, which was disaffected in the reign of Solomon (11 14). The port was of such importance to the kings of Judah as its one outlet to the sea that they kept the road to it open as long as possible (1 K. 22 48, 2 K. 8 20, 14 22, 16 6). The situation of Ophir, whether in S. Arabia on the coast of Africa or in India, is a matter of conjecture (Is. 13 12*). The account of the sea trade of Solomon is continued in 10.

X. Visit of the Queen of Sheba.—By Sheba or Saba a district in S. Arabia is meant. The Sabæans were known to the Israelites as exporters of gold (Is. 60 6, Ps. 72 15); Ezekiel (27 23) says that they dealt extensively with Tyre. In Job (1 15, 6 19), they are represented as marauders. The civilisation of Arabia was considerable, and much light has been thrown on it by scholars like Hommel and Glaser. Our Lord calls the queen of Sheba the "queen of the south" (Mt. 12 42); for an Eastern queen reigning independently, *cf.* Candace, queen of the Ethiopians (Ac. 8 27). The rest of the chapter is occupied by an account of Solomon's wealth and magnificence and his trade. "The ships of Tarshish" (22) were Phœnician trading vessels suitable for a visit to that place, which was either Tarsus in Asia Minor or Tartessus in Spain (Is. 2 16*). Ships used in the Red Sea naturally did not go there, nevertheless they are so called; see 1 K. 22 48, where Jehoshaphat "made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold."

XI. 1–43. Sin of Solomon, and the Adversaries Raised up in Consequence.—From various differences in the arrangement of the earlier verses in the LXX and Heb., it has been supposed that in its original form the narrative merely recorded the fact that Solomon had a number of wives, and that he built sanctuaries and offered sacrifice to their gods. In its present form the influence of a Deuteronomic editor is unmistakable. But the account of Solomon's "adversaries" (14ff.) must be derived from an earlier source; and even as it stands does not necessarily mean that they were raised up in punishment of his sin. Hadad, the Edomite (14–22) must have troubled him early in his reign (21f.), and Rezon was an adversary of Israel "all the days of Solomon" (25), whereas Solomon's apostasy is expressly assigned to the end of his reign (4) "when Solomon was old." His adversaries belonged to the three nations which were destined to cause trouble to his successors on the throne of David, Edom represented by Hadad, Syria by Rezon, and Israel by Jeroboam.

In the LXX of 8 it is implied that not only did the king's wives sacrifice to their gods, but Solomon himself. The verse (3) giving the number of his wives appears in different places in the Heb. and LXX, and is perhaps a late insertion. The number is incredible. A large harem was not allowed in the Law to a king of Israel (Dt. 17 17). In fact, polygamy was the exception and not the rule. The prohibitions to intermarry with the surrounding nations are Dt. 7 1–4, Ex. 34 11–16 (P). In these, however, only the Hittites occur in the list of the nationalities of Solomon's wives (1), unless we include Zidonians as Canaanites. Ezra and Nehemiah discouraged marriages with Moabites and Ammonites (Ezr. 9 1, Neh. 13 23).

The deities to whom Solomon erected sanctuaries (5–7) were: (*a*) Ashtoreth, the goddess of the Zidonians (2 K. 23 13). She was extensively worshipped, but especially in Phœnicia. Her name was probably "Ashtart," and the Heb. word is probably this pointed with the vowels of "bosheth," *i.e.* "shame" (16 32*, 1 S. 14 49*, Jg. 2 11*). She is the Ishtar of Babylonia, and probably the Aphrodite of Greece. Lucian mentions a temple to her at Zidon (*De Dea Syra*, E. 4): see Driver, EBi. 167. (*b*) Milcom (5) is the same as Molech (7) or Moloch: they are all varieties of the word *melek*, king (Lev. 18 21*, Jer. 7 31*). Except here the name has the article in Heb. "the Moloch" (or king). This worship was terribly common at Jerusalem, with its accompanying sacrifices of children. The god of Tyre was called Melkarth, and was identified by the Greeks with Hercules. (*c*) Chemosh, the national god of Moab (Jg. 11 24), is mentioned frequently on the Moabite Stone. The scene of these idolatrous rites is described as "the hill that is before Jerusalem" (7). This is probably the Mt. of Olives, perhaps once known as the mount of anointing—the words *anointing* and *corruption* being similar in Hebrew. In 2 K. 23 13 we have the Mt. of Corruption. The hill S. of Jerusalem is now known by this name.

The narrative (14–22) concerning Hadad (Heb. Adad, 17) is somewhat confused. The difficulty is that in 17 Hadad is represented as a child when he went to Egypt, and in 19 as old enough to secure the Pharaoh's favour. Two narratives may have been combined, one of an Edomite chief Hadad, and another of a child named Adad. As the subsequent history shows, Hadad, though able to annoy Solomon, did not emancipate his country. Why he was so well received in Egypt is not known. Is it possible that here Egypt (*Mizraim*) is *Musri* in N. Arabia?

Rezon (23), the founder of the kingdom of Damascus, was a vassal of Hadad-ezer, the king of Zobah in Syria, who after his master's defeat (2 S. 83ff.), established himself as an independent prince. In 1 K. 15 18, the king of Syria, Benhadad, is called the son of Tabrimmon, the son of Hezion. The Vatican MS. of the LXX calls Rezon (*Esrom?*) Hezron or Hezion.

The story of Jeroboam's rise to a position of influence is difficult for two reasons. (*a*) The whole account of him in 1 K. is coloured by the prejudices of a much later age, and in view of all the evil which followed from the partition of the two kingdoms. (*b*) The LXX gives an independent account of his early progress at the court of Solomon. Two narratives have been combined—an Israelite one which does not regard his

rebellion as a crime, and an antagonistic Judæan story told from a Deuteronomic standpoint. The LXX has the following particulars not in the Heb. Jeroboam was an Ephraimite. His mother's name was Sareisa. He built a city, and called it after his mother, and was banished to Egypt, where he was favourably received by Shishak. He married Anoth, the sister of Shishak's wife; and like Hadad, to whom he in this story bears a marked resemblance, insisted on going back to his native land.

29. Ahijah was a native of Shiloh, where Eli's sanctuary had been.—**31.** This is the first recorded symbolical act by a prophet, so common later. Ahijah rent his garment into *twelve* pieces, giving *ten* to Jeroboam. But it is repeatedly said (32, 12 20) that *only* one tribe remained to Rehoboam. Benjamin was sometimes reckoned with Judah, but Bethel, the rival sanctuary, was in its territory.—**37.** Jeroboam is to be king over Israel. Since David, Judah had been reckoned apart (2 S. 24, 1 9 4 1ff., 20 2).—**41f.** The duration of Solomon's reign is given at the end, and not, as is usual, at the beginning of the account. Forty years is probably an approximate figure, being the same as the reign of David. It is not, however, necessarily so, as the forty years of David are made up of two periods, seven as king of Judah, and thirty-three as ruler over all Israel. Solomon was a mere youth at his succession, so that even forty years would not have brought him to old age at the time of his death.

XII. 1–24. The Revolt of the Northern Tribes.—It is doubtful whether this section is Judæan or not. It bears some resemblance to 2 S. 9–20, and the parts of 1 K. which seem to be a continuation of that history. On the other hand it is not favourable to the house of David. The writer assumes, that Israel has a right to elect a king, and that Solomon could not, like David, have nominated his successor. This passage may be an extract from a northern source, perhaps the chronicles of the kings of Israel. Difficulty is occasioned by the LXX additions, and has to be discussed in connexion with 12 and 14. Evidently Jeroboam's rebellion against Solomon was more serious than is implied in 11, and the prestige of his throne had suffered considerably.

Shechem.—At the end of Solomon's reign the prestige of the older scenes in Israel's history seems to have revived. Jerusalem is no longer the important centre, and Ahijah, the prophet of the ancient sanctuary of Shiloh, is the religious leader. Shechem (p. 30) was connected with the names of Abraham (Gen. 12 6), Jacob (Gen. 32 18), Joshua (Jos. 24 1), Gideon, whose son Abimelech was the first Israelite to assume the title of king (Jg. 9 6). It was the site of Abraham's first altar, and of the joint worship of Baal-berith (Lord of the Covenant) by the Israelites and Canaanites (Jg. 8 33). Joseph was buried here (Jos. 24 32), and it was one of the cities of refuge. It continued to be regarded as a holy place for many years, and on the neighbouring Mount Gerizim the Samaritans built their temple. Its political importance declined after the building of Samaria; but in the later days of the monarchy the Deuteronomist recognises it as the scene of the solemn recitation of the blessings and curses of the Law (Dt. 27 12, Jos. 8 33). According to 14 21, Rehoboam ascended the throne at the mature age of forty. The Vatican MS. of the LXX in 14 24*a* says he was only sixteen. This is more probable. The old men advise the king to use crafty moderation (6). A few concessions and gracious words would win a people, and make a monarch able to do what he chose. The young men believed that a haughty and threatening demeanour would best become the heir of the great Solomon. They did not understand the intensity of the hatred felt by the Israelite people for forced labour. The war cry of Israel, "What portion have we, etc.," was uttered when Sheba the son of Bichri raised a revolt against David (2 S. 20 1). The revolt of the ten tribes was remembered two centuries later as the worst misfortune which had ever fallen upon the house of David (Is. 7 17). In the additional account of Jeroboam in the LXX (12 24) it is Shemaiah (12 22) "the Enlamite," and not Ahijah who gives the pieces of the garment to Jeroboam.

XII. 25–XIII. 34. The Sin of Jeroboam. The Prophet at Bethel.—The sources cannot be exactly determined. Some (see Cent.B) may belong to the annals of the northern kingdom, but the tone is decidedly Deuteronomic. The prophet's message to Jeroboam is certainly late.

Jeroboam's first act as recorded was to build or fortify Shechem (25). Then for some reason he transferred his seat of government to the E. of Jordan to Penuel. Possibly he was hard pressed by his former patron Shishak, who invaded Israel in his reign (1 K. 14 25–28). There is no proof of this; but Abner after Saul's death set up Ishbosheth as king of Israel in the same district at Mahanaim (2 S. 2 8f.). Jeroboam may have established himself at Penuel in anticipation of a Syrian invasion. **26f.** tells of his apostasy. Fearing lest the Israelities would return to the house of David if they continued to visit Jerusalem, he built two sanctuaries, at Bethel in the S. and Dan in the N.

As Kings attributes Israel's spiritual ruin to his sin we must state what is here said to have been its features. (*a*) Dissuading the people from going up to Jerusalem; (*b*) setting up Bethel and Dan as sanctuaries; (*c*) making "houses of high places"; (*d*) ordaining priests who were not Levites; (*e*) keeping a feast in the eighth instead of the seventh month. The question is whether any of those offences could have been considered acts of apostasy in the days of Jeroboam, as they were undoubtedly in the reign of Josiah three centuries later. (*f*) The "calf" worship.

(*a*) Jerusalem was certainly not considered to be the one legal sanctuary. In the days of the Judges it was regarded as a heathen town to be avoided by Israelites (Jg. 19 11f.). Even the prophets shortly before the fall of Samaria never reproach the people for the sin of schism in deserting Yahweh's Judæan Temple. (*b*) Bethel, connected with Jacob, was an ancient and honoured holy place (Gen. 28 19, 1 S. 10 3), and Dan was served by a priesthood which was descended perhaps from a descendant of Moses himself (Jg. 18 30). (*c*) The high places or local sanctuaries had existed from the days of the patriarchs, and were part of the worship of ancient Israel (33*). Gideon, Samuel, Elijah, made use of them for solemn sacrifices. (*d*) The Levitical priesthood was preferred to any other (Jg. 17 9–13); but in early Israel the priestly office was certainly not confined to a tribe. In 2 Ch. 11 13, the Levites are said to have deserted Jeroboam's kingdom and settled in Judah, but this is a very late view of the affair. (*e*) The feast in the eighth month is said to be the vintage festival or Feast of Tabernacles. In Neh. 8 17, it is said to have been kept in accordance with the Law, but that it had never been kept since the days of Joshua. (*f*) The only point remaining for discussion is the "calves." The following points must be borne in mind: (i.) the second commandment was not at this time strictly interpreted, or cherubim, lions, and bulls would not have been allowed in Solomon's Temple and palace; (ii.) the bull—for "calf"

is not used in a contemptuous sense—was the special symbol of the Joseph tribes (Dt. 3317), and even of Yahweh (Ex. 325); (iii.) calf-worship had existed even in the wilderness, and in Ex. 32, when Aaron made the golden calf, he proclaimed a feast to Yahweh. Indeed the whole story in Exodus has a remarkable affinity to that here related. (iv.) As Jeroboam was not an innovator in setting up altars at Bethel and Dan, he may here not have introduced a new worship, but one which was already common in Israel. He may have imitated an Egyptian form of worship; but this is highly improbable. The ceremony of kissing the calves is alluded to just before the fall of Samaria (Hos. 132). Calf-worship apparently never infected Judah.

The story of the prophet's visit to Jeroboam has been called "one of the strangest in the OT" (Cent.B). The prophet, who is not named, predicts the destruction of the altar of Bethel by a king of Judah named Josiah. The definiteness of this prediction would not necessarily render it impossible, any more than the mention of Cyrus, nearly two centuries before his birth, attributed to Isaiah (Is. 4426). But the whole tone of this story, as of that of Is. 40ff., forbids us to accept it as contemporary. To take but one instance, the allusion to the "cities of Samaria" (32) is a patent anachronism (1624). That the tradition of a prophet's visit to Jeroboam was current may be witnessed to by 2 K. 2316. The prophet or "man of God," as he is consistently called (except in 23, where the reference to the prophet is an obvious interpolation), in contrast with the old prophet, does not denounce Jeroboam but curses the altar. Apparently the punishment of the man of God, who was very excusably deceived, is intended to emphasize the extreme wickedness of rebellion against God. The story throughout is intentionally miraculous; the withering of the king's hand, the death of the prophet by a lion who refused to touch the corpse or to injure the ass, cannot be explained by any attempt to rationalise the story.

33. consecrated: lit. "filled the hand" (Lev. 8*, Nu. 33*, 1 Ch. 295*) of each new priest. This term (found also in Assyrian) is used of regular consecration, *e.g.* Aaron's (Ex. 2841), and irregular, *e.g.* Micah's Levite (Jg. 175). It probably means to put him in possession of the office.

XIV. 1–20. Visit of Jeroboam's Wife to Ahijah.—Here we have an ancient story with Deuteronomic additions. According to the LXX (1224 *g–m*), Jeroboam sent his wife (Ano) to the prophet *before* he became king. Ahijah foretells the child's death, and the ruin of Jeroboam's house, but gives no reason for either calamity. He is introduced as a new person, and he is not blind. Ano is not yet queen, so she has no need to disguise herself. As 7–11 in the Heb. is obviously Deuteronomic, probably the early story merely related that Ahijah foretold the death of Ahijah. Notice that even in the Deuteronomic amplification Jeroboam's sin is not that of neglecting Jerusalem, but making "other gods and molten images" (9).

XIV. 21–31. Reign of Rehoboam.—The formula in 21 is regularly employed in Kings. The LXX make his age sixteen, and gives him twelve years. The name of the king's mother is given, since she, and not the wife, was the chief lady of the court. The title she bore was not *queen*, but *lady* (*gebhirah*, 1513). Being an Ammonitess, Naamah would naturally have encouraged her son in idolatry. But in 23, whereas it is usual in Kings to give the verdict on the king "he did good," "he did evil," in this case Judah is blamed; the LXX, however, says "Rehoboam did evil," etc. The sins of Judah are enumerated as building high places, setting up pillars (*maççeboth*), and Asherim (A.V. "groves") on every high hill, and under every green tree, and doing according to the abominations of the nations (23f.). Even in Judah down to the days of Hezekiah there were many sanctuaries (for "high places" see on 31, and for "groves," etc. on 1513ff.). The chief event of the reign was the invasion of Shishak *or Sheshonq*, a king of the 22nd Egyptian dynasty (pp. 58, 71). This invasion is mentioned in the lists in the temple of Amun in Karnak, and Ephraimite as well as Judæan cities are enumerated. Here apparently it is introduced only to explain how the shields of gold disappeared from the Temple. In 2 Ch. 12 Rehoboam is said to have repented of his sin at the exhortation of the prophet Shemaiah after Shishak's invasion.

XV. 1–32. Abijam and Asa of Judah, and Nadab and Baasha of Israel.—Abijam, called Abijah (2 Ch. 131), had a short and evil reign. It would appear, notwithstanding 8, that he was succeeded by his brother Asa, as both are said to have had the same mother, Maacah, the daughter of Abishalom. Josephus says the granddaughter of Absalom; see 2 Ch. 1120). Except that Asa could not remove the high places he is said to have done right during his long reign of forty-one years. Asa deposed Maacah from the position of queen-mother for her idolatry. She had made (13) an abominable image (Heb. a horror of an image) for an Asherah. The AV renders "an idol in a grove." The Heb. word Asherah (p. 100) is translated in the LXX by the word *Halsos*, a grove. It was a sacred pole set up by an altar (Dt. 1621), probably to represent a tree. Two roots are suggested for this word: (*a*) one meaning *happy*, (*b*) *upright*. (*a*) would mean "the happy woman," *i.e.* Ashtoreth, (*b*) upright. In the latter case it may have been an unseemly emblem almost universal in idolatrous worship. Asa also purified the Temple by putting away the dedicated men who under the name of religion encouraged vice. The high places continued till the end of the seventh century B.C.

Three kinds of false worship are mentioned in Kings: (*a*) The schismatical worship of N. Israel, which was, however, condemned only after the days of the Deuteronomic revival in the time of Josiah. (*b*) The high places, Asherim (groves), pillars (*maççeboth*), and sacrifices under trees. These were used, with the exception, perhaps, of the "groves," in patriarchal times, but by the prophetic era (eighth century) they had come to be regarded as idolatrous by the more religious spirits in the nation. In both these cases Yahweh was professedly worshipped. (*c*) Apostasy, forsaking Yahweh for the gods of other nations, *e.g.* the Baal of Tyre.

16–21. The Syrians of Damascus now made their appearance as the chief enemies of Israel (pp. 68f.). Owing to the pressure exercised on Asa by his rival Baasha in Israel, the king of Judah called in the aid of Ben-hadad, son of Tabrimmon, son of Hezion (1123*). Ben-hadad ravaged northern Israel down to the Sea of Galilee or Chinneroth (20). Asa is said by the Chronicler to have been delivered from Zerah the Ethiopian (2 Ch. 149–15), and to have been rebuked by the seer Hanani for his unpatriotic action in calling in the help of Ben-hadad (2 Ch. 167).

25–32. Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, was killed by Baasha in accordance with Ahijah's prophecy. The complete extirpation of the king's family happened at every change of dynasty in Israel. The males of

the houses of Jeroboam, Baasha, Ahab, were all of them put to the sword.

XV. 33–XVI. 34. Baasha's Dynasty. Rise of the House of Omri.—Nothing is told us of Baasha except the usual annalistic details, and, that a prophet named Jehu foretold the destruction of his whole house. His son Elah was at war with the Philistines (15), but remained at Tirzah (p. 30), which at this time was the chief residence of the kings of Israel. Zimri slew him and reigned but seven days, and was then attacked by the army under Omri, and burned himself in his house. For four years, (*cf.* 15 with 23), there was civil war between Omri and Tibni. Finally (22) Omri prevailed. Omri is described as more wicked than any of his predecessors. The only thing recorded of him is that he built a city on a hill bought from a man named Shemer (24), and called it after his name *Shomeron*, more familiar to us as Samaria (p. 30), the Greek form, which is more akin to the Assyrian word found on the monuments, Sa-ma-ri-na. Omri was so important that on the Assyrian monuments Jehu, who destroyed his dynasty, is called "son of Omri," and in the eighth century the district of Samaria is the "Land of Humri" (Omri).

Ahab, according to the Heb., began to reign in the thirty-eighth year of Asa (29); but the LXX has "the second year of Jehoshaphat." The Greek version makes the reign of Omri begin with the fall of Tibni (23), and not with the death of Zimri four years earlier (15). Ahab is singled out for especial condemnation. His personal religion was that of his people. That is, "he walked in the sins of Jeroboam" (31). Strangely enough, after him names compounded with Yahweh first became common both in Israel and Judah. His sons were Jehoram and Ahaziah, his daughter (or sister, 2 K. 826), Athaliah, his trusted servant Obadiah. He may be said to have followed Solomon's policy in making a close alliance with the Zidonians. The god of his wife, Jezebel is called Baal (32). The word *baal* (p. 87) is ambiguous: it means (*a*) an owner, *e.g.* of an ox (Ex. 2128), or in the case of a woman she is *baalath* of familiar spirits (1 S. 287); (*b*) a local god—so in Judges we have the plural Baalim; (*c*) applied to Yahweh, who is called the *baal* of Israel (Hos. 216); (*d*) as here a proper name, the Baal of Tyre, *i.e.* Melkarth. In the LXX the fem. article is generally prefixed to Baal since the Hebrews sometimes called him Shame (*bosheth*, a fem. noun, Nu. 3238*, 1 S. 1447–51*). In this narrative the masc. article is used. Jezebel was the daughter of Ethbaal (31). Josephus (*Apion*, i. 18) enumerates the kings of Tyre; the last are Ithobalus (Ethbaal) a priest of Astarte, Bedezor his son, Matgen and Pygmalion, the brother of Dido. Jezebel was thus an aunt of Dido. But as she lived in the ninth century B.C. she can hardly be fitted in with the scheme of chronology which makes Dido live at the time of the fall of Troy.

34. The rebuilding of Jericho by Hiel the Bethelite. Joshua pronounced a curse on the man who should rebuild Jericho (Jos. 626*), and it was fulfilled when Hiel built, *i.e.* fortified it. But it had been a place of some importance in the interval (2 S. 105), and soon after Hiel it was called a city (2 K. 219). The plain meaning is that Hiel lost his firstborn son when he laid the foundations of the city, and his younger son when he set up the gates. It has even been suggested that he inaugurated and finished his work by a human sacrifice as was usual among the Canaanites—witness the excavation of human bones at Taanach and Gezer (pp. 83, 99, Ex. 132*).

XVII.–XIX.—These chapters come from another source, which relates the adventures of the great prophet Elijah. They are rightly reckoned among the finest pieces of prose writing in the OT. They abound in miracle and marvel which ought neither to be rationalised nor explained away, for on their supernatural character the vindication of Yahweh as the God of Israel depends. Rightly therefore does Skinner (Cent.B) declare that the explanation of such a miracle as the feeding of the prophet by "ravens" (*orebim*) is that the neighbouring Arabs brought him food is "a rationalistic absurdity." Though the prophet appears throughout as "a man of like passions with ourselves" (Jas. 517), he is yet clearly represented as one with supernatural powers, which he freely exercises.

In a sense Elijah is the most "supernatural" figure in the historical books, though this does not make him unhistorical. He moves in an atmosphere of wonder and miracle, appearing and vanishing in the most unexpected manner, and his ascension is only in keeping with the rest of his life. As he is described in Kings, so was he regarded in subsequent ages, a mysterious figure, likely to reappear as suddenly to the world as he did from time to time to Ahab (Mal. 45, Mt. 1710, etc.), and the forerunner of Messiah.

XVII. 1–24. Elijah is Fed by Ravens, and Raises the Widow's Son.—Elijah appeared suddenly: we hear nothing of his birth or parentage. He simply announced to Ahab, in the name of Yahweh, "before whom I stand" (*cf.* Jer. 3519), that there should be no rain for three years. Elijah is described as "one of the sojourners of Gilead." Probably the LXX is correct in saying that he came from Tishbe (*mg.*), said to be in Gilead to distinguish it from another Tishbe in Galilee (Tob. 12). He then retired (3–7) to the brook Cherith, E. of Jordan, where he was fed by ravens. In the valley of the Jordan was the rock of Oreb—the raven (Jg. 725, Is. 1026), and this may have suggested the legend. By Divine guidance he next went into the heart of the country whose "worship" he denounced—namely, Zidon (9). At Zarephath (Sarepta, LXX and Lk. 426) he was received by a widow whose oil and wheat he miraculously multiplied and raised her son (17). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 133) says the child only appeared to be dead. Elijah raised him in the same way as Elisha raised the son of the Shunammite (2 K. 434), and Paul Eutychus (Ac. 2010).

XVIII. 1–41. Elijah's Meeting with Ahab and his Contest with the Priests of Baal.—The history of Ahab's reign must have been something like the following: On his marriage with Jezebel he must have allowed the worship of the Baal of Tyre and been met with the remonstrances of the prophets. Furious at their opposition, Jezebel had massacred a large number, but the king's steward had supported the cause of Yahweh (4); so Ahab cannot have been wholly ill-disposed to those who were faithful to the God of Israel. But he had no mercy for the leader of the whole movement, Elijah, who had prophesied the drought. He was sought in every neighbouring kingdom as the author of all the agitation, "the troubler of Israel." In the meantime Jezebel had organised the worship of the Baal, and supported at her own cost four hundred and fifty prophets (19). Public opinion was evidently setting against her policy, owing to the long drought, which was regarded as a Divine punishment for the neglect of Yahweh. It was at this juncture that Elijah revealed himself, first to Obadiah and then to Ahab, and demanded a public trial of strength between himself, as representing Yahweh, and the prophets of the foreign god

(19). The account of the contest on Mount Carmel is most dramatically told, and the object is to bring out the contrast between the ecstatic worship of the Baal and the pure and calm trust of the prophet when he calls upon Yahweh as the only God.

3. The name Obadiah shows that Ahab's high steward was pre-eminently a worshipper of Yahweh. Obad or *obed* means "servant of," and its nearest equivalent would be "Abdullah" (the LXX has *Abedios* = Obadiah). The Celtic name Gilchrist (servant of Christ) may be compared with it.—**5.** From the Qarqara inscription we learn that Ahab had a large force of chariots; hence his anxiety for his horses. —**12.** Obadiah's fear that Elijah would disappear shows the mystery which surrounded his person. The spirit of Yahweh would remove him to some unknown spot (*cf.* Ac. 8 39).—**18. he that troubleth Israel:** Ahab uses the same verb, *achar*, as Joshua does when he asked Achan, "Why hast thou troubled us?" (Jos. 7 25).—**19.** Besides the four hundred and fifty prophets of the Baal, four hundred prophets of the Asherah (or grove, AV) are mentioned. In this case Asherah (15 13*) must be the name of a goddess; but the reading is open to suspicion (LXX omits). Here for the first time we learn that the gods of Canaan as well as Yahweh had their prophets. Carmel (pp. 28–30) was chosen as a spot recognised as sacred by both parties. According to Robertson Smith (RS², p. 156) it was a Phœnician sanctuary, and we know (30) that there was an altar of Yahweh there which had been destroyed. Elijah may have wished to put the matter to the test at the scene of his rivals' triumph, as evidenced by the broken altar of the God of Israel. The traditional scene of the sacrifice is not the headland of Carmel, but some miles inland, at a place still called Muhrakah (burning), which overlooks not the sea, but the plain and city of Jezreel (p. 30). The Kishon (p. 29) runs at the foot of the cliff; at a place called Tel el-Kassis the priests are said to have been slain.—**21.** Elijah's question is difficult to render exactly from the Hebrew. The LXX renders it "How long go ye lame" (Heb. "pass over") "on both knee-joints?" His meaning is clear enough: the people want to serve both Baal and Yahweh. The prophet's words here, as in 27, are bitterly sarcastic.—**28. lancets:** the form given to the word in all English Bibles down to 1762 was "lancers," *i.e.* "throwing spears" (HDB).—**29.** The votaries of Baal "prophesied"—that is, raved, just as Saul did in his madness (1 S. 18 10, 19 24).—**32.** The making of a trench round the altar is generally explained as a precaution against any form of imposture. Probably, however, the pouring out of the water had a symbolical purpose [originally a form of sympathetic magic.—A. S. P.], to procure rain (*cf.* the pouring of water on the altar at the Feast of Tabernacles). Yahweh was about to answer by fire, but He was also going to give rain. Elijah and the prophets of the Baal were doubtless agreed that the object of their sacrifice was to save the land by the gift of rain. The fire was the sign of Yahweh's presence, as at Sinai (Ex. 19), and approval (Jg. 6 21). After the prophets of the Baal had been slain and His honour vindicated, the rain came.

It is noteworthy that Elijah is pre-eminently the prophet of Yahweh manifested by fire. Here on Carmel the fire consumes the sacrifice; at Horeb the wind, the earthquake, and *the fire* precede the "still small voice"; the captains of fifty are destroyed by fire (2 K. 1 10); and the prophet ascends in a chariot of fire (2 K. 2 11).

XVIII. 41–46. The Sending of the Rain.—Elijah and his servant again ascended Carmel, where the prophet prayed and the servant watched. The nearest point of Carmel is about 17 miles from Jezreel. Elijah's feat (46) of outrunning the chariot was regarded as a proof of Divine inspiration, like the exploits of a Samson. The hand of Yahweh is an equivalent to this power (2 K. 3 15, and commonly in Ezek.).

XIX. 1–21. Elijah's Flight to Horeb. His Commission.—Jezebel, it will be noticed, can do no more than threaten Elijah: her power is limited. Elijah escapes to the southern extremity of Judah, to Beersheba, a sacred place of pilgrimage frequented (Am. 5 5, 8 14) even by N. Israelites. In the desert, under a juniper or broom tree, he received his vision (5), and went to Horeb, the "Mount of God." Horeb is Sinai: the name is employed in the N. Israelite Hexateuchal narrative E and in Deuteronomy. It was supposed to be Yahweh's special dwelling-place (Jg. 5 4, Ps. 68 8, Hab. 3 3), and is placed in Edom. The theophany (9) reminds us of the appearance to Moses (Ex. 20 18–21). It is finely recorded that the message of Yahweh came not in storm or fire, but in "a still small voice" (lit. a sound of thin silence). Elijah received a threefold commission—to anoint Hazael king over Syria, Jehu king of Israel, and Elisha to be prophet. Elijah himself simply appointed Elisha, and even here nothing is said of his anointing. An unnamed prophet, commissioned by Elisha, anointed Jehu (2 K. 9 1), and Elisha foretold Hazael's accession, but did not anoint him. "Yet have I left" (18) is a wrong rendering by the AV, though supported by Paul (Rom. 11 4). The LXX has "And thou shalt leave." The meaning is that, after all the slaughter by Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha, a faithful remnant shall be left; for 7000 is a round number. It was by casting his mantle on Elisha that Elijah called him, and the mantle at his ascension gave him a double portion of his spirit. Elijah's words (20) show that his action is nothing unless the younger man accepts the call.

XX. 1–34. Ahab's Victory over Ben-hadad.—Chs. 20 and 22 come from another source. Elijah does not appear, the religious interest is less prominent, and Ahab is presented in a far less hostile light. He acts as a brave and chivalrous king, bold in the battle and merciful in victory. In the Book of Kings the kings of Israel are seldom represented in a hostile spirit when confronted by the common enemy, Syria (*cf.* 2 K. 7).

Syria, we learn, had become a formidable power. Ben-hadad's father had taken some of Omri's cities, and had compelled him to allow his merchants to have "streets," *i.e.* bazaars, in Samaria (34). The power of Syria was such that the king could treat the Israelite sovereign as his despised vassal. When the Syrian army filled the valley, the Israelite forces appeared like two small flocks of goats (27). Ahab, who is almost always called in this chapter "the king of Israel," was helped by an unnamed prophet (13) or man of God (28). Ben-hadad behaved throughout with arrogance (3–10), and Ahab with dignified calmness. His reply in three Hebrew words, "Let not him that girdeth on *his armour* boast himself as he that putteth it off" (11), is as brave as it is terse. The first year Ben-hadad with his thirty-two subject kings was defeated (20). The second he returned with a stronger army, led by his own captains instead of the kings. The Syrians believed that, because the Israelites were helped by mountain gods (23; LXX, "a god of the hills"), they would not gain a victory

on the level plain. Ever since the Judges the Israelites had failed, as a rule, in the plains, because of the chariots of iron (Jg. 119). Ahab, however, had a large force of chariots. A man of God announced that Israel would prevail because the Syrians boasted that Yahweh was not a god of the plain as well as of the hill. In the battle Ben-hadad was utterly defeated, and threw himself on Ahab's mercy. The kings of Israel had, it is interesting to know, the reputation of being merciful (31), and Ahab (32) declared that Ben-hadad was after all "his brother." A highly advantageous treaty with Israel was the result.

[**26. Aphek**: there has been much discussion about the site; see EBi and G. A. Smith's *Atlas* pp. xviii., xx. Probably it was in the Plain of Sharon, near the Philistine border. The Syrians seem to have come down by the road through Megiddo to Aphek, and used it as the point from which to attack Samaria, or Philistia. Observe that in 2 K. 1322 Lucian's text of the LXX adds, "and Hazael took the Philistine from his hand from the Western Sea to Aphek."—A. S. P.]

XX. 35–48. Ahab's Death Foretold for Sparing Ben-hadad.—This section reminds us of 1 S. 15, Saul's sparing of Agag. It does not appear to be part of the foregoing narrative, but may be of great antiquity. The sin of Ahab, like that of Saul, seems commendable in our eyes, but to the Hebrews it was the most deadly of all—the violation of the *herem* or ban (pp. 99, 114), the sparing of a person "devoted" to Yahweh (42). The "sons of the prophets" are mentioned here for the first time in the Bible (35).

XXI. 1–29. The Story of Naboth.—This is evidently not a part of the Elijah story of 17–19. There are certain differences of style; *e.g.* Ahab is described as "king of Samaria" (1); and Elijah does not, as in 17–19, occupy the central place. Nor does the story come in a very suitable place between 20 and 22, which have points in common. In the LXX it occurs before 20. It is probably, though not certainly, an independent narrative about Elijah. Ahab, as is usual, is not represented in the worst possible light; the great offender is Jezebel, who acts not as a Baal worshipper so much as a queen of Israel. Some critics (*e.g.* Burney) connect this passage with 2 K. 9f., the story of the destruction of the house of Omri by Jehu, where the mention of the "burden" laid on Ahab on that occasion demands the recital of these circumstances. Naboth refused to sell his vineyard because it was his ancestral property (3). The Priestly Code forbids the alienation of land, and probably reflects a strong prejudice in favour of not surrendering an inheritance (Lev. 2523, Nu. 367). Naboth was falsely accused of blasphemy and treason (10), cursing (lit. blessing, *i.e.* bidding farewell to or renouncing, but see Job 15*) God and the king. According to the LXX Ahab (16) was horrified at the crime, and put on sackcloth on hearing of Naboth's death, but nevertheless took possession of the vineyard (18f.). Elijah did not foretell that the place of the destruction of Ahab's family would be on Naboth's land, but this is implied in 2 K. 936. The incident may not be placed in its true historical position, and there is no hint that Jezebel or Ahab represented a false religion, and Elijah the true. Nevertheless the conduct of those concerned may shew how the Baal worship had corrupted the morals of the times. The elders of Jezreel came no better out of the transaction than Ahab or even Jezebel herself. It has been maintained that this crime more than idolatry caused the ruin of the house of Omri.

XXII. 1–40. Ahab's Attack on Ramoth-gilead and his Death.—The death of Ahab must have taken place before or during the year 854 B.C., when the battle of Qarqara was fought, and his name is mentioned in the Assyrian inscription (p. 69). The question is, did he take part in that battle as a vassal of Bir'idri (Ben-hadad) before or after the war related in 20. In the latter case his death was probably later in 854 B.C. The chapter is a continuation of 20, and from the same source with additions. Jehoshaphat, whose son married Ahab's daughter (2 K. 818), is present as Ahab's ally. Here, as in 20 and 21, there is no allusion to the Baal worship. Ahab's prophets are prophets of Yahweh, and the king can muster four hundred. The rivalry is between true and false prophecy. It is not known where Ramoth-gilead (the heights of G.) actually was. It was a most important place, mentioned (413) in the list of Solomon's provinces, and in 2 K. 92,14 as the scene of the anointing of Jehu, so that it had been evidently retaken from the Syrians. The general opinion that it is the modern *Es Salt* has not much to recommend it, this being too far S. (13ff.). Micaiah, the son of Imlah, is the one true prophet. His vision (19) may be compared with the scene in Job when the sons of God present themselves before Him (Job 16). Whether the prophets tell the truth or no, it is acknowledged that they are inspired by Yahweh (24). The Chronicler's account of Micaiah's prophecy and of the battle is given in 2 Ch. 18. There Jehoshaphat's cry (32) is explained (2 Ch. 1831) as a prayer which God answered. Ahab's death is told in a manner creditable to him. He bore himself bravely, and was the soul of the battle. 38 looks like an addition. Elijah's words in 2119 were not fulfilled, for Ahab was buried at Samaria. Even here, the point that the dogs were to lick up his blood where they had done that of Naboth, *i.e.* outside Jezreel, was not made.

XXII. 41–50. Reigns of Jehoshaphat of Judah and Ahaziah of Israel.—These reigns are related in the usual annalistic style.—**47**, which says there was no king in Edom, is very obscure. It seems to imply that Jehoshaphat owned Edom, and ruled by his own nominee, but in 2 K. 3 we read of a king of Edom. —**48.** On Ophir and Ezion-geber, see 926,28. The Chronicler (2 Ch. 2037) says that the ships were wrecked as a punishment for Jehoshaphat's alliance with the king of Israel. The book concludes abruptly, and there is no real gap between 1 and 2 K.; indeed 51–53 should really be joined to 2 K. 1i.

THE SECOND BOOK OF KINGS

I. 1–II. 25. Last Days and Ascension of Elijah: Elisha Established as his Successor.—Here we have perhaps a third Elijah narrative, in which the prophet is represented as playing a part scarcely worthy of the Elijah of 1 K. 17–19 or 21, who in the first section represents Yahweh against the Tyrian Baal, whereas in the latter he stands for righteousness opposed to legalised violence. Here the king's offence is that he sent to a Philistine oracle instead of inquiring of Yahweh, and his soldiers are punished by fire for summoning the prophet to surrender. The spelling of the prophet's name in Hebrew differs from that in the rest of the OT. The story is mentioned in the Gospel (Lk. 954).

2. Baal-zebub the God of Ekron.—Ekron is the most northern Philistine city, and therefore the nearest to Samaria. This is the only mention of the god in the OT. In the NT he is the prince of demons. The word means "lord of flies"; Beelzebul, the alternative

reading in NT, would mean "lord of the house" (Mk. 3$_{22}$*).—**8.** The description of Elijah as an hairy man, lit. "a possessor (*baal*) of hair," is repeated in Mk. 1$_6$ of the Baptist. The hairy garment (*cf. mg.*) was the dress of the ancient prophet (Zech. 13$_4$).—**18** naturally stands before 17, and the date, the second year of Jehoram, is misleading. There have evidently been some sweeping editorial revisions at this point (see Cent.B.).

With ch. 2 we seem to enter upon a series of Elisha stories which occupy the greater part of the earlier chapters of 2 K. Elijah and Elisha lived, apparently, at "the Gilgal" (1), not the place of that name in the Jordan valley, or they could not have "gone down" from thence to Bethel. At Bethel and Jericho there were prophetic settlements (3) or companies (1 S. 10$_5$). These associations play an important part in the story of Elisha, who is in a sense their leader, whereas Elijah was a solitary prophet. "Son" simply means "disciple." Amos (7$_{14}$) denied that he himself was a professional prophet. By the double portion of Elijah's spirit (9) is meant the share of the first-born. Elisha desires to be appointed his master's representative. Elijah's answer (10) shows how difficult it is to transmit a spiritual office. The chariots of fire were a sign of the Divine presence (6$_{17}$). When Elisha crossed the Jordan he could not have been seen from Jericho, which is not in sight of the river (15). He was recognised by the prophets as the successor of Elijah, whose spirit rested upon him. Two signs of Elisha's power are given, the healing of the spring at Jericho (19–22), which made the land miscarry, by casting in salt, the symbol of purification (Lev. 2$_{13}$, Mt. 5$_{13}$, etc.), and the punishment of the children—not youths but "little boys," who mocked his baldness (23–25). Baldness is not an honourable sign of age in the East, but (*a*) of grief (voluntary baldness); (*b*) a discredit (see A. Macalister, *Baldness*, HDB). The bear (24) is rare in Western Palestine (but see 1 S. 17$_{34}$, Am. 5$_{19}$). The children were not necessarily punished by death, but were at least severely wounded.

[**12a.** Apparently describes Elijah as Israel's defence, her chariots and horsemen, *cf.* the application by Joash to Elisha of the same description in 13$_{14}$.—A. S. P.]

III. 1–27. Reign of Jehoram. War with Moab.—The only two kings of Israel on whom the censure pronounced is in any way qualified are Jehoram, the last of the house of Omri, and Hoshea (17$_2$), the last king of Israel. All the others are said to have done evil.

The war with Moab is the subject of the famous inscription of Mesha discovered in 1868 (pp. 34, 69). On this Mesha states that Omri occupied the land of Mehedebah (Medeba, Nu. 21$_{30}$, Jos. 13$_9$, Is. 15$_2$) his days, half his son's days, forty years. In Kings it is specially said that Mesha's rebellion was after the death of Ahab. Omri and Ahab together according to Kings reigned only thirty-four years; Ahaziah and Jehoram fourteen years, making only forty-eight years from the accession of Omri to the extinction of his dynasty. Mesha must not only have thrown off the yoke of Israel, but have engaged in considerable building operations after his victory, which makes it probable that the war to reduce him took place some time after his rebellion against the house of Omri. Jehoshaphat (7) used the same language to Jehoram as he did to Ahab (22$_4$). Judah and its dependent Mesha, a *Noked* (Am. 1$_1$*), state of Edom, were evidently vassals of the more powerful king of Israel. The king of Edom (1 K. 22$_{47}$) may have been the "deputy" appointed by Jehoshaphat, but 26 may imply that he was a native king. The three kings did not directly attack Moab, which according to Mesha's inscription was strongly fortified, but approached it by a circuitous route. Elisha, unknown to the kings, was with the army, and was called the servant (11) "which poured water on the hands" (*cf.* Ps. 60$_8$) of Elijah. He was accustomed (15) to prophesy under the influence of music (1 S. 10$_5$*), and the formula (14) "As Yahweh liveth, before whom I stand" (*cf.* Jer. 35$_{19}$) is the same as that used by his master (1 K. 17$_1$). The supplying of water by the digging of pits in the sand is a known expedient (see Cent.B). [R. H. Kennett suggests that the "Moabites took the ruddy light on the water for an omen of blood rather than for actual gore." (See J. G. Frazer, *Adonis Attis Osiris*, i. 53.)—A. S. P.] Elisha (19) foretells all the barbarous methods which Israel would employ in victory in the same manner as he does the atrocities Hazael would commit when he became king of Syria (8$_{12}$). The acts committed when Moab was defeated (25) were forbidden (Dt. 20$_{19}$f.). The war ended by the desperate act of the king of Moab offering his son as a burnt sacrifice (27) on the wall of Kir-hareseth (Is. 16$_7$, Jer. 48$_{31}$, the modern Kerak). Mesha attributes all his troubles to the wrath of his god Chemosh (Moabite Stone, l. 5). Chemosh certainly delighted in human sacrifices. The great wrath which came forth against Israel was from the god of Moab who had accepted the supreme sacrifice of his worshipper.

IV. 1–VI. 23. Stories about Elisha as a Wonder-Worker.—The miracles of Elisha fill a considerable part of the early chapters of 2 K. They are mostly beneficent in character, and this prophet was evidently more in touch with the people than his stern predecessor. There is no reason to confine these tales to the reign of Jehoram, because the death of that king is recorded later in the book. The king of Israel is not mentioned by name, and was evidently on good terms with the prophet, which could hardly be expected of Jehoram. Probably some of the occurrences, especially in the Syrian wars, belong to the age of Jehu's dynasty. The biography of Elisha in 2 K. consists of 2$_{1-25}$, 4$_{1-6}$23, 8$_{1-15}$, 13$_{14-21}$. In 6$_{24}$–7$_{20}$ and 9$_1$-10$_{31}$ Elisha is the leading prophet, but the source seems to be mainly some chronicle of the northern kingdom.

IV. 1–7. Multiplication of the Widow's Oil to Pay a Debt.—This is like Elijah's miracle at Zarephath (1 K. 18ff.). The oil is sold, and the children of the prophet's widow are saved from being sold as slaves. The prophetic communities were not monastic in the sense of being celibate; such an idea was repugnant to the ancient Hebrew. Isaiah's wife is called "the prophetess" (Is. 8$_3$). Perhaps both Elijah and Elisha were unmarried, but there can be no proof of this.

IV. 8–37. Elisha and the Shunammite Woman.—This gives one of the most delightful pictures of rural life in ancient Israel. It describes the kindly hospitality of the great lady of Shunem, the accommodation provided—a "chamber with walls" (*mg.*) and furniture—no makeshift arrangement, but such as befitted an honoured guest; the description of the boy's death, her drive from Shunem to Carmel to the prophet, Elisha's behaviour, as revealing his naturally considerate demeanour, is vividly portrayed. More than one expression recalls the Elijah story (*cf.* 1 K. 18$_{26}$ with 31, and 1 K. 18$_{42}$ with 33). Shunem (8) is where the Philistines encamped opposite Mt. Gilboa (1 S. 28$_4$). It is about 5 miles from Jezreel, and 20 or more from Carmel (25), where Elisha usually abode. Elisha

is evidently on friendly terms with the king (13), which shows that the incidents are later than the destruction of Ahab's sons. The independence of the lady may be compared with that of Nabal (1 S. 2510) and Naboth (1 K. 21). We have (23) one of the rare hints in this book of the religious observances of the time; "the new moon or the sabbath" (pp. 101f.) was considered a suitable occasion to go to a prophet, even though as long a journey were necessary as from Shunem to Carmel (Am. 85, Hos. 211). There are some interesting illustrations of this chapter in the NT—*e.g.* the prohibition of a messenger on urgent business to salute anybody (29; *cf.* Lk. 104), the furniture of the prophet's chamber, bed, and lampstand (Mk. 421). Shunem was near to Nain, where our Lord raised the widow's son (Lk. 711).

[31. The bones of the dead Elisha (1321*) have more life-giving virtue than the prophet's staff in the hands of the living Gehazi.—A. S. P.]

IV. 38–44. Two Minor Miracles of Elisha.—The "death" (poison) in the pot healed and the feeding of a hundred prophets. The bread of the firstfruits (42) was by the Law the property of the priests (Nu. 1813, Dt. 184). Here the loaves and ears of corn are offered to prophets. In the Christian *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* the prophets are to be given of the firstfruits, "for they are your priests." There is no similar instance in the OT.

V. 1–27. Naaman Healed of his Leprosy.—This story, familiar to all, presupposes a time of peace between Israel and Syria. As in 1 K. 20, the king of Syria addresses the king of Israel (unnamed here) as his vassal (6ff.). Elisha was living in Samaria, apparently in his own house. Naaman, on being healed, returned to Elisha, who refused to take any present, using Elijah's formula (1 K. 171*). Naaman thereupon declared himself a worshipper of Yahweh (it is remarkable that 1 ascribes his victories to Yahweh), asking pardon if in his official capacity he bows himself before Rimmon (Ramman, the thunder-god of the Assyrians). Readers of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* will remember the not unnatural discussion amongst the boys as to why Elisha bade Naaman "go in peace," as though he approved his action. The phrase merely means "farewell." Gehazi pursued Naaman and returned to the hill (24); the word is Ophel, elsewhere in the Bible only applied to Jerusalem (p. 297), but also found on the Moabite Stone (l. 22; Driver, *Samuel*², p. lxxxvii. renders "the Mound"). Elisha's rebuke (26*b*) becomes in the LXX and Vulg. "and now thou hast received money . . . and the leprosy of Naaman shall cleave to thee." As though the infection of the disease clave to the present which Gehazi had received.

12. p. 33.—17. *cf.* 2 S. 2619f.

VI. 1–23. An Axehead Swims. Elisha and the Syrians at Dothan.—In several minor miracles Elisha is always represented as working them not by his word, but by some expedient. Thus he heals the miscarrying waters by salt, and the pot by meal, and recovers the axehead by casting a stick into the water.

The prophet appears in the second narrative as the moving spirit in the Syrian war. Whenever the king of Syria devised an ambush (8, with a slight alteration of reading), Elisha revealed the secret. Elisha was at Dothan (13), a city standing on a hill about 10 miles N. of Samaria, on the caravan road from Egypt to Damascus (Gen. 3717, p. 30). Elisha was defended, as we are finely told, by horses and chariots of fire (17). His blinded adversaries were led to Samaria, and Elisha ordered them not to be destroyed, but to be treated with kindness. Throughout the long war between Syria and Israel similar acts of chivalrous courtesy are manifested (*cf.* Ahab's sparing Ben-hadad as "his brother," 1 K. 20, and Naaman the Syrian's conduct throughout 5).

VI. 24.–VII. 20. The Siege of Samaria.—The date and source of this episode need discussion. The name of the king of Syria, as in 1 K. 20, was Ben-hadad; the king of Israel is not named at all. Two Ben-hadads are possible, the king in 1 K. 20 who was defeated by Ahab, and the son and successor of Hazael (1324). If the first is meant, then Jehoram was king of Israel; if not, Jehoash, the grandson of Jehu. Elisha was called in the days of Ahab, and lived under Ahab and his two sons Ahaziah and Jehoram, Jehu, Jehoahaz, and Joash, dying under the last-named king. It is true that Elisha called the king "this son of a murderer," which may be applicable to a son of Ahab: but "son of" may be used as the common periphrasis, and the phrase simply mean "murderer." On the other hand, the scene seems better suited to the later stages of the Syrian war, and the king, despite his threat to kill Elisha, when distraught with misery at the tale of the two women, does not seem to have been on bad terms with the prophet. The event may therefore be placed late in Elisha's life (p. 69). The source is also uncertain. Elisha plays a conspicuous part, and therefore it may well belong to his biography. On the other hand, it bears some affinity to 1 K. 20 and 22, and may be from the same source—viz. a history or chronicle of the northern kingdom. The famine may have been in part caused by the scarcity mentioned in 81.

The famine was so severe that an ass's head was sold for eighty pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a kab (*i.e.* less than a pint) of dove's dung for five (25). A yet more terrible example was shown in the case of the two women (28f.). The head of an ass, which would not be eaten in ordinary circumstances (Jg. 64*), fetched an immense sum. What "dove's dung" means it is impossible to say; it may be some common vegetable. Josephus (*Wars*, vi. 3) relates that in the last siege of Jerusalem a woman devoured her own child. The king stood (not passed by) on the wall, and when he rent his clothes in horror, the people saw that he was secretly wearing, as Thomas Becket did, a garb of penitence (30). He attributed all the calamity to Elisha (31), probably for not having delivered him as on previous occasions (see 9). The words in Heb. for "messenger" and "king" are very similar, and perhaps it is not necessary to suppose that anyone came but the king, 32 having been amplified. Instead of fulfilling his oath to kill Elisha, the king gave way to despair (33). Elisha, however, foretold that provisions would soon be cheap, and four lepers at the city gate went into the Syrian camp, and found that the enemy had fled in a panic, believing that the king of Israel had hired Hittites and Egyptians to attack them (76). It seems unlikely that the Egyptians would at this time have combined with the Northern Hittites, whose home was in Asia Minor, and it is suggested that not Egyptians (Mizrim) but Muzrites should be read (see 1 K. 1028). The Muzrites (from Cappadocia, see Cent.B) were among the allies of Israel and Syria against Assyria in 854 B.C.

VIII. 1–29. Elisha and the Shunammite. Hazael, King of Syria.—This chapter is somewhat varied as to composition. It opens with a short story about Elisha (1–6), of which we may presuppose (*a*) that it is earlier than 5, because Gehazi (4) is not a leper; (*b*) that the king of Israel is an admirer of the prophet.

By Elisha's advice the Shunammite lady, whose husband is apparently dead, leaves her home to avoid a famine (*cf.* Ru. 1), and her lands were restored when the king ascertained who she was. 6–15 is a second narrative of the prophet. Jehoram must have been king of Israel at the time, as Hazael was contemporary with Jehu. The difficulty the story presents to us is that the prophet appears to suggest to Hazael the crime of which he was to become guilty. Elisha did not, as might have been supposed from 1 K. 19^{15}, anoint Hazael. This king's name is found in the inscription of Shalmaneser II, which contains the name of Jehu (842 B.C.). Elisha's visit to Damascus (7) implies a truce between Israel and Syria, and he was evidently highly honoured. 11 is a hard verse; Elisha evidently put Hazael to shame by the searching gaze with which he regarded him. The cruelties which Hazael was declared to be about to perpetrate were the ordinary excesses of a conqueror. Hazael did not regard the idea with horror, but doubted whether he would ever become great enough to perform such deeds. "What am I?" he says (13). "A mere dog. How can I ever do such famous acts?" The subject is not named in 15, and Ewald (see Cent.B) suggests that Ben-hadad may have been murdered by someone else, possibly his bath attendant. This seems unlikely. 16–29, with the exception of 20–22, comes from the annals which gave the regnal years of each king, etc. There was a king of the same name, Jehoram or Joram, on both thrones. Jehoram married the daughter of Ahab (18), who is called Athaliah, "daughter of Omri" (26). This is accounted for by the fact that Jehu is himself described as Omri's son, though no relative, and the destroyer of his family. But for inscriptions we could never have known how important Omri was. Jehoram of Judah is remarkable only for the revolt of Edom. This was a very serious blow to Judah, as it was thus deprived of the trade by the Red Sea (p. 71). Joram apparently won a victory at a place called Zair (21), otherwise unknown. The chronicler (2 Ch. 21) says that the prophet Elijah wrote this king a letter of rebuke. The notice of the one-year reign of Ahaziah (25ff.) is only an introduction to the momentous facts recorded in 9.

IX. 1–X. 31. The Revolution and Overthrow of the Baal Worship.—This spirited narrative is probably derived from the same source as 1 K. 20 and 22; and, if we strike out the short Deuteronomic portion (9$^{7-10}$), we cannot fail to notice the detachment of the writer, who neither condemns nor approves, but merely relates the tragedy. Hosea (1^{4}), a little more than a century later, evidently condemns the whole transaction, and traces the fall of Jehu's house to the blood of Jezreel. This is in strong contrast with the Deuteronomic passage, 10$^{28-31}$.

Hazael was evidently able to do very little against Israel as long as the house of Omri was on the throne. Ramoth-gilead, where Ahab was slain, had been recovered (*cf.* 1 K. 21^{3} with 2 K. 9^{14}), but Jehoram had been wounded in some battle.

IX. 1. Elisha is mentioned only here in connexion with Jehu, perhaps, because of 1 K. 19^{16}. The prophet took no part in the horrors which followed.—**6.** Elisha's messenger anointed Jehu privately, exactly as Samuel had anointed Saul (1 S. 10^{1}) and David (1 S. 16^{13}).—**11*f.*** The captains of the army spoke with a certain contempt of the wild prophet who had interrupted their conference, but would not be put off by Jehu's evasive answer. Their words, "It is false; tell us now," are very ambiguous. A slight change in the Heb. would alter "false" into "conspiracy," the word used by Athaliah when she called "Treason" (11^{14}).—**13.** When Jehu told them that he had been anointed king, they took their garments and made an extemporary throne, and proclaimed him with a trumpet blast.—**15.** Jehu asked his confederates if they were really on his side (LXX), closed the city gates, and started for Jezreel.

16–28. Jehu Murders Jehoram and Ahaziah.—Jehu is recognised by the messengers because he drove "furiously" (20). The LXX renders the word *parallage* (? "in a trance"). Josephus and the Targum render it "quietly." Jehu was driving at his leisure and in good order, says the latter. The Heb. may mean "in meditation" or "in a spirit of madness," *i.e.* headlong. Jehu met Jehoram in the land which belonged to Naboth (21), and taunted him with the idolatry (whoredom, *cf.* Hos. 1 and 2) of Jezebel his mother. He commanded Bidkar to cast Jehoram's body on the portion of Naboth, in accordance with the "oracle" (burthen) which Jehu himself had heard (25f.). The tradition is apparently not the same as 1 K. 21. Naboth's sons are omitted in 1 K.; Elijah is not mentioned here. Ahaziah, king of Judah, was pursued for some distance. He first escaped southwards towards his own kingdom, to Beth-haggan ("the garden house"), probably En-gannim (Jos. 19^{21}). There he was overtaken and wounded, and his retreat to Judah cut off; so he escaped northward to Megiddo, where he died (27). 2 Ch. 22^{9} gives a different account: Ahaziah hid in Samaria, whence he was brought to Jehu. Samaria was a more likely place for him to flee to than Megiddo.

30–37. The Death of Jezebel.—Jezebel met her end with fortitude. She put antimony on her eyelids (Jer. 4^{30}*), arrayed herself as a queen, and taunted her son's murderer, addressing him as "Zimri" (31): "Hail, Zimri, thy master's murderer" (1 K. 16^{9}). Jehu's horses passed over her corpse (read in 33, "they (the horses) trode her underfoot"). In the whole narrative of Kings Ahab and Jezebel are represented as wicked, but never, save Ahab in the case of Naboth (1 K. 21), as contemptible. Even Jehu recognises (34) that Jezebel is a "king's daughter" (1 K. 16^{31}).

X. 1–31. Destruction of the House of Ahab and of the Baal Worshippers.—The same source is continued, but 28–31 are from a Deuteronomist. The whole story is one of the most terrible in the OT. Ahab had a large family in Samaria. Jehu with a sort of rude chivalry invited the elders of the city to choose one of them as king, and to fight for the throne. But the cowardly rulers promised submission, and at Jehu's command sent the heads of the seventy sons to Jezreel in baskets (7). A further massacre of all Ahab's adherents at Jezreel followed, and of forty-two of the family of Ahaziah, king of Judah (13).

Jehu next (15f.) formed an alliance with Jehonadab, the son of Rechab. From Jeremiah we learn (Jer. 35*) that this man was the founder of an ascetic community which repudiated the whole civilisation that Israel learnt in Canaan. They dwelt in tents, refused to practise agriculture or to live in houses, and rigorously abstained from wine (p. 85). The rise of such a movement, says Skinner (Cent.B), at this juncture in the history is a sign of the profound and far-reaching issues involved in the conflict between Yahweh and Baal. The sect of Jehonadab continued till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, and the priestly or prophetic office was promised to them for ever, as they were to "stand before Yahweh" (Jer. 35^{18}).

The treacherous massacre of the Baal worshippers

in Samaria (17-27) has several points of interest. It is not easy to see how Jehu could have posed, as he undoubtedly did, as a devotee of Baal, especially as (23) the professors of the two cults were distinct; there was no syncretism of Yahweh and Baal worship, as in the case of the old Canaanitish idolatry. The description of the service is noteworthy, especially the use of sacred vestments which were lent to the worshippers (Gen. 35*). The expression "the city of the house of Baal" (25) is very difficult, and is found in all the VSS. It has been suggested that the Heb. letters slightly altered would make it the "oracle" (1 K. 6 22), *i.e.* the most sacred *adytum* in the Baal temple, answering to the holy of holies. The promise to Jehu that his sons to the fourth generation should inherit his throne was fulfilled in Jehoahaz, Joash, and Jeroboam II. Israel's power was evidently shattered by the destruction of Ahab's family, and the house of Jehu could not hold the territory E. of the Jordan (32f.). In the words of the writer, "Yahweh began to cut Israel short."

XI. Usurpation of Athaliah. Coronation of Joash and Execution of Athaliah.—Athaliah, mother of Ahaziah, a daughter of Ahab, destroyed the royal family of Judah, except Joash, a child who was saved by Jehosheba and kept concealed for six years, during which time Athaliah reigned (1–3). The author gives no notice, as is customary, of her regnal years; and S. A. Cook (EBi, col. 381) remarks on her maintaining herself on the throne for six years as "a singular fact, which raises questions more easily asked than answered." At the end of this period Jehoiada, according to 2 Ch. 22 11, the husband of Jehosheba, made a conspiracy with the troops, showed them the king's son, and arranged for the overthrow of Athaliah (4–12). At this point we have a second narrative (so Stade, see Cent.B), in which the people play their part (13–18). Athaliah was slain, and Mattan, the priest of Baal; for it appears that the revolution was a religious one (17*a*), like that of Jehu. This narrative is supplemented in 2 Ch. 22f., where Jehoiada's relationship to the royal family is mentioned, the names of the officers with whom he conspired are given, and particular care is taken to show (23 6) that the sanctuary was not profaned by non-Levitical soldiery.

4. Jehoiada.—Though the high priest is mentioned in 12 10, Jehoiada is always called "the priest" here and in the parallel passages in Chronicles. Nor does his name appear in the high-priestly line in 1 Ch. 6, nor in Josephus (*Ant.*). He was evidently the chief priest in the Temple; but the high-priestly office is probably post-exilic, and there is no one analogous to him in the records of the Temple in Kings.—**the Carites:** probably foreign mercenaries. The Heb. name is akin to the Cherethites, who, with the Pelethites, played a part in the army of David and Solomon (p. 56, 2 S. 8 18, etc.; 1 K. 1 38). It is remarkable that in Jerusalem these foreign guards continued to be the important leaders of the army, and we have no trace of any such in Israel.—**10.** The spears and shields which Jehoiada delivered to the guard were possibly sacred weapons to be used at a coronation. According to 2 Ch. 23, the priest armed the Levites, as the presence of foreign troops in the Temple was deemed a profanation.—**12.** Here is an interesting account of a coronation: (*a*) crowning, (*b*) giving of "the testimony," (*c*) anointing, (*d*) the king took his stand by the pillar (14) "as the manner was." (*a*) The crown (*nezer*, *cf.* Nazirite) is only mentioned here in making a king, but Saul wore a *nezer* at the battle of Mt. Gilboa (2 S. 1 10). (*b*) The "testimony" may be the "law book," but was more probably part of the regalia. A slight emendation would make it mean "the bracelets" (*cf.* 2 S. 1 10). (*c*) Anointing was evidently the essential ceremony. The king was the Messiah (Christ) of Yahweh. (*d*) The pillar or platform was at the entrance of the Temple (2 Ch. 23 13). It was here that Josiah (2 K. 23 3) made his covenant with Yahweh (17).—**18.** The execution of Mattan, the priest of Baal, shows that the rebellion against Athaliah was essentially religious.

XII. Reign of Joash and his Repair of the Temple.—1–3 is in the usual annalistic style of the Deuteronomist. It is followed by a curious extract from the Temple records (4ff.), similar to those found in 16 10–18 and 22 3–23 24. This relates to the provision of money for the repair of the Temple. Two things deserve attention (4). The first is that the sources of the Temple revenue are given as (*a*) an assessment on each individual (*cf.* Lev. 27 2) and (*b*) voluntary offerings. The second is the part taken by the king. Jehoash (for so Joash is here termed) takes the lead throughout; the priests are merely his servants. Even Jehoiada (here called the "high priest"; see on 11 4) is quite subordinate to the king. In all the Temple records in Kings the sanctuary is under the king's absolute control. This representation is carefully corrected in the parallel passages in Chronicles, where the priests and Levites are given more prominence. But even there we can see that, as at Bethel, so at Jerusalem, the Temple was "the king's chapel" (Am. 7 13).

17–21. Hazael, king of Syria (*cf.* 10 32, 13 3) extended his ravages into Judah, and was bought off by Temple treasures. Joash, like his son Amaziah (14 19), was murdered in a conspiracy. In 2 Ch. 24 19ff. Hazael's invasion and the murder of Joash are represented as punishments for his refusal to listen to Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, and causing him to be stoned.

XIII. 1–XVII. 6. The remainder of the history of Israel to the fall of Samaria, with the contemporary annals of Judah, is of the nature of chronicle rather than history. There are few interesting narratives like those in the earlier parts of the book. The exceptions are: (*a*) the death of Elisha (13 14ff.); (*b*) the war between Israel and Judah (14 8–16); (*c*) the repairs of the Temple at Jerusalem by Ahaz (16 10–16). The main sources are: (*a*) the records of the kings of Israel and Judah; (*b*) the biography of Elisha; (*c*) Deuteronomic notes of reigns, etc.; (*d*) later additions.

XIII. 1–9. The Reign of Jehoahaz of Israel.—Israel is reduced to the lowest straits by Hazael. Yahweh left of Israel's army 10,000 soldiers and 10 chariots. (Ahab had, according to the inscriptions, 2000 chariots.) For 5*a cf.* p. 69.

XIII. 10–21. The Reign of Joash or Jehoash of Israel.—During this reign Elisha died. He is represented as in 6, as Israel's champion in the great war with Syria, "the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof" (*cf.* 2 12).

[16*f.* The action is a piece of sympathetic magic (*cf.* Ex. 17 9–12, Jos. 8 18,26), but it is something more. The Hebrews thought of the prophetic word as achieving its own fulfilment (Is. 55 10f., Ezek. 37 4–10). Still more would this be so with the prophetic act, for such the king's act was made by Elisha's participation. It is not mere symbolism, it does not simply announce the future, it sets in motion the forces which are to create the future. Hence the prophet's anger at the king's slackness, when two or three more arrows

would have sealed Syria's doom. The eastward direction is rather strange. Damascus, the object to be hit, lay more to the N. than the E. On Aphek see 1 K. 20$26^*$.—**21.** In primitive psychology the bones of the dead are often believed to retain the psychical powers possessed in life. See ERE, ii. 791f. —A. S. P.]

XIII. 22–25. The Death of Hazael the redoubtable Usurper of the Syrian Throne.—His son Ben-hadad was less successful, and was thrice defeated by Jehoash, in accordance with the prophecy of the dying Elisha.

XIV. 1–22. The Reign of Amaziah, son of Joash, King of Judah.—Amaziah was a virtuous king like his father Joash, but not according to the standard of David. This is the judgment of the Deuteronomist, who refers to the law-book of his age, approving the king's forbearance in not punishing the sons of his father's murderers (Dt. 21_{1-9}^*, 24_{16}). Amaziah was successful in his wars with Edom, whose territory was peculiarly important to Judah as giving access to the Red Sea. The Edomites were defeated in the Valley of Salt as in David's time (2 S. 8_{13}, LXX). There is a place of the same name near Beersheba, but the topography here seems to require it to be in the southern Arabah, S. of the Dead Sea, especially as the result of the campaign was the recovery and rebuilding of Elath (22). "The Rock" (Sela) was captured, and its name changed to Joktheel (7). Whether the famous rock city Petra is meant is doubtful. Petra lies in the extreme S. of the Edomite Arabah, between the Dead and Red Seas, and is approached by a wady on the eastern side (see Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 91ff.). It is possibly mentioned in Jg. 1_{36}.* Stanley identified *Sela*, "the cliff," with Kadesh Barnea, and this is the name of the "rock" which Moses smote there (Nu. 20ff.); but Kadesh would lie outside the sphere of operations if the king of Judah was trying to get to the port of Elath. Amaziah, elated by his conquest of Edom, challenged Jehoash, king of Israel, to "look him in the face." Whether this means in battle or to regard him no longer as a vassal is uncertain. The king of Israel replied in a parable comparing the king of Judah to a thistle, and himself to a cedar of Lebanon. After ignominiously defeating Amaziah, Joash demolished the northern wall of Jerusalem. Amaziah, like his father, was killed in a conspiracy, and was succeeded by his son Azariah.

XIV. 23–29. Reign of Jeroboam II.—The Deuteronomist in a short section gives the dry details of Jeroboam's reign, the most famous of Israel's kings. During his forty-one years he completely freed Israel from the Syrians, and extended his territory from the entering in of Hamath to the Dead Sea. Israel's flourishing condition during his reign is depicted by Amos, who saw the hollowness underlying the apparent prosperity of his age. Hamath (Is. 10_9*) lies far N. of the Holy Land, on the Orontes in Syria. It was the limit of the kingdom of David and Solomon (2 S. 8_9, 1 K. 8_{65}). The words "*which had belonged* to Judah" (28) are very obscure. Burney proposes a bold emendation, and reads instead of Hamath the similar Heb. word "wrath": "he turned away the wrath" of Yahweh against Israel. Amos speaks of Hamath (Am. 6_2*) as an independent kingdom, and its fall in Sennacherib's days deeply impressed Judah (2 K. 18_{34}).

25. Jonah the son of Amittai: this prophet can hardly be the author of the Book of Jonah, called the son of Amittai, whose adventures are there related. His native village of Gath-hepher is in the neighbourhood of Nazareth (Jos. 19_{13}). Jonah is mentioned in Tob. 14_{4-8}, but the reading is doubtful. Tobit's home was in Naphtali.

XV. 1–7. Reign of Azariah (Uzziah).—The long reign of this king passes almost unnoticed in this book. He is called Uzziah elsewhere in Chronicles and Isaiah, except 1 Ch. 3_{12}.

5. Yahweh smote the king with leprosy. The isolation of men thus afflicted was enforced (2 K. 73; see Lev. 13_{46}, Nu. 53). It is uncertain what is meant by a several house. The Heb. word means "free." Azariah reigned but did not rule during his latter years. If most of the sixteen years of Jotham's reign fell within his father's lifetime, the discrepancy of the totals of the regnal years of Israel and Judah, reckoned from Jehu to the fall of Samaria, is sensibly diminished.

XV. 8–38. Last Kings of Israel.—Zechariah, the son of Jeroboam, reigned but six months (8), and was killed by Shallum, probably, as LXX (L) reads, "in Ibleam," instead of the Heb., which is doubtfully rendered "before the people" (10). After a month's reign Shallum was killed by Menahem (14_{-22}).

19. Pul, the king of Assyria, has been identified with Tiglath-pileser III (58f., 70f.), who ravaged Northern Israel (29). This is the first direct mention of an Assyrian king by name in the Bible. Menahem's name occurs in an Assyrian inscription 738 B.C.—**20.** The tribute was exacted from the wealthy men (AV renders "mighty men of valour," the last word, both in Heb. and English, having the twofold meaning of "bravery" and "property").—**23.** Menahem's son, Pekahiah, after a short reign was murdered by Pekah, who is also mentioned in Tiglath-pileser's annals under 733 B.C.—**29.** The district ravaged by the Assyrians (p. 29) corresponds with that attacked by Ben-hadad of Syria (1 K. 15_{20}). Pekah had made an alliance with Rezin of Syria against Judah (16_{5}, Is. 7 and 9$_1$).

XVI. Reign of Ahaz.—This chapter is assigned to different sources, and deals mainly with the king's alteration of the Temple, though it alludes to his apostasy and his wars. The Temple record (10_{-18}) may be compared to similar passages in 2 K.—*e.g.* 11, 124ff. The verdict on Ahaz is more unfavourable than on any king of Judah except Manasseh.

1. Ahaz.—The full name was *Yehoahaz*, and it appears in almost this form in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser. The king mentioned in 23_{31} is properly Jehoahaz II.—**3.** Ahaz is the only Israelite king who is expressly said to have been guilty of sacrificing his son in this manner (32_{7}*). Child sacrifice became dreadfully common in the last days of the monarchy. According to 23_{10}, the place was Tophet (Jer. 73_{1}*), in the Valley of Hinnom.—**5.** For the invasion of Judah by Rezin and Pekah see pp. 70f., Is. 7$_{1}$f., and the parallel passage 2 Ch. 28_{1-15}.—**6. Elath:** 1 K. 9_{26}*; it could not have been "recovered" by the Syrians since, so far as we know, they had never owned it. Read "the Edomites" (*mg.*), who as the natural owners of the country came and occupied Elath after Rezin had dispossessed the Judæans.—**7–9.** Ahaz became an Assyrian vassal by sending a present, *i.e.* tribute, to Tiglath-pileser. Damascus was besieged by the Assyrians in 732 B.C. There is no other record of the Syrians being taken captive to Kir, nor is the place mentioned in the LXX. But see Am. 1_5*, 9_8.—**10–16.** Ahaz went to do homage to his master, Tiglath-pileser, at Damascus. There he saw an altar, the pattern of which took his fancy, and he had it copied for his Temple at Jerusalem. No blame is here suggested, though a sinister interpretation is given in 2 Ch. 28_{16-27}. —**Urijah** is mentioned in Is. 8_2.—**17*f.*** Ahaz was compelled to diminish the splendour of the Temple in

order to pay the Assyrian tribute. For the "bases," "sea," and "oxen," see 1 K. 723,27. Brass was valued highly; when the Temple was finally destroyed, all the brazen vessels in it were broken up and carried to Babylon (Jer. 5217–24).

XVII. 1–6. Reign of Hoshea and Destruction of Samaria.—Hoshea has been previously mentioned (1530). According to the inscription of Tiglath-pileser, Hoshea was put on the throne by the Assyrians. Shalmaneser V (pp. 59, 70) reigned from 727 to 722 B.C., and the fall of Samaria was in 722. So, king of Egypt (4), has been identified with Sabako, the founder of the 25th Dynasty. Our narrative presents considerable historical difficulties. Shalmaneser is said (3) to have attacked Hoshea because he refused tribute, and to have shut him up in prison. Then (5) the king came and besieged Samaria for three years, and in the ninth year of Hoshea he took it. But the short reign of Shalmaneser leaves little time for three years' siege and an earlier expedition. The king of Assyria who took Samaria was Sargon (722–706 B.C.).

XVII. 7–23. A Recapitulation of the Reasons for Israel's Captivity.—The language recalls Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. The sins for which Israel is condemned are: (*a*) the building of high places, pillars, and Asherim (9f.; 1 K. 12*, pp. 98–100); (*b*) idolatry (12,16); (*c*) making their children pass through the fire and using divination and enchantments (Is. 26); (*d*) walking in the sins of Jeroboam (see 1 K. 12). A statement of Judah's sin is added in 19.

[**9. from the tower . . . city:** every type of city from the most insignificant upwards.—A. S. P.]

XVII. 24–41. The Origin of the Samaritans.—This is a somewhat mixed account. 24–28 describes the settlement of the land with captives from other parts of the Assyrian empire, and the sending of a priest to teach them "the manner of the God of the country." Next, 29–33 relates that the new settlers not only "feared" (*i.e.* worshipped) Yahweh, but also served their own gods. Finally (34–41) there is a general statement regarding the sin of Israel. This has no connexion with what precedes, nor does it in any way describe the Samaritan religion. It is perhaps nothing more than a new description of the sins for which Israel and Judah were carried away captive.

XVII. 24. the king of Assyria: see above. In Ezr. 42 the king who settled Northern Israel is called Esarhaddon (pp. 59f.), the son of Sennacherib (681–668 B.C.). In Ezr. 410 it is said to have been "the great and noble Osnappar," probably Asshurbani-pal (p. 60), Esar-haddon's successor. The mention of Babylon as a city conquered by the Assyrians is a mark of accuracy. In later days it was, of course, the great oppressor of Judah (see on 2017).—**25.** The rabbis called the Samaritans "proselytes of lions." The lion has long disappeared from Palestine, but was evidently common enough in OT times. A depopulated district soon became dangerous owing to the rapid multiplication of wild beasts, and it was necessary to go armed (see Ex. 2328–30, Is. 724). The sending of the lions was thought to indicate the displeasure of Yahweh, the God of the country, at the rites in His honour not being duly performed.—**32.** The high-place worship continued after the Exile, but we find no trace of it later in Samaria.—**41.** At the time of the Return the Samaritans expressly claimed that they had the same religion as the Jews (Ezr. 42). The first expression outside the OT of the Jews' bitter hatred for the Samaritans is in Ecclus. 5026. Josephus and the rabbis call them Cutheans (see 24). The antagonism between Jews and Samaritans in the NT is notorious (Jn. 49).

XVIII.–XX. The Reign of Hezekiah.—These three chapters give an account of the reign of the best king of Judah, and a parallel but somewhat less full account is found in Is. 36-39. There is another account in 2 Ch. 29f. The annalistic tablets, etc., of the Assyrian kings give us more information about Hezekiah than about any other king. They confirm the good impression given in the Bible; but the chronology, if we follow them, has to be completely modified. To understand the history contained in 18–20 the following facts and dates should be borne in mind: (*a*) Samaria fell in the reign of Sargon, in 722 B.C. (*b*) Merodach-baladan (2012) established himself as king in Babylon (721), and held his own against Sargon till 710. (*c*) Sargon's army overran Judah about 711 (Is. 201). (*d*) Sargon died 706 and his son Sennacherib invaded Judah 701. (*e*) Sennacherib died 681. Consequently (i.) the illness of Hezekiah and the mission of Merodach-baladan took place before 711, so that 2 K. 20 really comes earlier than 2 K. 1813; (ii.) Sennacherib's invasion was near the end of the reign of Hezekiah; and (iii.), despite 1937, Sennacherib lived nearly twenty years after the loss of his army. See further, p. 59.

XVIII. 1–12. Accession of Hezekiah. Fall of Samaria.—Hezekiah's reforms were in full accord with the commands in Dt. It is frequently stated in Kings that no king of Judah, however good he had otherwise been, dared to do this. It gave much offence (*cf.* 1822), and provoked a reaction under Manasseh.—**the brazen serpent:** *cf.* Nu. 218f.* The serpent which Moses made was a fiery serpent, Heb. *saraph* (*cf.* the seraphim in the Temple, Is. 62*).—**Nehushtan:** the word is obscure. If Hezekiah called the serpent this name it would be reproachful, "a thing of brass" (*cf. mg.*). If it was the popular name by which it was worshipped, it may be connected with *nahash*, "a serpent."—**9. Shalmaneser:** see on 173.—**10. they took it:** perhaps the writer knew that the king who besieged Samaria (9) was not the captor of the city.

XVIII. 13 – XIX. 37. Sennacherib's Campaign.—13. In the fourteenth year: if Hezekiah began to reign five years before the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.), and Sennacherib did not succeed till 706 B.C., this date cannot be correct. The king of Assyria took upwards of 200,000 Jewish captives.—**14. Lachish** (p. 28) was besieged by Sennacherib, and his exploits there are depicted on a bas-relief in the British Museum.—**16. which Hezekiah overlaid:** Skinner asks, "Should it be *Solomon?*" Like Ahaz (168), Hezekiah despoiled the Temple to buy off the Assyrians.—**17.** Tartan (the commander), Rabsaris (chief eunuch), Rabshakeh (chief cupbearer), were three great Assyrian officials. —**the conduit of the upper pool:** *cf.* 2020; see also 2 Ch. 3230.—**19. the great king** was a very ancient title, and was later assumed by the Persians. It is frequently used in the cuneiform inscriptions from very ancient times.—**21.** The Jews' confidence that Egypt would protect them from the Assyrians and other invaders was denounced by Isaiah (Is. 301–5), and continually proved fallacious. A similar confidence had caused the ruin of the northern kingdom (174). Sargon defeated the Egyptians at Raphia in 718 B.C. (pp. 59, 71). Sennacherib had just before this won the victory of El-tekeh (pp. 59, 71). A century later their intrigues with Egypt proved fatal to the Jews in the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.—**22.** Most critics regard this reference to Hezekiah's reform as

an interpolation. But if genuine it bears witness alike to the unpopularity in some quarters of Hezekiah's reform and the shrewd appreciation of the political situation by the observant Rab-shakeh.—**26.** The Syrian language was widely diffused throughout the East, and is known as Aramaic (p. 36). It was used by the Jews in Egypt in the fifth century B.C., as the Mond and other papyri testify.

XIX. 2. unto Isaiah: from the Book of Isaiah we learn that the prophet had steadily opposed Hezekiah's intrigues against Assyria.—**Shebna:** Is. 22₁₅₋₂₅*.—**9.** Ethiopia was the country S. of Egypt. At a time later than this (681 B.C. ?), Tirhakah seems to have established his government in Egypt. There is, therefore, a chronological difficulty in the mention of him here (p. 72). He is, however, not called "king of Egypt," and he may have been acting as an ally of the princes of the Nile valley.—**10–13.** Sennacherib's letter to Hezekiah, showing how hopeless it was for a king of Judah to resist him after all his victories over powerful nations.—**15–19.** Hezekiah's prayer to Yahweh, "who sitteth upon the cherubim" (1 S. 4₄, 2 S. 6₂, 1 K. 6*), praying Him to vindicate His honour against the false gods of the heathen.—**21–31.** Isaiah's "taunt song" against Sennacherib, and the sign given to Hezekiah. The king of Assyria destroyed the nations because their gods were idols, but since he had blasphemed the living God, he would be turned back by the way he came. The "sign" was that for two years the people of Jerusalem would eat the corn that sprang up from old harvests, but that in the third year they would sow and reap as usual (29).—**35. the angel of the Lord:** Herodotus (ii. 141) has a story that Sennacherib's army was destroyed by a pestilence owing to the prayers of a pious king of Egypt. The pestilence is connected with the angel in 2 S. 24₁₅.—**37.** Sennacherib was murdered by his sons in 681 B.C., twenty years after the invasion of Judah, if the date (701 B.C.) is correct.

XX. 1–11. Sickness of Hezekiah.—This is related in the parallel passage, Is. 38, in a much abbreviated form, save that it adds the prayer of Hezekiah after his recovery. Is. 38 omits 4 (Isaiah being recalled "afore he was gone out of the middle court" (*mg.*) of the palace, 5*b* (promising that Hezekiah shall go up to the Temple on the third day), 8 (Hezekiah's request for a sign), 9–11*a* (the alternative sign, Hezekiah's choice, and Isaiah's crying to Yahweh).

11. the dial of Ahaz: Heb. "the steps" (*mg.*). Probably the shadow on certain steps indicated the hours of the day. Sundials were used in Babylonia, and Ahaz seems (16₁₀₋₁₆) to have been interested in what he saw when away from Jerusalem, and anxious to introduce curious and artistic novelties (see also 23₁₂). [Hezekiah regards the going forward of the shadow as a trifle since it simply accelerated the motion in the direction in which it was already travelling; for it to go backward was hard, because it reversed the natural. inevitable direction.—A. S. P.]

XX. 12–21. The Embassy of Merodach-baladan.—The correct name of this king (*mg.*) is preserved in the parallel passage, Is. 39. The sickness of Hezekiah and the embassy for which his recovery was an excuse must have taken place before the events in chs. 18f. (see above).—**13.** Hezekiah's display of his treasures and armour was evidently intended to impress the king of Babylon with his readiness to enter upon a concerted rebellion against Assyria. This must have been before the spoliation of the Temple to pay the tribute to Assyria (18₁₆).—**17.** Isaiah, as we see from his prophecies, was consistently opposed to any intrigues with foreign nations to throw off the yoke of Assyria. The inscriptions show that Hezekiah was exceedingly active in concerting rebellions to free himself and his nation from the oppressor. The prophet here foretells the Babylonian Captivity, which took place after the fall of Nineveh. Babylon at this time was not the head of a mighty empire, but had been seized by Merodach-baladan, who was afterwards expelled by the Assyrian conqueror.—**20. the pool:** perhaps the remarkable canal connecting the Temple Hill with Siloam, a great engineering feat celebrated in the Siloam inscription (2 Ch. 32₃₀, Ecclus. 47₁₇).

XXI. 1–26. Reigns of Manasseh and Amon.—The fact that the reformation begun by Hezekiah was so thoroughly undone at his death, and that his son was able to reign undisturbed for fifty-five years, proves that his reforms were only superficial and could not have been popular. The thoroughly Deuteronomic tone of this chapter is very noticeable. The idolatry of Manasseh is specially condemned in Dt. 4₁₉, 17₁₃, 18₁₀f. He is the only king of Judah who is compared to Ahab (3 and 13). According to 2 Ch. 33₁₋₂₀, Manasseh repented when he was in captivity in Babylon, was restored to his kingdom, and on his return reformed Jerusalem and the Temple, very little being said of their purification by Josiah. The progress of the reforms in Judah, as described in Kings, is comparable to the swing of the pendulum during our Reformation. Hezekiah removed the high places and destroyed some of the idolatrous objects in the Temple. Manasseh and his son reverted to the older practices, and for seventy-five years nothing was done. Then came the drastic reformation under Josiah; but after his death, to judge from Jeremiah, things drifted into their ancient condition till the fall of the city. The kings of Assyria in Manasseh's reign were perhaps Sennacherib (705–681), Esarhaddon (681–668), and Assur-bani-pal (668–626). Manasseh, in one case as king of the *city* of Judah, appears in Assyrian inscriptions by Esarhaddon (677 B.C.) and Assur-bani-pal (668 B.C.).

3. the host of heaven: the worship of the heavenly bodies is forbidden in Dt., but there are no allusions to it till we reach the times of the Assyrian invasions. It is (if we except Am. 5₂₆) first mentioned in connexion with Manasseh, and after his time it was the form of idolatry most prevalent in Judah. G. A. Smith (*Jerusalem*, vol. ii. pp. 181ff.) says that Jerusalem stands in a position peculiarly fitted for observing the rise of the heavenly bodies. The worship was conducted on roofs, where altars were placed, and in private houses. See Dt. 4₁₉, Jer. 7₁₈, 44₁₇ff. (worship of the queen of heaven), Zeph. 1₅, Ezek. 8₁₆ (worship of the sun). Esarhaddon formally established his own religion in Zidon, and possibly Manasseh became a worshipper of the host of heaven to please his master. —**5. the two courts:** this is supposed to be a post-exilic gloss, as there was but one court in the older Temple. But there was both an inner (1 K. 6₃₆) and an outer court there, and G. A. Smith (*Jerusalem*, vol. ii. p. 181, note) does not consider the post-exilic theory necessary.—**13. the line . . . plummet:** *cf.* Am. 7₈*, Is. 34₁₁*, Lam. 2₈. In all of these passages the metaphor is destruction. But it is hard to see why the line and plummet, which are used for construction, should have this meaning. Perhaps they are used as tests or standards, and here Jerusalem and Ahaz are to be submitted to the same crucial moral test and punishment as Samaria and the house of Ahab. (See HDB, "Plummet.")

XXII. 1–XXIII. 30*a*. The Reign and Reforms of

Josiah.—The fifty-seven years of the reigns of Manasseh and Amon were, according to Kings (not Chronicles), a period of apostasy, which probably continued for the first ten years of Josiah. The prophetic party had consequently remained out of power since the persecution of Manasseh (21¹⁶). They regained their influence by the discovery of the "Book of the Law" (8). The prophetess Huldah, on being consulted, foretold that all the calamities predicted in the book would come true, but that Josiah should go to his grave in peace and not witness the ruin of his people (16–20). The result of this message was, first, a drastic reformation of the Temple and the kingdom of Judah (23¹–¹⁴), and, secondly, the destruction of the famous northern sanctuary of Bethel (15–20). Finally, Josiah kept a solemn passover (21–23), and suppressed those who practised occult arts (24). Yet for all his unique goodness the judgment due to Manasseh was not averted (25–27). Josiah was killed at Megiddo in an attempt to prevent the march of the king of Egypt to the Euphrates (29f.).

These chapters, like 21, are much influenced by Dt. The main part, like 2 K. 11, 12**4**ff., 16¹⁰⁻¹⁸, may come from the Temple archives.

XXII. 4. Hilkiah the high priest: it is doubtful whether this title was used before the Exile. Jehoiada is once thus called (12¹⁰), but he and Hilkiah are generally styled "the priest."—**8. the book of the law:** the general identity of this book with a large section of Dt. is now commonly assumed, though the question is by no means decided (pp. 74f., 89f., 231f.). The facts related in Kings which must be borne in mind are: (*a*) The "apostasy," after the death of Hezekiah, had lasted for over seventy years, and the persecution (21¹⁶) may have included the destruction of the law-books. The "finding" of a copy is, therefore, not incredible. (*b*) It is called "the book of the law" here, and more generally "a book" in 10. In 23²⁵ mention is made of the Law of Moses, but he was regarded as the source of all Israelite law. The Chronicler (2 Ch. 34¹⁴) expressly identifies the discovery of Hilkiah with the Law of Moses. (*c*) The book contained prophecies of destruction, and caused certain reforms to be carried out. These latter were: (i.) objects of idolatry and for the worship of the "host of heaven" were destroyed; (ii.) the priests of the high places were removed, and Jerusalem was made the only sanctuary; (iii.) Bethel, the great rival sanctuary, was destroyed. Deuteronomy, in addition to being full of threats against apostasy like those implied in this chapter, denounces the same sort of evils as those which Josiah endeavoured to extirpate. It should be noted that the account of Hilkiah's discovery does not directly attribute the book to Moses (but see 23²⁵); it is the Chronicler who, more than three centuries later, assigns it to Moses, and implies that Hilkiah discovered the Pentateuch. The suggestion that Hilkiah himself forged the book and pretended to discover it is unworthy of consideration.—**14. in the second quarter:** the AV has the strange rendering, "in the college." The fact that at this great crisis an otherwise unknown person like the prophetess Huldah, and not Jeremiah, was consulted, is an argument for the genuineness of the statement.—**19.** The Heb. as it stands indicates that something has fallen out. Perhaps, following LXX and Vulg., we should read: "Inasmuch as thou hast heard my words and thine heart was tender." Josiah, like Ahab (1 K. 21²⁹), was told that he should not see the downfall of his house. Between 1 K. 22³⁰ and 2 Ch. 35²² there is a curious coincidence, that both these kings, so different in character, disguised themselves before entering into the battles in which they died.

XXIII. 3. by the pillar . . . covenant: for the word "pillar" see 11¹⁴ and 1 K. 7²¹. In the latter passage it is used for the two great brazen pillars set up by Solomon before the porch of the Temple. In making the covenant the king takes the lead. The ceremony was accompanied by a sacrifice; hence the phrase in Heb. is to *cut* a covenant (Gen. 15¹⁷*, Jer. 34¹⁸) or divide the victims. The newly discovered volume is called (2) the book of the covenant; *cf.* Ex. 24⁷, where the "book" was sprinkled with sacrificial blood. In a covenant there was not necessarily an implication that there were two parties. The king made this before Yahweh. Skinner (Cent.B) says, "The effect of the covenant was to give to the Deuteronomic Code the force of statute law."

Josiah's reformation (6–16) may be classified under the following heads:

A. 4, 6*f.*, 10–12. Reformation of the Temple.—(i.) **4, 6.** Hilkiah and the "second priest" (? for priests of the second order; *cf.* 25¹⁸, Jer. 52²⁴) were ordered to bring all idolatrous objects and vessels out of the Temple, which were burned by the Kidron. (ii.) **7:** All the votaries of impure rites were ejected. (iii.) **10.** The Moloch worship was abolished, and Tophet (Jer. 7³¹*) in the valley of the children of Hinnom (Gehinnom, Gehenna, Mt. 5²²) was defiled. (iv.) **11f.:** The cult of the heavenly bodies (21³*) was put down by the destruction of the "horses of the sun" and the altars on the roofs.

B. 5, 8*f.*, 13*f.* Reformation in Jerusalem and Judah.—(i.) **5:** The idolatrous priests, *Kemarim* (Hos. 10¹⁵, Zeph. 1⁴), were put down, together with their high places. (ii.) **8f.** The priests of the ordinary high places where Yahweh was worshipped were removed to Jerusalem and recognised as priests, for, though not allowed to sacrifice, they were permitted to eat the unleavened bread provided for priests. (iii.) **8, 13f.:** The "high places of the gates" (or perhaps of satyrs or demons) and the idolatrous shrines erected by Solomon on the "mount of offence," S. of the Mt. of Olives, were defiled by the king.

C. 15. Josiah's Destruction of the Altar of Bethel.—This showed that the misfortunes predicted in the "law book" which had already befallen Israel were due to the sin of Jeroboam.

XXIII. 16–20. The grave of the prophet. This is evidently an addition to the original story. The altar, which in 15 had been destroyed, is supposed to be still standing. "The man of God" is, of course, the disobedient prophet of 1 K. 13. Samaria (18f.) is evidently the province and not the city. Josiah is represented as purifying the whole district from the high-place worship. From Jer. 41⁹ we learn that even after the destruction of the Temple the ruins were visited by devout Israelites from that district.

XXIII. 21–24. Celebration of the Passover. The mention of the eighteenth year (23; *cf.* 22³) shows that the reforms of Josiah occupied six months. The book was discovered in the first month of the civil year, in autumn. It was read (*cf.* Dt. 31¹⁰⁻¹²) at the Feast of Tabernacles. The Passover contemplated in Dt. 16⁶ was celebrated in the central sanctuary. It was not the domestic feast of the Priestly Code (Ex. 12), but a general assembly of the nation. In 2 Ch. 30 Hezekiah is said to have kept a similar feast, but this is denied in 22.

XXIII. 29*f.* Death of Josiah.—Pharaoh-necoh (pp. 60, 72) is the first Pharaoh in the Bible whose name is given. He belonged to the 26th Dynasty. Apparently, when

he advanced to occupy a position on the Euphrates, Josiah, prompted either by loyalty to his former masters, the Assyrians, or confident that his reforms had secured him Divine support, tried to stop the progress of the Egyptians at Megiddo. His defeat sealed Judah's ruin (Jer. 22^{10}). Megiddo is the Armageddon (*Har-magedon*) of the Apocalypse (Rev. 16^{16}). The date of Josiah's defeat is about 608 B.C.

XXIII. 31–XXV. 21. Fall and Captivity of Judah.—The last kings of Judah were Jehoahaz and Eliakim (Jehoiakim), sons of Josiah; Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim; and Zedekiah (Mattaniah), another son of Josiah. The history of this period is related or alluded to throughout the Book of Jeremiah. Its most important feature is the rise of the Babylonian or Chaldean empire under Nabopolassar and his son Nebuchadrezzar (pp. 60, 72f.).

XXIII. 31–35. Jehoahaz.—This king was also called Shallum (Jer. 22^{11}). His captivity in Egypt is the subject of an elegy by Ezekiel (Ezek. 19$^{1-4}$). The scene of his first imprisonment, "Riblah in the land of Hamath," was also that of Zedekiah's humiliation (2 K. 25^{21}, Jer. 39^{5}).

XXIII. 36.–XXIV. 7. Jehoiakim.—A fuller account of the reign is given by Jeremiah, who consistently opposed the king (see Jer. 25–27, 35f., and especially 22$^{13-19}$).

The external events of the time are as follows (p. 60). The Assyrian empire came to an end with the fall of Nineveh, about 606 B.C. In 605 B.C. the Egyptians were utterly defeated and driven out of Syria after the battle of Carchemish (Jer. 46^{2}; see 2 K. 24^{7}). Nebuchadrezzar succeeded his father in that year, when Jehoiakim transferred his allegiance from Egypt to Babylon (24^{1}). After three years he rebelled, and was harried by raids (2). His end is obscure; Jeremiah (22^{19}) foretold a disgraceful burial. 2 Ch. 36^{6} says that he was taken captive to Babylon. Here (6) it is simply said that "he slept with his fathers."

XXIV. 4. The innocent blood (Jer. 27$^{16-24}$). The king tried to kill Jeremiah, but the elders remonstrated. He actually put to death a prophet named Urijah.

XXIV. 7. The king of Egypt had been at first the suzerain of Jehoiakim. The Jews to the last, as they had done in the time of Isaiah (Is. 31), hoped for help from Egypt (Jer. 37^{7}).

XXIV. 8–17. Jehoiachin and the First Captivity of Judah.—The name of this king is also given as Coniah (Jer. 22^{24}) and Jeconiah (Jer. 29^{2}). Evidently Babylon's vengeance for his father's treachery fell on him.—**8. Eighteen years old:** 2 Ch. 36^{9} has "eight," an obvious error, for Jehoiachin was evidently grown up (Jer. 22^{28}). The Captivity dates from his reign, and he is considered the last of the kings of Judah. Only the most desirable of the inhabitants of Jerusalem (16) were made captive. The rest were left under the king's uncle, Mattaniah, whose name was changed to Zedekiah (righteousness of Yahweh), as was customary in the case of vassal monarchs (23^{34}).

XXIV. 18–XXV. 7. Zedekiah. Destruction of Temple and City.—This event is related more fully in Jeremiah. Zedekiah seems to have been well-meaning but weak, and inclined to favour Jeremiah when not hindered by his nobles. The siege of Jerusalem, which lasted nearly two years (25$^{1-4}$), is more fully related in Jer. 37–39^{7}.—**XXV. 6. and they gave judgement upon him:** Zedekiah's offence was intriguing with Egypt and breaking his treaty with Nebuchadrezzar (Ezek. 17^{15}).

XXV. 8–26. Destruction of Jerusalem. Fate of the Remnant.—This again is more fully related in Jeremiah (Jer. 39^{8}–42^{22}), of which the passage before us is probably an abridgement.—**8.** Nebuzar-adan treated Jeremiah with marked favour (Jer. 40^{8}).

22. Gedaliah established himself at Mizpah in Benjamin (Jos. 82^{6}). His murder by Ishmael was the ruin of the remnant, which escaped to Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them (p. 73).

XXV. 27–30. Jehoiachin Restored to Honour.—Nebuchadrezzar succeeded his father 605 B.C., and reigned till 562 B.C. The first captivity took place thirty-seven years before Jehoiachin's release, or about 598 B.C. Evil-Merodach, the successor of Nebuchadrezzar, only reigned two years, till 560 B.C. There is no record of the year of Jehoiachin's death, and consequently of the earliest possible date of the Book of Kings in its present form.

I. AND II. CHRONICLES

By Dr. W. O. E. OESTERLEY

Title.—The present title is due to Jerome, and well represents the Hebrew *Dibre ha-jamîm*, lit. "Things of the days," *i.e.* Annals. 1 and 2 Ch. were originally not divided; in the Hebrew Bible they form a single book. The division into two separate books comes from the LXX. We shall treat it here as one book. For the relationship between Ch. and Ezr.–Neh., all of which formed originally one large work, see Intr. to Ezr.–Neh.

Divisions.—There are four main, clearly-marked divisions, viz. (i.) The history from Adam to David, 1 Ch. 1–9; (ii.) The history of David, 1 Ch. 10–29; (iii.) The history of the reign of Solomon, 2 Ch. 1–9; (iv.) The history of Judah from Rehoboam to the edict of Cyrus, 2 Ch. 10–36. It is noticeable that the Chronicler devotes much more attention to the history of his people during the period prior to the division of the kingdom.

Place in the Canon.—In the EV the book follows immediately after 1 and 2 K., but in the Hebrew Bible it is placed at the end of the *Hagiographa*, and is thus the last book of all. That this was its original position is to be gathered from Christ's words in Mt. 23$_{35}$*, Lk. 11$_{51}$ (*cf.* 2 Ch. 24$_{20-22}$), where He is not referring to the limits of time, but to the limits of the Sacred Canon, from Gen. to Ch. (Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament* [1892], p. 141).

Characteristics.—The most outstanding of these is to be seen in the purpose for which the book was written. The writer, or compiler, does not write as a historian, but with the object of interpreting history in the light of later developments; on the other hand, he desires to utilise past history for the practical purpose of placing the circumstances and conditions of his day in what he considers the right perspective; so that he has often to read the past in the light of the present, and to modify his version of the records accordingly. By this means he is able to place before his readers what he conceives to be historical authority for doctrines and practices which are near to his heart. It would be the greatest mistake to impute bad faith to the Chronicler on this account; if he altered, modified, or added to the sources before him in making his compilation, he did so from right motives and in obedience to fixed convictions. Two authorities existed to which he had recourse in undertaking this work for his people: the historical records of the past, and the Pentateuch together with the oral tradition inseparably connected with it. To the Chronicler there could be no sort of doubt as to which was the more authoritative; the Law was immeasurably more holy than the numerous and often faulty historical records of which 1 and 2 S. and 1 and 2 K. were examples; so that it was by the Divine Law that he felt himself bound to be guided. Now, in many respects, the historical records manifested not only divergence from, but direct contradiction to, the Law both in its written and oral form; they could not, therefore, both be right. Since it was unthinkable to the Chronicler that the Divine Law could be wrong he was obviously forced to regard the historical records as in error; he was, therefore, in duty bound to reconstruct these, in the compilation he was drawing up, in such a way as to bring them into harmony with the teaching of the Law. The Chronicler acted not only in good faith, but in a way to which there was no alternative; any other course would have been, to his mind, disloyal to the Law and a grave dereliction of duty to the people of the Law, as the Jews of his day claimed to be. His main attention is, therefore, centred upon what he regarded as the highest things of the Law, namely, ritual and worship, the Temple, its building and furniture down to minute details, the celebration of the festivals, and, most important of all, the ministers and officers; and, regarding the latter, it is noticeable that he is chiefly interested in the Levites, much more so than in the priests; and among those things with which the Levites were specially concerned the Temple music has most attraction for him. Everything of a secular character which he finds in his sources is either passed over altogether or only cursorily referred to, and then with the manifest purpose of showing that the religious side of things is what is really important. One striking way whereby the Chronicler carries out his purpose is by means of developing a historical narrative into a Midrash (2 Ch. 13$_{22}$*), thus turning it into a didactic and edifying religious story. This midrashic element is very pronounced in our book, and it usually serves the purpose of glorifying either the Temple worship or something connected with it, or else the Levitical priesthood. (See on Jos. 22$_{9-34}$.)

Other characteristics, but of less importance, are the writer's fondness for genealogies and statistics. There is also considerable exaggeration where numbers are concerned; not that the Chronicler has the slightest intention to deceive, it is simply the result of his tendency to idealise and magnify the past history of his nation.

Historical Value.—As a whole our book cannot be said to offer trustworthy history about the times of which it professes to tell, excepting where details are taken from the historical books and have not been coloured by the compiler. In some cases, however, it is possible that a narrative of Samuel or Kings may be supplemented by the Chronicler's account; *e.g.* 1 Ch. 11 10–41 may have been taken from the same source as 2 S. 23$_{8-39}$ (*cf.* Cornill, IOT, E. tr. p. 234); other examples are 2 Ch. 11$_{18-23}$, 13$_{2,21}$, 26$_{1-23}$, 27$_{1-7}$, 28$_{1-27}$, 32$_{1-23}$, 33$_{1-20}$. (On the subject of this and the two preceding paragraphs, see pp. 48f., 75–77.)

Language.—The Heb. of Ch. is that of the last stage of the language of the OT; it lacks the easy flow and simple dignity of classical Hebrew, offering instead

a style which is stiff and tedious, and cumbrous in expression. Many new words are used which approximate to Aramaic and adumbrate the vocabulary of the Mishna (pp. 35f.).

Date.—The language, as just pointed out, stamps Ch. as among the very latest books of the OT. The main indications as to date in the book itself are as follows: in 2 Ch. 36 22f. reference is made to the edict of Cyrus permitting the return of the Jews, so that at the earliest the book belongs to the Persian period; that it cannot, however, belong to the beginning of this period is clear from 1 Ch. 29 7, where the daric is mentioned; the daric was introduced by Darius I. But the book must belong to a much later date than this, for in 1 Ch. 3 17–24 (even if the RV in 21 represents the correct text) the genealogy from Zerubbabel is carried down to the sixth generation, which would give *c.* 350 B.C. as the earliest date of the book. But in *v.* 21 the reading of the LXX, Pesh., and Vulg., which in all probability represents the right one, brings the genealogy from Zerubbabel down to the eleventh generation; this means that the book cannot have been written until well into the Greek period. We shall probably not be far wrong in assigning the middle of the third century B.C. as the approximate date of our book. The religious standpoint of the writer (see above) accords with this estimate of the date.

Sources.—A considerable list can be made of the sources mentioned by the Chronicler which he utilised in making his compilation. They fall into two categories: (1) historical records, (2) prophetical writings. The former comprise a large work on the history of the kings cited under several names: "The book of the kings of Israel" (1 Ch. 9 1, 2 Ch. 20 31, 33 18); "The book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Ch. 16 11, 25 26, 28 26, 32 32); "The book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (2 Ch. 27 7, 35 27, 36 8), and "The chronicles of king David" (1 Ch. 27 24), which was probably a section of the same large work. In addition to this there is "The commentary (midrash) of the book of the kings" (2 Ch. 24 27). There were thus two historical sources, the large work and the midrash on it. The former was not our Book of Kings; this is clear from the fact that it contained matter which is not in the canonical Kings (see, *e.g.*, 2 Ch. 27 1–7; *cf.* 2 K. 15 31–36, 33 18, 36 8); but it was a work of later date than the canonical Kings, because this latter used separate sources for the histories of the northern and southern kingdoms, whereas in the Chronicler's source the histories of both kingdoms are combined. The reason why the Chronicler did not use the canonical Kings, assuming that it was available for him, was that in the source which he utilised, both the ecclesiastical point of view and the method of handling the material were more in accordance with his own taste. The other historical source is the "midrash of the book of the kings"; many scholars believe that this is really the same as the source just referred to, because it is evident, judging from the Chronicler's excerpts, that the Book of the Kings was itself of a midrashic character; on the other hand, the fact that the Chronicler uses a distinct title in reference to it suggests that it was a different work. It is true that the Book of the Kings utilised by the Chronicler was of a midrashic character, but between this and a book which has the specific title of "Midrash," and which is therefore a Midrash and nothing else, there is a great difference. The balance of probability points to the two sources being different.

Of the other sources, prophetical writings, the names are: "The history (lit. 'words' and so below) of Samuel the seer, the history of Nathan the prophet, and the history of Gad the seer" (1 Ch. 29 29); "The history of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer" (2 Ch. 12 15); "The history of Jehu the son of Hanani, which is inserted in the book of the kings of Israel" (2 Ch. 20 34); "The acts of Uzziah," written by Isaiah the prophet (2 Ch. 26 22): "The history of the seers" (2 Ch. 33 19). While all these were, no doubt, originally independent works, they were most probably all incorporated into the large Book of the Kings, mentioned above, by the time of the Chronicler; this is specifically stated to have been so in the case of one (2 Ch. 20 34). In addition we have "The midrash of the prophet Iddo" (2 Ch. 13 22), which seems to have been an independent work, and "The vision of Isaiah the prophet" in the books of the kings of Judah and Israel (2 Ch. 32 32). The Chronicler does not, therefore, appear to have had any sources more authoritative than the canonical books known to us.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Elmslie** (CB), Ball in *Ellicott's Commentary*, Bennett (Ex.B), Harvey-Jellie (Cent.B). (*b*) **Curtiss** (ICC). (*c*) Oettli, Bertheau (KEH), Kittel (SBOT) (HK), **Benzinger** (KHS). *Other Literature:* Introductions to OT., Robertson Smith, OTJC,[2] pp. 140–148; articles in the Bible Dictionaries.

THE FIRST BOOK OF CHRONICLES

PART I (1 Ch. 1–9). **Genealogical Lists, together with Geographical and Historical Notes.**—These chapters form a general introduction to the whole work. They contain the following genealogies, often in an incomplete form: Adam to Israel (1–27)—with the exception of Cain's descendants (Gen. 4 16–22)—the whole material is taken from Gen. 1–36; Judah (2 3–55); David (3 1–24); Judah again, and made up of fragments (4 1–23); Simeon (4 24–43); Reuben, Gad, and half the tribe (the eastern) of Manasseh (5 1–26); Levi and the Levitical cities (6 1–81); Issachar (7 1–5); Benjamin (7 6–12); Naphtali (7 13); half the tribe of Manasseh (the western) (7 14–19); Ephraim (7 20–29); Asher (7 30–40); Benjamin again, together with the house of Saul (8 1–40). Then follows an enumeration of the inhabitants of Jerusalem given in the order: sons of Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim, Manasseh, priests, Levites, doorkeepers (9 1–44); 35–44 are repeated verbally from 8 29–38.

PART II (1 Ch. 10–29). **The Reign of David.—X. 1–14. The Death of Saul** (see notes on 1 S. 31 1–13). **—10. the house of their gods:** altered purposely by the Chronicler instead of "the house of Ashtaroth" in 1 S. 31 10 (LXX Ashtoreth).—**his head in the house of Dagon:** 1 S. 31 10 "his body to the wall of Beth-Shan." **—12. buried:** according to 1 S. 31 12 the bodies were first burned; this detail was purposely omitted by the Chronicler as such a practice was revolting to him, being against the Law (*cf.* Dt. 21 23) excepting as a punishment for grievous forms of sin (Lev. 20 14, 21 9).—**13f.** An addition by the Chronicler in order to explain why Yahweh's anointed came by such a terrible end.—**inquired not of the LORD:** 1 S. 28 6 does not bear this out.

XI. 1–47. David Made King in Hebron; Jerusalem Taken; David's Mighty Men (see notes on 2 S. 5 1–3, 6–10, 23 8–39).—**42–47.** An addition by the Chronicler from some unknown source.

XII. 1–40. David's Supporters.—An enumeration of those who rallied round David during his outlaw life in Ziklag (*cf.* 1 S. 27 5f.), and a list of those who were

instrumental in setting him upon the throne.—**2. they were of Saul's brethren of Benjamin:** *cf.* 16ff., 29; it is difficult to believe that Saul was deserted by his own kinsfolk (see 2 S. 2$_{25,31}$) in any great numbers. Benjaminites occupied positions of importance in post-exilic times (see Neh. 11$_{7-9}$), which probably has something to do with the Chronicler's assertions.—**15. in the first month . . . :** *i.e.* Nisan (=April (approximately).—**18. the spirit came upon:** lit. "clothed" (Jg. 6$_{34}$*).—**Thine are we . . . thy God helpeth thee:** a poetical fragment, probably old, even though it does not occur in 2 S.—**23ff.** *Cf.* 11$_{1-3}$.—**29. of the children of Benjamin . . . the greatest part of them:** but see 2 S. 29f.

XIII. 1–14. The Bringing up of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim to the House of Obed-Edom (*cf.* 2 S. 6$_{1-11}$).—The event here mentioned is put in its wrong place by the Chronicler (see 2 S. 5$_{11-25}$) with the object of emphasizing David's zeal for the worship of Yahweh, which is represented as his first care after being made king and the taking of Jerusalem.—**1–4.** An introduction inserted by the Chronicler setting forth his own point of view.—**5. Shihor:** conceived of as the southern boundary of ancient Israel; there is, of course, no mention of this in the parallel account in 2 S.—**the entering in of Hamath:** the northern boundary (*cf.* Nu. 13$_{21}$, Jos. 13$_5$, Jg. 33).—**6–14.** See notes on 2 S. 6 1–11.—**14.** The RV rendering here is misleading; the words should run, following the Hebrew text as it stands: "And the ark of God abode among the people (lit. 'house') of Obed-edom in its house . . . "; it is possible, in view of 2 S. 6$_{10}$f., that "in its house" is a textual error for "the Gittite." If, however, the Hebrew text as it stands is correct, the difference between this passage and its parallel 2 S. 6$_{11}$ is significant, for in the latter the Ark is stated to have been placed in the house of Obed-edom, while the Chronicler, regarding the Ark as too holy to abide in an ordinary house, supposes a special one (presumably a tent; *cf.* 15$_1$), to have been erected for it.

XIV. 1–17. David's Victory over the Philistines.—See notes on 2 S. 5$_{11-25}$.—**17.** An addition by the Chronicler.

XV. 1–XVI. 43. The Bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem (*cf.* 2 S. 6$_{12-20a}$).—The account given by the Chronicler is much more elaborate, stress being laid on the part played by the priests and Levites; they are not mentioned in 2 S.—**XV. 2.** *Cf.* Nu. 15$_0$, 41$_5$, 79, 101$_7$. On the previous occasion of the removal of the Ark, the Law had not been observed (13$_7$; *cf.* 15$_{13}$). —**12. sanctify yourselves:** this was done by washing of garments (Ex.19$_{10-14}$), by sexual abstinence (Ex.19$_{15}$), and by bodily cleansing (Gen. 35$_2$).—**13. made a breach upon us:** *cf.* 13$_{11}$; for the underlying idea, see 14$_{11}$. —**17. Heman . . . Asaph . . . Ethan:** *cf.* 6$_{31-48}$; these three names became the designations of guilds of Temple-singers and musicians. Asaph is usually mentioned first, and his office was probably the most important. The office which, as far as we know, he was the first to fill continued as long as the Temple stood, for the Temple official of later days, whose special duty it was to superintend the psalmody, may be regarded as essentially the successor of Asaph; under him was a large number of musicians, including singers and instrumentalists who accompanied with singing of psalms and playing of stringed instruments the daily burnt offering (Mishna, *Yoma*, iii. 11; *Tamid*, vii. 3). For Ethan the more usual name is Jeduthun.—**18. their brethren of the second degree:** it is impossible to say with certainty what were the specific duties of these, but as those of the first degree—Asaph, Heman, and Ethan—were primarily singers (though they also played on the cymbals), possibly those of the second degree were those who restricted themselves to the accompaniment of the singing on stringed instruments, etc.—**20. psalteries set to Alamoth:** by "psalteries" are meant harps (*nebel*); the expression "set to Alamoth," or "upon Alamoth," is difficult; it means lit. "after the manner of maidens," and may thus refer to high pitch; in the case before us the meaning would thus be that the harps which accompanied the singing were to be played on a high pitch (*cf.* Ps. 46 Title, 48$_{14}$*). On the question of singing-women in the Temple, see the note on Ezr. 2$_{65}$; here reference may be made to Am. 8$_3$*, where, according to the probably correct emendation of the Hebrew text, it is said, "then will the women-singers in the Temple howl."—**21. with harps set to Sheminith:** the harp here mentioned (*kinnor*) was probably of smaller size than those spoken of in the preceding verse. Jerome says (*Comm. in Ps.* 30$_2$) that the *kinnor* had six strings while the *nebel* had ten. "Set to Sheminith" (lit. "upon the eighth") refers, according to the Midrash *Tehillim* on Pss. 6, 12, to an eight-stringed instrument played an octave lower than the voices.—**to lead:** *i.e.* the *kinnor*-players led off, and were presently joined by the voices with the fuller accompaniment of the *nebel*-players.—**22. was over the song:** *cf.* 27; read "in the carrying," *i.e.* of the Ark. Reference to song is not found in the Hebrew, and would be out of place here since the singing has been dealt with in the preceding verses, and was under the direction of Asaph, etc., not Chenaniah. Further, that it is the Ark which is here referred to is shown by the context, 23f.—**24. trumpets:** the *chazôzerah* was a long, straight metal tube opening out at the end; quite different from the ancient *shôfar*, "ram's horn," also called *keren*.—**25–XVI. 3.** See notes on 2 S.6 12–19.—**XVI. 4–6.** This appointment of Levites to serve before the Ark refers to the permanent arrangements as distinct from the temporary appointment of Levites to bring up the Ark to Jerusalem (15$_{17}$ff.).—**7–36.** This psalm of thanksgiving and praise is, with only slight variations, a compilation from the Psalter, viz. 8–22=Ps. 105$_{1-15}$; 23–33=Ps. 116; 34–36=Ps. 106$_{1,47}$f. (see the notes on these Pss.).—**37–43.** A continuation of 4–6 dealing further with the duties of the priests and Levites.

XVII. 1–27. David's Purpose to Build a Temple is Hindered by Nathan; God's Promise to him; his Prayer (see notes on 2 S. 7).—**1. in his house:** the words in 2 S. 7$_1$, "and the Lord had given him rest from all his enemies round about," are omitted here as the Chronicler, looking back upon the history of those times, saw that this "rest" had been of but short duration.

XVIII. 1–17. David's Wars (see notes on 2 S. 8).—**Gath and her towns:** lit. "and her daughters"; in 2 S. 8$_1$ the words "the bridle of the mother city" are probably corrupt.—**17. the sons of David were chief about the king:** the words in 2 S. 8$_{18}$, "and David's sons were priests," were altered by the Chronicler, who held that only the descendants of Aaron could be priests.

XIX. 1–19. The Ammonite War (see notes on 2 S. 10).

XX. 1–3. The Ammonites Subdued (see notes on 2 S. 11$_1$, 12$_{30}$f.).

XX. 4–8. Incidents during the Philistine War (see notes on 2 S. 21$_{18-22}$).

XXI. 1–XXII. 1.—The Numbering of the Hosts; the Punishment (see notes on 2 S. 24$_{1-25}$).—There are many variations from the corresponding passage in

2 S., and it is uncertain whether the Chronicler used any other source or not.—**1. And Satan stood up:** in 2 S. 24¹ the temptation comes from Yahweh; the Chronicler altered this as unfitting in view of the developed doctrine of God which had supervened. In the earlier literature the term "Satan" means "adversary" (Nu. 22²²,³²); its use here as a proper name is a development due to the influence of Persian demonology on Jewish belief; *cf.* Job 1⁶*, 2¹, Zech. 3¹f.—**6.** Probably added because, according to Nu. 1⁴⁹, the Levites might not be numbered for military purposes; he mentions Benjamin as not being counted because of Jerusalem, the Holy City, lying on his borders.—**9. God:** *cf.* 29²⁹, 2 Ch. 29²⁵.—**15. the threshing-floor of Ornan:** this was on the top of Mount Zion where the Temple was built (*cf.* 22¹). In 2 S. 24¹⁶ and elsewhere Ornan occurs in the form Araunah.—**16.** Not in 2 S. 24.—**between the heaven and the earth:** the Hebrew way of expressing "in mid-air." The description of the angel is a development due to the influence of Persian angelology; the earlier Hebrew conception pictured angels as men.—**18.** The reference to the angel here and in 20 is added by the Chronicler for the purpose of enhancing the supernaturalness of the episode; in 2 S. 24¹⁸ff. there is no mention of the angel.—**23. wheat for the meal-offering:** a characterist c addition by the Chronicler (*cf.* Lev. 2¹ff.).—**25. six hundred shekels of gold:** this, too, is characteristic of the Chronicler, who desires to emphasize the value of everything connected with the Temple, even down to its very site. In 2 S. 24²⁴ the price is fifty shekels of silver, including the oxen.—**26. from heaven by fire:** another addition by the Chronicler (*cf.* Lev. 9 24).—**28–XXII. 1.** 29f. forms a parenthesis; 28 and 22¹ describe the definite choice of Ornan's threshing-floor as the site of the Temple.—**29. the high place at Gibeon:** *cf.* 16³⁹.

XXII. 2–XXIX. 30. The whole of this section is the work of the Chronicler, though it is probable that he utilised some earlier sources in compiling it; a good deal of OT material is woven into it, but it has no parallel in earlier books, as in the case of the chapters so far considered.

XXII. 2–19. David's Preparation for the Building of the Temple.—This is an imaginative elaboration of 2 S. 7¹–³,¹³.—**3. couplings:** the word is used only here (in reference to an iron object) and in 2 Ch. 3⁴¹¹ (in reference to a wooden object). It refers probably to hinges. A word from the same root occurs in Ex. 36³⁷ of the "place of joining" of curtains, and in Ex. 28²⁷ of the "place of joining" of the shoulder-pieces of the ephod.—**7.** Taken from 1 K. 8¹⁷.—**8. because thou hast shed much blood:** *cf.* 28³; the Chronicler's inference from 1 K. 5³.—**9. Solomon, and I will give peace:** a word-play; in Hebrew "Solomon" = *Shĕlômôh*, and "peace" = *Shâlôm*; but the two words are not radically connected.—**10.** Taken from 2 S. 7¹³,¹⁴*a* = 1 Ch. 17¹²,¹³*a*.—**12f.** This stress laid on the observance of the Law is characteristic of the Chronicler.—**14. in my affliction:** better "in my poverty"; the Chronicler desires to teach that, however great the amount devoted to the building of the Temple, any contribution to such an object can at best be but a poor one; hence also the enormous exaggeration in stating the amount so bestowed.—**16. there is no number:** the reference is not to the gold and silver, etc., which were weighed (*cf.* "without weight" in 14), but to the number of the workmen mentioned in 15. The Chronicler, with characteristic exaggeration, speaks of the metal as being without weight and the workmen without number; the quantity in each case defied enumeration.

XXIII. 1–XXIV. 31. The Levites and the Priests.—The Chronicler implies that the organisation of the Levites and priests and the settling of their duties—as existing in his day—was all the work of David.—**5. princes of the sanctuary:** a title corresponding to an official in Babylonian sanctuaries of earlier days, and probably borrowed and adapted by the returned exiles; it is not identical with the "princes of God."—**6–23.** An enumeration of the sons of Levi, and the sacred duties of the various Levitical families.—**24. from twenty years old and upward:** see note on Ezr. 3⁸.—**28–32.** The duties of the Levites in the sanctuary.—**30. and to stand every morning . . . and likewise at even:** it is permissible to gather from this mention of the two-fold daily services of praise and thanksgiving that set forms of prayer were already in existence at this time, and one naturally thinks of the earliest prayer in the Jewish Liturgy still in daily use, the *Shĕmôneh 'Esreh* ("Eighteen Benedictions"), the constant part of which (viz. the first three and last three benedictions) consist of praise and thanksgiving, while the intermediate benedictions are variable, and consist of petitions.—**31. the set feasts:** viz. Passover and the feast of unleavened bread (*Mazzôth*) (Nu. 28¹⁶–²⁵), Pentecost (Nu. 28²⁶–³¹), and Tabernacles (Nu. 29¹²–³⁸); *cf.* also Dt. 16¹–¹⁷, pp. 101–104.—**XXIV. 1–19.** The courses of the priests (the sons of Aaron), twenty-four in number, took their turns in the service of the Temple, and each course cast lots for the particular place of service of each priest (*cf.* Lk. 1⁸f.).—**20–31.** Another list of Levites; this is probably from a later hand; the names coincide to a large extent with those already given in 23⁷–²³, though some new ones are added.

XXV. 1–31. The Temple Singers and Musicians.—The musicians, according to the Chronicler, also consisted of twenty-four courses.—**1. Asaph . . . Heman . . . Jeduthun:** see note on 15¹⁷.—**who should prophesy with harps . . .:** according to the Chronicler the Temple musician ranked with the prophet; but he had authority for doing so, since it is evident from 1 S. 10⁵f. that the playing of musical instruments was associated with the prophetic office. In 2 Ch. 20¹⁴ it is said that the spirit of the Lord came upon Jahaziel, one of the sons of Asaph.—**4. Hananiah . . . Mahazioth:** although these appear now as proper names they were possibly not so originally; the words, with a few slight emendations, form the fragment of a prayer, viz.: "Be gracious unto me, Yah, be gracious unto me; my God art Thou, Thee do I magnify and exalt; my helper when I am in trouble, I say, give me fulness of visions." At the same time it is well to remember that all these words occur as proper names elsewhere in this chapter (23–31).

XXVI. 1–32. Further Levitical Temple Officials.—These include the gatekeepers (1–19), those who were over the treasuries (20–28), and the officers and judges who were "for the outward business over Israel" (29–32).—**12ff.** In what the Chronicler says about the Temple he is guided by the Temple with which he was familiar, viz. the post-exilic one built by Zerubbabel.—**18. Parbar:** see RVm; perhaps from a Persian word meaning that which is light; *i.e.* an open structure on the western side of the Temple. This is, however, uncertain. Whether the word has anything to do with *parvarim* (translated "precincts" in RV) in 2 K. 23¹¹, is doubtful.—**20.** Although two kinds of treasuries are mentioned, those of the house of God and those of the dedicated things, the latter were but a part of the former.—**23–25.** The names are

obviously those of families, not of individuals, for a grandson of Moses could not have been living in the reign of David (24), nor could representatives of six generations have been contemporaries (25).—**29. the outward business over Israel:** by this is probably meant the business of collecting taxes for both civil and ecclesiastical purposes from Israelites living outside of Palestine proper.

XXVII. 1–34. Organisation of David's Army: Enumeration of his Officials (*cf.* 11 10ff.).—**1.** According to this verse the army comprised 288,000 soldiers; this is an exaggeration.—**32. David's uncle:** better "kinsman"; the Hebrew word *dôd* is used in this general sense.—**33.** *Cf.* 2 S. 15 12,37.—**the king's friend:** a title of honour probably adapted from the Egyptian court; it occurs several times in 1 Mac., *e.g.* 2 18, 3 38.

XXVIII. 1–21. David's Address to the Great Ones of the Land: he Gives Solomon the Plans of the Temple.—In this chapter the thread of the narrative is taken up from where it was left at the end of *ch.* 22.—**2. my brethren and my people:** see Dt. 17 15, where it is said that "one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee." As so often elsewhere, the ideas of the Chronicler are dominated by the Law; an oriental king does not place himself on a level with his subjects in this way. 2 S. 19 12f. does not contradict this; for there David is speaking in reference to the elders of the land, some of whom were his kinsmen; it was, moreover, a time of grievous stress for the king, so that there was a special reason for calling them his brethren.—**the footstool of our God:** either in reference to the Ark (Pss. 99 5, 132 7) or to the sanctuary itself (Lam. 2 1, Is. 60 16). The "footstool" spoken of in 2 Ch. 9 18 is a different word in Hebrew.—**5. he hath chosen Solomon my son . . .:** The Chronicler represents Solomon as having been Divinely chosen as king. The history is different. Solomon usurped the throne, thanks to the machinations of Bathsheba aided by Nathan and Benaiah; the rightful heir, Adonijah, was thus ousted (see 1 K. 1–2 36).—**7f.** Note the stress laid upon keeping the commandments, *i.e.* the Law.—**11–19.** The Chronicler credits David with having thought out all the details of the building of the Temple and of its furniture; this is unhistorical. With the whole passage *cf.* Ex. 25.—**12. by the spirit:** better "in his mind"; *ruach* (lit. "spirit") has here the meaning which the heart (*lēb*) ordinarily has in the OT, viz. the seat of the understanding (*cf.* Ex. 35 10). This use of *ruach* is late.—**19. All this . . . from the hand of the Lord:** it is probable that the LXX reflects a better reading here; according to it David gives "all this" in writing to Solomon by the hand of the Lord, *i.e.* by God's guidance.—**20.** David's address to Solomon, broken by 11–19, is taken up again here.

XXIX. 1–30. Response to David's Appeal for Offerings: his Thanksgiving and Death.—**1–9.** *Cf.* Ex. 35 4–9,20–29.—**1. the palace:** the Hebrew word occurs only in the later OT books, and is mostly used in reference to a Persian palace; in Neh. 2 8, Dan. 8 2 it is used of the Temple as here.—**5. to consecrate himself:** lit. "to fill his hand," a technical term for instituting into the priesthood (*cf.* Ex. 28 41, 32 29, Lev. 8 33*), which is used here in a wider sense. On the analogy of the parallel expression in Assyrian the "filling" referred to the office with which the candidate was endowed. From Jg. 17 5,12, where the term first occurs, it is evident that the hand was not filled with anything in a literal sense, whatever may have been the case in later days, when the meaning of the term had been forgotten.—**10–19.** Much of this prayer and thanksgiving was probably based upon some form of prayer in the Temple Liturgy. The form as well as much of the substance is still reflected in some of the more ancient elements of the Jewish Liturgy.—**22b.** contrast with this the history given in 1 K. 1; the deliberateness of the Chronicler's omissions is emphasized by his knowledge of the details, there given, betrayed in 24, "and all the sons likewise of king David submitted themselves unto Solomon the king."—**25. as had not been . . . in Israel:** this is probably no more than a conventional phrase, since the Chronicler is not likely to have recognised any kings other than Saul and David before this time, such as Abimelech Jg. 9) or Ish-bosheth (2 S. 2 8f.)—**26–30.** The end of David's reign.—**27.** See 1 K. 2 11 and *cf.* 2 S. 5 4f.—**29. the history of Samuel . . . Gad the seer:** the histories (lit. "words" or "acts") of these three are spoken of as distinct sources; that they were so is possible; but they may, on the other hand, be merely sections of the large historical compilations represented by the books of Samuel and Kings, as in the case of the history of Jehu (2 Ch. 20 34) and of the vision of Isaiah (2 Ch. 32 32); *cf.* also 2 Ch. 33 19.—**30. all the kingdoms of the countries:** *cf.* 2 Ch. 12 8, 17 10, 20 29.

THE SECOND BOOK OF CHRONICLES

PART III (2 Ch. 1–9). **The History of the Reign of Solomon.—I. 1–13. Solomon at Gibeon** (see notes on 1 K. 3 4–15).—**1–5.** There is nothing corresponding to these verses in 1 K. excepting the reference to Gibeon in 1 K. 3 4.—**3. for there was the tent of meeting:** the earlier history makes no mention of this; it was probably inserted by the Chronicler in order to explain away what would to him have appeared unthinkable in a God-fearing king, viz. worshipping at a high place (*bamah*); *cf.* Lev. 17 8f. The presence in Gibeon of the brazen altar, according to the Chronicler, would also, in his eyes, have justified Solomon in worshipping there; no mention is made, however, in 1 K. 3 4 of the brazen altar being at Gibeon.—**7–13.** See notes on 1 K. 3 5–15, upon which this passage is based; the variations are unimportant.

I. 14–17. Solomon's Wealth (see notes on 1 K. 10 26–29 and *cf.* 1 Ch. 9 25–28).—The position of this section, as compared with the sequence of the history in 1 K., suggests that the source which the Chronicler had before him was not in all respects identical with the present form of 1 K.

II. 1–18. Preparations for the Building of the Temple (see notes on 1 K. 5 5–30).—Though the general narrative in the parallel passages is the same, the Chronicler's account varies in detail sufficiently from that in 1 K. to suggest the probability that the Chronicler used a different source.—**14. of the daughters of Dan:** in 1 K. 7 14 "of the tribe of Naphthali"; a number of other variations of this kind bears out what has just been said as to the Chronicler's source.

III. 1–V. 1. The Building of the Temple and its Equipment (see notes on 1 K. 6, 7 13–51).—What was said in reference to the preceding section applies also to this one. The Chronicler omits all mention of Solomon's other buildings, his interest being centred on the Temple; he has, on the other hand, many additions not found in 1 K.—**III. 1. mount Moriah:** *cf.* Gen. 22 2*; this name for the Temple mount does not occur elsewhere in the OT.—**6. Parvaim:** perhaps the Hebrew name of a gold-mine in north-east Arabia called *el-farwain*.—**10. image work:** the meaning of the Hebrew word is quite uncertain; the LXX "of wood" is a mere guess, based probably on 1 K. 6 23, where the cherubim are stated to have been made of

olive wood.—**14.** No mention is made of a veil in 1 K.—**IV. 1ff.** It is probable that the Chronicler, in describing the Temple furniture, was influenced by what he saw in Zerubbabel's Temple.—**9. the court of the priests . . .:** the courts are described by the Chronicler as he saw them in his day; they were different in the first Temple (see 1 K. 636, 712).

V. 2.–VII. 10. The Dedication of the Temple (see notes on 1 K. 8).—The chief points of difference between the Chronicler's account and 1 K. 8 are: (*a*) that in 4 the Levites are the bearers of the Ark (*cf.* 1 Ch. 15 2,26f.) instead of the priests as in 1 K. 83; (*b*) that in 5 "and" is omitted between "the priests the Levites," the two being thus identified; the omission may, however, be merely a textual error; (*c*) further, the words "for all the priests . . . for his mercy endureth for ever" (11*b*–13*a*) are not found in 1 K.; they are from the Chronicler, or possibly the addition of a later editor. These three variations illustrate the ecclesiastical standpoint of the Chronicler and the school of thought to which he belonged. (*d*) In 641f. there is a prayer, made up of Pss. 1302, 1321,8–10, in place of the conclusion to Solomon's prayer given in 1 K. 853. (*e*) In 71 the mention of fire coming down from heaven (*cf.* 1 Ch. 2126) is not found in 1 K. 854. (*f*) A comparison between 78f. and 1 K. 865f. well illustrates the way in which the later usage of the Chronicler's times was read into that of earlier days.

VII. 11–22. A Second Divine Appearance to Solomon (see notes on 1 K. 91–9).—With the exception of 13–15 this section is substantially identical with the corresponding passage in 1 K.; there are some variations, but none of importance.

VIII. 1–18. Solomon's Various Religious and Secular Undertakings (see notes on 1 K. 910–28).—A striking difference occurs between 2 and 1 K. 911; here Hiram gives Solomon an unspecified number of cities, whereas in the historical account Solomon gives Hiram twenty cities. The discrepancy is not difficult to account for; in the Chronicler's days when, with the lapse of time, the popular conception had greatly increased the wealth and power of Solomon, it was not thought credible that such a monarch could really have ceded Israelite cities to a heathen in lieu of payment. This is not to say that the Chronicler deliberately falsified history; the sources from which he compiled his record were various, and upon these the influence of tradition is not likely to have been without effect; moreover, the authority of the Book of Kings was not, in his day, what it became in later days, so that he naturally felt himself at liberty to correct this, or any other, source where he believed it to be erroneous. It must be remembered that what we understand by "the authority of Scripture" did not arise until the idea of a Canon had come into being after the Maccabæan period, and that prior to this it was only the Pentateuch which was regarded as of binding authority.—**11. my wife . . . hath come:** these words would truly have been strange in the mouth of Solomon, but the Chronicler had, as far as he could, to mitigate the effects of the extraordinary proceeding, as it appeared to the Jews of his day, of an Israelite king marrying the daughter of a king of Egypt.—**12–16.** An expansion of 1 K. 925.—**14. the courses of the priests . . .:** *cf.* 1 Ch. 24f.—**17f.** *Cf.* 1 K. 926–28.

IX. 1–31. The Visit of the Queen of Sheba; Solomon's Wealth; his Death (see notes on 1 K. 101–29, 1141–43).—The variations between the two records are unimportant.

PART IV (2 Ch. 10–36). **The History of Judah from Rehoboam to the Edict of Cyrus.—X. 1–19. Rehoboam is Rejected by the Israelites** (see notes on 1 K. 121–9).—The variations between the two records are unimportant.

XI. 1–4. Shemaiah Restrains Rehoboam from Attacking Jeroboam (see notes on 1 K. 1221–24).—The variations between the two records are unimportant.

XI. 5–23. Rehoboam Establishes himself in Jerusalem.—There is nothing corresponding to this section in 1 K.—**5–12.** Rehoboam's cities of defence. Although these are not enumerated in 1 K. there is no reason to doubt that the Chronicler got the list of them from an authentic source.—**13–17.** This account of how the priests and Levites joined Rehoboam was probably inserted by the Chronicler, who would naturally assume that Yahweh's ministers would follow Rehoboam as king of Judah.—**18–23.** These details of Rehoboam's wives and family probably come from some reliable source; they are not given in 1 K.

XII. 1–16. Shishak Invades Judah; Summary of Rehoboam's Reign; his Death (see notes on 1 K. 14 21f.,25–28,29–31).—The words in *2b* ("because they had trespassed . . .") to the end of 8, which do not figure in 1 K., are regarded by many commentators as a *midrash* (see note on 1322) which the Chronicler either wrote himself or incorporated from some source to which he had access.—**3. Sukkiim:** not mentioned elsewhere; the LXX renders "troglodytes" (cave-dwellers), but the Hebrew word rather suggests "dwellers in booths."—**15. the histories . . . the seer:** see note on 1 Ch. 2929.

XIII. 1–22. The Reign of Abijah.—Most of this section has nothing corresponding to it in 1 K., though references to the history of this reign occur in 1 K. 151–8.—**1f.** *Cf.* 1 K. 151f., where the name of Abijah's mother is given as Maacah; so, too, 2 Ch. 1120.—**4ff.** The representation of Abijah here (contrast 1 K. 153) as a God-fearing champion of the Levitical worship is a good illustration of the Chronicler's idealising tendency.—**22. the commentary of the prophet Iddo:** the Hebrew word for "commentary" here is *midrash*, which in Rabbinical literature means inquiry into the meaning of Scripture and its exposition; the word comes from a root meaning to "search," so that a *midrash* represents the results of a search that has been made into the traditional text of Scripture, and the consequent exposition is intended to elucidate the text. In the case of Iddo's *midrash* it is, of course, impossible to say upon what text it was based. The Chronicler makes it clear that it was a source entirely different from the Book of Kings (see 2034), but as its name implies, it was a late production (this is the first mention of a *midrash* in the OT), and cannot be regarded as having been of any historical value.

XIV. 1–XVI. 14. The Reign of Asa (see notes on 1 K. 158,11–23).—Most of this section has no parallel in 1 K.—**XIV. 1–8** describes Asa's loyalty to Yahweh, his defences, and his army. For the "sun-images" in 5 *cf.* Lev. 2630, Is. 178, 279, Ezek. 64,6; the Hebrew word is *hammanim*, "sun-pillars" (*hamma* is a poetical expression for the sun in Is. 2423, Job 3028), which were used in connexion with Phœnician Baal-worship; this worship had been imported into Palestine (see 1 K. 1631ff.).—**9–15** tells of Asa's victory over Zerah the Cushite. This piece reads like a *midrash* on some narrative of an actual historical occurrence (see 1 K. 1523, where unrecorded doings of Asa are hinted at). Whether the Chronicler was here using the source itself or a *midrash* on some portion of the source, or whether he himself composed this midrashic account, is an open question. The Cushites were

probably a people living in Arabia (see 21 16).—**15. tents of cattle:** an improbable expression; probably, as is suggested by the LXX rendering, the text is not in order; see the Hebrew of Gen. 4 20.—**XV. 1–19.** The words of Azariah the son of Oded (not mentioned elsewhere) form a kind of introduction to the account of Asa's religious reforms; if the words in 3–6 refer to any definite period, it must be to that of the Judges, for the description of the state of the nation does not agree with any other period recorded in the OT. The whole of this section, however, reads like a midrashic expansion of 1 K. 15 11–15.—**XVI. 1–6.** Taken from 1 K 15 16–22 with unimportant variations.—**XVI. 7–10.** With the words of 9, "from henceforth thou shalt have wars," contrast 1 K. 15 16, "and there was no war between Asa and Baasha, king of Israel, all their days."—**XVI. 11–14.** With the words "a very great burning" (14) *cf.* 21 19, Jer. 34 5; the reference is to sacrifice for the dead.

XVII. 1–XX. 37. The Reign of Jehoshaphat.—This section is, in the main, from the hand of the Chronicler, whose spirit and aim are visible throughout; he has utilised all the information concerning Jehoshaphat to be got from 1 K. viz. in 15 24, 22 1–35, 41–50 (see notes). —**XVII. 1–6** deals with Jehoshaphat's defensive measures; he is prosperous because he obeys the commandments of Yahweh.—**6. he took away the high places:** but see 20 33 (=1 K. 22 43).—**7–9.** It is difficult to regard these statements as historical, they betray too clearly the tendency characteristic of the Chronicler; moreover, what is stated is in itself improbable at the time the occurrence is said to have taken place. As an example of a "prince" as a teacher in the Law, the case of Nehemiah is the most suggestive, for he clearly took a leading part, together with Ezra and the Levites, in pressing home the need of observing the Law (see Neh. 8 9–12).—**10–19.** An account of Jehoshaphat's great prosperity, and details concerning his army. The fabulous numbers here given stamp the section as unhistorical so far as its details are concerned; that Jehoshaphat's reign was a prosperous one is implied in 1 K. 22 41–50.—**XVIII. 1–31.** The alliance between Jehoshaphat and Ahab against Syria; their defeat. See notes on 1 K. 22 1–35; the variations are unimportant.—**XIX. 1–3.** Jehu the prophet reproves Jehoshaphat for having allied himself with Ahab. These verses are mainly from the Chronicler, but see 1 K. 16 1ff.—**XIX. 4–11.** This section, a kind of *midrash* on the name Jehoshaphat (="Yahweh judgeth"), is also from the Chronicler; he imagines the judicial arrangements of his own day to have been already in existence in much earlier times. The section is, in a sense, analogous to 17 7–9.—**XX. 1–30.** Jehoshaphat's victory over the Ammonites and Moabites. This story of a miraculous battle is perhaps a *midrash* on the war described in 1 K. 34ff., and has, in so far, some historical basis; but the details are purely imaginary.—**5. before the new court:** perhaps the same as "the great court" in 4 9; the Chronicler has in his mind's eye the Temple as he knew it.—**7. Abraham thy friend:** *cf.* Is. 41 8, Jas. 2 23.—**10.** *Cf.* Nu. 20 21.—**14.** By speaking of Jahaziel as one upon whom "the spirit of the Lord" came, the Chronicler puts him in the same category as the prophets; see note on 1 Ch. 25 1.—**16. the ascent of Ziz . . . the wilderness of Jeruel:** both in the neighbourhood of Engedi in all probability; neither name occurs elsewhere (Gen. 22 14*).—**31–37.** see notes on 1 K. 22 41–43, 48f.—**37.** This account is quite different from what is said in 1 K. 22 48; the destruction of the ships at Ezion-geber is explained by the Chronicler as being Yahweh's punishment on Jehoshaphat for having allied himself with the king of Israel, the reprobate kingdom in the eyes of the Chronicler.

XXI. 1–20. The Reign of Jehoram (see notes on 1 K. 22 50, 2 K. 8 17–22).—A large part of this section has nothing corresponding to it in 1 and 2 K.—**1.** *Cf.* 1 K. 22 50.—**5–7.** *Cf.* 2 K. 8 17–22.—**7. a lamp to him and . . .:** the "lamp" is an expression symbolic of a man's life commemorated and thus continued in his posterity; *cf.* the "torch of life" illustrated by the Lampadephoria of the Greeks.—**8–10.** *Cf.* 2 K. 8 20–22; in 9 the Chronicler omits the words of 2 K. 8 21*b*, "and the people fled to their tents," which refer to Jehoram's army.—**11–15.** This supposed letter of Elijah can scarcely be historical; he was a prophet of the northern kingdom. It is probably due to the Chronicler, who wished to emphasize the fact that Jehoram's disease was the work of Yahweh (18) by making the prophet of Yahweh foretell it; *cf.* the case of Ahaziah (2 K. 1 4).—**16f. the Arabians . . .:** *cf.* notes on 14 9ff.—**Jehoahaz:** Ahaziah (see 22 1).—**the burning:** see note on 16 14.—**without being desired:** for the idea see Jer. 22 18.

XXII. 1–9. The Reign of Ahaziah.—Taken, in part, from 2 K. 8 24–29, the notes on which see.—**2. forty and two:** this should be twenty and two (see 1 K. 8 26). —**7–9.** The contradiction between this account and that of 2 K. 9 27ff. is sufficiently striking to suggest that the Chronicler utilised an entirely different source; it is not improbable that more than one account of the occurrence existed, and that the Chronicler, for some reason of his own, followed the one different from that in 2 K. There would have been no sufficient reason for the Chronicler to have altered the account in 2 K., which is the only alternative to that of postulating a different source.

XXII. 10–12. The Reign of Athaliah (see notes on 2 K. 11 1–3).

XXIII., XXIV. The Reign of Joash (see notes on 2 K. 11 4–12 21.—While the Chronicler bases his narrative, in the main, on the parallel passage in 2 K., he makes changes by means of additions and omissions which leave an entirely different impression on the mind of the reader; this applies more especially to the passage 23 1–11. According to 2 K. it is the captains of hundreds, the royal body-guard composed of foreigners, who enter the Temple at the instance of Jehoiada and proclaim Joash king; the Chronicler, on the other hand, imputes this action, not to the soldiery but to the priests and Levites, because the Law allowed none but priests and Levites to enter the sanctuary. He thus makes the entire *coup d'état* due to ecclesiastical, not military, action.—**XXIII. 1–11.** Joash is made king. **2.** An addition by the Chronicler.—**12–15.** Athaliah is slain.—**16–21.** Reformation under Jehoiada's guidance.—**XXIV. 1–14.** Joash as king; his restoration of the Temple. There are some significant points of difference between this account and that of 2 K. According to the latter, the house of God having fallen into disrepair, Joash commands that certain dues and free-will offerings of the people are to be utilised by the priests for undertaking the repairs; the priests, however, while taking the money, do nothing for the repair of the Temple. As the result of a protest against this on the part of the king, the priests promise not to receive any more money from the people; but they refuse to repair the Temple. Thereupon Jehoiada, presumably at the command of the king, places a chest beside the altar into which the worshippers cast their gifts. When sufficient money has been received, the repair of the

Temple is proceeded with. In the hands of the Chronicler this account becomes considerably modified. He could not understand the Temple being permitted to fall into disrepair, so he explains that the sons of Athaliah "had broken up the house of God" (7). Again, to him the idea of the king deciding in regard to gifts for the Temple on his own initiative was unfitting, so he represents Joash's decision to have a chest placed by the altar for receiving these gifts as a compliance with the Mosaic command in Ex. 30¹²–¹⁶, which the people joyfully fall in with (6, 8–10). Once more, that the priests should appropriate to their own use the gifts of the people for the repair of the Temple is unthinkable to the Chronicler, so he leaves this part out. An addition by the Chronicler is that the money collected was sufficient not only for the repair of the Temple but also for acquiring holy vessels (14).—**15–22.** The death of Jehoiada; Joash forsakes Yahweh-worship. There is no parallel to this in 2 K.; indeed Joash's apostasy is very improbable in view of 2 K. 12⁷, where his zeal for Yahweh's house is an example to the priesthood. The Chronicler's version may, perhaps, be accounted for by his desire to give a reason for the disasters that befell Joash as recounted in the section that follows.—**23–27.** Joash defeated by the Syrians; his death. According to 2 K. 12¹⁷f. the worst effects of the Syrian invasion are avoided because Joash gives to the king of Syria the treasures of the house of Yahweh. The Chronicler makes no mention of this.—**25f.** *Cf.* 2 K. 12²⁰f. In saying that Joash was not buried in the sepulchres of the kings the Chronicler contradicts the statement in 2 K. 12²¹.—**27. the greatness of the burdens laid upon him:** in reference to what he had to give the king of Syria; see 2 K. 12¹⁸.—**the commentary of the book of the kings:** see note on 13²².

XXV. 1–28. The Reign of Amaziah.—This section is taken from 2 K. 14¹–²² with some considerable additions and modifications characteristic of the Chronicler.—**1–4.** See notes on 2 K. 14¹–⁶; the Chronicler omits all reference to worship on the high places.—**5–10.** A midrashic expansion of 2 K. 14⁷, forming a background to the verses which follow.—**7. a man of God:** *i.e.* a prophet (*cf.* 1 S. 2²⁷, etc.).—**11–13. the Valley of Salt:** *cf.* 2 K. 14⁷, 1 Ch. 18¹².—**12. and cast them down from . . .:** *cf.* Ps. 141⁶.—**14–16.** This account of Amaziah's idolatry has no parallel in 2 K.; it is perhaps the work of the Chronicler, who added it in order to give a reason for the defeat of the southern kingdom (17–24).—**17–24.** Amaziah is defeated by the northern kingdom (see notes on 2 K. 14⁸–¹⁴).—**20.** An addition by the Chronicler; *cf.* 14f.—**24.** This is an addition by the Chronicler. For Obed-edom, see 1 Ch. 26¹⁵.—**25–28.** The remaining years of Amaziah's reign; his death: see notes on 2 K. 14¹⁷–²⁰.—**27.** The conspiracy here referred to may well have taken place owing to the discontent which Amaziah's disastrous policy must have occasioned; it is mentioned in 2 K. 14¹⁹f. The reference to Amaziah's falling away from Yahweh is again due to the Chronicler.

XXVI. 1–23. The Reign of Uzziah (see notes on 2 K. 14²¹–15⁷).—The Chronicler amplifies considerably the account of this reign in 2 K. which is very meagre: his additions are in all probability based, in the main, upon some historical source, since fuller records of this reign, which was one of the longest in the history of Judah, must have been in existence.—**1. Uzziah:** called Azariah in 2 K. 14²¹, 15¹, etc., which is probably a mistake; in 2 K. 15¹³,³⁰,³²,³⁴, and especially in the titles of the books of Am., Hos., Is., he is called Uzziah as here.—**5. And he set himself to seek God . . .:** but contrast with this 2 K. 15⁴: the reference to the worship on the high places is omitted by the Chronicler.—**God made him to prosper:** the prosperity of Uzziah's reign is referred to in Is. 2⁷ff.; it is also brought out by the Chronicler in 6–15, which are not taken from 2 K.—**6. Jabneh:** not mentioned elsewhere in the OT; called later Jamnia, the most important centre of Jewry for some time after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (pp. 38f.).—With the other names of places in these verses *cf.* Jer. 31³⁸, Neh. 2¹³, 3¹³,¹⁹ff.—**16–21.** The reason of Uzziah's leprosy, according to the Chronicler; in 2 K. only the fact of the leprosy is referred to.—**22. did Isaiah . . . write:** *cf.* Is. 1¹, 6¹, though these merely mention Uzziah's name; it is not likely that the Chronicler was here referring to the Book of Isaiah; there may possibly have been some pseudepigraphic work bearing Isaiah's name which he had in mind.—**23.** With this contrast 2 K. 15⁷.

XXVII. 1–9. The Reign of Jotham.—See notes on 2 K. 15³³–³⁶, from which this section is taken, with the exception of 4–6, which is probably derived from some other source.

XXVIII. 1–27. The Reign of Ahaz.—See notes on 2 K. 16, but the Chronicler's account of this reign is largely independent of 2 K.; he makes the Syro-Ephraimite War two separate campaigns, Ahaz being in turn defeated by the Syrians and then by the northern Israelites. This cannot be regarded as historical in face of 2 K. 16; the Chronicler has probably reconstructed the history with a view to bringing into greater relief the punishment of Ahaz on account of his faithlessness to Yahweh. In a number of other ways this section differs from the account in 2 K. 16.—**27. they brought him not . . .:** but see 2 K. 16²⁰.

XXIX. 1–XXXII. 33. The Reign of Hezekiah (see notes on 2 K. 18²f., 13–37, 19, 20¹–²¹).—The Chronicler in this long section writes, from his own point of view, much that is quite unhistorical. The three main subjects treated by him here are Hezekiah's reopening of the Temple, the Passover, and the appointment of the Temple officials. In 32¹–²³ the invasion of Sennacherib is described; this, though corresponding to a large extent with 2 K. 18¹³–19³⁷, seems to be an independent account; it is probable that another source (or sources?) was utilised by the Chronicler, but he himself is evidently responsible for many of the variations.

XXXIII. 1–20. The Reign of Manasseh (see notes on 2 K. 21¹–¹⁸).—1–10 is based upon 2 K. 21¹–¹⁰, which is fairly accurately followed; but 11–20 is almost wholly from the hand of the Chronicler; it deals with Manasseh's captivity and consequent repentance; in answer to his prayer, Manasseh is restored and devotes the rest of his life to the loyal service of Yahweh. As far as Manasseh's repentance and subsequent good works are concerned, it is difficult to believe that it can have been historical, both from the entire silence of 2 K. and because of the words in Jer. 15⁴ ("And I will cause them to be tossed to and fro among all the kingdoms of the earth because of Manasseh . . ."). The insertion of the account may be explained on the supposition that the Chronicler wished to offer a satisfactory reason for Manasseh's long reign: to him it would have appeared impossible that a king who reigned for fifty-five years could have been wholly bad. As regards the story of Manasseh's captivity and restoration, it can only be said that there is nothing intrinsically impossible about it—analogous cases could be cited; and although no reference to either event is found in 2 K., it is quite

possible that the Chronicler utilised some other source for the purpose of incorporating them in his compilation.—**19. Hozai:** read with the LXX "seers"; *cf.* 18.

XXXIII. 21–25. The Reign of Amon (see notes on 2 K. 21₁₉–₂₄).—**22.** *Cf.* the words of this verse with 2 K. 21₂₁; the Chronicler has modified the words of the latter, which would be inconsistent with the idea of Manasseh's repentance.

XXXIV. 1–XXXV. 27. The Reign of Josiah.—See notes on 2 K. 22, 23₁–₃₀, which form the basis of the Chronicler's account; but he has made many alterations in accordance with his general tendencies. One important difference between the two accounts is that, according to the Chronicler, Josiah's Reformation takes place before the finding of the book of the Law, an obviously illogical sequence; but the Chronicler desires to emphasize Josiah's piety even in his tender years. The description of the celebration of the Passover (35₁–₁₉) is far fuller than that given in 2 K. 23₂₁–₂₃.

XXXVI. 1–4. The Reign of Jehoahaz (see notes on 2 K. 23₃₀–₃₄).

XXXVI. 5–8. The Reign of Jehoiakim (see notes on 2 K. 23₃₆f.).

XXXVI. 9f. The Reign of Jehoiachin (see notes on 2 K. 24₈–₁₇).

XXXVI. 11–21. The Reign of Zedekiah; the Destruction of Jerusalem (see notes on 2 K. 24₁₈–₂₀, 25₁–₇,₁₃–₁₅).

XXXVI. 22f. The Decree of Cyrus (see Ezr. 1₁–₃).

EZRA-NEHEMIAH

By Dr. W. O. E. Oesterley

Chronology.—As a preliminary step in the study of this book the two following tables of dates will be found useful:

(*a*) *Dates of the Kings of Persia*—

Cyrus	539–529
Cambyses	529–522
Darius I	521–485
Xerxes I	485–464
Artaxerxes I	464–424

(*b*) *Dates and events mentioned in Ezra-Nehemiah*—

Ezr. 1₁. 1st year of Cyrus (*cf.* 5₁₃,₆₃) as ruler of the Jews.	537. The return of the Jews from Babylon to Jerusalem under Zerubbabel and Joshua.
Ezr. 3₁. 7th month (Tisri), presumably the same year (*cf.* 3₆).	537. The rebuilding of the altar and restoration of the sacrificial system.
Ezr. 3₈. 2nd month (Iyar), 2nd year, presumably of Cyrus.	536. The laying of the foundation-stone of the Temple.
Ezr. 4₅. Cyrus–Darius.	536–520. Cessation of Temple building "all the days of Cyrus . . . even until the reign of Darius," *i.e.* his 2nd year; see below, 4₂₄.
Ezr. 4₆. Xerxes, presumably the beginning of his reign.	485. Samaritan accusation against the Jews sent to the king.
Ezr. 4₇. Artaxerxes, date not mentioned.	464–424. A letter written in Syrian to Artaxerxes, contents not specified.
Ezr. 4₈. Artaxerxes, date not mentioned.	464–424. A letter written to Artaxerxes by different authors from those of the preceding letter, in reference to the building of the walls of the city.
Ezr. 4₂₄. 2nd year of Darius (*cf.* 4₅).	520. Cessation of the Temple building, which had been begun in 536 (see 3₈), until the 2nd year of Darius. [Note that according to Hag., Zech. the 2nd year of Darius was that in which the building of the Temple was *begun*.]
Ezr. 6₁₅. 6th year of Darius, 3rd of Adar (12th month).	516. Completion of the Temple.
Ezr. 6₁₉. 1st month (Nisan), 14th day, presumably the following year.	515. Celebration of the Passover.
Ezr. 7₁f. 7th year of Artaxerxes, 5th month (Ab).	458. Arrival of Ezra in Jerusalem.
Ezr. 10₁₆. 10th month (Tebeth), presumably same year.	458. Investigation in the matter of mixed marriages.
Ezr. 10₁₇. 1st month (Nisan), presumably the following year.	457. Investigation concluded.
Neh. 1₁, 2₁. 20th year of Artaxerxes, in the month Chisley (9th month).	445. Nehemiah arrives in Jerusalem.
Neh. 5₁₄. 20th–32nd year of Artaxerxes.	445–433. The twelve years of Nehemiah's administration.
Neh. 6₁₅. Elul (6th month) 25th day, presumably the year following Nehemiah's arrival.	444. Completion of the walls in fifty-two days.
Neh. 8₁. 7th month (Tisri), presumably the same year.	444. The reading of the Law by Ezra.
Neh. 13₆. 32nd year of Artaxerxes.	433. Nehemiah's return to Jerusalem (his departure is nowhere mentioned).

Title and Place in Canon.—Although in the EV the book is divided into two parts, each with a different title, this was not so originally; for in the Hebrew MSS they appear as one book, and the contents themselves show that they belong to one book, since the details of Ezra's work occur partly in "Ezr." (7–10) and partly in "Neh." (7₇₀–8₁₂), which are found all together in the LXX. But, further, it is in the highest degree probable that originally 1 and 2 Ch., Ezr., Neh. formed one large work under the title *Dibre ha-jamim*, "Annals," dealing with the history of Israel from the beginning. The fact that in the Hebrew Bible (though

not in the LXX) Ch. follows Ezr.-Neh. is no argument against this, because Ch. was not admitted into the Canon until after Ezr.–Neh.; the former differed largely from the parallel history in the canonical historical books, while Ezr.–Neh. was the only book which gave the history of the period dealt with (Hag., Zech. are primarily prophetical, not historical books), So that originally the facts were probably as follows: the large *Dibre ha-jamim* was compiled from a number of sources; it was not part of the Scriptures; in course of time the portion dealing with the Persian period was detached and added to the Scriptures, but not in its logical place after 1 and 2 K., because it was not sanctified by antiquity; later still, when the question as to what books "defiled the hands" (*i.e.* were "canonical," see p. 39) or not became a burning one, it was ultimately decided to admit Ch. into the "Canon." The order of Ch. and Ezr.–Neh. in the Hebrew Bible, therefore, is not chronological, but that of their admission into the Canon.

Sources.—That the book is a compilation made from several sources may be regarded as certain; but to assign its source to each component part of the compilation can only be done tentatively. In a number of instances the source from which a passage is taken may be indicated with practical certainty; but with regard to others opinions not unnaturally differ because of the indefinite *data* in such passages themselves. The following enumeration will probably be regarded as correct in its general outline, though agreement as to all the details is not to be expected. The sources utilised by the Chronicler are the following:

(*a*) *The Memoirs of Ezra.*—The Chronicler made use of this source in two ways: he made *verbatim* extracts, as in Ezr. 7$_{27}$f., 8$_{1–36}$, 9$_{1–15}$; and he utilised this source without making verbal extracts, as in Ezr. 7$_{12–26}$, and in a number of passages in which he has worked over extracts from this source and stamped them with the impress of his own point of view, viz. Ezr. 1$_{1–4}$, 2$_{68–70}$, 7$_{1–10}$, 10$_{1–44}$, Neh. 7$_{73b}$–8$_{12}$, 13–18, 9–11 (with the exception of a few verses in 11). The passage Ezr. 2$_{1–67}$ (=Neh. 7$_{6–73a}$) is also probably from the memoirs of either Ezra or Nehemiah, though originally from some other official source.

(*b*) *The Memoirs of Nehemiah.*—Here again the Chronicler has utilised his source in two ways: first, by making direct extracts from it (Neh. 1$_{1–7}$, 13$_{4–31}$) and also by working over material from it in accordance with his own ideas (Neh. 11$_{3–36}$, 12$_{27–47}$, 13$_{1–3}$).

(*c*) *A Temple Record.*—Extracts from what may well have been a document kept among the Temple records were made by the Chronicler in the accounts he gives of the building of the Temple (Ezr. 4$_{6–23}$, 5$_{1–6,15}$).

(*d*) *An Official List.*—The list of the heads of priestly and Levitical families given in Neh. 12$_{1–26}$ is taken from another source; but the document used, like that found in the memoirs of Nehemiah (11$_{3–36}$), was in all probability kept among the Temple records.

(*e*) *Other Sources.*—The remaining passages of the book (Ezr. 1$_{5–11}$, 3$_{1–13}$, 4$_{1–5,24}$, 6$_{14,16–22}$, 7$_{11}$, 8$_{35}$f.) are largely the work of the Chronicler; but they are based on material gathered from various sources, impossible to specify now.

Treatment of Material, and Historicity of the Book.—The sources at the disposal of the Chronicler in making his compilation were thus various and of unequal value, and they evidently did not supply *data* for the whole period of which he intended to give the history. In reading through the book one is struck by the want of historical sequence and by the looseness of the way in which the different incidents are jotted down. That the book as we now have it, was intended to be its final form cannot be believed. Judging from the narrative as given in the Greek Ezra one is justified in believing that our book existed in more than one form; and this may imply that several efforts were made to bring it into final shape, but that this really never took place. At any rate, the material which lay before the Chronicler was used in an arbitrary and selective manner, with the result that it is quite impossible to get a clear and certain picture of the course of events during the period treated. But the difficulties which this treatment of the material have occasioned to historical students have not deterred them from seeking solutions, even though these involved drastic courses; nor can it be denied that in some points the suggested solutions have much in their favour. It is contended that the account of the return of exiles under Zerubbabel in 537 (Ezr. 1ff.) is unhistorical; that the Temple and the walls were rebuilt not by the returned exiles, but by those who (according to 2 K. 25$_{12,22}$) had been left in Palestine when their brethren were led away captive; that the return from the Exile took place under the leadership of Ezra after Nehemiah's term of administration, namely in the year 433, after which the public reading and acceptation of the Law, as recorded in Neh. 8, took place. The history as told in Ezr.–Neh. is thus regarded as having been theoretically constructed by the Chronicler in accordance with what he conceived it to have been. For the arguments and deductions which have been put forward in favour of this theory recourse must be had to the larger commentaries and other works (see Bibliography below). It must suffice to point out here that while the chaotic state in which our book has come down to us does, in some respects, justify the drastic solution just outlined (especially when the books of Hag. and Zech. and the Greek Ezra are taken into consideration), there are, on the other hand, grave difficulties in accepting it in its entirety. It is said in 2 K. 25$_{12}$ that only the poorest of the land were left to be vine-dressers and husbandmen when the great leading away captive to Babylon took place. That these poverty-stricken labourers should have been able to rebuild the Temple and the city walls is highly improbable. It is true that this description of the people is contradicted by what is said in the same chapter (23ff.); but according to 26 (*cf.* Jer. 43$_{4–7}$) the flower of even the remnant of those left in the land emigrated to Egypt. From a religious point of view, too, the remnant in the land lacked the requisite zeal for rebuilding the Temple. Their ancestral faith cannot have been very deep-seated if what is said in Ezr. 9f. and Neh. 13 about their settling down among the heathen and intermarrying with them be true; and there is no reason to doubt this.

The estimate of the historical value of our book will, of course, largely depend upon the extent to which the views just mentioned are accepted; but, at any rate, all that has been incorporated from the personal memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah must be regarded as having a high historical value, even where it is evident that the Chronicler has to some extent coloured them. Some of the other documents utilised also give historical importance to the book, especially as some of the Temple records were laid under contribution. It is the fatal intrusion of the Chronicler's own ideas which has been so harmful to the history; nevertheless, the indispensability of the book is seen at once when it is realised that it constitutes our only authority

for the period dealt with. (On the subject of the two preceding paragraphs see pp. 77–79, 572f.).

Authorship and Date.—In what has been said it has been taken for granted that the author—more strictly compiler—was the Chronicler to whom we are indebted for the books of Chronicles. And this, indeed, does not admit of doubt; the special features of 1 and 2 Ch. are precisely those of Ezr.–Neh.; peculiarities of style, particular words and expressions, and, above all, the religious point of view whereby the narrative is coloured, are characteristic of these books and of these only; they come from the same hand. In dealing with the date it has to be remembered that since the book has incorporated material from various sources belonging to different ages, no one date can be assigned to it excepting as it exists in its present form. In so far as these sources are brought into connexion with the names of Persian kings, and assuming that this is correctly done, the dates of the kings in question will, of course, be the approximate dates of those parts of the book. So that the earliest portion will belong to the time of Cyrus, about 537, while the latest parts of the sources, the memoirs of Nehemiah, cannot have been written later than the end of the reign of Artaxerxes, about 424. As to the date of the book in its present form, we have two definite *data*; in Neh. 12$_{10,22}$ Jaddua is mentioned in the list of high priests, and he lived in the time of Alexander the Great (Josephus, *Antiq.*, XI. vii. 2, viii. 7), and in the same passage the expression "the Persian" applied to Darius implies that the Persian empire was no more in existence. Our book, therefore, in its present form belongs to the Greek age; in all probability later than 300 B.C.

Literature.—(*a*) **Ryle** (CB), **T. Witton Davies** (Cent.B), Crafer, Adeney (Ex.B). (*b*) Guthe and Batten (SBOT), **Batten** (ICC). (*c*) Bertheau-Ryssel (KEH), Oettli und Meinhold (KHS), **Siegfried** (HK), Bertholet (KHC). *Other Literature:* Sayce, *Intr. to Ezra, Neh., and Esther;* van Hoonacker, *Nouvelles Études sur la restauration Juive;* Kosters, *Die Wiederherstellung Israels in der persischen Periode;* E. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums;* G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. pp. 187–252; Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde;* Torrey, *Ezra Studies;* Sir Henry Howorth, PSBA 1901–1902. The Introductions mentioned in the Literature to 1 and 2 Ch., and the relevant articles in the Bible Dictionaries.

EZRA

PART I (Ezr. 1–6). The Return under Zerubbabel to the Completion of the Temple.

I. 1–4. The Edict of Cyrus.—*Cf.* 2 Ch. 36$_{22}$f., where 1–3*a* is reproduced almost verbally. These verses are here in their proper place; they were added to the end of 2 Ch., when this was separated from Ezr.–Neh. in order to make that book conclude with a joyous note. The edict here reported does not give the original wording; it is an abbreviation in the Chronicler's words, who has also moulded it in accordance with his ideas.—**1. the first year:** 537 B.C.—**Cyrus:** on Babylonian inscriptions the form of the name is Kurash and Kurshu; he became king in 559 B.C., but from the Chronicler's point of view, as a Jew, the first year of his reign was that in which his direct connexion with Jewish history began.—**the word . . . accomplished:** *cf.* Jer. 25$_{11}$*, 29$_{10}$; the "seventy years" is a designation for a long period of time, and is not to be taken in a literal sense.—**the Lord stirred up . . . Persia:** *cf.* Is. 45$_{1}$, where Cyrus is spoken of as Yahweh's anointed.—**he made a proclamation:** lit. "he caused a voice to pass," *i.e.* that of a herald.—**throughout all his kingdom:** this could hardly have been necessary as the edict only concerned Jews, and they were congregated in definite districts, all of which were probably in Babylonia; the words are due to the Chronicler.—**2. All the kingdoms . . . given me:** Oriental exaggeration; that Cyrus should have ascribed his victories to Yahweh is improbable; but this would be the Chronicler's belief. The expression "God of heaven" (*cf.* Neh. 1$_{4}$f., 2$_{4,20}$,) was not Israelite, it does not occur in pre-exilic times; in all probability it was borrowed from Babylonian use.—**he hath . . . Judah:** according to the form of the edict given by the Chronicler it was issued for the purpose not so much of proclaiming liberty to the Jews as for furthering the building of the Temple.—**4.** The text is not in order; the meaning probably is not that the Babylonians are to send gifts for the building of the Temple, but that the wealthier Jews who would prefer to remain in their present homes should help their poorer brethren who were about to return.

I. 5–11. The Return of the Jews under Sheshbazzar with the Holy Vessels.—The carrying out of the decree. —**5. even all . . . Jerusalem:** implying that many did not avail themselves of the opportunity of returning. The lot of many of the exiles was far from unhappy, while the prospect for those who might decide to return was not bright.—**6. all they that were round about them:** *i.e.* those of their own race.—**beside all that was willingly offered:** the free-will offerings for the Temple; the other gifts were personal.—**7. the vessels . . . his gods:** see 2 K. 24$_{13}$, 25$_{14}$f., 2 Ch. 36$_{7}$.—**8. Mithredath:** "dedicated to Mithra," the Persian sun-god.—**Sheshbazzar:** not to be identified with Zerubbabel, whose predecessor he was as governor (*nasi*) of Judah (Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 100f.).—**11a.** The Chronicler's exaggeration in numbers is characteristic.

II. 1–67. A List of the Exiles who Returned under Zerubbabel.—See the Greek Ezra (1 Esdras) 5$_{7}$–45 and Neh. 7$_{6}$–73*a*, where this list also occurs, though with some variations.—**1, 2a. province:** Heb. *medinah*, equivalent to the Persian satrapy. It refers here to the tract of country, with Jerusalem as its centre (*cf.* 5$_{8}$, Neh. 1$_{3}$, 11$_{3}$), over which Zerubbabel was governor, "the province of Judah."—**Zerubbabel:** "seed of Babel"; according to 1 Ch. 3$_{16}$–19 the grandson of Jehoiakim; he was thus of royal blood, but though chosen as leader of the returned exiles the idea of re-establishing the monarchy does not find expression.—**Jeshua:** = Joshua (*cf.* Hag. 1$_{1}$, Zech. 3$_{1}$, etc.), grandson of Seraiah the high priest (2 K. 25$_{18}$), and son of Jehozadak (1 Ch. 3$_{2}$, 6$_{14}$). In this list he is not yet spoken of as high priest.—**Nehemiah:** not, of course, the Nehemiah who rebuilt the walls of the city nearly a century later.—**2b–35.** The list of the men of Israel who returned; it includes the names of clans and cities as well as personal names, though it is not possible to determine in every case whether a name is that of a city or an individual.—**36–39.** The families of the priests; these coincide with the corresponding lists given in Neh. and the Greek Ezra.—**38. Pashhur:** *cf.* Jer. 20$_{1}$ff., where it is told how Pashhur, the son of Immer the priest "smote Jeremiah the prophet, and put him in the stocks."—**39. Harim:** in 32 this name occurs among those of the men of Israel, *i.e.* the laymen; it means "consecrated," and would thus be more appropriate for a priest.—**40–42.** The families of the Levites; these include the Levites proper, the singers, and the porters. For the Levites,

cf. Neh. 10₉, 1 Ch. 24₂₀–₃₁ ; for the singers 1 Ch. 25₁–₇, ₉–₃₁ ; and for the porters (better "door-keepers"), 1 Ch. 26₁–₁₉. The very small number of the Levites is surprising ; *cf.* 8₁₅ff., where the number, although small, is much greater than here ; it is probable that the list given here is fragmentary. It is also noteworthy that the priests and Levites are reckoned as distinct classes ; by the end of the pre-exilic period all Levites were priests although they might be differentiated (see Ezek. 48₁₁ff.) ; but now a Levite was not necessarily a priest. A partial explanation, at any rate, of this is to be found in Neh. 13₁₀, according to which the Levites gave up their calling because there was nothing for them to live on ; but the tendency for them to enter a purely secular life must have arisen during the Exile.—**43–54.** The Nethinim ; the name means "given," *i.e.* to the sanctuary. They constituted an inferior grade of Temple slaves ; they were originally captives of war (*cf.* Jos. 9₂₃, Nu. 31₂₈,₃₀) and therefore not Yahweh worshippers (*cf.* Ezek. 44₇ff.) ; their foreign origin is clear from the names *Meunim, Nephisim ;* but they were reckoned as belonging to the Israelite community (see Neh. 10₂₉) because of their having been circumcised, so that on their return from the Exile they were no more regarded as slaves, but as free men who received their share from the Temple revenues. It is probable that ultimately the Nethinim were absorbed by the Levites.—**50. Meunim :** =Minæans (*cf.* Hommel, *The Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, pp. 271–274).—**Nephisim :** *cf.* 1 Ch. 13₁, 5₁₈–₂₂.—**55–58.** Solomon's servants ; these formed a subdivision of the Nethinim, as is implied by one number being given for both classes ; *cf.* Neh. 10₂₈, and see also Neh. 7₆₀, 11₃.—**59–63.** Israelites and priests who were unable to trace their descent ; as these were on this account not regarded as genuine members of the community they do not figure in the lists in Ezr. 10₂₅–₄₃, Neh. 10₁–₂₇.—**62. were they . . . priesthood :** *cf.* Neh. 7₆₄.—**63. the Tirshatha :** = "him that is feared" (Lagarde, *Symmicta*, i. p. 60) ; a representative of the king of Persia ; *cf.* Neh. 7₆₅,₇₀, 8₉, 10₁ ; it is equivalent to the Bab. "Pekhah" (Neh. 12₂₆).—**the most holy things :** *i.e.* those things which only a priest might touch (*cf.* Num. 18₉–₁₁).—**till there . . . Thummim :** *i.e.* until there appeared one who understood the ritual (*cf.* 1 Mac. 4₄₆).—**Urim and Thummim :** (pp. 100f.) Heb. forms of the Ass. words *Urtu* and *Tamitu*, "Decisions" and Oracles," the "Tablets of Destiny," often mentioned in the Babylonian story of the Creation ; to possess these meant the attainment of supremacy among the gods. Babylonian priests gave oracles by means of the power accorded to them by Ea and his son Marduk ; to the latter belonged the "Tablets of Destiny" (see Muss-Arnolt, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, July 1900).—**64–67.** A summary of what has preceded ; the total of the returned exiles, 42,360, is the same as that given in Neh. 7₆₆ and in the Greek Ezra 5₄₁, but the numbers, when reckoned up, give a different total.—**65. singing men and singing women :** *cf.* Neh. 7₆₇ ; either (*a*) professional singers employed to sing at feasts and banquets (*cf.* 2 S. 19₃₅, Ec. 2₇f.), this is, however, improbable in this case in view of Neh. 5₂–₅, from which it would appear that the people were scarcely able to procure the bare necessaries of life ; moreover, luxurious ideas such as possessing singers of this kind would scarcely have been in the minds of the returning exiles. Or (*b*) Temple singers ; it is true, singers of this kind have already been mentioned in 4₁, but the section before us is a summary, and a repetition is the less surprising when it is remembered that the Chronicler's main interest is centred in the Temple cultus. That there were women-singers in the Temple is evident from the references given above (1 Ch. 15₂₀ *).—**67. their camels four hundred thirty and five :** this number seems excessive for those who were so poor as the returned exiles ; either the text is faulty or the Chronicler has exaggerated.

II. 68–70. The Free-will Offerings of the Heads of Families, and the Settlement of the Exiles (*cf.* Neh. 7₇₀–₇₂).—The gifts are, of course, for the Temple and its worship.—**68. when they came to the house of Yahweh :** these words would imply that the Temple was already in existence ; if not a gloss they are an oversight of the Chronicler, especially in view of the words which follow, "to set it up in its place."—**69.** This is obviously an exaggeration ; all that we learn of the returned exiles shows them to have been poor.—**70. priests' garments :** these were made of linen (Lev. 16₄), and had embroidered work (Ex. 28₄, 39₂₇).

III. 1–3. The Building of the Altar for Burnt Offerings.—1. the seventh month : presumably of the year of the return, 537. The seventh month is called Tisri in the Jewish calendar and is approximately equivalent to October. The first day of Tisri, which was probably that on which this ceremony took place, was known as the feast of Trumpets (lit. Horns) (see p. 104, Nu. 29₁), or *Yôm Teru'ah*, "Day of Shôfar-blowing," and *Zikrôn Teru'ah*, "Memory of Shôfar-blowing" (see Lev. 23₂₄* ; *cf.* Ps. 81₃).—**2. builded the altar :** this would, of course, precede the Temple building because it was necessary that the public burnt offerings for the people as a community should be offered first ; the private sacrifices could wait.—**as it is written :** see Nu. 29₁–₆.—**the man of God :** *cf.* 1 Ch. 23₁₄, 35₁₂,₂₆.—**3. upon its base :** better, "in its place" (*mg.*), *i.e.* where it had formerly stood (*cf.* 2₆₈).—**for fear . . . countries :** read, "for the peoples of the land were at enmity with them" ; see the Greek Ezra 5₅₀ ; the Heb. text is corrupt. When once the altar had been set up the returned exiles could feel greater confidence in Yahweh's protection.—**morning and evening :** see Ex. 29₃₈, Nu. 28₃–₈.

III. 4–6. The Observance of the Feast of Tabernacles.—4. And they kept . . . : see Ex. 23₁₆, Lev. 23₃₄–₄₂. Dt. 16₁₃–₁₅, and *cf.* Neh. 8₁₄–₁₇. This feast (the vintage feast) was observed on the 15th of Tisri and lasted seven days (pp. 102–104). The Heb. name is *Sukkôth* ("Booths"), in reference to the way in which the Israelites dwelt in booths during their journey through the wilderness ; this, at least, is the traditional explanation of the dwelling in booths during the whole of the feast.—**by number . . . :** see Nu. 29₁₂–₃₈.—**5. the continual burnt offering :** *i.e.* the daily sacrifices, morning and evening, of a lamb of the first year (see Ex. 29₃₈–₄₂, Nu. 28₆).—**the offerings of the new moons :** *i.e.* the offerings at the feasts of the new moon (*cf.* Nu. 28₁₁–₁₅, 1 S. 20₅, 2 K. 4₂₃).—**all the set feasts of Yahweh :** see Lev. 23₁–₄₄, Nu. 28₂–₃₇ ; these feasts were, in addition to those of the Sabbath and new moons, Passover, Weeks, Trumpets, Atonement, Tabernacles. The enumeration of all these feasts signifies the reinstatement of the whole sacrificial system.—**6. but :** better "although" ; it was inconceivable to the Jews of the Chronicler's day that offerings could be sacrificed without the Temple, hence the addition of these words. The occasion was wholly exceptional.

III. 7–13. The Laying of the Temple Foundation and the Joy of the People.—7. masons . . . carpenters : those referred to were the men who hewed the stone from the quarries and those who prepared the rough

stone thus obtained.—them of Zidon . . . them of Tyre: as in the case of the first Temple, see 1 K. 5$_{6-11}$. **—according . . . Persia:** see 1$_2$; the Lebanon range belonged now to the kings of Persia.—**8. in the second year . . . in the second month:** *i.e.* as the text stands, the second year of the return, 536 B.C., which was also the second month of the year (according to the Chronicler's mode of reckoning); the second month was Iyar (=approximately May). But, according to the contemporary prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the beginning of the building of the Temple took place in the sixth month of the second year of Darius I, *i.e.* the month Elul (=approximately October) 520 (see Hag. 1 $_{1,15}$, *cf.* 2$_{10,15,18}$, Zech. 1$_{1,7-9}$), while in Ezr. 4$_{24}$ it is said that owing to the obstruction of the people of the land the building of the Temple had to cease, and was not taken up again until the second year of Darius; in this verse, as well as in the one before us, the Chronicler's chronology is at fault, the text here also being corrupt. Batten's reconstruction of 8–10*a*, being in part supported by the Greek Ezra, is to be commended, viz.: *And in the second year of Darius, in the sixth month, Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel and Jeshua the son of Josadak, and their brethren, and the priests, the Levites, and all (others) who had come in from the captivity to Jerusalem, began and laid the foundation of the house of God. On the first day of the second month of the second year of their coming to Judah and Jerusalem, then they appointed the Levites of twenty years and upward for the work on the house of Yahweh; then arose Jeshua and Bani and Ahijah and Kadmiel, the sons of Hodaviah and the sons of Henadad, their sons and their brothers, all the Levites doing the work on the house of God, and the builders were erecting the Temple of Yahweh.* As Batten explains, "the dates are given with the particularity characteristic of the time, as in Hag., first by the king's reign, and then by the sojourn in Jerusalem. That two dates were in the original is suggested by the separation of the year and month by several intervening words." For further justification of the reconstruction, see Batten's notes.—**8. from twenty years old and upwards:** the law as to the age when the Levites might begin their work in the sanctuary varied; in Nu. 8$_{24}$f. it is twenty-five years, in Nu. 4$_{3,23,30,35}$, thirty, which is also the age given in 1 Ch. 23$_3$, while in 24 of the same chapter it is twenty.—**9. the sons of Judah . . . the Levites:** the text is corrupt, read as above. In 2$_{40}$ the Levites are enumerated as the children of Jeshua and Kadmiel and the children of Hodaviah, but in Neh. 10$_9$ the children of Henadad are added.—**10. they set the priests:** read "the priests stood" with a number of Heb. MSS, the LXX and Vulgate; *cf.* also the Greek Ezra 5$_{59}$.—**in their apparel:** *cf.* 2 Ch. 5$_{12}$.—**with trumpets:** *cf.* Nu. 10$_8$*; a straight metallic tube, quite unlike the curved ram's horn (1 Ch. 15$_{24}$*). Regarding their use in the worship of the Temple they were, as a rule, only used for the purpose of giving signals at certain times during the service; in 2 Ch. 5$_{11-13}$, however, it is stated that the trumpets accompanied the singing: this was not the general rule, though in later times it appears to have become more usual to employ trumpets in the worship itself (*cf.* 1 Mac. 4$_{40}$, 5$_{33}$).—**cymbals:** made of brass according to 1 Ch. 15$_{19}$.—**after the order of David:** the Chronicler traces all these arrangements back to David although the Temple did not exist in his day; he was following the traditional belief (*cf.* 2 Ch. 29$_{25-30}$).—**11. they sang one to another:** *i.e.* they sang antiphonally; for the words of praise which follow *cf.* Pss. 106$_1$, 136$_1$, 1 Ch. 16$_{34}$, 2 Ch. 5$_{13}$, 7$_3$.—**12. that had seen the first house:** *cf.* Hag. 2$_3$.

IV. 1–5. The Rebuilding of the Temple Opposed.—1. the adversaries: *i.e.* the northern Israelites of mixed race, Samaritans; they are called adversaries by anticipation, as they did not oppose the building of the Temple until their co-operation had been refused.—**builded a temple:** better "were building"; note that while here the building of the Temple is in question the next section deals with the building of the walls.—**2. we seek your God:** the words show that these people were not true worshippers of Yahweh, whatever their intention for the future might be.—**and we do sacrifice unto him:** but the Massoretic text reads (*cf. mg.*), "we have not offered sacrifice."—**the days of Esarhaddon:** *cf.* 2 K. 19$_{37}$*; he was king of Assyria from 681–668 B.C. (pp. 59f.)—**which brought us up hither:** they were, therefore, not Israelites; they had, in some sort, accustomed themselves to the worship of the land because they had been in danger of wild beasts (see 2 K. 17$_{28}$); but it was not, according to 2 K. 17$_{41}$, of a genuine character, and they evidently soon reverted to their ancestral worship.—**3. Ye have nothing to do with us . . .:** this refusal is quite comprehensible since these mixed people were, for the most part, non-Israelites; so that neither in relation to race nor worship could there be any bond of sympathy between them and the Jews.—**as king Cyrus . . . hath commanded us** (*cf.* 1$_{1-3}$).—**4. the people of the land:** in Heb. *'am ha'aretz*, the name given in post-exilic times to those dwelling in Palestine who were of non-Israelite extraction. M. Friedländer (*Die religiösen Bewegungen*, pp. 78ff.) in writing of somewhat later times, has shown how erroneous it is to maintain that the expression "people of the land" became a synonym for the unlearned and ignorant; the passage usually quoted in support of this idea (Jn. 7$_{49}$) refers to the multitude in Jerusalem, and does not mention the *'am ha'aretz*, which became a recognised name for those of anti-Pharisaic tendency.—**troubled them in building:** read "terrified them from building."—**5. all the days of Cyrus . . .:** since what is recounted in the previous verses presumably took place in the second year of Cyrus (see 3$_8$), *i.e.* 536 B.C., and Darius came to the throne in 521 (though it was not until the second year of his reign that the building recommenced), there is, according to the text, a period of about sixteen years during which nothing was done; there is clearly a displacement of the text.

IV. 6f. These are two stray verses which have been left in the text here by mistake. This offers a good example of the way in which fragments of sources are jumbled together in our book. 6 refers to a letter (the writer is not mentioned) written to Xerxes, who is not mentioned elsewhere in the book, containing an accusation, not specified, against the Jews. 7 refers to another letter written in Aramaic by Mithredath (mentioned in 1$_8$ as the treasurer of Cyrus) and others to Artaxerxes; but it does not say what the letter was about. In 5 we are in the reign of Cyrus, 536, and Darius, 521; in 6 at the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, 485; in 7 in the days of Artaxerxes, 464–424; in 8ff. again in the days of Artaxerxes, but a different letter from that referred to in 7 is dealt with. This shows the inextricable tangle in which these verses are as they now stand. Scholars have suggested a number of solutions, but they differ from each other considerably.

IV. 8–VI. 18. Extract from an Aramaic Document. **IV. 8–23** contains a letter, together with the king's reply to it, written by adversaries of the Jews to Artaxerxes for the purpose of frustrating the *building of the city walls.* The writers are different from those

mentioned in 7 as writing to Artaxerxes; two letters are, therefore spoken of, so that what is said in 7 cannot be in reference to the letter now dealt with. Moreover, this letter has nothing to do with the events recorded in 41–5, for it refers to the building of the Temple, while 8–23 refers to the building of the city walls. 8–23 is, therefore, out of place here.—**8.** Rehum and Shimshai are probably both foreign names. The "chancellor" = the governor of the province; "scribe" = here the governor's secretary.—**9.** The names of these nationalities to which the Samaritans belonged show the non-Jewish origin of the latter, or at least of the bulk of them.—**10. Osnappar:** *i.e.* Assurbanipal, 668–626 B.C., the son and successor of Esarhaddon.—**12. and have finished the walls:** see note on 38; this was the point of supreme importance, for with the walls of the city complete, Jerusalem could defy her enemies.—**13. if . . . finished:** *cf.* 16; these words do not agree with what is said in 12, where the walls are spoken of as completed.—**14. we eat the salt of the palace:** *i.e.* since we are in the service of the king and receive maintenance from him.—**15. the book of the records of thy fathers:** *cf.* 61f., Est. 223, 61, 102; the words show the care with which the records of the past were kept by the Persian kings.—**16. . . . thou shalt have no portion beyond the river:** *i.e.* he will lose his Syrian province.—**18. hath been plainly read:** *cf.* Neh. 88, and see note there; read "translated," the king was not likely to understand Aramaic.—**22. why . . . kings:** read "lest damage should increase to the kings' loss"; there is no interrogative in the Aramaic.

IV. 25–V. 17. The narrative which was broken off at the end of 5 is now resumed. There is silence regarding the period 536–520 B.C.; in 516, however, it is said that the building had been proceeding during the whole of this time. Owing to the action of Haggai and Zechariah, the Jews are once more roused to undertake the work, which had been interrupted sixteen years before, of rebuilding the Temple (so according to our present text). This time there is no objection; on the contrary, application is made to Darius by the governor, who is supported herein by some of the Samaritans (the Apharsachites), to permit the Jews to go on with their work (which is continued, however, pending the arrival of the king's reply) on the ground that a former king (*i.e.* Cyrus) had given permission for the work to be undertaken. The reply is favourable. The very different attitude from that spoken of in 41–5, adopted by the Samaritans (the Apharsachites are mentioned in both passages, possibly this word means eparchs, *i.e.* "rulers," but this would not affect the point) shows that the relationship between them and the Jews had undergone a change for the better. Presumably during the sixteen years of which nothing is recorded, a more friendly feeling had by degrees sprung up, and this resulted in the intermarriages so bitterly resented by Ezra and Nehemiah later on. We must suppose that it was owing to this change of feeling that, so far from antagonism, the governor, supported by the Samaritans themselves, now seeks permission on behalf of the Jews to build, and even raises no objection to their continuing operations pending the arrival of the reply to his letter. The governor regarded it as his duty to get legal sanction from headquarters for this building, seeing that it had previously been specifically forbidden; otherwise we may well suppose he would have permitted it to go on without taking further official notice of it.—**24. the second year of Darius:** 520 B.C.—**V. 1. Now the prophets . . .:** *cf.* Hag. 11, Zech. 11.—**in the name of . . .:** read "in the name of the God of Israel which was upon them," *cf.* Dt. 2810.—**3. this work:** *i.e.* of the Temple.—**4. Then spake we . . .:** read "Then spake they unto them."—**11. a great king of Israel . . .:** *i.e.* Solomon (see 1 K. 61).—**15. put them in the temple that is in Jerusalem:** these words are so directly contrary to what immediately follows that they can only be regarded as an unskilful gloss; they should be deleted.—**16. since that time . . .:** clearly out of harmony with 424. What is said of Sheshbazzar here does not agree with 38, 10.

VI. 1–12. The King's Reply according his Permission for the Building to be Continued.—1. a decree: the actual decree does not begin until 8.—**2. Achmetha:** *cf.* Tob. 37; *i.e.* Ecbatana, in Media, the summer residence of the Persian kings.—**a roll:** in this case more probably a cylindrical clay tablet inscribed with cuneiform characters; but the fact that a "roll" is mentioned shows that the Jews of Ezra's time were unfamiliar with that form of writing.—**3–5.** This purports to be a copy of Cyrus' decree (*cf.* 11–11); it is, however, not a transcript of this, but contains the gist of the original coloured by the Chronicler; the text is not in good order.—**6f.** The formal injunction to the governor to permit the building to proceed. The abrupt commencement "Now therefore" suggests that some intervening matter in Darius' reply has been left out, presumably because the Chronicler did not consider it important.—**be ye far from thence:** *i.e.* keep away from there, namely, where the building was going on; there was to be no interference with the Jews; the more friendly feeling which had sprung up would not be known of in Persia.—**8–12.** The decree of Darius. Here again it is abundantly clear that this is no transcript, but merely the general drift of the decree embellished according to the Chronicler's ideas.

VI. 13–18. The Carrying out of the Decree; the Temple Completed and Dedicated.—14. This cannot be in its original form; the success of the building is ascribed both to the commandment of God and to the decrees of Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes; this is not the way of a Jewish writer. One can, of course, by doing violence to the thought of the verse, explain it by saying that the promulgating of the decrees was according to the will of God; but this is pressing a meaning into the text which is not really there. We have here probably material culled from two sources. Further, the mention of Artaxerxes shows that a gloss has been added by a later copyist, who was thinking of the later benevolent attitude of this king in the matter of the building of the walls, and thoughtlessly mentioned him here.—**15. Adar:** the twelfth month = March approximately.—**the sixth year:** 516 B.C.

VI. 19–22. The Celebration of the Passover.—Hebrew is resumed here.—**19. the fourteenth day of the first month:** *cf.* Ex. 126.—**20.** The leading part taken by the Levites here is not in accordance with earlier practice; this had, however, been gradually modified (see Ex. 126, 2 Ch. 3017, 3510–14).—**21. all such . . . the land:** *i.e.* the descendants of those who had not gone into captivity, but had remained in the land.—**22. the king of Assyria:** one expects "the king of Persia," but *cf.* Neh. 136, where Artaxerxes is called the king of Babylon; *cf.* 76.

PART II (Ezr. 7–10). **The Work of Ezra.**

VII. 1–10. Ezra's Genealogy; his Return to Palestine.—1. Now after these things: *i.e.* those recorded as having taken place in the sixth year of Darius (615).—**in the reign of Artaxerxes:** 465–425 B.C. What is now recorded took place in the seventh year (see 7)

of Artaxerxes, *i.e.* in 458, so that a period of nearly sixty years is passed over in silence. For the genealogy of Ezra *cf.* 1 Ch. 64–14. It is not complete; in addition to 1 Ch. 64–14 see also 1 Ch. 91of., Neh. 1111, Greek Ezra 81f., 2(4) Esd. 11–3.—**6. a ready scribe in the law of Moses:** for the rise of the scribes and their activity, see the present writer's *The Books of the Apocrypha*, Prolegomena, ch. vi.—**all his request:** *i.e.* as contained in the letter in 12–26.—**7.** *Cf.* 815ff.; that in addition to the lay element there should have been not only priests and Levites, but also singers, doorkeepers, and Nethinim in Babylon or its neighbourhood (see 817–20) witnesses to a considerable communal organisation among the Jews during the captivity.—**8. the fifth month:** Ab=August approximately.—**9. on the first day of the first month:** in 832 it is the twelfth day of the first month, *i.e.* of Nisan (=March approximately); they arrived in Jerusalem in the fifth month, so that the journey from Babylon took about three months and a half.—**began he to go up:** read "he decided to go up," *i.e.* the matter was settled on this day; the actual start, owing to the delay mentioned in 815ff., was not until the twelfth day of the same month.—**10. For Ezra had set his heart . . . :** He only continued to do more fully what he had been doing among his people in Babylon.

VII. 11–26. Decree of Artaxerxes.—This decree granted a further return of exiles for the purpose of reorganising the Temple worship. With the exception of the introductory words of 11, this section is in Aramaic. There is no reason for doubting the substantial genuineness of this document, though in the form here given the Chronicler, with his love for all that has to do with the Temple ritual, has introduced some of his own ideas.

VII. 27f. Ezra's Thanksgiving.—This purports to be in the very words of Ezra. The narrative is here continued in Hebrew again.

VIII. 1–14. A List of Heads of Families.—It contains the names of the heads of the families who returned to Palestine with Ezra.

VIII. 15–30. The Gathering together of the Exiles at Ahava.—The narrative is told here in the first person.—**15. Ahava:** *cf.* 21,31; this seems to have been a place which gave its name to one of the many canals constructed in Babylonia for irrigation purposes.—**none of the sons of Levi:** as the main object of the return was the resuscitation of the Temple worship the Levites were, of course, indispensable.—**17. Casiphia:** the exact locality is unknown; there appears to have been a colony of Levites and Nethinim here.—**25f.** The amount of money here mentioned, equivalent to nearly a million pounds sterling, is a characteristic exaggeration on the part of the Chronicler.

VIII. 31–36. The Arrival in Jerusalem.—31. on the twelfth day . . . : *cf.* 78f., 815.—**35.** *Cf.* Zerubbabel's offerings at the dedication of the Temple, 617.—**36. the king's commissions:** mentioned in 721–24.—**satraps . . . governors:** the satrap was a higher official, being ruler of a province; the governor (*pekhah*) administered a smaller district.

IX. 1–4. Report is Made to Ezra of the Marriages of Jews with the Heathen.—Ezra's zeal in this matter resulted in his going beyond the requirements of the Law (*cf.* Dt. 237).—**1. the Canaanites . . . Amorites:** with the Gentiles here enumerated *cf.* Dt. 71.—**2. holy seed:** *cf.* Is. 613.

IX. 5–15. Ezra's Confession.—5. at the evening oblation: therefore in the presence of the assembled worshippers.—**7. from the days of our fathers:** *i.e.* from the times of the patriarchs onwards.—**8. a nail in his holy place:** lit. "a tent-peg in, etc."; the rendering in the Greek Ezra is to be preferred, viz.: "a root and a name in the place of thy sanctuary."—**in our bondage:** the expression is a strong one; the Jews, though dependents of the Persian king, were not in servitude in the sense that their fathers had been in Egypt.—**9. a wall:** lit. "a fence"; *cf.* Is. 55; the word is used of a fence round vineyards; it is used metaphorically for "protection," and does not, of course, refer to the wall of the city, which was in ruins (see Neh. 211–17).—**11. by thy servants the prophets saying . . . :** *cf.* Dt. 71–3, 237. Ezra regards the teaching of the Law as identical with that of the prophets, and *vice versa*, and is thus the first to enunciate a principle which is often insisted upon in later Jewish literature.

X. 1–5. The People Swear to Put away their Foreign Wives.—The narrative now proceeds in the third person.—**2. Shecaniah:** a common name; not necessarily identical with the person of this name referred to in 26.—**yet now:** *i.e.* "nevertheless"; the evil could be done away by making a covenant with God (see 3).—**3. to put away all the wives . . . them:** it does not seem to have struck Ezra that a better and more humane way would have been to receive the wives and children into the pale of Judaism.

X. 6–17. The Jews Assemble in Jerusalem; Officers are Appointed from each City to See that the Foreign Wives are Put away.—6. Jehohanan: *cf.* Neh. 1213.—**and when he came thither:** read, "and he lodged there" (*mg.*), *i.e.* spent the night there.—**8. forfeited:** "devoted," *i.e.* put under a religious ban (see pp 99, 114, Dt. 234* Jos. 617*).—**separated from the congregation:** equivalent to the later "put out of the synagogue"; *cf.* Jn. 922.—**9. within . . . of the month:** Chislev was the ninth month=December approximately, in the rainy season. Ezra arrived in Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month of the seventh year of Artaxerxes (78f.); after three days a great burnt sacrifice was offered (832ff.); immediately after this (91) the matter of the mixed marriages was brought to Ezra's notice; this culminated in the calling of the assembly (107ff.), which took place three days after having been proclaimed, on the twentieth day of the ninth month! Clearly the sources have been somewhat mixed up.—**the broad place before the house of God:** *i.e.* the open space before the water gate (see Neh. 326, 81).—**trembling because of this matter and . . . :** the conjunction of these two thoughts is somewhat incongruous; it is possible that the words "because of this matter and" are a later addition. The parallel passage in the Greek Ezra (96) runs more naturally: "trembling in the broad place before the Temple because of the present foul weather"; by "trembling" we must understand "shivering," not the result of fear, but the physical discomfort of standing in the rain.—**10. Ezra the priest:** *cf.* 711,21, Neh. 1226.—**11. make confession:** see 1, where the ordinary word for making confession is used; the Heb. word here means lit. "give praise," but that is incongruous in this connexion. If the text is out of order the corruption must be old, for the same reading occurs in the Greek Ezra. Perhaps Batten is right in saying that the idea may be that praise was due to God because the culprits were brought to a state of amendment.—**the God of your fathers:** read, with the Greek Ezra, "our fathers."—**12. As thou hast said . . . do:** the LXX has what certainly seems to be a more natural reply, viz. "Great is this thy demand for us to do," *i.e.* thou hast asked a hard thing of us.—**15. Only:** better,

"but."—**stood up against this matter:** the RVm, "were appointed over this," may be disregarded; for the Heb. phrase *cf.* Lev. 19^{16}, 1 Ch. 21^{1}. Although here only a few are mentioned who withstood Ezra's tyranny, it is clear (17*) from the Book of Neh. that they were followed by many others who protested against their homes being broken up.—**16. the tenth month:** Tebeth = January approximately.—**17.** This does not agree with what is said in Neh. 9^{2}, 13$^{23,26-28}$.—**the first day of the first month:** *i.e.* the 1st of Nisan, in the eighth year of Artaxerxes; the matter, therefore, took about three months.

X. 18–44. A List of those who had Married Foreign Wives.—These include seventeen priests, together with Levites, singers, and doorkeepers, and also laymen.

NEHEMIAH

PART III (Neh. 1–7^{73a}). **The Work of Nehemiah.**

I. 1–11a. Nehemiah, Hearing of the Evil Plight of his Brethren in Jerusalem, Prays for Divine Aid.—**1. The words . . . Hacaliah:** these introductory words are not likely to have stood here originally when Ch.–Ezr.–Neh. formed one continuous book; they were probably added by a later scribe.—**the month Chislev, in the twentieth year:** *i.e.* the ninth month (Ezr. 10^{9}*). The last date mentioned was in Ezr. 10^{17}, the first day of the first month of the eighth year of Artaxerxes. By the twentieth year here is presumably meant the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (see 2^{1}), so that an interval of about thirteen years would have elapsed from the settlement of the mixed marriages question and the arrival of Hanani at Shushan. The month here given is, however, obviously wrong (see 2^{1}); but the year is in agreement with 5^{14}, from which it was probably taken by the Chronicler and inserted here.—**Shushan:** also written Susa; the winter residence of the Persian kings, and later, in the Macedonian period, it gave the name Susiana to the whole province.—**palace:** better "castle."—**2. Hanani:** probably the actual brother of Nehemiah (see 7^{2}). It does not appear that Hanani himself had come from Judah, he merely brings to his influential brother certain men who had.—**the Jews . . . Jerusalem:** there appears to be a reference here to some well-known occurrence which had happened to the "captivity" in Judah; the reference is perhaps to Ezr. 4ff., which is out of place where it now stands (there had clearly been some strengthening of the walls); this is further borne out by what is said in the next verse (*cf.* 2^{3,17}).—**5–11a.** This prayer is full of Deuteronomic phrases. Its form is strongly liturgical in character, and with the exception of the last sentence is quite general, and can be paralleled with several passages in the more ancient elements of the Jewish Liturgy. If we had here the actual words of Nehemiah some more direct reference to the purpose for which the supplication was offered would assuredly have been forthcoming. It is more than probable that the Chronicler took this prayer from the Temple Liturgy and put it into the mouth of Nehemiah. The text runs perfectly smoothly if one reads 11*b* ("Now I was cupbearer to the king" . . .) immediately after 4.

I. 11b–II. 8. Nehemiah Receives Permission from Artaxerxes to Go to Jerusalem and Rebuild the City Walls.—**1. the twentieth year of Artaxerxes:** 444 B.C.—**I had not been aforetime sad:** this cannot be got out of the Heb. which says simply "I was not sad"; the meaning would appear to be that Nehemiah, knowing as a courtier that it was contrary to usage at court for a royal servant to appear sad in the presence of the king, had determined that he would not offend in this manner even though he had received the bad news about his brethren in Judah; nevertheless, his looks betrayed him in spite of his resolution; hence his words, "then I was very sore afraid" when the king noticed this. To the best of his knowledge Nehemiah had not appeared sad.—**2. And the king said . . .:** better, "nevertheless the king said. . . ."—**3. Let the king live for ever:** *cf.* Dan. 2^{4}, 3^{9}.—**6. For how long shall . . .:** 5^{14}*.—**8. the castle:** *cf.* 7^{2}; the word in Heb., *birah*, is a loan-word, perhaps from the Babylonian; in the Greek it is called *baris*, so too, by Josephus. This castle was intended as a defence for the Temple ("the house"). That Nehemiah should have had all these particulars ready to explain to the king without ever having been in Jerusalem is not easy to account for. Probably the Chronicler's hand has to some extent filled in the details.

II. 9–20. Nehemiah Arrives in Jerusalem and Surveys the Walls.—**9.** The account of the journey is omitted, interest being centred upon what Nehemiah was going to do in Jerusalem.—**the governors beyond the river:** namely of the provinces on the west of the Euphrates; as Nehemiah would almost certainly pass through Hamath and Damascus, the two most important cities in Syria, the governors here resident are probably intended.—**the king . . . horsemen:** *cf.* 4^{16,23}; this body-guard remained with Nehemiah in Jerusalem. Contrast Ezr. 8^{22}.—**10. Sanballat the Horonite:** more correctly Sinuballit; an inhabitant of Beth-horon in Samaria (*cf.* Jos. 16^{3,5}, 18^{13}, 21^{22}). One of the Elephantine papyri (p. 79) refers to him as the governor of Samaria.—**Tobiah the servant:** lit. "slave"; the epithet is difficult to account for; perhaps Tobiah had once held a menial position under the Persian king, and had been raised to a place of honour.—**a man:** in the Heb. there is a note of contempt.—**11. and was there three days:** *cf.* Ezr. 8^{32}.—**12. neither . . . Jerusalem:** this secrecy was due to what is recounted in 10; whatever plans Nehemiah might have in view would necessarily require to be kept secret lest their carrying out should be forestalled by the enemy's partisans in the city (see 6$^{10-14}$).—**13. the valley gate:** so called because it led to the valley of Hinnom.—**the dragon's well:** not mentioned elsewhere; it cannot be located with certainty. Robertson Smith (*The Religion of the Semites*, p. 172 [1894]) says: "In 1 K. 1^{9,38}, the fountains of En-rogel, where Adonijah held his sacrificial feast, and of Gihon, where Solomon was crowned, are plainly the original sanctuaries of Jerusalem. The former was by the 'serpent's stone,' and may perhaps be identified with the 'dragon well' of Neh. 2^{13}. Here again, as in Arabia and at the Orontes, the dragon or serpent has a sacred significance." [See also G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. pp. 74, 111f. He considers that it was a spring opened by earthquake which subsequently disappeared. We have no reference to the name or to a well in the position described before or after the time of Nehemiah.—A. S. P.]—**the dung gate:** probably, as the name seems to imply, the gate out of which the town refuse was carried.—**14. the fountain gate:** *cf.* 3^{15}, 12^{37}; on the east side of the mouth of the Tyropœon Valley, though this is not quite certain.—**the king's pool:** *i.e.* Solomon's pool; it lay to the east of the pool of Siloam.—**but there was no place . . .:** because the path was blocked with the ruins of the walls.—**15. the brook:** *i.e.* the Kidron; *cf.* 2 S. 15^{23}.—**and I turned back:** this reads as though Nehemiah did not finish his inspection of the walls; Ryle is,

however, probably right in thinking that "we have here an instance of condensation on the part of the compiler, who at this point passes at once to the return journey without giving us sufficient material to judge whether the complete circuit of the walls was made."—**16. And the rulers knew not:** as "rulers" occurs again later in this verse it is perhaps better to follow the LXX here and read "guards."—**to the rest that did the work:** "the work" can only refer to the building of the walls; but these had not been begun seeing that Nehemiah had not yet disclosed his purpose. The words were probably added by the compiler, writing later from his own point of view.—**17.** The compiler is only utilising Nehemiah's memoirs, he is not transcribing them, and he leaves out the account of the calling of the assembly, the meeting of which is implied by what follows, in order to come to what he regards as more important.—**that we be no more a reproach:** *cf.* Pss. 44¹³, 79⁴.—**18. the hand of my God:** *i.e.* God's guidance; this did not, however, mean that human means were not to be made the most of, so he recalls the promise of the king of Persia.—**they strengthened their hands:** *i.e.* they took heart; the approximate converse expression of "weakening the hands" of someone, in the sense of discouraging by hindering, occurs in Ezr. 4⁴.—**19. Geshem the Arabian:** in 6⁶ Gashmu.—**what is this thing that ye do?** The words imply that the building had already commenced.—**20. we his servants:** if the reading of the LXX is right, "we his *innocent* (lit. "pure") servants," the words convey a repudiation of Sanballat's suggestion of rebellion.—**ye have . . . Jerusalem:** *cf.* Ezr. 4³.—**memorial:** viz. among their posterity; the thought of the memory of the departed living amongst their posterity was the forerunner of the belief in the life hereafter, and with it in the resurrection of the body, which became a dogma of Judaism soon after the Maccabæan struggle. The normal Sheol-conception—modified by the adumbration of a higher belief in a few isolated passages—pictured only the existence of the shades of the departed in the underworld with only a vague idea of personality (Is. 14⁹–¹⁵*).

III. 1–32. The Building of the Walls.—This is an independent section which breaks the connexion between 2²⁰ and 4¹ff.; it is an excerpt which commences with "And Eliashib . . ." (not "then Eliashib . . ." as RV), thus betraying a connexion with something which must originally have preceded it. As the text now stands, the contents of the section do not follow on logically after 2²⁰. Further, the description here given, in itself incomplete, of the distribution of the work represents the different parts of the wall as having been repaired simultaneously, but this is contradicted by 6¹.—**1. Eliashib the high priest:** *cf.* Ezr. 3², Neh. 12¹⁰, 13⁴; in this last passage he is spoken of as the priest and as closely connected with Tobiah.—**the sheep-gate:** *cf.* 3², 12³⁹, Jn. 5²; it lay to the north of the Temple, and probably received this name because the sacrificial animals were led through it to the Temple.—**set up the doors of it:** but see 6¹.—**the tower of Hammeah** (see RVm.): *cf.* 12³⁹, the only other place where it is mentioned; nothing is known of it otherwise.—**the tower of Hananel:** see Jer. 31³⁸, Zech. 14¹⁰; it was probably situated on the north-east corner of the city.—**3. the fish-gate:** *cf.* 12³⁹ and see 2 Ch. 33¹⁴, Zeph. 1¹⁰*.—**5. the Tekoites:** Tekoah (p. 31), which lay close to the Judæan wilderness, was the home of the prophet Amos (*cf.* Am. 1¹).—**their nobles . . . lord:** *i.e.* the elders of Tekoah did not join the humbler members of their community in the work.—**of their lord:** read "lords," *i.e.* Nehemiah and the other leaders.—**6. the old gate:** read "the gate of the old city" (*mg.*).—**7. which appertained . . . river:** "throne" must be used here symbolically for "rule"; but the Heb. construction of the sentence is faulty, and the text is not in order.—**8. apothecaries:** better "perfumers" (*mg.*), or "makers of ointment" (*cf.* Ex. 30²⁵,³⁵, 2 Ch. 16¹⁴).—**they fortified Jerusalem:** the Heb. reads "they abandoned J.," but the text is, of course, corrupt. Perhaps we should read, on the basis of one of the emendations proposed, "they girded (*i.e.* with a wall) Jerusalem."—**the broad wall:** *cf.* 12³⁸; the portion of the wall between the tower of the furnaces (see 11) and the gate of Ephraim (see Stade, *Geschichte*, ii. pp. 167, 175).—**9. ruler of half the district of J.:** *cf.* 12; the reference is to the surrounding country included within the city's jurisdiction (*cf.* the LXX rendering, "the country round").—**11. the tower of the furnaces:** situated between the gate of Ephraim and the valley gate.—**12. he and his daughters:** read, "it (*i.e.* half the district of Jerusalem) and its villages" (see 11²⁵ff.).—**15. Shelah:** the same as Shiloah (*cf.* Is. 8⁶*).—**the stairs . . .:** *cf.* 12³⁷.—**22. the men of the Plain:** *i.e.* the Plain of Jordan (see Gen. 13¹⁰*).—**28. the horse-gate:** *cf.* Jer. 31⁴⁰, 2 K. 11¹⁶.—**32.** Batten points out that at the beginning of this verse there is a Massoretic note, "the middle of the book," which proves that Ezr.–Neh. is a single book.

IV. 1–23. Samaritan Attempt to Frustrate the Building of the Walls.—In 2f. the text is very corrupt, though the general sense of the passage is fairly clear, viz. the Samaritans mock the efforts made by the Jews in building the walls; Sanballat's wrath in conjunction with his contempt is a little incongruous. The mention of the Samaritan army is difficult to account for; if an army had really been there some attempt would assuredly have been made there and then to stop the building; probably we must picture a crowd of Samaritans and not warriors. But the corrupt state of the text makes it impossible to feel sure what the meaning really is.—**2. will they fortify themselves?** The Heb. "will they leave to them?" is meaningless; Ryle emends the text so as to read, "will they commit themselves to their God?" This gives excellent sense and is supported by the words which follow, "will they sacrifice?" *i.e.* to their God; at the same time one must remember the words in Ezr. 4², spoken by the Samaritans, "we seek your God, as ye do; and we do sacrifice unto him . . ."; if, as is clear, the questions in the verse before us are intended to be words of mockery, we should hardly expect the Samaritans to have made reference to the God, whom they, too, worshipped, in such an unfitting manner. Perhaps it is best to follow the reading of one of the Greek MSS, "Shall we leave them alone?" (so Batten), implying, of course, a negative answer.—**revive:** read "restore."—**4f.** An interjected prayer (*cf.* 5¹⁹, 6⁹,¹⁴, 13¹⁴,²²).—**7–20.** A critical time is here described; on the one hand, the Jews were getting wearied with the work, while, on the other, the enemy, as Nehemiah had found out, were planning an attack. To make things worse, the Jews living round about Jerusalem, who were better able to see what was going on among their enemies, and who realised what was being planned by them, called upon their brethren at the walls to flee. Nehemiah's firmness and presence of mind alone saved the situation. But he saw that the only way whereby the work could be continued and the danger of a sudden attack avoided was to arm the builders, while he himself kept a general look-out with a trumpeter by his side, who would be ready to give the

alarm at any moment.—**21.** This would read more intelligibly if the words "and half of them held the spears" were omitted; for (*a*) there is nothing in the context to show who are referred to in the words "half of them"; and (*b*) there was no point in this holding of the spears ready during the day-time, seeing that Nehemiah had just said that his trumpeter would give the signal immediately any danger of attack showed itself. The time for holding the spears was in the night when the labour had to cease (see 22). Read, "So we wrought in the work from the rising of the morning till the stars appeared."—**23. everyone . . . water:** the text, as it stands, is corrupt (see *mg.*) and quite meaningless; a slight emendation makes the passage read, "each had his weapon in his hand."

V. 1–13. Distress among the Jews.—Neither this nor the next section, 514–19 (the two belong closely together) can be in their right place. 1–13 deals with the economic straits to which the Jews had been reduced through want of food; yet the text nowhere hints that their evil plight was in any way the result of the building of the walls; besides, this building did not take long enough (see 615) to occasion such widespread suffering as the narrative seems to indicate, even supposing the entire population to have ceased their ordinary work in order to give themselves to the work of building, a thing which 412 apparently precludes. Moreover, it is evident from 14 that the building had been finished for years, and that Nehemiah was writing after he had been governor for twelve years.—**1. their brethren the Jews:** *i.e.* the returned exiles, as distinct from those who had not gone into captivity but had remained in the land.—**3.** This shows that the complainants were the country folk, and that the cause of their distress was famine. The word rendered "dearth" is the usual one for famine (*cf.* Gen. 1210 and very often elsewhere); it was owing to famine that they had to mortgage their lands and sell their children into bondage.—**5.** The text is in part corrupt, but the general sense is that some had been forced to sell their children into slavery (*cf.* Ex. 217).—**6–13.** The description of how Nehemiah was able to put things right again illustrates his dominating and powerful personality.—**11. the hundredth part of:** read, by a slight emendation of the text, "the interest on"; the text, as it stands, gives no sense, since the remission of the hundredth part could have given no appreciable relief.—**13. lap:** read "sleeve."

V. 14–19. Nehemiah Enumerates the Outstanding Features of his Beneficent Rule.—The main points here are that Nehemiah and his subordinate officials had not taken advantage of their undoubted right of exacting provisions from the people ("I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor," *i.e.* the sustenance which he, as the governor, had a right to claim); secondly, he recalls how tenaciously he clung to his purpose of the rebuilding of the walls (16); and thirdly, he reminds the people of the way in which he had supported the poor (17f.).—**14. from the twentieth . . . the king:** *i.e.* 445–433 B.C.; in the latter year he went back to Babylon for a short visit (136f.). It is said in 26 that Nehemiah gave the king a set time for leave of absence, and in view of the king's words ("For how long shall thy journey be? and when wilt thou return?") a prolonged period of absence cannot have been comtemplated. Yet, according to the verse before us, Nehemiah was away for about twelve years! No doubt if more fragments of his memoirs had been preserved this difficulty would have been explained. Some new arrangement must have been made between Nehemiah and the king, according to which the former was granted an indefinite leave of absence owing to the serious condition of affairs in Judah, the full extent of which he realised only when he arrived there.

VI. 1–9. Nehemiah's Enemies Make a further Attempt to Frustrate his Work.—The narrative about the rebuilding of the walls, which was broken by ch. 5, is here taken up again. Sanballat and his confederates seek to allure Nehemiah to a conference in order thus to get him into their power. Nehemiah refuses to go to this meeting on the ground that he is too busy with the work which he has in hand. Sanballat, having tried four times in vain to persuade Nehemiah to come, at length tries to intimidate him by sending him a letter in which he accuses him of aspiring to the kingship, and threatens to report this to the king. Sanballat thinks that by this means he may induce Nehemiah to come and meet him. Nehemiah, however, merely denies Sanballat's allegations, telling him that he has made them up.—**2. the plain of Ono:** *cf.* 1135; near Lydda (p. 28), twelve miles to the north of Jerusalem.—**7. thou hast also appointed prophets:** *cf.* 1 K. 2221–28, Jer. 281–17, etc.; the prophets had taken a leading part in times past in the setting up of kings.—**9. But now . . .:** LXX "But now will I strengthen my hands" (*cf. mg.*).

VI. 10–14. A further Attempt to Entrap Nehemiah.—This section is very compressed; important links in the narrative are wanting, so that it is impossible to grasp the details of what happened. The general sense, however, is that Sanballat induced one Shemaiah to try and convince Nehemiah that his life was in danger owing to a plan to kill him at night, for which reason Shemaiah was to urge Nehemiah to seek asylum in the inner sanctuary. But no layman (let alone a man who was ceremonially unclean like Shemaiah) was permitted by the Law to enter here; only priests might do so. If, therefore, Nehemiah could be induced to enter with Shemaiah he would be guilty of a grave breach of the Law and thereby become discredited in the eyes of the people. But Nehemiah sees through the plan and avoids the danger.—**10. was shut up:** *i.e.* he was ceremonially unclean (*cf.* Jer. 365*).—**11.** read *mg.* "could go into the Temple and live"; anyone, with the exception of a priest, who entered was, according to the Law, to be put to death (see Nu. 187).—**14. and also the prophetess Noadiah . . .:** these words show that only part of the episode has been put down here. They also show that Sanballat had considerable support among the Jews living in Jerusalem.

VI. 15–19. The Rebuilding of the Wall is Completed. Tobiah's Friends in Judah.—**15. Elul:**=August approximately. The rebuilding of the walls was completed in 444 B.C., having taken fifty-two days.—**16. feared:** the RVm. can be disregarded; the Heb. is defectively written.—**were much cast down . . .:** read "and it was very marvellous in their eyes"; this is gained by a slight emendation of the Heb. text, which gives no sense as it stands.—**17f.** These verses bear witness to the intrigues which were being carried on in the city itself.

VII. 1–4. Nehemiah's Precautions for Guarding the City from Sudden Attack.—The internal intrigues just referred to (617–19) necessitated constant vigilance on the part of Nehemiah; his measures are described in this section.—**1. porters:** better "gatekeepers."—**the singers and the Levites:** a mistaken addition by the Chronicler; their duties were concerned with the Temple and its services, not with the city gates.—**2. the castle:** see note on 28.—**3. and . . . let them:**

the text gives no sense; read, with a slight emendation, "and while it (*i.e.* the sun) is still standing let them"; the meaning being that the gates were to be closed while it is yet light. The caution was needed in view of the enemies both without and within the walls.

VII. 5–73a. Enumeration of the Returned Exiles.—This section=Ezr. 2₁–70; *cf.* the Greek Ezra 5₇–45. As this list is approximately the same as that of the exiles who returned under Zerubbabel, it must have come originally from the archives in Jerusalem.

PART IV (Neh. 7₇₃*b*–10₃₉). **Ezra and the Law.**

VII. 73b–VIII. 12. The Reading of the Law.—**73b.** These words are repeated by mistake from Ezr. 3₁.—**VIII. 1.** *Cf.* Ezr. 7₆–10. It is clear that we have here only part of the original narrative. It is difficult to understand, knowing what we do about Ezra from other parts of the book, how the initiative regarding the reading of the Law should have been taken by the people as is here implied. Something must originally have preceded this section, which probably recorded how Ezra first impressed upon the people the need of studying and observing the Law. This would explain why the people gathered together and requested Ezra to read the Law to them.—**2. all that could hear with understanding:** as men and women are mentioned immediately before, presumably children are to be understood and referred to by these words, though see 7.—**upon the first day of the seventh month:** see note on Ezr. 3₁, and *cf.* Lev. 23₂₃–₂₅, Nu. 29₁–₆.—**4. a pulpit of wood:** read "a wooden platform" (lit. "tower"); "pulpit" does not convey quite the right idea, as a number of men in addition to Ezra stood on it.—**6.** *Cf.* Dt. 7₁₅, 1 Ch. 16₃₆.—**7f.** None of those here mentioned are among those who stood on the platform with Ezra; they were all Levites (see 9₅, 10₉–₁₄, so that the word "and" before "the Levites" should be deleted. But the whole of 7, with the exception of "and the people stood in their place," seems to be an interpolation, for the procedure as now described in the text is illogical because the understanding of the Law is made to precede the reading of it (see 8). In 6 it is said that the people "worshipped the Lord with their faces to the ground," *i.e.* they were prostrate; so that the words at the end of 7, "and the people stood in their place," evidently mean that they rose up from their prostrate position. In 8 it then goes on to say that they read in the book, etc.; but "they" should be "he," *i.e.* Ezra; the second "they" ("they gave the sense") refers to the Levites; while the third "they" refers to the people. The text in both verses is confused, and differs from the LXX as well as from the Greek Ezra (9₄₈–₅₀). The word "distinctly" (RVm. "with an interpretation"; Heb. *mĕphārash*) comes from a root meaning "to explain" or "expound"; in Aramaic the root means "to translate" (*cf.* Ezr. 4₁₈); and in rabbinical Heb. it came to be used as a technical term for expounding Scripture, and especially the Law; hence the name Pharisee, since the Pharisees were *par excellence* the expounders of the Law. Taking 8 with the emendation suggested above (though the whole text as it stands must be regarded with suspicion) the meaning seems to be that Ezra read the Law, presumably sentence by sentence, and briefly expounded it, whereupon the Levites made his explanation clear to the people. It must be confessed that it is not easy to picture the exact procedure: whether the Levites spoke to small groups of the people after each passage read by Ezra; or whether, after Ezra had finally concluded, the Levites began their explanation on the basis of his words. But though our text fails to give a satisfactory account of the details of what actually took place, the really important point is clear enough, viz. that by Ezra's imspiration and under his guidance the Law was now for the first time put before the Jews in such a way as to convince them that it was the most important thing in the world that their lives should be conducted wholly in accordance with its precepts.—**9. And Nehemiah . . . the Tirshatha:** these words do not belong here, they have been interpolated by the Chronicler.—**your God:** one would rather expect "our"; this is, moreover, what the LXX reads.—**For all the people wept:** the Jews having learned the great demands which the Law made upon them now realised in how many ways they had fallen short of its requirements; hence their consternation and sorrow; *cf.* the action of king Josiah on hearing the book of the Law read for the first time (2 K. 22₁₁).—**12. because they had understood . . .:** this had been the very cause (see end of 9) of the people's weeping; here it is said to be the cause of "great mirth"; the words were probably added by the Chronicler in forgetfulness of what had been written above.

VIII. 13–18. Celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles.—The further reading of the Law and its more minute study show that this is just the time at which the Feast of Tabernacles ought to be celebrated; the people, who are apparently quite ignorant of this feast, forthwith proceed to celebrate it.—**14. they found written in the law:** see Ex. 23₂₆, Lev. 23₃₉–₄₃, Nu. 29₁₂–₃₈, Dt. 16₁₃–₁₅.—**17. for since . . . done so:** these words are not in accordance with other passages of Scripture, for this feast had been observed by Solomon (2 Ch. 7₈, 8₁₃) and by Zerubbabel (Ezr. 3₄). It is an oversight of the Chronicler's.—**18. he read:** *i.e.* "one read."—**the eighth day:** see Lev. 23₃₆,₃₉, 2 Ch. 7₈f., 2 Mac. 10₆; in earlier days the eighth day was not kept as part of the feast.

IX. 1–37. The Fast and a National Confession.—All that took place, as described in this section, was the result of the reading of the Law. The command to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles having been observed, there followed a spontaneous outburst of self-condemnation on the part of the people, who were conscience-stricken on account of having hitherto neglected to observe the Law; they had clearly been desirous of expressing their sorrow before (see 8₉), but it would have been inappropriate during the feast. Fasting and prayerful confession were fitly followed (see next section) by a solemn act of resolution of amendment.—**1. the twenty and fourth day:** the second day after the celebration of the feast, *i.e.* in the seventh month (see 8₂).—**2. the seed of Israel:** an appropriate expression in this connexion.—**separated themselves . . .:** the incongruity of those who were not strictly Jews taking part in what was to follow is obvious.—**confessed their sins:** viz. of non-observance of the commandments of the Law, not necessarily offences of a moral character. The confession was not personal but national; this has always been a characteristic of the Jewish Liturgy; both in prayer and praise, as well as in confession, the act is neither personal nor even congregational, but national; each congregation is representative of the Jewish nation as a whole.—**4. the stairs:** presumably of the platform mentioned in 8₄.—**5.** The text is not in order and there is uncertainty about the names.—**6–37.** It is not said by whom this long prayer and confession was spoken, nor do the contents of it (a review of past history reminding one of Pss. 105, 106, 107) seem very appropriate in this connexion. Its general tone is prophetic

rather than priestly. The whole of the passage, 6–37, is probably a later insertion. The opening words, the declaration of God as One and as the Creator of heaven and earth, strike a distinctly liturgical note. The passage calls for little comment, as it is made up of references to the OT history and of quotations, mainly from the Pentateuch and the Pss. It is worth mentioning that a characteristic of the Jewish Liturgy is the Scriptural tone of the prayers, into which OT phrases are woven. The late date of the passage before us is shown by the words in 20, "Thou gavest also thy good spirit to instruct them," which echo a late conception (*cf.* Is. 6311). The abrupt ending should be noted. [In the Heb. the new chapter begins with what is marked as 38 in RV.]

IX. 38–X. 39. The Covenant.—This section is probably originally from Ezra's memoirs, though it has been considerably worked over, presumably not by the Chronicler, since he writes in the third person. It is, in the main, written in the first person plural, and may in its present form have come from some loyal follower of Ezra or Nehemiah who writes as representing one of the people. The special points of the covenant are the undertaking not to marry foreigners, to observe the Sabbath more strictly, to remit debts in the seventh year, to pay a third of a shekel to the Temple, to supply wood for burning the sacrifices, to offer all the first-fruits, and to give tithes; with all this *cf.* ch. 13.—**38. And yet . . . this:** better "because of all this"; these words are either intended to refer to the contents of 6–37, but this gives no sense; or else they are meant to introduce what follows. The text, however, is not in order. The verse is probably an addition by the Chronicler, and the abrupt way in which it is introduced suggests that it was inserted after ch. 10 had found its way in here.—**X. 1. those that sealed:** *cf.* Jer. 3214. The number of seals which in recent years have been discovered during the excavations on different ancient sites in Palestine shows that there is nothing improbable about what we are here told. Apparently a document of some kind was drawn up stating the nature of what was to be undertaken; to this the seal was appended by each man, who thereby bound himself. We know, however, too little about all this to picture to ourselves with any certainty the actual procedure. In the list that follows, twenty-one names are those of priests, seventeen those of Levites, in addition to which there are forty-four names of "chiefs of the people" (1–27). The rest of the people, not having any seal of their own, did not sign but took an oath "to walk in God's law" (28f.).—**30.** The first person plural is taken up here again and continued to the end of the section.—**31.** *Cf.* 1316 and see Lev. 252–7.—**32.** This is a modification of the written law (Ex. 3011–16), according to which a half shekel was the amount due.—**34.** The mention of priests among those who were to supply wood shows that this section is not likely to have come from the Chronicler, to whom such a thing would have appeared unfitting.—**37. the cities of our tillage:** *i.e.* our agricultural villages.—**39. the chambers . . .:** *i.e.* the rooms situated round the sanctuary; *cf.* 134–12.

PART V (Neh. 11–13). **The Population of Jerusalem and Judah. The Dedication of the Walls. Internal Organisation.**

XI. 1–36. The Population of Jerusalem and Judah.—This section consists of lists of the dwellers in Jerusalem and in the provincial towns of Judah.—**1f.** The need of increasing the population of Jerusalem was obvious from what is said in 74, for the bulk of the people lived in the provincial towns and in the country villages (*cf.* 773).—**3–24.** The lists here given enumerate the chief laymen dwelling in Jerusalem (3–9), the priests (10–14), the Levites (15–18; *cf.* 1 Ch. 914–18), and the gatekeepers (19); in 20–24 some miscellaneous notes are added.—**25–36.** Then follows a geographical list of the provincial towns in which the children of Judah dwelt; Judæan towns (25–30), Benjaminite towns (31–36).

XII. 1–26. Priests and Levites who Returned with Jeshua and Zerubbabel, and Extracts from other Lists.—The details here given were, in all probability, taken largely from the Temple archives.—**1–9.** *Cf.* Ezr. 2 36–40, Neh. 739–43.—**10f.** A fragment from a genealogical list.—**12–26.** Further lists of priests and Levites.

XII. 27–43. Dedication of the Walls of Jerusalem.—We should naturally expect this section to come after 615, where the completion of the walls is recorded; like so many others, this section has become misplaced from its original position. It is, in the main, taken from the memoirs of Nehemiah (see 31,38,40), though probably the compiler has left his marks upon it.—**27. they sought the Levites . . .:** the Levites at this time were not living in Jerusalem, but in the country villages round (see 28f.).—**28. the villages of the Netophathites:** *cf.* 1 Ch. 916, Ezr. 222, Neh. 726.—**30. purified themselves:** viz. by means of sacrifices and sprinkling with the blood of the sacrifices.—**33–36.** This list contains some strange names not found elsewhere; in the main it is a list of Levites.—**40.** The two processions, having made the circuit of the walls, took up their positions in the open space to the east of the Temple.

XII. 44–47. Provision for the Priests and Levites.—Probably an insertion by the Chronicler.—**44. on that day:** better, with AV, "at that time," which is, in accordance with the Heb., more indefinite (*cf.* 131).—**the chambers for the treasures:** *cf.* 1313; "provisions" would be less ambiguous than "treasures."—**the Levites that waited:** better "that served," *i.e.* the Temple.—**45. kept the ward:** *i.e.* performed the service.—**and so did:** *i.e.* according to what their special duties were.—**according . . . son:** this was in accordance with the Chronicler's ideas, so also 46.—**47.** This insertion shows that Zerubbabel and Nehemiah were the two outstanding personalities during the period so far as the civil government was concerned.—**and they sanctified . . .:** this is difficult to understand, but see 1038f.

XIII. 1–3. The Separation of the Mixed Multitude from Israel.—A fragment inserted by way of introduction to the episode which follows.—**1f.** *Cf.* Dt. 23 3–6.—**3.** The fact that this separation is not undertaken by Nehemiah himself shows that this passage is not part of his memoirs.

XIII. 4–31. Some Details of Nehemiah's Rule.—This section, taken for the most part from Nehemiah's memoirs, deals with his zeal for the sanctity of the Temple (4–9), his organisation for the maintenance of the Levites (10–14), his reform regarding Sabbath observance (15–22), and his measures against those who had contracted marriages with aliens (23–29). 28f. contains some concluding words of Nehemiah. When it is remembered that for twelve years he had been working among the people, enforcing the observance of the Law, and introducing reforms, so that he had got the people as a whole to follow his guidance willingly, it must strike one as very extraordinary that after a few months' absence the abuses, as described in this chapter, should have become rampant. It is, indeed, incredible. The fact is that, with the

exception of the Tobiah episode, the sections of this chapter (10–14,15–22,23–29) are fragments from Nehemiah's memoirs referring to the *earlier* periods of his administration. They have, like other excerpts from the same source, been jumbled together in a hopeless manner; so much so that an orderly arrangement of them now is impossible, especially as so many of the connecting links are wanting. Eliashib's action, recorded in this chapter, needed stern repression from Nehemiah's point of view; the episode is one among others which witnessed to the beginning of a great contest within Judaism, lasting for centuries, between the champions of universalistic and particularist tendencies; in later days this resulted in the formation of clearly defined parties with opposing tenets. Nehemiah, like Ezra, the champion of the Law and of Jewish exclusiveness, could not do otherwise than strain every nerve to try and eradicate the vicious growth, as it appeared to him, of foreign influences which, as he rightly foresaw, were bound to result in loosening the people's devotion to the Law, or, in other words, to Judaism. Hence his hurried return from Babylon for a purpose which at the first glance might not appear to be of serious import.—**4–9.** The episode here recounted happened while Nehemiah was away in Babylon; no indication is here given as to the length of his absence (see, however, the note on 6 below).—**4. Now before this:** the reference is not to what is said in 1–3, which are a later addition, but to something in Nehemiah's memoirs which preceded this extract.—**Eliashib the priest:** *cf.* 31,20, and 28 of this chapter.—**being allied:** the Heb. word is used in Ruth 220; a better rendering would be "being related."—**5.** *Cf.* 1244; but the offerings here enumerated differ from those named in 1244.—**6. in all this time:** there is no mention of "time" in the Heb., the reference is to what has been said in 4f.—**in the two and thirtieth year:** 433 B.C. It is said in 514 that Nehemiah returned to Babylon in this year after twelve years' sojourn in Jerusalem, so that as it was in this same year that he returned again to Jerusalem, he could have been in Babylon only quite a short time, not more than a few months probably. The disquieting news regarding affairs in Jerusalem, which had evidently come to his ears, was the cause of his return here; we are not told how long he remained in Jerusalem.—**7. the evil that Eliashib had done:** to the rigid legalistic mind of Nehemiah it seemed to be a profanation of the Temple for anyone not a strict Jew to dwell in one of "the courts of the house of God."—**9. they cleansed the chambers:** viz. from the impurity which clung to them from the presence of a non-Jew. Yet Nehemiah's action must not be harshly judged, for the circumstances of the times demanded, from his point of view, drastic measures.—**10–14.** The Levites, according to these verses, had not been properly supported; this must necessarily have resulted in the Temple worship being inadequately attended to, for in order to find support they had to go and work in the fields. Nehemiah rectifies this by appointing officers to see to the collection and proper distribution of tithe.—**15–22.** The specific charges of Sabbath-breaking which Nehemiah brings are that Jews trod out the winepress, brought in corn, wine, grapes, and figs into Jerusalem and sold them there on the Sabbath day; also, that they bought fish and other wares from the men of Tyre. He recalls the fact that their fathers had done such things and had thereby brought evil upon succeeding generations (*cf.* Jer. 1719–23). The method he adopts to prevent this lawlessness is to cause the city gates to be closed before dark on the eve of the Sabbath and not to be opened again until the Sabbath was over. The merchants try to circumvent this by remaining close to the walls with their wares and—as one is led to surmise—selling them to the people on the walls; Nehemiah threatens further coercive measures if this continues, so the merchants desist.—**23–29.** Another abuse which Nehemiah sets himself to rectify, viz. mixed marriages (*cf.* 92, 1028,30, Ezr. 910).—**24. half:** it is uncertain whether this refers to the children or to the language.—**the speech of Ashdod:** a dialect of Hebrew.—**the Jews' language:** *i.e.* Hebrew (*cf.* 2 K. 1826,28, Is. 3611,13, 2 Ch. 3218).—**26f.** This argumentative strain after Nehemiah's violence described in 25 sounds strange; these verses can hardly have come from the memoirs, but are more likely to have been added by the Chronicler.—**28.** The most grievous part of this offence was that the family of the high priest had become contaminated by a foreign alliance (*cf.* 29).—**30f.** A brief summary of what has preceded; it is, however, incomplete, as there is no mention of what had been recounted in 15–22 about enforcing the observance of the Sabbath.

ESTHER

By Professor ARCHIBALD DUFF

In Windsor Castle seven fine Gobelin tapestries with scenes from Esther adorn the very chief apartments, and fittingly do these tell their great tale there. For chief interest in the story arises when we realise how nearly all scholars agree that it was written in and for the last few generations before Jesus lived; so it gives us material for knowledge of His audiences, and of Himself. We are bound also to see whether the common imputation of cruelty to the story, and to the people of that time, is correct. It is said that Esther is revengeful, and so also were the Jews in those generations. Is this true, or is it a traditional but unfortunate way of uttering illwill against the folk among whom Jesus was killed? It is said, moreover, that the book is irreligious, for it never speaks of God. Is this true?

A word must be said here concerning a common theory that it was written originally in the Heb. language, and in the form given in the common MT. Against this we hold that MT is a truncated version of a longer Heb. story, and perhaps there is a nearer approximation to the original in our present LXX. We do not claim, indeed, that our LXX is actually the exact translation of the original, nor that it is the original itself, in case the tale was written originally in Greek; but that original had certainly passages much like what we find in what are known as "the Greek additions." It is well to state at once the arguments of those from whom we dissent; and Dr. L. B. Paton in ICC may be taken as a thorough representative of that school. His objections to our view are: (*a*) "There is no evidence of the existence of Semitic originals for these passages." No, nor is there any such for the existence of the original of J, E, D; nor is there even much for P. (*b*) But Dr. Paton says, "The additions themselves bear no evidence of having been translated from Heb. or Aram." This is a better argument; yet Paton himself follows it up by saying, "This, of course, does not preclude the idea that they may have been derived from traditional Jewish oral sources." Now that is exactly our position. (*c*) He says, "The interpolations contradict the Heb. text in so many particulars that it is impossible to regard them as having once formed an integral part of the Book of Esther." This is well answered by what he has said in the quotation just given. Then when he gives ten instances of contradiction, one is that in Heb. Haman is *hanged*, but in Gr. he is *crucified*. This is simply a variation of the translation of words which really say that he was neither hanged nor crucified, but was "impaled." Other instances of contradiction could be as easily answered: but in general, we know well that writers in those days were not careful to avoid contradictions. See the remarkable contradictions between J, E, and P. (*d*) Dr. Paton says, "The additions do not come from the hand of the original translator of Esther, but are interpolations in Gr. itself." Yes, certainly, they were made by a later editor in order to preserve those early additional traditions just as J and E were inserted in P. Now, on the other hand, if Paton's objections fall away thus easily, we may watch as we read the story how necessary are the Gr. additions, or something of the same nature, in order to give the story a reasonable verisimilitude. We shall discover one in the very first verse of ch. 1. Then since Heb. never mentions God, while LXX speaks of Him constantly, we note how certain it is that no Jew would write at first hand a story with absolutely no mention in it of his God Yahweh. Here, in the total absence of the sacred and dearly-loved name, is a sure mark of a scholastic and purposed truncation of an earlier and fuller tale through some cause which we may possibly be able to point out ere we have done with the book.

[The reader should remember that the view here advocated that LXX represents the original work better than Heb., has found hitherto practically no acceptance among scholars (Willrich being the most notable exception), and the general editor must express his decided dissent from it.—A. S. P.]

A general outline of the book is: (A) 1f., A foreplay and account of the personages. (B) 3f., The Gentile plot to massacre all Jews. (C) 5–82, Esther pleads and Haman falls. (D) 83–17, The Jewish queen cries, "Do not kill!" the Persian king cries, "Yes: fight and slay!" (E) 91–16, The fight and its result. (F) 917–32, Purim or Phrourai: memorial of Yahweh's salvation. (G) 10, Postscript, Mordecai's excellence. Recapitulation. Translator's note.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Rawlinson (Sp.), Streane (CB), T. W. Davies (Cent.B); (*b*) **L. B. Paton** (ICC); (*c*) Cassel, Ryssel (KEH), **Wildeboer** (KHC), **Siegfried** (HK); (*d*) Adeney (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries, Discussions in Introductions to OT, Histories of Israel, Handbooks on Religion of Israel, P. Haupt's *Critical Notes on Esther*, Lagarde's *Purim*, Wilhelm Erbt, *Die Purimsage in der Bibel*, J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, pp. 360ff. The literature on the book, while for the most part valuable, is marred by anti-Semitic prejudice which passes too unfavourable a judgment on the Jews. Haupt is an exception, so also is McClymont in HDB.

I. The Royal Feast. Vashti's Disobedience and Degradation.—The opening words in MT ("and it came to pass") are in good Heb. style, which shows that an able scribe wrote here. But they prove that something once stood before them. Even Paton translates, "And afterward"! After what? He says strangely, "This expression is used in continuation of a historical narrative," and adds, lamely and incorrectly, "It is an imitation of the beginnings of the older histories." The tale has clearly been truncated here, doubtless because the original spoke of Yahweh. A version of the original still exists in LXX: it is a sort

of preface, saying that a Jew lived in Shushan (Dan. 8$_2$*), who had a Perso-Babylonian name Mordecai, *i.e.* "related to Marduk, Lord of Fate"—which the scribes would dislike—and he was descended from the house of king Saul, also disliked by scribes. He was a court servant of king Artaxerxes, and he was a "saint," one who waited for the Consolation of Israel. He had a vision like Isaiah's, amid an earthquake, where a Voice predicted cruelties from the Gentiles to Yahweh's people. But a little fountain arose and soon grew into a stream, and quenched the evil fires of cruelty so that "the lowly were exalted." This LXX picture is full of God's name, and love, and saints. Pondering on the vision, Mordecai hears whisperings: two miscreants are plotting regicide. He reports this, and the fellows are executed; but another officer, Haman, is jealous of Mordecai, of his discovery, and his possible rewards.

Now begins the MT with a shortened story, telling first of "the drinkings" arranged by the king, who is called Ahasuerus by the Heb. writer. This is a name slightly altered, no doubt, from the Persian Kshyarsha, *i.e.* the Xerxes of 486–465. The character of that prince is fairly well reproduced in the features attributed to the prince in our tale. He rules like Alexander from India ("Hoddu") to Africa. The LXX calls the "drinking" a wedding feast, and thinks perhaps of the royal nuptials with Queen Vashti, who becomes notable very soon in the story. By the way, the term "drinking-feast" used in Heb. is found in Est. as many times as in all the rest of the OT taken together, and the writer probably meant to suggest that drinking was a Gentile vice, as in Alexander's case. Wine flowed lavishly at the tables in our scenes, and there was no check laid on any man's appetite. This sumptuous affair with all its splendours was for princes only, and it lasted for six months. A second followed, a week long, for Shushan's citizens. At this the king grew merry, bethought him of his queen, and sent her his commands to appear and show his guests her charms. So far as we can tell, this proposal was not at all improper for those times, but Queen Vashti refused to obey. Possibly Ahasuerus was vinous and excited: but Vashti herself had held a "drinking," and may have forgotten herself. All the king's councillors supported his Majesty, declaring that Vashti's example would ruin the peace of all husbands and all homes. She is dethroned.

II. 1–20. Esther Chosen Queen.—Ere long Ahasuerus longs for his lost queen's comradeship. He is moved to issue a summons throughout all his territories, commanding all fair maidens to appear as candidates for the queenship. This command removes the fancy that a Jewess had no right to come. She had to come. Among the assembled fair ones was the cousin and ward of Mordecai, called Hadassah, *i.e.* Myrtle. Let us notice that this name is the same as that of the place Adasah in Judah where, on Adar 13th, 161 B.C., the Maccabees defeated Nicanor, the general of the armies of Syria (p. 607). That final victory set Judah free from foreign rule, so that the throne of David was established again after its destruction about 600 B.C. (see 1 Mac. 7$_{39}$ff.). The maiden seems intended by our writer as a symbol of that victory. She surpasses all her rivals, and is chosen by Ahasuerus as his queen; and now she receives the name "Esther," which is a form of "Ishtar," or "Star," the name of the Perso-Babylonian Venus, goddess of wedded love. We may count all these things as utterances of the rising apocalyptic faith of Jesus's times, that the Jews were to rule all things on behalf of Yahweh. Quite unimportant are the theories of Jensen, who finds in these names features of Babylonian mythological folk-lore, appropriated by the writer. Such folk-lore could influence only very slightly a writer who seems to have lived in Egypt. More remarkable and thoroughly correct is Haupt's suggestion that the picture of Esther is modelled on the story of the Persian lady Phædymia, wife of Darius-Hystaspis and mother of Xerxes, who saved her people from the cruel rule of the Magi. Herodotus (iii. 69–79) tells the story of Phædymia, and our writer could well know Herodotus. Moreover, the Persian festival of Magophonia celebrating the slaughter of the Magi (Herodotus, iii. 79) is much like the Purim festival that celebrates Haman's defeat, and which our book was written to exalt. Esther is a Greek Herodotean story adapted to Jewish affairs, written, doubtless, by a Greek in Egypt.

After purifyings and perfumings, dressings and adornings, Esther is summoned in her turn before the king by the notes of a trumpet. Ere she goes, Mordecai warns her to conceal her Jewish parentage: our writer is not consistent over this matter, but lets her be known as Mordecai's relative. Yet the note of fear in the matter shows the writer's sense of the terrors under which the Jews lived about 200 B.C. and onwards. In 2$_{19–23}$ onward, there are several doublets of statements, evidently the work of the Heb. editors who sought thus to smooth over the defects caused by their truncation of the original. 2$_{19}$ is clearly a mistake: no maiden would appear again at court after the king had made his choice. It is absent from LXX.

II. 21–23. Mordecai Detects a Plot to Murder the King.—A story of the conspiracy of regicides is set here in both Heb. and LXX, because the earlier mention of it had been cut out. But this insertion is badly made; for Mordecai would surely not send his report of the conspiracy to the king through Esther, and so violate his own advice to her to conceal her relationship. Probably it was Haman that was trusted by Mordecai to carry the message; hence followed Haman's jealousy and hence also, doubtless, resulted Mordecai's contempt for Haman, and the refusal to honour him. Mordecai has often been condemned for this stiff refusal: it is called Jewish narrowness. But why condemn the man for his stern honesty and for his obedience to the Decalogue?

III. Haman, to Avenge a Slight Put on Him by Mordecai, Persuades the King to Order a Massacre of the Jews.—The Grand Vizier Haman, Heb. calls a descendant of that mysterious people, the Amalekites, and even of their king Agag (1 S. 15). To suppose that the word "Agag" really means "Gog," and to gather that we have here a sting for the memory of the Scythians, is a rather helpless device. The Heb. writer seems to have wished to avoid saying that Haman was a Macedonian, *i.e.* a Syrian. In ch. 8 LXX says he was so. Perhaps that was dangerous politics: those were the nations of the bloodthirsty Alexander and Antiochus. Haman, in his jealousy of Mordecai, would murder every Jewish man, woman, and child. Here is horrible blood-thirst, but it is Gentile blood-thirst. It is not Jewish, and it passes comprehension why this ferocious character of Haman has been so often attributed to the Jews. In history we find that Antiochus (175–164 B.C.) did order just such murders for all Jews who "would not bow down" to Zeus (p. 607), as Mordecai would not bow before Haman. Mordecai's brave refusal becomes known to the court officials, and all are amazed that a man should so calmly defy the Grand Vizier, which Haman now is. Haman is enraged, and approaches the king to sue for a decree to kill all Jews, whom he

denounces as a pestilent element in the land. He offers a bribe of enormous amount, the figures of which are, no doubt, exaggerated; although in those days Onias and Menelaus (p. 581) did pay to Syrian kings immense sums to secure for themselves the High-Priesthood with all its perquisites. The weak Gentile king Ahasuerus is easily persuaded: he decrees the massacre and also a confiscation of all Jewish property. The whole of this property is to be handed over as booty to the slayers.

In 37 we find that Haman is superstitious, like many cruel persons; and he casts lots for a lucky day for his awful deed. At last Adar 13th is chosen, the very month and day on which, as we have seen, Nicanor made his last terrible attack on Judah, when he was defeated by the Maccabees. A strange word "pur" is translated by our word "lot": LXX makes it "phrour." But no such word with such meaning is found in Heb. or in any language that the Jews then spoke. Now the fast posts carry the decree of death to all peoples in the empire. The LXX gives a supposed decree: not so Heb.; yet Heb. does quote it (313) as saying, "Destroy, slay, cause to perish all Jews, young and old, little children and women, in one day"! The decree in LXX is no doubt unreal, yet the story of it is founded on fact, for Alexander and Antiochus did similarly. The blood-bath is prepared. Shushan's citizens are in consternation, but king and vizier sit down to a reckless drinking-feast. Mordecai wanders in the city, lamenting. He dare not lift his cry in or near the palace, for a king must never hear the sound of grief. Yet many citizens go about in sackcloth and bestrewed with ashes. In some way the awful tidings penetrate to the queen's palace, and she sends words of comfort to Mordecai. But he cannot be silent.

IV. The Dismay of the Jews. Mordecai Overcomes Esther's Reluctance to Intercede with the King.—And now the gloom spreads. At this point, the LXX has a pathetic message from Mordecai to his niece, the queen. Surely the original had a passage of this kind: here the Heb. scribes have probably excised something that was very fitting because it spoke of Yahweh's omnipotence and His certain care for Israel. Such a passage would be true to Israelitish character, as we know it, from the time of Amos down to Jesus. The omission is unnatural, and is therefore the work of an editing hand. Mordecai cries, "O Esther, pray thou too to Yahweh for help, and plead with thy husband to save us." Mordecai says that Providence has set her in the queenly place to the end that she may now do nobly and stay the disaster; therefore she must undertake the sacred, though dangerous, task. It is probable, from the description of Persian courts as given by Herodotus, that the story exaggerates the danger of approach to the monarch; and so we may conclude that the writer lived long after the Persian empire had passed away, and no one was surprised that the real conditions of things were thus incorrectly described.

Esther replies that she will venture all (415f.). And now the prayers of intercession offered are given in LXX, and very naturally so; whereas Heb. cuts out all this. Mordecai's prayer is full of faith that his fathers' God, Yahweh, is Lord of all. So He can save. Esther cries, "O Yahweh, do not let Gentile deities dethrone Thee." In this she is, no doubt, making a pointed allusion to Antiochus, who set up an image of Zeus in the holy place (p. 607).

V. Esther Obtains the King's Favour and Invites him with Haman to a Banquet. Haman's Elation is Dashed by Vexation at Mordecai's Refusal to Honour him.—In 5–83 we read how these prayers are answered by blessing after blessing. The girl-queen is filled with purpose, courage, and ability. She enters the audience-hall trembling, but is welcomed by the king. LXX gives a fine picture of this, saying that the king kissed his wife tenderly, and restored her when she fainted through excitement. The Heb. has excised that. Esther asks simply that Ahasuerus and his vizier, Haman, shall come to a drinking-feast (4). They come, but are only bidden to come again next day (7). The wretched Haman goes home chuckling over the queen's graciousness to him (9): he little knows that she is one of the hated folk, a Jewess; and less knows he of the morrow's fate. As he goes, he passes Mordecai, and is more bitterly enraged than ever by the man's stiff contempt (9). Wife and friends all counsel that a tall stake be set up whereupon Haman may have this Jew impaled. This stake would be some ten feet high, but set aloft upon a citadel, as in the case of Nicanor (2 Mac. 1535).

VI. Haman is Compelled to Do Public Honour to Mordecai.—Now comes a dramatic scene. Providence is at work, and the clouds are opening. In the night between Esther's two drinking-feasts, the king cannot get sleep (1). Evidently the story-writer means to point thus to the care of the ever-watchful Yahweh, and His management of all things. The court annalist is brought with his records, to read the royal soul to slumber. Why did this reader choose the record about the regicides? Did he sympathise with the Jews, for some hidden reason? The king listens: he is startled and cries, "What reward did we give to Mordecai?" "Naught," is the reply. "Then do it now! What officer is near?" says the king. With that, lo! in the dim hour of dawn the hungry hyena, Haman, is prowling at the gates, awaiting admission to get his death-warrant for Mordecai. Entering, he is commanded to perform the highest possible honour to a man whom the king delights to honour; and, to his consternation, this is not Haman himself, as for a while Haman expects, but of all men it is the Mordecai whom he hates (6). Through all the city he conducts his enemy, robed and mounted like a king, while ever and anon he cries out before him the royal decree of praise for the hated one. The tide is turning fast!

VII. Esther Accuses Haman, and he is Hanged on the Gibbet he had Prepared for Mordecai.—On the same day, at her second drinking-feast, Esther suddenly bursts out in impassioned denunciation of Haman (6), and in cries for help from his murderous intent against her and all she loves. A passage here (3f.) has fretted students, but it is simple when simply translated. "We are sold," cries Esther, "I and my race, to death and utter ruin! Would that it had been for slaves and handmaids we were sold! Then had I been silent. But in our adversary there is lacking everything that will equal the king's loss." She means that slaves sold bring in cash, but murdered subjects bring none. The king's eyes are opened: in his rage at Haman he can scarce restrain himself. When the wretched Haman, in his terror, appeals to the Jewish queen, and seems to be dishonouring her by kneeling at her couch, the king has him hurried out and away to death by impalement on the very stake he had prepared for Mordecai. The king then confers on Esther all the immense wealth that Haman had amassed, and makes Mordecai Grand Vizier. So the apocalyptic faith that Israel would receive material exaltation is fulfilled in some senses (81f.).

VIII. The King Decrees that the Jews may Defend Themselves.—We come now to one of the most important parts of the tale. Esther has seen Haman pass out to death—not, be it noted, at her request. Now, what does she seek further? Many have accused her of cruelty, her and her race. Not so the reality. She implores that the bloody decree be annulled (5), and thus, had she been heard, no blood at all would have been shed. But the Gentile mind is not of this kindly sort. Oh no. The king likes to see blood: he is a sportsman. "No, no, Esther," the king answers, "blood must flow. Ye Jews, defend yourselves. Fight!" So they are forced to take arms, directly against their own mind. LXX gives a supposed form of the new royal order, fanciful, perhaps, but based on fact. Away out the fast posts speed, to order this anti-massacre (10ff.). One point in the LXX's decree is of much interest: Haman is called a Macedonian (see above), and understood to be a representative of the cruel dynasty, of Macedonian descent, with its Alexander the Great, Antiochus, and Nicanor. Now all Shushan is glad because Mordecai is made Vizier in place of Haman (15ff.), and this pictures the joy in Palestine when Judas Maccabæus became ruler. Moreover, in view of the coming conflict, many Persians get themselves "circumcised" (17): this surely means a direct reference to the action of Antiochus in condemning to heavy penalties any person who bore the circumcision-marks (1 Mac. 1 48,60f.).

IX. 6–16. The Jews Successful against their Enemies.—Adar 13th, the dreadful day, comes at last. What were the Jews to do? There were many partisans of Haman, some 500 at least in the city alone; there were thousands more in the land, ready to carry out the first decree. Should Mordecai and all Jews sit still and see their wives and children butchered, and be butchered themselves? The Hamanites attack: the Jews defend themselves. There fell of those who attacked, in Shushan itself, some 500, and in all the empire 15,000 as the LXX says, although the Heb. exaggerates and says 75,000. Was this mere wanton bloodshed on the Jews' part? The tale rather pictured for the suffering people of Judah how their brave comrades, the Maccabees, had faced and fought and felled the cruel armies of Antiochus under Nicanor. And now the writer adds a touch of fine national self-respect, saying: "No Jew took booty of the fallen men's goods." The Jew believed it would be base thus to steal, as the Persians had meant to do. We see what sort of society Jesus arose among, and sought to bless.

This chapter is full of repetitions, easily detected, as, *e.g.* thrice we read, "The Jews took no booty." Erbt has suggested that only the following were in the original: 1–3, 5–10, 16, 24f., 29, 31*a*, 32. All the rest are later marginal remarks, that have slipped into the text. The most unfortunate of the additions is 13, which pictures Esther asking permission for the Jews to go on killing on a second day. The LXX is clearly the earlier and truer text: it has no hint that such a request was made. It is probably correct that Esther was represented by the novelist as asking that Haman's ten sons—already dead—be impaled like their father; and that is pitiable, although not so cruel as it looks, and it is not at all strange. It resembles our English use of the spikes of Temple Bar: it is the one hard feature imputed to any Jew.

IX. 20–32. Institution of the Feast of Purim.—We come now to the establishment of the perpetual annual festival of Purim (p. 104), commemorating the great salvation. Quite possibly our tale was written to provide a short epic that could be read at the festival: and so Esther is read every year at the celebrations lasting from the 13th to the 15th of Adar. This festival had become very popular by the time of Josephus, A.D. 37–100, and he repeats the story of it much as we find it in the Gr. version. He includes much which the Heb. has cut out (see *Ant.* xi. 6). In the Middle Ages, Purim became a central season of rejoicing, with all sorts of merry-making combined around it. Especially did the men and boys at the celebration services in the synagogues beat with wooden hammers on the benches, whereon was written in chalk the word HAMAN. We may see herein that the festival was a sort of sharing and rejoicing in the Maccabee victories, for the word "Maccabee" is the Heb. for "Hammerer," as "Maccab" means a "hammer." Judas hammered Antiochus and his hosts. [This popular explanation of the name is open to objections; *see* EBi. cols. 1947, 2850f.—A. S. P.]

Our tale tells how there was a strong desire to prolong the time of festival, and so two days were devoted to it (21), whereon all provision of help was made for poor folk, and there were also mutual kindly treatings. Since we read in 2 Mac. 15 36 that the victory over Nicanor fell on "the 13th of Adar, the day before the day of Mordecai," two days seem to have been employed from the first. Perhaps even three days were occupied in the great feastings, for Adar 13th was the day of victory, and while that was "to be honoured" says 2 Mac., with thanksgiving, the addition in Est. 9 17–23 says that the 14th and the 15th came to be honoured as the times of special festivities (p. 104). Then the 14th would come to be called specially "Mordecai's Day." We need not be surprised that the Jews devoted two and even three days to these rejoicings: indeed they added ere long another celebration called Hanukkah (p. 104), in Chislew (December), three months earlier, to honour the earliest victories of Judas in 168–166 and also his cleansing and restoration of the Temple after its sad desecration by Antiochus. The importance to the Jews of that great Maccabæan salvation has not been fully realised by us. But it was indeed the re-establishment of the Throne of David, and it was also the initiation of those wonderful apocalyptic and Messianic movements which culminated in Christianity.

There is notably very little said about the Memorial Festival; and its name, the word Purim, is mysterious: perhaps it was made so purposely. There is no real Heb. explanation for it. An old Assyrian word, "Puhru," was used long before as the name of "the annual assembly of the Gods under the presidency of Marduk, the God of Fate; at which assembly were determined the fates of men for the year to come." The Assyrian empire had been destroyed *c.* 607 B.C., but this term "Puhru" may have remained in popular speech for centuries, to be adopted at last by the Jews. De Lagarde pointed out that LXX uses the word "Phrourai," and not Purim; and he thought at one time that Phrourai represented the Persian "Pharwardigan," which was a Festival for the Dead, a sort of All Saints' Day at the close of the year. But he abandoned this view later on. [Driver (IOT[9], p. 485) says with reference to the LXX form of the word preferred by Lagarde, "Whatever the etymological difficulties attaching to the term, the form 'Purim' is supported *by the tradition of the feast itself*."—A. S. P.] In any case, the origin of the term seems to have been among a non-Jewish people, and this may account for the evident effort that the scribes made to discourage the festival. For some such reason they may have

cut out of the original tale all its references to Yahweh, the God of Israel, and much else that was religious in the story.

X. Conclusion of the Book.—The final chapter is a short panegyric on Mordecai: he is praised as wise and kind, a man of high importance in imperial affairs as well as beloved by all Jews. This is really praise of Judas Maccabæus. But the scribes did not like the praise of that hero. He was the founder of the Hasmonean dynasty, which the Sadducees supported; but the Pharisees hated that dynasty, because it placed both princedom and high priesthood in one and the same person's hands (p. 608). The Pharisees were the masters of the scribal body and methods, hence the effort of these scribes to weaken the respect for Mordecai, Esther, Purim, and our tale; and hence, perhaps, the truncations in the Heb. version.

LXX has a paragraph following the praise of Mordecai, which sums up the tale as a record of Yahweh's love and care for His people, and as a token of His purpose to rule the world by the hand of the Jews. It is a genuine utterance of the apocalyptic doctrine and faith. Probably a summary of this sort was in the original. Finally, a note has been appended to the LXX, to tell how a certain Dositheus brought the story in some form to Jerusalem and "interpreted it" there, all in the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Among the royal pairs bearing these names, the most suitable reigned just at 100 B.C. And as the MS. was brought from Egypt, we are tempted to believe that the original was in Gr. Perhaps it was interpreted later on into Heb. by a scribe with a skilful Heb. style.

CONCLUSION

1. Esther is a fiction picturing the Maccabæan Revolution against the Seleucids, which the Feast of Purim celebrates. But neither feast nor story was favoured by the ruling literary men about A.D. 1. (On the dispute as to its canonicity, see pp. 39, 411.)

2. Spinoza of Amsterdam showed, 250 years ago, in his *Theological and Political Tract*, that the story, and other works like it, must have originated because of the defeat of the Syrian armies by Judas Maccabæus and his comrades.

3. The story was for the ordinary folk, and it honoured among these the Jewish generous treatment of poor by rich, and even of enemies by the suffering Israelites. The people abhorred blood-thirst, and selfish spoiling of conquered persons. They were deeply religious, attributing all guidance to Yahweh, and they expected to rule the whole world for Him. The common fancy that Esther is a cruel book is entirely mistaken, even when the short Heb. edition is taken as authoritative.

4. It would be well that we studied more carefully the Revolution with its new "David," as the forerunner of Christianity, and as a remarkable preparation for the coming of Jesus. The apocalyptic confidence of the Jews, and their high level of moral conduct, are signs that the world was ready to have the great Saviour come and take His throne in Jewish hearts.

5. The readiness of the scribes to alter the narrative and to make it appear non-religious is quite explicable. In those days there was no superstitious unwillingness to alter literature, and even "sacred writings," as we see in the frequent enlargements of the Pentateuch and in the alterations of many Psalms in this period. But the scribes were moved chiefly by politico-religious motives, arising out of their stern nonconformity as against the Sadducee and Hasmonean court.

6. Nevertheless the people were always deeply attached to the Esther story and to the Purim Festival, which indicates how important are the events of those days for an understanding of the common people from whom were drawn the audiences of Jesus, and who heard Him gladly. Were we to study those times thoroughly, we should be much more certain of His real historicity. These common folk were His comrades in His home, they were the weary, heavy-laden men and women whose sufferings aroused Him to preach; it was they that were waiting for the Consolation of Israel, both as against the cruel Syrians or Romans without, and the stern, stiff theological scribes, or the cold court party, within their nation.

[On the literary characteristics of the book, see p. 22. —A. S. P.]

THE POETICAL AND WISDOM LITERATURE

By THE EDITOR

This article is concerned simply with the general criticism of the poetical and wisdom literature. For Heb. poetry see pp. 22–24, for Heb. wisdom pp. 24, 93–95, 343–345. Heb. metre is discussed in the "Introduction to the Pss." (372f.), parallelism in the article on "The Bible as Literature" (p. 23). The commentaries on the individual books should also be consulted. Poetical passages are of course found outside the books dealt with in this section. Some of these are quite early, for example Jg. 5, Gen. 49, the oracles of Balaam, to say nothing of briefer pieces in the Hexateuch, some of which may be earlier still; and several are to be found scattered through the later books, for example 1 S. 2₁–₁₀, 2 S. 1₁₉–₂₇, 4₃₃f., 23₁–₇, Is. 38₁₀–₂₀, Jon. 2₂–₉, Hab. 3. For these reference must be made to the commentaries. Our section includes Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs; the Book of Lamentations properly belongs to it also.

When Reuss in 1834 expressed the conviction that the true chronological order was Prophets, Law, Psalms, not, as was commonly believed, Law, Psalms, Prophets, he was giving utterance to an intuition which recent criticism has on the whole justified. Dt. has behind it the prophets of the eighth century. P rests mainly on Dt. and Ezek. The Psalter is in the main a creation of post-exilic Judaism, and has behind it both the Law and the Prophets. This applies also to Proverbs, which suggests, to borrow Cornill's metaphor, that Prophecy and Law have been closed and minted into proverbial small coin. The existence at a very early date of poetry so great as the Song of Deborah shows that the period of the Judges was equal to the composition of the finest poetry, and David's elegy on Saul and Jonathan is ample guarantee that he may have written religious poetry of high quality. The shrewd mother wit of Solomon and his practical sagacity may well have found expression in aphorism, in epigram, and in parable. Indeed the traditional connexion of the father with Psalmody, of the son with Hebrew Wisdom, must have a substantial foundation. But it would be a hasty verdict which argued that the Davidic authorship of many Pss., the Solomonic authorship of Pr., Ec., and Ca., were thus guaranteed. David probably wrote psalms, but how can we be sure that they are preserved in our Psalter, and if so, which, seeing that the first collection was formed after the return from captivity? And how can we feel confident that, even if authentic proverbs of Solomon are preserved in the Canon, we can detect which they are? Titles are notoriously untrustworthy (pp. 366f.), and other criteria must be applied. The linguistic test is not so helpful as we could wish. Its verdict is clearest in the case of Ec., pp. 35, 411, which on this ground, if for no other reason, cannot be the work of Solomon. It shows that some Pss. must be late, it does not prove that any must be early. It is the place which the literature fills in the development of thought and religion which is decisive. The literature as a whole belongs to the post-exilic period. The Psalter in the main is secondary and imitative. It does not strike out new lines in theology or ethics, as do the great prophets. Even in religious experience the writers are rarely pioneers. It is true that their religious experience was their own. They do not merely give literary expression to states of feeling of which they have learnt from others, but into which they have never entered. In that sense their experience is original and not second-hand. Yet we may say that they were not the first to realise them. The glory of discovery belongs to the great adventurous spirits who preceded them; as it has been said, Without Jeremiah we should have had no Psalter.

Yet we ought not to assume that no pre-exilic Pss. have come down to us. Some at least of the royal Pss. are best placed in the time of the monarchy, and not regarded as referring either to a foreign king or a Maccabean ruler. But even if this is admitted, since historical allusions are too vague for any definite results, we cannot do more than recognise the possibility that a few of our Pss. are earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem.

At present critics are rather preoccupied, not with the question whether we have any early Pss., but whether a large number should not be regarded as very late. The same tendency appears here as in recent criticism of the prophetic literature, only, of course, in a more extreme form. It has long been debated whether any Maccabean Pss. are preserved in the Psalter. Even conservative scholars were inclined to recognise that a few, especially in Books II and III, should be so regarded. Robertson Smith, while allowing their presence in the third collection—*i.e.* Books IV and V—argued strongly that the history of the compilation forbade us to recognise them in Books I to III. The tendency of recent criticism has been to adopt an extreme position. Duhm, whose treatment of the Psalter reflects his most unsympathetic mood, not only recognises a large number of Maccabean Pss., but dates not a few in the first century B.C., interpreting them as party lampoons written by Pharisees and Sadducees on their opponents. Dates so near the Christian era seem to the present writer antecedently most improbable, and while he believes that there are Maccabean Pss. in Books IV and V, and possibly in Books II and III, he regards it as unlikely that anything in the Psalter should be later than 130 B.C.

The books ascribed to Solomon are probably one and all post-exilic in their present form, and belong to the Greek rather than to the Persian period. The Praise of Wisdom (Pr. 1–9) contains a description of the Divine Wisdom (8₂₂–₃₂) so speculative, so unlike what we find elsewhere in the OT, that Greek influence

may be plausibly suspected, but in any case it is unthinkable in Heb. literature of an early date. The two main collections, Pr. 10₁–22₁₆ and 25–29, seem also to be post-exilic. The struggles of the monarchical period lie in the past. There is no attack upon idolatry, and many of the aphorisms suggest the standpoint of post-exilic Judaism. Nevertheless many in both collections bear the stamp of no particular time, so that they might quite well have originated in the pre-exilic period; and while many could not be attributed to Solomon, there is no decisive objection to the view that some proverbs from his lips may have been preserved, even though not one can be pointed out with any confidence. There is no solid reason for mistrusting the good faith of the title in 25₁, but if a collection of proverbs alleged to be Solomon's was made in Hezekiah's reign (Pr. 25₁), it probably included a large number which had no title to be regarded as his, and the collection itself must have undergone considerable expansion at a later time. The minor collections, together with the three interesting sections at the close—30, 31₁₋₉,₁₀–₃₁—are also late. The Song of Songs is also attributed by tradition to Solomon. Unhappily no unanimity has been attained either as to its character or to its date. Till recently modern scholars have regarded it as a drama, the most plausible form of this theory being that it celebrates the fidelity of a country maiden to her shepherd lover in spite of Solomon's attempts to win her love for himself. More probably, however, it is a collection of disconnected wedding songs, such as are still sung in connexion with the King's Week—that is, the week of festivities at the celebration of a wedding. It is by some dated not so long after the time of Solomon; more probably, however, it belongs to the Greek period.

Ecclesiastes was probably written about the close of the third or beginning of the second century B.C. It may perhaps be earlier; it belongs either to the late Persian or late Greek period. Behind it there is a background of unstable, oppressive government and acute social misery. The writer's attitude to life need not have been borrowed from Greek philosophy; his pessimism and scepticism had their root in his own experience and sympathetic observation of the hopeless misery of his fellows. The book has not come to us quite as he left it. The theory of Siegfried and P. Haupt that a whole series of writers have annotated, interpolated, and mutilated the original nucleus is improbable; Bickell's ingenious suggestion that by an accident the sheets of the original manuscript were disarranged, and that an editor produced our present book by interpolating connecting links and polemical passages, is well-nigh incredible. But in its original form it was felt to be dangerous to piety. Its alleged Solomonic origin was held to guarantee its real orthodoxy; but inasmuch as its surface meaning was frequently heterodox, passages were added whose sound theology neutralised the author's dangerously ambiguous statements. That the book was not actually written by Solomon is proved by its linguistic phenomena, and its whole tenor is incompatible with its origin in so early a period.

About the year 400 we may perhaps date the Book of Job. Probably the prologue and epilogue belong to an earlier work, in which the friends adopted much the same attitude as Job's wife, while Job maintained against them his attitude of resignation. If so, the poet has cancelled the dialogue which originally stood between the prologue and epilogue and substituted one of an entirely different character, in which the friends will accuse Job of anything rather than admit that God has dealt unjustly with him. A western reader is impressed with the curious inconsequence in the dialogue: the antagonists develop their case with very little reference to the position they are formally attacking. The book has received rather extensive additions; the most important is the speeches of Elihu, the author of which felt that the friends had not made the best of their case, and was especially shocked at the language put into Job's mouth, and the impropriety of representing Yahweh as condescending to answer him, a task to which the bombastic and unduly inflated Elihu feels himself quite adequate. The poem on wisdom (28) is also an insertion, and probably the same judgment should be passed on the description of Behemoth and Leviathan. On the other hand, it would sadly mutilate the poem to treat the speech of Yahweh as an addition. The prologue is indispensable, the epilogue hardly less so; neither is really incompatible with the author's view, though he might have expressed himself somewhat differently had he himself written them rather than taken them over from an earlier work. In the main, however, he endorses them. Unhappily there has been a serious dislocation, and probably some drastic excision, in the third cycle of the debate.

The Book of Lamentations is ascribed to Jeremiah by an early tradition, but for various reasons this view cannot be accepted. Nor indeed is it probable that any portion of it is Jeremiah's work. But the capture of Jerusalem, which forms the background of a large part of the book, is that by Nebuchadnezzar in 586. Lam. 2 and 4 were presumably written by one who had lived through the terrible experiences of the siege and capture. Lam. 5 was apparently written some time later, but yet before the return under Cyrus, and Lam. 1 also during that period. Lam. 3, which is detached from the other poems in subject-matter, probably belongs to a later period still. Some scholars have suggested that the whole book might be post-exilic. But it is unnatural to place a long interval between Lam. 2 and 4 and the siege which they describe. The writer of the commentary in this volume brings the book into connexion with Pompey's capture of Jerusalem. A first-century date would be in line with Duhm's criticism of the Psalter; but, although it is not open to quite the same objections, the present writer feels that so late a date would require strong positive evidence to remove the antecedent objections.

Literature.—The literature mentioned in the commentaries on the different books contains much valuable matter. Of the older literature Lowth, *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum*; Herder, *Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie*; and Ewald, *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes* may be mentioned. Among the later works, in addition to those given in the article on "The Bible as Literature," the following: Gordon, *The Poets of the OT*; G. A. Smith, *The Early Poetry of Israel*; König, *Die Poesie des Alten Testaments*; N. Schmidt, *The Messages of the Poets*; W. T. Davison, *The Praises of Israel* and *The Wisdom Literature of the OT*; Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*; articles in HDB (Budde) and EBi (Duhm). On metrical and similar problems Cobb, *A Criticism of Systems of Hebrew Metre*; Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry*.

HEBREW WISDOM

By Principal W. T. DAVISON

Amongst the teachers of Israel for some time before the Exile there were three main classes—the priests, the prophets, and the wise men (Ḥakamim). "The Law," it was said, "shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet" (Jer. 18¹⁸). The priest gave the people instruction based upon law and tradition; the prophet was bidden to carry to them a message with which he had been directly inspired by the Spirit of God; it was the duty of "the wise" to translate general principles into terms of everyday life and to give counsel for everyday conduct. "Hear the word of the wise" is the injunction of Prov. 22¹⁷; "These also are sayings of the wise" introduces a new section of the book in Prov. 24²³. Their influence grew considerably during the period immediately after the Captivity; it was naturally strongest when the direct inspiration of prophecy was no longer felt, and when the reflective period in the religion of Israel was at its height. They have been described as the "humanists" of Israel; their teaching has also been compared with the "philosophy" of other nations, especially with the "sophists" of pre-Socratic times; they have been styled "moral casuists." But none of these names fits the case, and the associations connected with them should not be allowed to prejudice a first-hand study of Hebrew Wisdom.

Five extant books represent the literature of Wisdom (Ḥokma). Three of these are canonical—Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes; two are outside the Canon—a work by the son of Sirach, known as Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon. The Song of Solomon should not be included in the list, but certain Pss. illustrate the work of the school, such as Pss. 1, 37, 49, 50, 73, 112. The Book of Baruch (3⁹–²⁷) contains a remarkable eulogy of Wisdom, while the succession of "wise" teachers lasted till the time of Philo of Alexandria, 4 Maccabees, and the treatise *Pirké Aboth*. The last-named "sayings of the Fathers" are purely Jewish, while the writings of Philo and the Book of Wisdom are attempts, only partially successful, to harmonise Hellenic philosophy with Jewish religion. Traces of the influence of Ecclesiasticus are tolerably obvious in the NT—for example, in the Epistle of James—and parallels are traceable between some passages of Wisdom and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as other parts of the NT. It is the object of this article not to discuss these books severally (see introductions to Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes), but briefly to characterise Wisdom Literature in general.

1. In discussing the meaning of Wisdom in the OT, *the distinction between Divine and human* must be kept in mind. The writers assume throughout that there is one God, Creator and Preserver of all, who alone is perfect in knowledge, as in power and holiness. But the Divine attribute of Wisdom is contemplated in and by itself, as is never the case with power or righteousness; it is the quality in virtue of which God knows and plans and purposes all things, possessing as He does perfect comprehension of all creatures and their capacities, and perfectly adopting the best means for the accomplishment of the highest and best possible ends. Wisdom on the part of man implies a capacity of entering to some extent into the meaning and scope of Divine wisdom, so far as that is possible to finite, ignorant, and sinful beings. Creation—"nature," as we call it—is one field of knowledge. The proverbial wisdom of Solomon, extolled in 1 K. 4²⁹–³⁴, included "trees, from the cedar in Lebanon to the hyssop that springeth out of the wall," and a knowledge of beasts and fishes and birds. But nature, animate and inanimate, was not the chief theme of "Wisdom." The Jewish sage was not concerned with physical science and natural law in the modern sense; it was human life in all its relations, and especially in its moral and religious aspects, with which he had to do. Wisdom for him meant the power to understand, discriminate, and form just estimates of value in this all-important region; the ability rightly to conceive the ends of life, the end of ends, and fully to master the best means for securing the highest good. All this, however, is conceived not in a philosophical but in a deeply religious spirit. Hence the subject of Providence, the moral government of the world, the distribution of rewards and punishments, and the relation between a man's character and his lot and condition in life, occupied much of the attention of the students of Wisdom.

2. Close *definition* is difficult, if not impossible, since a measure of progress is discernible in the conception of Wisdom during the centuries covered by the literature. In the earliest stage it has been described as "a kind of common-sense philosophy of life, with a strong religious tendency." But this will not cover the sublime conception embodied in Pr. 8, nor the description of Job 28, nor the process of grappling with life-problems characteristic of Job and Ecclesiastes. Still less does it correspond to the subject of the high eulogies in Ecclus. 4¹¹,²⁴ and 24, or to the well-known description in Wisd. 7²²–³⁰. "She is a breath of the power of God and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty. She is an unspotted mirror of the working of God and an image of His goodness. She, being one, hath power to do all things; and remaining herself, reneweth all things; and from generation to generation, passing into holy souls, she maketh men friends of God and prophets." It remains true, however, that among the Jews "philosophy" was practical and religious, in contrast with the speculative and dialectic tendencies of the Greeks. Man is represented as engaged in a search after wisdom rather than as having attained it, and advance is made in the search as time goes on.

3. But there are certain *general characteristics* which

distinguish Hebrew Wisdom throughout, and these may be briefly summarised as follows:

(*a*) It is *human* rather than national. Every careful reader must have noticed that Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes are less distinctively Jewish than the other canonical books. They appeal neither to law nor to prophets as final authorities. For better, for worse, they strike a "cosmopolitan" note. The absence of sacrificial and Messianic ideas has been made a ground of objection against these books, some portions of which, it is urged, might have been written by Pagans. But religion is never forgotten by the writers, and in the wider outlook and freedom from national prejudice compensation may be found for some alleged deficiencies. It may be remarked in passing that the Book of Wisdom, which is characteristically universalist in the earlier chapters, takes up a strongly national and particularist tone in its later portion, which presents a sort of philosophy of history from a Jewish standpoint.

(*b*) *The details of daily social life* in their moral aspects are prominent in the Wisdom Literature. The king and the day-labourer, the tradesman in his business and the guest in the home, women in the management of their houses and the due control of their tongues, the oppressor, the usurer, the cheat, the tale-bearer—all receive sound and wholesome advice. The tone of the counsel is often "secular," and the motives urged often run on a low and prudential rather than a lofty and ideal plane. But religious considerations are always in the background, and often come notably to the front. It would not be difficult to select from Proverbs a store of profound spiritual aphorisms, such as "His secret is with the righteous," "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord," "Where no vision is, the people perish," and "He that winneth souls is wise." Self-regarding virtues are not foremost in the estimation of writers who tell us many times that "before honour is humility," who tenderly enjoin submission to the fatherly chastening of the Lord, and who remind the vindictive that to feed and help an enemy is the best revenge, one that will not pass unnoticed by the Lord of all.

(*c*) *The ethical spirit* of the "wise" is not opposed to the legalism of the priest or the fiery earnestness of the prophet; rather does it supplement and complete both. Religion has its ceremonial and mystical side, but there is always danger lest its close connexion with prosaic duties in everyday life should be forgotten. Priest, prophet, and sage, all have a place in the old covenant, and each has a truly religious message to deliver. "The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom," occurs in Job and Ecclesiastes, as well as many times in Proverbs. But the God whom these writers fear and trust is one who is Himself righteous and loves righteousness in man, across the counter as well as in the Temple. He abominates a false balance, lazy habits, a greedy appetite, and a smoothly flattering as well as a scolding and contentious tongue.

(*d*) These writers were orthodox in their religious beliefs, but they were not closely tied by dogmatic considerations, and they expressed themselves with freedom and force. The criticism which styles them "sceptics" makes very free with the text of Job and Ecclesiastes in order to establish the position. But it is perfectly true that in dealing with the facts and deep problems of life the writers of these two books do exhibit considerable freedom from traditional and conventional beliefs, while maintaining their faith in the God of Israel and of the whole world. It is largely to them that we owe the trains of thought which in Judaism prepared the way for the doctrine of immortality, as the saints of earlier days groped their way through the problems of pain and death, first to the hope, and afterwards to the assurance, of life beyond the grave.

4. Much may be learned concerning the current ideas of Wisdom on its human side by a study of the *various synonyms* used for it and the somewhat copious vocabulary which describes its opposite, Folly. In addition to the phrase "wisdom and understanding" as used in Dt. 4$_{5}$f. and Is. 11$_{2}$, in which stress is laid upon intelligent comprehension of the Divine law of righteousness, we may draw attention to a number of synonyms, without professing to enumerate them all. *Binah* may be rendered "intelligent perception"; *ta'am* is good taste or discernment applied to morals; *tushiyah*, often used for strength or help, in Proverbs indicates the solid, sound knowledge that may be relied on as a stay in time of need; *ormah* is on the border-line between prudence and cunning, and stands for a "subtlety" of perception that will enable a wise man to steer his vessel "craftily" and well; while *sekel* indicates discretion, or good sense in active operation.

On the other hand, the foolish man is described sometimes as *pethi*, simple, ignorant, easily misled; or as *kesil*, heavy, stupid, obstinate; or as *evil*, rashly, wantonly foolish. He may be *baar*, coarse, brutish, or *nabal*, churlish and ignoble. The emptiness and unworthiness of folly are employed in one group of words, and its unsavoury and corrupt character, without wholesome salt of reason and understanding, in another (Pr. 1$_{7}$*). The Bunyan-like picture of Madam Folly in Pr. 9$_{13-18}$ stands out in bold contrast with the picture of Wisdom and her seven-pillared palace, at the opening of the same chapter.

The subject of the literary form of the *Hokma* books does not come within the scope of this chapter (p. 24). But it may be noted how skilfully the elementary form of the *mashal*, or "proverb," consisting of a short, bare couplet, is expanded for the presentation of symbolic pictures and of ideas far beyond the scope of the original saw or maxim. The structure of Ecclesiasticus is like that of Proverbs, but Job, Koheleth, and Wisdom exhibit different attractive developments of what might have appeared an intractable form of verse.

5. One notable feature of this literature is a certain *personification of Divine Wisdom*, and there is some difficulty in interpreting its exact scope and meaning. Is the writer of Pr. 8$_{22}$f., for example, simply using in bold and vivid fashion a well-known grammatical figure, endowing Wisdom with personal qualities only for the purpose of literary and poetical effectiveness? Or is Wisdom here truly hypostatised—*i.e.* was it regarded by the writer as a personal being, distinct from God Himself? The answer would seem to be that in these passages the religious imagination is at work under special conditions, and forms of expression are used which, if literally pressed by Western readers, would imply distinct personal existence, but that this was never intended by the Oriental readers, who would probably have been shocked by such a turning of their literature into dogma. A somewhat similar development is discernible in the use of the phrases "Spirit of God" and "Word of God," neither of which in the minds of OT writers implied personal distinctions either within or outside the personality of the one true God, who was the sole object of faith and worship.

None the less the language employed is very bold. Wisdom not only cries and puts forth her voice, as in

Pr. 8r—an obvious metaphor; of her it is also said, "Yahweh possessed me in the beginning of his way. . . . I was brought forth or ever the earth was. . . . I was by him as a master-workman" (or "foster-child," sporting as children will do), ". . . daily his delight, rejoicing in his habitable earth," etc. Wisdom, says Ben-Sira, "came forth from the mouth of the Most High. . . . He created me from the beginning, and to the end I shall not fail" (Ecclus. 243,9). In the Wisdom of Solomon the prayer is offered "Give me wisdom, that sitteth by thee on thy throne" (94); Wisdom "fills the world" (17), was present at and was an instrument in the creation (92,9); Wisdom makes men prophets (927), gives knowledge of the Divine counsel, and confers glory and immortality (810,13). One of the most recent commentators on this book, Rev. J. A. F. Gregg, holds that in it Wisdom "is not hypostatised . . . is personal but not a person . . . possesses the moral qualities of God without His self-determination. . . . The writer of Wisdom regards her as far more than a merely literary personification; he conceded to her a refined, supersensuous personality." We agree with this if the phraseology of literary personification is to be judged by modern and Western standards. But greater latitude of expression was permitted to the Jewish and Hellenistic writers of two thousand years ago, and it is necessary to remember that psychological analysis was then in its infancy. Mr. Gregg admits that "no modern psychologist would allow personality to Wisdom on the data advanced in the book." The line of personality is now drawn at the possession of self-consciousness and self-determination, and none of these writers held that Wisdom apart from God was personal in this sense.

The standpoint of these passages is most nearly gained if we bear in mind that at the foundation of the writers' theology lay the idea of a *living* God, whom they were attempting to realise not as transcendent only, but as immanent in the world. They desired to bring all the Divine attributes—and Wisdom had almost come to include them all—into *living* relation with the world, and graphic personification was the best means at their disposal. If the one living and true God is to be brought into close relation and communion with His creatures, neither the abstractions of philosophy nor the language of mere transcendence will suffice. Hence we find, both within and outside the canonical Scriptures, a use of the terms "Word of God," "Spirit of God," or "Wisdom of God" as a supreme intermediary, preparing the way for the idea of Incarnation and the fuller revelation of the NT.

Another subject of great importance can barely be touched on here. All these writers, covering a period of more than five hundred years, believed in the moral government of God, His perfectly wise and gracious ordering of the affairs of the world and of man. How do they regard the standing *problems of pain, sin, and death?* Is there any progress in ability to grapple with these difficulties, and is any continuous development of thought with regard to them discernible? What may be called the orthodoxy of the period before the Exile is substantially expressed in the earliest Wisdom document (Pr. 10–24). Obedience to God is rewarded by prosperity, disobedience will be punished by calamity and overthrow. The disciplinary character of suffering, it is true, is not ignored; chastening is necessary for God's children; but this is quite compatible with the fatherly government which secures that justice shall be done—in this life, for no other comes into the account. Justice is also mainly concerned with the nation and the family as units; individual character in relation to individual condition and destiny is not a main theme with the writers before the Captivity.

The Book of Job—and, in a minor transitional fashion, some of the Pss.—represents a revolt against this doctrine as not in accordance with the facts of life and as not adequately describing the righteous government of God. A different interpretation of life is set forth in this sublime poem. The writer of Job, impressed by the vastness and variety of the Divine wisdom, faces the difficulty of the sufferings of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked very much—if we may so express it—in the spirit of the prologue to Tennyson's "In Memoriam." He desires that knowledge should grow from more to more, but that more of reverence should dwell in the sons of men, who ought to know themselves "fools and slight" in comparison with Divine Wisdom. The absence of definite dogma does not diminish, but rather increases, the profound religious impression made by a book which teaches men how to draw near to the very heart of God, even while bold enough to put searching questions concerning His mysterious ways.

The son of Sirach, "one who gleaneth after the grape-gatherers," who is a sage but hardly a poet, inculcates a subdued resignation, a passive submission to the Divine will, which is devout in spirit and excellent in practice, though it does little or nothing to answer the passionate questionings of anxious souls. The writer of Ecclesiastes is not the cynic, or the pessimist, or the agnostic, that he is often represented to be. (We are discussing the books of Job and Ecclesiastes as they have come down to us, without entering here on the critical questions raised by their composite authorship as it is accepted by most modern scholars.) It is true that as the preacher contemplates the working of what we should call natural law, life seems to be little but "emptiness and striving after wind." But if Koheleth sometimes seems little better than a Hebrew Stoic, he remains a Hebrew, not a Stoic. Apart from the teaching of the last verses concerning judgment, it would seem to be the aim of the writer to show how vain and empty is the life of the senses, viewed at its best, and the wisdom of steadfastly performing duty in reliance upon God, however He may hide Himself. He must be trusted and obeyed amidst much in life that is and will remain unintelligible.

The writer of the Wisdom of Solomon, while possessing much in common with his predecessors, is distinguished from them by his clear, explicit teaching concerning immortality. God "made not death"; He "created man for incorruption." Love of Wisdom and obedience to her laws form the path to immortality. "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and there shall no torment touch them." Towards this doctrine earlier saints and worthies were but dimly groping their way, and even the writer of this book discerns the truth "darkly as in a mirror." The doctrine of the natural immortality of the soul, which he accepts in Hellenic fashion, does not abolish death and bring life and immortality to light, as does the Christian gospel. One of the chief features of interest in the study of the Wisdom Literature of the OT is to trace out the various ways in which its messengers, like heralds before the dawn, were preparing the way for the revelation of the "manifold wisdom of God" in the New.

JOB

By Principal R. S. FRANKS

The interpretation of the Book of Job depends in its larger scope upon the answer given to certain fundamental critical questions. In the following commentary there is accepted as the basis of exposition the theory of Duhm, according to which the prose Prologue (chs. 1 and 2) and Epilogue (42$^{7-17}$) are the surviving fragments of a "Volksbuch" or popular story of a comparatively early date; while the intervening poetical speeches are to be attributed to a much later age, and reflect a very different point of view from that of the Volksbuch.

It is probable that within the largest section of the book (3^{1}–42^{6}) thus distinguished as of later date, there are a good many insertions themselves again later still. But for the moment we may confine ourselves to the broad contrast between the prose and the poetry, and explain why it seems necessary so widely to sever them from one another. The following is a summary of the reasons on which Duhm's theory is founded.

(1) The prose story, like J in the Pentateuch, makes Job speak of God as Yahweh; the poetry, in accordance with the practice of P, never allows him or his friends as Edomites to use this peculiarly Israelite name for God. (2) In the prose Satan's disbelief in Job is the cause of his trial; in the poetry it is regarded as coming direct from God. (3) In the prose Job takes all his misfortunes with patience, and is finally recognised as having spoken rightly of God (42^{7}f.). In the poetry Job's attitude is precisely the reverse, and he ultimately admits that he has not spoken rightly of God (42^{6}). (4) In the prose God is enraged with the speeches of the friends. In the poetry they represent an unsatisfactory theology; but speak like pious men, and recommend the very submission for which Job is commended in the prose. "This point alone," says Duhm, "altogether excludes the possibility, that the author of the popular story and the poet are one and the same." (5) The prose regards the misfortunes of the righteous as an exception. In the poem it is viewed as all too common—only the friends approximate somewhat to the standpoint of the prose. (6) Religion in the prose consists in reverence, above all in an anxious dread of offending God in word. In the poetry this idea is represented by Eliphaz: while in Job is represented man's moral independence of God, who is regarded, although He manifests His infinite superiority to man, as the comrade and friend of the pious. Moreover when the prose was written the supernatural world seemed very near: the poetry represents the view that God cannot be found in the world of men, but only in nature. (7) The prose itself avoids all objectionable expressions and substitutes euphemisms (1^{5}, 42^{8})—the poet is most free in his mode of speech. (8) The prose reflects an age when sacrifice was regarded as effective, but the technical sin-offering of the Law, and the restriction of sacrifice to the Temple and its priesthood, was still unknown; when the Sabeans were not as yet merchants, nor the Chaldeans a great power, and when an Edomite might in all simplicity be connected with the religion of Yahweh. In a word, it belongs to the pre-Deuteronomic period. On the other hand the poetry belongs to a later age which looks back upon the wars of great world-empires (12^{18}f.) and apparently the Jews themselves were groaning under the yoke of oppression (9^{24}); ch. 3 depends on Jer. 20^{14}f., and the glorification of God as revealed in nature reminds us of Deutero-Isaiah.

These reasons, if not all equally strong, taken together seem conclusive. As to the exact date of the poem, Duhm points out that 15^{19} suggests that the days when no stranger was in the land were still vividly remembered, and that 38^{4}f. displays views of the creation less advanced than those of P. He therefore dates the poem in the first half of the fifth century B.C.

[Possibly, however, we should accept a somewhat later date. If 7^{17}* is rightly, in spite of Duhm's denial, regarded as a bitter parody of Ps. 8^{4}, and that Ps. is dependent on P's creation story (Gen. 1^{1}–2^{4a}), Job must be later than the publication of P (*c.* 444 B.C.), about the close of the fifth century B.C. at the earliest.—A. S. P.]

The popular story and the poem convey very different lessons. The Volksbuch teaches that a pious man may in spite of all scrupulosity of life fall into misfortune through the malice of the Satan, but that if he is submissive and patient God will in the end richly reward him. The poet conceives the subject of misfortune very differently. For him the misfortune of the pious is only too common. The prevailing doctrines of his age are that God invariably rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked (Dt. 28, Ps. 37), or that if He sends misfortune to the pious it is as a temporary chastisement intended to withdraw him from some sin into which he has fallen. These doctrines, however, afford him no satisfaction. He sees no necessary connexion between character and misfortune. The whole of the working of God's providence has become to him an insoluble riddle. The current theory is represented in the poem by the friends, but denied by Job. The poem shows us the friends silenced. Upon Job himself, however, the doubt of God, occasioned by the break-up of the orthodox doctrine, presses keenly. What solution does the poet offer of the tremendous problem which he has hereby laid upon his hero? There is a double solution. (1) The personal solution is that of Faith, "the will to believe" (19^{25}). (2) Such wider solution as there is is found in turning from the contemplation of God in history to that of God in Nature. There, at least, His Providence is visible. We are left, therefore, with Job bowing in humility before the greatness of God, and thence deriving a kind of freedom and ability to bear his fate. The origin of evil is not explained.

That it comes from the Satan cannot be the meaning of the poet; though he has used the Volksbuch to give the setting for his poem.

The speeches of Elihu would appear to be an addition to the original poem. Elihu is unmentioned elsewhere in the book, and he repeats the point of view of the friends with practically no difference. There appears to be no room for his speeches between the challenge of Job (31$_{35}$) and the Divine reply (38f.). Elihu quotes the preceding speakers so minutely as to suggest a reader of the poem rather than a listener to the debate. Moreover his language is unlike that of the rest of the book. "It is strongly marked by Aramaisms, and uses words which rarely or never occur elsewhere in the poem" (Peake).

The poem on Wisdom (28) has no connexion with the context, and is also to be regarded as an addition. It is generally agreed also that 40$_{15}$–41$_{34}$ on Behemoth and Leviathan is not an original part of the Divine speeches. See the commentary, to which the reader is also referred for the discussion of other minor insertions and dislocations.

As regards the origin of the original story of Job, it is clear that even in the Volksbuch we are dealing with saga, not history; as the ideal character of Job's original prosperity, of his misfortunes and his restoration show (see the commentary). An historical basis for the story is hereby, of course, not made impossible. Ezek. 14$_{14,20}$ shows a knowledge of the story, perhaps of the Volksbuch.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Davidson (CB); **Peake** (Cent.B), Strahan; (*b*) Davidson, *Commentary* (on 1–14), 1862; (*c*) Dillmann, Budde (HK), **Duhm** (KHC). *Other Literature:* Cheyne, *Job and Solomon;* Peake, *The Problem of Suffering in the OT;* J. E. M'Fadyen, *The Problem of Pain;* articles in HDB, HSDB, EBi, EB^{11}, and *Standard Bible Dictionary*.

I.–II. Job's Fortune and Misfortune.—These chapters come from the original "Volksbuch" of popular story, and relate how a certain Job in the land of Uz was the most pious man of his time and more fortunate than all his neighbours. It is further related how the Satan disputed the sincerity of his religion, and twice by God's leave put him to the severest proof: these tests, however, Job triumphantly endured. Finally it is told how three friends came to comfort him.

I. 1–3 describes Job, his piety and good fortune. The literal translation of the opening words would be "Once upon a time there was a man." The use of the perfect denotes that we are dealing not with history but saga. Its purpose is to call attention, not to the exact time of events, but to the individual typical case. It is uncertain what land is meant by Uz. Syria and Edom have been suggested; on the whole, Edom is perhaps the most likely. Job's name is introduced without the addition of his descent, as is usual in the case of a thoroughly historical personage (1 S. 1$_{1}$). The meaning of the name is not known—it formed part of the original tradition. When it is said that Job was perfect and upright, this is from the point of view of civil morality—it is not meant in a theological sense. Job's fear of God in the story of the Volksbuch is particularly evidenced by his scrupulousness and dread even of offending in word (1$_{5,22}$,2$_{10}$).

The ideal character of the description of Job's family and wealth is noteworthy. The perfect numbers, seven and three, predominate. Moreover to complete Job's happiness, sons being more esteemed than daughters, he has the larger number of the superior sex. In a word, he is fortunate all round. As to the details of his wealth, as a great Eastern Emeer, he has oxen, asses, sheep, and camels. The oxen, being for ploughing, are counted by the yoke; Job's she-asses only are mentioned, as being more precious than he-asses, because of their milk and their foals—the reader is expected to supply the necessary number of males. The camels were used for heavy burdens and distant journeys. All this implies that Job had very extensive lands. The amount of arable land is measured by the number of yoke of oxen. The seven thousand sheep require extensive pastures. Finally, of course, to such wealth in cattle and land corresponds a "great household."

I. 4f. illustrates in particular the above-given general description of Job's piety and happiness by a picture of the usual life of himself and his family. Job's sons are all like the sons of a king, each of whom has his own house and possessions (2 S. 13$_{7}$, 14$_{30}$). Job's children are apparently all unmarried, and live for a joyous life, each day a feast. "It is to be remembered, that we do not stand on the ground of mere history here. The idea shapes its material to its own ends" (Davidson).

Along with this joyous life goes the most scrupulous piety. Job continually unites with his children in sacrifice, to atone even for unintentional impiety, of which they may have been guilty. The sanctification preparatory to sacrifice would consist of ablutions, change of raiment, etc. (Gen. 35$_{2}$, Ex. 19$_{10,14}$). The sacrifice offered is the pre-exilic sacrifice of atonement, viz. the burnt offering only; the LXX adds the sin offering, to conform Job's worship to post-exilic usage. The particular sin that Job fears is that his sons, when their hearts were loosed with wine, may have had blasphemous thoughts of God. Actual blasphemy was in ancient Israel punishable by death (1 K. 21$_{13}$); but for Job, even blasphemous thoughts must be atoned for by sacrifice. The Volksbuch regards irreverence as the most to be dreaded of sins (1$_{22}$, 2$_{10}$, 42$_{7}$). Job is so careful, that he makes atonement for unconscious and perhaps even non-existent sins. For "heart-speech," *cf.* Ps. 14$_{1}$.

I. 5. The above exposition follows RVm against RV text, accepting the translation "blaspheme" in preference to "renounce." AV, in virtual agreement with RVm, translates "curse." The Hebrew literally means "bless." It is suggested by Davidson and others that since partings were attended by blessing, to bless came to mean "to say good-bye, to renounce." If we translate "curse," "blaspheme" (Duhm, Peake) then we have to do with a euphemism which seems very natural in the writer of the Volksbuch.

I. 6–12. The disinterestedness of Job's piety is brought into question by the Satan in the council of heaven. We are now to see how misfortune may come absolutely unprovoked by sin. The sons of God, who come to present themselves before Yahweh, are the angels. They are referred to in 38$_{7}$ as witnesses of the creation. In Ps. 29$_{1}$ (see RVm) they appear as ministers of God's heavenly temple. Here they form the court and council of Yahweh. For a similar scene in heaven, *cf.* 1 K. 22$_{19}$.

Amongst these sons of God appears one, who is known by the name of the Satan, or the Adversary. "The word Satan means one who opposes another in his purpose (Nu. 22$_{23,32}$) or pretensions or claims (Zech. 3$_{1}$, 1 K. 11$_{14,23,25}$), or generally" (Davidson). Here Satan appears as one of the angels, a minister of Yahweh, whose office it is to oppose men in their pretensions to a right standing before God. We find the same conception in Zech. 3$_{1}$* (in 1 Ch. 21$_{1}$* Satan, without the article, has become a proper name). The

character of the Satan is that of an observer of men, whose affair it is to see whether they live well or ill, but who exceeds his office in so far as he betrays a spiteful interest in the discovery of their failures. This testing of Job is carried out with the greatest refinement and evident delight. He is not at all moved by Job's patience (24). "To a certain extent the Satan is a personification of the spite of circumstance" (Duhm). No one can escape from him since all have faults unknown to themselves. Ancient Israel ascribed the blows of fate, otherwise inexplicable, to the machinations of some inimical power. The Satan is, like the angels in general, a relic of a polydæmonistic stage of religion. With the disappearance of polydæmonism before monotheism, the Satan has become a minister of the Divine Providence. But he is still somewhat of a free lance—even Yahweh has to ask where he has been (7).

Yahweh calls the Satan's attention to the integrity of Job (8). But the Satan cannot conceive of any man serving God without reward (9), and complains that Yahweh has made a hedge round about him, as one makes about a valuable vineyard (Is. 5) to keep out marauders. If there had been the least gap in the hedge, the Satan would have found it out long ago. Let Yahweh touch his substance (11) and Job will curse Him to His face. The Satan uses the form of an oath: lit. he will curse Thee, if not (may evil betake me).—**12.** Yahweh gives permission to try Job, conceding the Satan's right to have the matter cleared up, though Himself knowing that the Adversary is wrong. The Satan having obtained this leave, loses no time before he acts upon it.

I. 13–19. Job's Misfortune.—The activity of the Satan is depicted, though he himself remains invisible. "Between 12 and 13 there is an interval, an ominous silence like that which precedes the storm. The poet has drawn aside the curtain to us, and we know what is impending. Job knows nothing . . . he does not know that he is being played for like a pawn. Suddenly the catastrophe overtakes him. Messenger after messenger, each taking up his tale of ruin before the other has concluded his, announces that all has been taken from him" (Davidson). The ideal character of the narrative should be observed. The catastrophe takes place on the day when the feast was in the eldest brother's house, *i.e.* the very day on which Job had just purified his children by sacrifice. Heaven and men alternate their strokes, which follow with ever-increasing severity. In each case one alone escapes to tell the tale.

14–15. The First Stroke.—"The asses were feeding," a touch reflecting an absolute peace. The Sabeans are the Bedouin, Saba (1 K. 10*) being S. Arabia.—**16. The second stroke.**—The fire of God is the lightning, "to be sure lightning on the scale of a saga, since it destroys in a moment 7000 sheep and their shepherds" (Duhm). —**17. The third stroke.**—The Chaldeans are the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf, who are not yet a great world-power. The division of the force, so as to attack on three sides at once, marks an organised raid. The camels might otherwise have escaped by their swiftness.—**18. The fourth stroke.**—The wind was a "whirlwind of the south" (Is. 21), or from the desert. The "young men" includes of course Job's daughters, and the servants, all but the one who brings the tale.

I. 20–22. In the preceding section the narrative surged forward, depicting the unbridled rage of the Satan. Here on the contrary we have a beautiful picture of complete rest and resignation, and are taught how a truly pious man bears trials. Job rises: as a man of rank he had received the messengers sitting. He rends his mantle and shaves his head, making himself like a beggar or a slave in token of his humiliation. Then he abases himself to the ground in silent prayer, acknowledging his submission to the decree of God.

Job's words (21) are not to God, but to man. "This sentence and the related 210 may well be described as the creed of all Oriental piety" (Duhm). Observe, however, that in the poem the attitude of resignation is not that of Job, but of the friends, especially Eliphaz (58,2221). Note also that Job does exactly the opposite of what the Satan expected—he does not curse, but blesses God. The lesson of this chapter is that, as suffering is not always the result of sin, so in the case of a pious man it is not even a temptation to sin.

22. The exact meaning of the second clause is uncertain—perhaps we should follow Syr, and translate "offered God no irreverence."

II. 1–10. The Narrative of the Second Conversation between Yahweh and the Satan and its Issues.—Again the heavenly council comes together, and Yahweh reproaches the Satan with instigating Him to bring undeserved affliction on Job. The terrible trial has been shown to be unnecessary. Job still holds fast his integrity. Satan's answer is ready. He speaks impudently, using a common proverb, the origin of which, however, we do not know. Perhaps, says Duhm, the Bedouin may have threatened the shepherd, that he should pay with his own skin, if the cattle he tended were lost. The meaning is, as the second part of the sentence shows: nothing is more precious than life. What the Satan would say then is: the wager is not lost yet, the trial did not touch Job near enough. His goods, his children indeed have been touched, but that is not enough. His life has been spared. Yahweh consequently permits the Satan further to afflict Job, and this time personally. But He still makes the reservation that his life be spared, which indeed is necessary, as his death would make the trial useless. The malicious craft of the Satan is seen in the stroke with which he afflicts Job, the kind of leprosy known as elephantiasis, the symptoms of which are frequently mentioned in the poem. (This is the usual identification of Job's disease; others are the Oriental sore (Macalister in HDB, iii. p. 330) and ecthyma (see Peake's *Commentary*, p. 66)). Leprosy is a disease from which no recovery is to be expected, which therefore cuts off from Job even the possibility of hope for the return of happiness. Thus the test of Job's piety is made absolute. If he still holds on, it can only be because his service of God is purely disinterested—every motive of interest has been removed. Note too that the Satan in his malice anticipates the usual course of the leprosy, which is normally gradual in its development, breaking out first in one point only, and by degrees spreading over the body. Job is smitten at once "from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head" (7). As a leper, he is driven forth from men; and his sole refuge is the village dunghill or refuse heap, the only resting-place of outcasts, who, stricken with some loathsome disease, are excluded from the dwellings of men. We now see how the natural man would behave under Job's misfortune. This is exemplified by the behaviour of his wife. Her advice means that an instantaneous death as the result of blasphemy would be a less evil than Job's perpetual torment. She is not a godless woman, but hopelessly embittered by Job's misfortunes. Her religion is just

what the Satan said Job's was, a fair-weather religion only. Compare Mr. By-ends in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. "'Tis true we differ in religion from those of the strict sort, yet but in one or two small points: (1) we never strive against wind and tide, (2) we are always most zealous when religion goes in his silver slippers: we love most to walk with him in the street, if the sun shines and the people applaud him."—**10. Job's answer:** "Foolish" means godless because of thoughtlessness. Job bows before the absoluteness of God: he recites again "the creed of Oriental piety" (*cf.* 12₁, 22). Job stands where he was before.

II. 11–13. Job's Three Friends Come to Condole with him.—The friends are Eastern princes like himself (LXX kings), hence live at a distance. "They knew him not," because he was so disfigured. They threw dust upon their heads, symbolising that Job's fortune and they themselves along with it are ruined by heaven-sent calamities, as a fertile land might be by dust-showers. They are so overwhelmed, that they sit seven days and seven nights, mourning for Job as if he were dead. "Seven days are the days of mourning for the dead" (Ecclus. 22₁₂). Thus we come to the end of the prologue, between which and the epilogue (42₇₋₁₇) in the old Volksbuch must have been an account of the debate between Job and his friends, very different from the poem which we now possess. The friends evidently tried to comfort him, but what they said, we can now only infer. They certainly did not speak to him like his wife, but yet they spoke so wrongly of God, that He would have taken vengeance on them, had it not been for Job's intercession (42₇).

III. 1–20. Job's Lamentation.—Here the later poem begins, and at once we pass into another world. The patient Job of the Volksbuch is gone, and we have instead one who complains bitterly that ever he was born. This cry of misery is thrice repeated, ever in deepening pathos (1–10, 11–19, 20–26).

1–10. The first cry of misery—Would to God I had never been born. "This is the idea when Job curses his day, and wishes it blotted out of existence. First he curses the day of his birth and the night of his conception together (3) and then each separately, the day in two verses and the night in four" (Davidson).—**2.** The day is here regarded, not as a measure of time, but as a living being, which of its own accord brings forth men and things. "So in Ps. 19 the days and nights are animated beings, who narrate what they have experienced" (Duhm).—**4.** The days have to appear when their turn comes, and God takes care that they do so, just as He marshals the stars (Is 40₂₆). God calls the days all in turn to appear, but this day may remain unsummoned! The name used for God here is Eloah, a late form. The poet does not, like the Volksbuch, put into the mouth of an Edomite the Israelite name Yahweh. This, like the form he uses, is the mark of a later age. Let darkness and deep gloom (*mg.*) reclaim that day for their own. It is to be restored to the realm of "chaos and old night," whence the world first arose. Let all that makes black the day terrify it, *i.e.* eclipses, etc.—**6.** Let thick darkness seize upon that night and carry it off to its monstrous realm (as Pluto carried off Persephone). In that land there is no time, no years or months, no order. Let that night be barren; let no joyful voice tell of the birth of a child upon it.—**8.** Let enchanters curse it, who have skill to rouse up Leviathan (the twisted serpent), *i.e.* the great dragon of the abyss, the enemy of the light. His arising from the deep at the enchanters' summons, would mean the return of the primitive chaos (Gen. 1₂*).—**9.** Let the stars of the twilight that end that night be dark, *i.e.* go out. Let it never greet the dawn. [The exquisite phrase "the eyelids of the morning" (41₁₈) presupposes a Dawn myth, the Dawn being thought of as a lovely goddess, as in Is. 14₁₂. Such "faded myths" add much to the beauty and picturesqueness of poetry.—A. S. P.]

11–19. Would to God I had died from my birth. If Job must be born, why did he not die at once? Why was he kindly received upon the father's knees (Gen. 50 23)?—**12** reflects a time, when the father could choose whether to bring up the child or not. If he did, he took it upon his knees as a sign of adoption, and then handed it to the mother or the nurse. Job thinks of all the chances of death which he has lost. His misery makes the mercies that compassed his infancy seem a cruelty.—**13f.** Had Job died, he would have been at peace in Sheol, where small and great are alike at rest:

"Golden lads and girls all must,
As chimney-sweepers, come to dust" (*Cymbeline*).

Job is fascinated by the picture of the painless stillness of death, and dwells upon it long, enumerating with minute particularity those who enjoy a common peace. "The thought of the stillness of death brings a certain calm to the sufferer's mind, and the passionateness of his former words subsides" (Davidson).

14. Davidson interprets "waste places" as meaning ruined cities, which these princes had rebuilt. This meaning is, however, too general. Job speaks of something which they built for themselves. Duhm translates "pyramids," which sense, however, cannot be proved. The text is probably incorrect. The best emendation seems to be Cheyne's, "who built everlasting sepulchres" (*qibroth 'olam*).—**16.** Duhm places this verse immediately after 11.

III. 20–26. Why does God continue life to the wretch who longs for death? Job's words again rise to a passionate intensity. The vision of the peacefulness of death vanishes, and he reawakens to the consciousness of his actual state. In **20f.** Job generalises from his own position, to which he returns in **23**: he is hedged in like a captive beast. His sighs have become his daily meat (*mg.* "like my meat," *cf.* Ps. 42₃), and his roarings resemble an overflowing stream. "Let me fear a fear," he says, "and it comes upon me." It is a terrible picture of misery.

IV.–V. First Speech of Eliphaz.—Ch. 3 as a whole means, Why is misfortune? We are now to hear from Job's friends, what the theology of the poet's age had to say on the matter. Eliphaz, who speaks first, is no doubt the eldest of Job's friends. He is the calmest and most considerate in his speech. He is a mystic, who claims for his doctrine the authority of a vision (4₁₂f.). The great idea of Eliphaz is the "fear of God," *i.e.* a reverence very much like that attributed to Job in the Volksbuch.

IV. 1–11. Eliphaz is provoked to reply, in spite of his unwillingness, by the tone of Job's speech, which seems to him altogether irreverent. He wonders that Job, who had comforted so many others in trouble, should fall into such despair, when trouble has come to himself. Eliphaz assumes that Job is a righteous man; **6** is not meant as sarcasm. Eliphaz would suggest simply that Job's trouble has caused him to leave the standing-ground of religion. His complaint (ch. 3) was unsuitable. Eliphaz does not see that Job had been occupied with the problem of God's behaviour to him, a problem which is quite outside the circle of the ideas in which Eliphaz, like the rest

of the friends, moves. For them religion has no concern with God's behaviour to man, but only with man's behaviour to God. Eliphaz, therefore recalls Job to the fear of God, whence he has fallen by his unsuitable complaints. He should know (7) that the righteous never perish, as do the wicked (8). If God sends trouble to the righteous, then its function can be disciplinary only. This is the explanation of Job's trouble which Eliphaz suggests. The friends at first assume that Job is not a wilful sinner such as God punishes, but one whom God chastens to purify from unintentional sin, and who by humbling himself before God, can be restored again to prosperity. The fundamental opposition between the friends and Job is that they invariably find the cause of misfortune in man, while Job, at least as concerns himself, finds it in God. In fact the one cause of suffering is for them in sin: suffering is either chastisement or punishment, according as it is visited upon the righteous or the unrighteous. The friends begin by making the more charitable supposition in Job's case. In **7f.** Eliphaz guilelessly states his accepted theory as a fact of experience (*cf.* Ac. 284). The figure of the lion in 10f. suggests both the strength and the violence of the wicked.

IV. 12–16. Eliphaz confirms the truth of his doctrine by telling of a vision which he had had. A revelation came upon him like a thief in the night (lit. a word stole upon me). His thoughts were raised to a higher power by the ecstasy of the vision.—**14f.** describes the presence of the supernatural.—**16** tells how the spirit, being of a finer matter, could hardly be perceived by the human eye and ear. "Stillness and a voice I heard" means "I heard a still voice" (hendiadys). The tenses used in the Hebrew are all present. "A spirit passes by me . . . it stands, and I cannot discern its appearance; a form is before mine eyes, I hear a still voice." Eliphaz, in recalling the experiences of that awful night, feels as if he were passing through them again, and falls into the present in describing them.

IV. 17–21. "This is what the vision said." Translate as *mg.*: "Shall mortal man be just before God, shall a man be pure before his maker?" Even the angels are fallible, how much more man, who inhabits a house of clay, *i.e.* a body formed from the dust (Gen. 27, 319, 2 Cor. 51). Observe that we are not yet at the point of view of the later Judaism and the NT, according to which some angels are good, some bad. All are fallible. Again, observe that man's sinfulness is deduced simply from his creatureliness, especially, however, from his being made from the dust. The spirit that appears to Eliphaz knows nothing of the Fall as an explanation of human sin. His thought is rather that if the angels, who are of spirit (which was conceived by the ancient world in general as a finer kind of matter), are not perfect in God's sight, man, who is of the dust, must even less be so. Men are ephemerals (20), they are crushed like the moth (19 *mg.*): how can such creatures claim perfection before God, or have a right against Him. Men die, just as a tent is taken down when the tent cord is plucked up, and their life comes to an end without their having obtained wisdom, *i.e.* in the context, the fear of God, that absolute submission to Him, which is the only wisdom for such "moths."

V. 1–7 contains the application of the principles just laid down.

1–2. If the angels are imperfect, it is no use for Job to appeal to them as intercessors with God. Duhm, following Siegfried, rejects this verse connecting 421 closely with 52. The foolish man, he says, means in this context, the man without the fear of God. "A man must be an impious fool, Eliphaz would say, in agreement with the Job of the Volksbuch (210), if in misfortune, instead of, like a wise man, feeling his worthlessness and submitting to God, he allows himself to be carried away into rebellion against God and therewith invokes upon himself instant destruction, as Job's wife advised him" (29). It must be admitted that this is attractive. But Peake defends the text, arguing that the connexion is only superficially good: "421 speaks of the common lot of frail man, 52 of the destruction of the fool through his own irritation." He gives the following meaning to the passage: "Do not appeal to the angels who cannot help you, and thus draw down the penalty of your exasperation, but commit your cause to the all-powerful omniscient God, who can save you out of your distress." Translate **2**: "Impatience killeth the foolish one, and the simple one his indignation slayeth." A rebellious impatience is with Eliphaz the sin of sins:

"It shows a will most incorrect to Heaven."

Eliphaz wishes to point out to Job whither his impatience must necessarily lead. He enforces his teaching by examples from his own experience (3). He has seen the miserable end of the foolish, and of his children (4). The habitation of the foolish decays and his children have no one to stand up for them, but are "crushed in the gate," *i.e.* overpowered at law (contrast Job 3121, Ps. 1275*). The gate is the place of justice, where the elders of the city sit to hear causes. For the precepts implied in **4**, that the children suffer for the sin of the father, *cf.* Ex. 205.

5–6–7 are all difficult. The usual explanation of 5 is that the hungry break through the thorn hedge (110) to get at the harvest. This is not very probable; why should they trouble to do this in order to get into the field? (Peake). Perhaps the text is corrupt: the last clause of the verse is also questioned by many scholars. The text, however, seems better than *mg.* Duhm gets a good sense by the emendation "and the thirsty draws out of their well." Davidson explains 6f. as follows: "Eliphaz now sums up into an aphorism the great general principle which he seeks to illustrate in this section of his speech (412–57). It is that affliction is not accidental, nor a spontaneous growth of the earth, but men acting upon the impulses of their evil nature bring it upon themselves." According to this explanation 6 repeats in another form the maxim "they that sow trouble reap the same" (48); while the words "man is born unto trouble" mean, "it is his nature through his sin to bring trouble upon himself; evil rises up out of his heart as the sparks fly up out of the flame." It is not, however, really certain that the "sons of flame" or "of lightning" (*mg.*) are to be understood as the sparks; and it has to be admitted that Davidson's explanation in general reads a good deal into the text which is not clearly expressed in it. A possible view is that the "sons of flame" are the demons, who are here regarded as the ultimate cause of human trouble. The meaning of the two verses must, however, be regarded as in the end uncertain.

V. 8–27. Eliphaz advises Job to accept the Divine discipline so that God may again show Himself gracious. "As for me," instead of being impatient like a fool, "I would seek unto God" (*cf.* 121, 210).—**9–16** gives the motive for submission, viz. the omnipotence of God, which is also a reason for hope. God's power is manifest in nature (10). He also shows it by the restoration of those who abase themselves (11), and

equally by crushing the impious (12–14).—[13 is quoted, 1 Cor. 319*—the only quotation from Job in NT apart, perhaps, from Rom. 1135.]—**15f.** continues the theme of **11–14.** But in 15 the text is undoubtedly corrupt. "The usual parallelism is wanting, and the words 'he saveth the poor from the sword, from their mouth' yield no satisfactory sense" (Peake). Duhm accepts Siegfried's emendation: "He saves from the sword the needy, and from the hand of the mighty the poor."—**17–26** paints an idyllic picture of the happy condition of the man who submissively accepts the Divine discipline and so is restored to prosperity.—**17f.** takes us back to 8. The reason of Divine chastisement is not in some obscure mystery of God's nature (Job's why? 323), but in man's own sinfulness; it is educational (Pr. 311*). Observe that the poet often puts the name Shaddai (the Almighty) into the mouth of Job and his friends, as a name of God suitable to non-Israelites (Jl. 115*). It is the name by which, according to P, God made Himself known to Abraham (Gen. 171*) long before the revelation of the name Yahweh (Ex. 63). The "six" or "seven" troubles from which Eliphaz promises Job that God will deliver him (19) is a round number meaning many or all: so three, four (Pr. 616, Am. 13). The wild beasts will not devour Job's flocks, the stones will keep out of his field (22f.). Duhm quotes in illustration the couplet: "vom Acker, den sein Pflug berührte, schwand das Gestein, als obs der Wind entführte." The idea of a sympathy between man and nature is often expressed in the OT, *e.g.* Ps. 104, but especially belongs to the picture of the Messianic age (Is. 116–9, 6521–25). The climax of blessings promised to Job is that he shall have a large posterity, and die in a ripe old age (25f.). [An interesting theological point in connexion with **26** is that death is here conceived not as the punishment of sin, but merely as the natural close of life. In general the OT is not governed by Gen. 33, as are the later Judaism and the NT. The true OT idea is rather that a *premature* death is the punishment of sin (Ps. 5523).] Eliphaz concludes his speech (27) by bidding Job lay to heart the truth which it contains.

The first speech of Eliphaz is a literary masterpiece; yet how out of touch with facts it is! "Eliphaz does not perceive that he is stating a mere doctrine; he has, like the vast majority of both cultured and uncultured men, continually found in life his own opinions confirmed, because he has always presupposed them, and has finally taken them for experiences" (Duhm). Thus he cannot enter into Job's problem. His prejudices prevent him from understanding his friend's perplexity. To Eliphaz it is as plain as the sun in heaven that affliction is due to human sin, and Job's questionings about God seem simply impious. Hence, with the best intentions in the world, he fails in sympathy; and the psalm-like conclusion (17–27), in spite of its beauty, can in Job's circumstances only be an irony.

VI. 1–13. Job in his reply deals first of all with the charge of impatience. He catches up the word used by Eliphaz (52), and declares that his impatience does but balance his calamity (1f.). The dreadfulness of the latter is that it is from God Himself (4). The image is that of poisoned arrows, whose points have penetrated (within me). Job's spirit drinks their poison, so that he cannot help roaring. No creature complains without reason, no more does he (5). What is loathsome and unbearable is thrust upon him (6f.). So keenly does he feel the truth of what he is saying that he forgets his defence, and once more cries passionately for death (8–10). Patience, he says, is impossible; he is not stone or brass (11f.). All resource is at an end with him.

VI. 14–27. Job's Sorrowful Disappointment in his Friends.—He begins by citing a proverb. The despairing man who is slipping from religion, looks for help and sympathy from his friends. The friends, however, have proved like a brook that disappoints the thirsty caravan (15–20). When the thaw comes, the brooks are swollen black with broken ice and melting snow (16). But in summer they dry up (17), and the caravan, finding no water where they expected, as a last desperate resource turn aside from the path into the desert to look for water, and perish miserably (18). Tema (Is. 2114*) and Sheba (115*) are Arabian tribes. The whole simile of the brook is very fine. Its point is that Job's friends have been effusive in their friendship in the days of his prosperity, when he did not need their help. Now in his adversity and his dire need they fail him. With **21** Job turns directly to the friends. They are terror-stricken by his calamity. Yet he had not asked from them so much as a ransom in money from some powerful oppressor (22f.). All he asks is real instruction. Let them explain to him the error of his speech, and he will cease from his complaint. Job cannot feel that Eliphaz has said anything to the purpose. In **27** he bursts out into strong invective. The friends would cast lots over the fatherless, and bargain over their friend. The fatherless is to be understood as the child of the debtor. "After his death the ruthless creditors cast lots for the possession of the child as a slave" (Davidson).

14 is difficult: in the above exposition "despairing" is substituted for "ready to faint." Duhm reads, "He who withholdeth kindness from the despairing forsaketh the fear of the Almighty," and regards the verse as a gloss on **15f.**—**15.** Instead of "pass away" translate "overflow."—**21.** Neither text nor *mg.* is satisfactory in the first clause. Emend "so have ye been to me."—**27** does not seem very suitable in present context. Perhaps it should follow **23.**—**28–30.** Job appeals to his friends to give him a fair hearing. Let them look him in the face (28). We must imagine, says Duhm, that during Job's speech, and especially during the last sharp sayings, they have exhibited their disapproval by turning away from him. Surely (28) is the formula of oath—literally, "if I shall lie to your face" (then may evil befall me) (*cf.* 111).—**29** means "Turn to me and hear me; it is not injustice to complain as I do."—**30** means "Cannot I correctly discern the nature of my calamity (and perceive its injustice)?" The first clause means the same as the second—has my tongue become perverted so that it cannot tell good from bad?

VII. 1–10. Job complains of the misery of his life and destiny. How is it that Job does not go on to maintain his innocence? Instead of this he proceeds to show how dreadfully he suffers, and to accuse God of cruelty (11f.). The point is that he cannot think of his suffering without viewing it as a ground against God. The ideas of Eliphaz about suffering being due to sin make no impression on him: moreover he feels that, if he had sinned, that would give God no reason to treat him as He does. Again Job can hardly believe as yet that Eliphaz really meant to accuse him of sin. He indulges himself, therefore, freely again in the complaint of his misery. As before, however, in 320, he is led to think of his own case as one among many (1f.). Life is a soldier's campaign, hard drudgery, wounds, and exposure, till the campaign is over. It is a hireling's day. Working through the sultry midday he thirsts for the coolness of evening

and his wages (2). Such is war's life in general. But with 3 Job comes back to his own case. His troubles too are laid on him, like the soldier's or the labourer's, by the will of another. Like them he longs for the end of his misery. In 4f. he paints a graphic picture of this. He especially dwells on the long interminable nights of pain. His sores breed worms. They form a hard crust (clods of dust) and then break out afresh and run. In spite of his long nights of pain, yet his time goes by more swiftly than a weaver's shuttle (*cf.* 925f.), and he is utterly hopeless (6). With **7** he turns to God and pitifully appeals to Him. For a moment he thinks of God as the God who has loved and cared for him, and is carried on to the further thought (8) that when he is gone God will look for him and not find him. It is the first indication of the path upon which ultimately he is to find the personal solution of his trouble. By slow degrees he comes to believe that God who had once cared for him must need him, and therefore ultimately must deliver him. But at present all he says is that God will one day look for him and fail to find him. There is just the faintest suggestion that God will miss him. It is the first gleam of light in the midst of Job's darkness. But it vanishes, and in 9f. he dwells on the impossibility of a return from Sheol. "The Babylonians called the underworld 'the land of no return'" (Peake). According to the ancient Hebrew view, the dead in Sheol were cut off from all communion with God (Pss. 65, 8810–12, Is. 3818). Here, says Duhm, Job completely rejects the idea of immortality. "Of course this is not to say, that it cannot reoccur. On the contrary, just because Job again and again comes back to the comfortless idea, that all is over with death, the observant reader is led to form the suspicion that he is suppressing a hope, which continually reawakens in secret within him, that after all things may be otherwise."

VII. 11–21. Job again gives utterance to his complaint. In the previous passage Job's tone, as in 311–19, had become quieter, and his complaint almost an elegy on human misery. But now he bursts forth again with the utmost violence of expression, and now, as he had not ventured to do in 3, directly attacks God. He will not refrain. Though God destroy him, he will speak (11). He asks if he is the sea, fretting against the earth with its turbulent waves, or the sea-monster, the great dragon of the deep, once conquered by God long ago (2612, Is. 519. Rev. 2111*), but always liable to attempt a fresh assault upon God and the world. When Job seeks rest in sleep, God sends him awful dreams (13f.). He has no conception of second causes, and attributes the misery of his dreams directly to God. He wishes that he could die outright (15). If only God would let him alone (16). In 17f. he bitterly parodies Ps. 84. The Psalmist in devout ecstasy speaks of the littleness of man, and the wonderful condescension of God, who has made him his vicegerent and lord of the creation. But Job thinks of God as the great Watcher of men (12, 20), the Almighty Eye, always regarding human conduct to try and prove it according to its worth. This is precisely the same idea of God which we have already had from Eliphaz, the God who watches men and rewards or punishes them. But Eliphaz, like the Psalmist, glorified this conception of God. To Job in his present mood it seems nothing but darkness and terror, and he cries out against it. "If religion is conceived as a strict moral order, which lays on man full responsibility for every action and impulse, it must crush him; the poet of Job anticipates Paul in recognising this truth. The above propositions are, however, as little the last word of the poet on the true nature of God, as his previous statements on the questions of life after death give his last judgment on the question of immortality. On the contrary, there is here merely the weighing of the possibility that Job's sufferings are the result of Divine repressive measures, and through the sarcastic conclusions drawn from it rather an indirectly negative than an affirmative answer" (Duhm). In **19** Job pleads for a moment's respite. In **20** he suggests that even if he has sinned, his sin cannot have injured God, who is infinitely above aught that man can do to him. The inference is that God, instead of making Job, by watching him so, into a perpetual stumbling-block (mark) that always seems to be in His way, might simply forgive his sins. We see that Job is already moving from the idea of God as an Almighty Judge to the thought that at bottom His nature is pardoning love. *Cf.* Ps. 1304, which makes it clear that if God be simply a Judge, fellowship between man and Him is impossible; if He is to be feared, *i.e.* if religion is to be possible, it can only be on a basis of forgiveness. The conclusion of 21 shows that Job is beginning to feel that the God who tortures him is not the real God, but only a passing phase (Ps. 305, *mg.*). When Job is dead at least God will want him. From the real God, who is love, it is not then too much to hope even the forgiveness of sin. The two thoughts —that of the God who is great enough to pardon sin, and of the God who needs him—are intimately connected together.

15. The interpretation of the second clause, "I choose death in preference to being this skeleton," is forced. Read, emending the text very slightly, "I choose death rather than my pains."—**20.** According to Jewish tradition the original text was "a burden on Thee," which was altered by the scribes into "a burden to myself." The tradition is probably correct, and the alteration has been made because the original text seemed irreverent.

VIII. 1–7. Opening of Bildad's First Speech.—The two younger friends, says Duhm, make a less favourable impression than Eliphaz. Bildad's great point is the discriminating rectitude of God, who unfailingly rewards the righteous and punishes the wicked. His whole idea of fortune and misfortune is even more mechanical than that of Eliphaz. The idea that God remains an unchangeable factor, and the relation of man to Him only changes, comes out if possible even more clearly in opposition to Job's idea of a God who has changed and may again change his relation to him. The other point of importance in Bildad's speech is that he supports his doctrine, not like Eliphaz from revelation, but from the wisdom of the ancients.

Bildad, in beginning his speech, passes over in complete silence all that Job has said as to the lack of sympathy evinced by the friends. He expresses the dislike, natural to the sober man that he is, of Job's passionateness, and above all of Job's doubts of God's righteousness; for such to him was the meaning of Job's "why," though Job himself was really more concerned about God's love. He says in a very few words all that can be said from his "miserable standpoint" (Duhm). God is righteous (3). Job's children have perished; that proves that they were sinners outright. Read (*cf. mg.*), If thy children have sinned against him, He has delivered them into the hand of their transgression. Job, however, has not been wiped out of existence as a hopeless sinner, but God is calling him to repentance. If he repents, God will show His regard for his righteousness in no uncertain manner by

a visible restoration to prosperity (5–7). Bildad unhesitatingly interprets the facts by his dogma. His counsel to Job is the same as that of Eliphaz, but it is much more bluntly and curtly stated. Bildad wastes no words.

VIII. 8–19. The Wisdom of the Ancients.—Bildad recalls Job to tradition as enshrined in the proverbs of the fathers (8). Authority belongs to the voice of the past (9). "The respect which our age has for books, each of which is collected from a hundred older ones, a non-literary civilisation has for tradition and usage. Bildad is conscious of his limitation, but ascribes the same also to all others, whom, as mediocrity is wont to do, he holds without hesitation as his equals: a common combination of modesty and unconscious shamelessness" (Duhm).

With **11** begin the wise sayings of the ancients. "These maxims of the ancient world are clothed in rich and gorgeous similes drawn from the luxuriant plant life of the sultry East" (Davidson). It is noteworthy that the imagery of 11 is Egyptian. The rush is (as *mg.*) the papyrus. It grows 12 feet high; but to do this requires mire in which to grow. The flag is the Nile grass. An Egyptian word (*aḥu*) is used, which is found only twice elsewhere in OT (Gen. 41₂,₁₈). It is clear that the poet was acquainted with Egypt. He probably means to represent Bildad as viewing Egypt as the source of the oldest wisdom. **13** is Bildad's application; *cf.* Eliphaz (5₃), also Ps. 37₃₆f. The godless man shall perish. His confidence shall give way like a spider's web (14) (lit. "house"; *cf.* the use of the latter word in 15). In the last the flimsiness of the spider's house is proverbial. Davidson quotes Koran (29₄₀): "Verily the frailest of houses is the spider's house." With **16f**, we have a new figure, that of a spreading luxuriant plant, suddenly destroyed, so that not a trace of it is left. The lesson is the same as before.

13. Instead of "paths" (*orḥoth*) read *aḥarith*, and translate, "Such is the end of all that forget God."—**17** is difficult. Instead of "heap" we might translate "spring." The meaning of the second line is very uncertain. Duhm, slightly emending the text (after LXX), translates, "Its roots are twined about the spring, it lives in a house of stones." The meaning is then that the plant has established itself in the best place in the garden, the stone building over the spring, growing upon its walls, and surpasses in its growth all other plants in the garden rooted in their beds of earth.

VIII. 20–22. Bildad has warned Job of the fate of the impious. Now he returns to the other half of his doctrine also, and sums up his whole position in **20.** God can neither reject the blameless, nor uphold the wicked. If Job is really blameless, *i.e.* if he humbly accepts the Divine chastisement, God will yet reward him (21f.).

IX. 1–24 is Job's answer to the position taken up by Bildad, viz. that the Almighty cannot judge falsely (8₃). In **2** Job accepts the general principle that God judges according to merit. But of what use is this? Man has no chance of asserting his righteousness before God, of putting in his claim to reward. There is no equality between the Judge and the person judged. If man wishes to maintain an argument with God (3 *mg.*) God can ask him a thousand questions that will baffle him. God is all-wise and almighty: who can withstand Him? (4). He is almighty (5f.). There follows a series of illustrations of His almightiness. He overthrows the mountains in His anger (6). He shakes the earth (6).—**5–6** together describe an earthquake. The earth is conceived as a house with pillars. These are the mountains, which support the sky (26₁₁). Their roots, however, are deep below the surface of the earth in the water under the earth (Pr. 8₂₅). "An earthquake is for the ancients something different, something more violent than with us, since they conceive the whole earth to be moved from its fixed place and from its foundations" (Duhm).—**7** continues the examples of the Divine omnipotence. When He wills, He blots sun and stars out of the sky. The reference is to eclipses, obscurations, etc. The stars are sealed up in the place where God keeps them, and whence at His will He brings them forth to shine in the heavens (Is. 40₂₆). Further illustrations of God's power are contained in **8f.**—**10**, which sums up the whole, is quoted from the speech of Eliphaz (5₉). But how differently are the words used? Eliphaz regards the Divine omnipotence as a reason why man should humble himself before God, Job as a reason why it is impossible for man to maintain his right before Him.—**11** passes on to the thought of God's mysterious invisibility. This makes His omnipotence all the more dread. He is no judge, but an absolutely arbitrary Sovereign (14). If the primeval monsters of Chaos could not stand before God, how much less a mere man (13f.).

Rahab is here, like the dragon in Is. 51₉, a name for Tiamat, the original Chaos, who was conquered by God at the creation (Gen. 1₂*). Her helpers are the brood of monsters who assisted her in the terrible conflict, but were also crushed by God. How impossible, then, is it for Job to maintain his cause against God (14)? Even if he were innocent, he could not confront Him, but would have to cast himself upon His mercy (15). There is no chance of even getting God to listen to a human plea (16).—**17f.** is a description of how God acts when He comes to judgment; at the same time Job is describing God's present treatment of him. He regards himself even now as engaged in a contest with God.—**19** is difficult to translate with certainty, but the sense is clear. "If one speaks of the strength of the mighty, lo, here am I (saith He)! and if of judgment, who will set me a time (saith He)." This describes the overmastering strength and absolute sovereignty of God, which gives man no chance. Job, therefore, though innocent, feels that under the constraint of the Divine presence he could not assert his innocence (20). He therefore does so now; let God slay him for his audacity if He will (21). It is all one to him whether he live or die. "The poet exhibits great wealth in the psychology of the moods. Fear of death, desire for it, contempt of life, longing for a continuance of peaceful existence, all alternate throughout Job's speeches, always with a psychological basis—and in themselves a proof that the poet is a born dramatist" (Duhm).

Job proceeds to deny that there is any moral order in the universe. God sends the pestilence and cares nothing that the innocent die as well as the wicked (23). He gives over the world to oppressors. He blinds the judges so that they cannot tell right from wrong (the verse probably reflects the feeling of the Jews under Persian oppression). "If it be not he, who then is it?" asks Job. Observe that the poet recognises no Satan like the Volksbuch, no laws of the universe, like us. He is an absolute monotheist, and traces everything that happens directly to God. The problem of God's dealings is thereby made very intense.

5. Syr. reads "he knows it not." Probably this was the original reading (Duhm, Peake). God uproots the mountains without even noticing it; it is nothing to His almighty strength.—**9.** The identification of the constellations, other than Orion, is only probable (Am. 5₈*).

What the chambers of the south are is uncertain.—**16.** Duhm reads, after LXX, "If I called He would not answer me, I cannot believe that He would hearken to my voice." This is perhaps better than the text.

IX. 25–35. Job again takes up his complaint, but in a quieter tone, so that he is able to imagine after all a way in which he might maintain his cause before God. He complains first of the shortness of his life. His time runs swiftly as a runner, as the light papyrus boats used on the Nile, as an eagle in its flight (25f.). If he should resolve to brighten up and treat his misery as a bad dream, what use? God will again put him on the rack. (We may associate Job's quieter moods with temporary relief from paroxysms of pain, which he knows full well, however, to be only temporary). All purifications are useless (30f.). God and he cannot come together on equal terms. If only there were an umpire between them, who could lay his hand upon both disputants, and enforce his decision upon them (33). Or if God would cease smiting him with pain, and lay aside His terrifying majesty (34). Then Job would speak without fear (35).

We may view the cry for a daysman, for God with His majesty laid aside, as an instinctive prophecy of the Incarnation, though the poet has no such thing in his mind. *Cf.* David in Browning's *Saul:*

"'Tis the weakness in strength that I cry for, my flesh that I seek
In the Godhead."

Duhm finely points out the psychological truth, that he only can believe God to be his enemy, who seeks Him as his friend. Job's invectives, he further says, are very like those of a modern pessimist; yet they impress us very differently, because they spring from a heart that needs God.

30. In both cases *mg.* is better than text. Lye is potash, used for cleansing purposes.

X. 1–22. Job's tone becomes sharper. He accuses God of having created him only to torment him. What profit is there to God in destroying the work that has cost Him so much pains? (3)? Is God short-sighted, so that He sees faults where they do not exist (4)? How can He be, when He is eternal (5)? Yet He inquires after Job's sin, torturing to make him confess (6f.). Job reminds God how He has made him (10f. describes according to the poet's physiology the formation of the embryo; *cf.* Ps. 139^{13}). God had given him life and preserved him (12); yet all the while secretly purposing to torture him. This is Job's darkest thought concerning God (compare the thoughts of Caliban upon Setebos in Browning's poem): God appears as the Great Inquisitor (14f.): contrast Ps. 130^{3}f. Job, marvellously made, is marvellously treated (16). God renews His witnesses against Him, *i.e.* sends ever fresh and fresh pains to accuse him of sin. Host after host is against him (17). Again as in 3, Job asks why he was born (18f.). Since, however, God has not spared him the tragedy of life, let Him grant that at least his last few days may be painless, before he departs into the deep gloom of Sheol (20–22).

3. Probably the last clause should be struck out (Duhm, Peake). It does not harmonise with the context.—**15.** Peake would read with slight emendation "sated with shame and drunken with sorrow."—**16.** The first line is difficult and the meaning is somewhat uncertain.

XI. 1–20. Speech of Zophar.—"Job has shown that the assumption, that on account of the Divine righteousness only human sin can be the cause of misfortune, leads to the worst conclusions as to God's nature. What answer can the friends make?" (Duhm). Job has charged God with a brutal misuse of His strength and a refined cruelty to His creature:

> "Oh it is excellent to have a giant's strength
> But it is tyrannous to use it like a giant."

Zophar, the youngest and most fiery of the friends, simply sees in Job's questionings about God, a denial of the Divine omniscence. If God treats Job as a sinner, He cannot be in error. Again, therefore, he calls Job to repent.

He begins by criticising Job's verbosity: "words and nothing else" are his defence (2f.). Job declares that his walk is pure (emending "my doctrine" into "my walk," Duhm, Peake). But if God were to accept Job's challenge to meet him, the result would be very different from Job's anticipation (5f.). Let Job know that God by no means remembers against him all his sin. Zophar here breaks out into a panegyric on the Divine wisdom (7–9). God knows the iniquity of the wicked, without considering it, *i.e.* intuitively (11). With 13 Zophar begins his exhortation. Let Job turn to God and stretch out his hands in prayer to Him, let him put away his sin (14). Then follows the promise, Then Job shall be able to lift up his face (*cf.* 10^{15}) and be steadfast (contrast fluctuating feelings, 9^{27}f.). His misery shall pass away (16f.). He shall be secure, because there is hope (contrast Job's despondence, 7^{6}, 9^{25}, 10^{20}, etc.). He shall search about him (as one does before lying down to rest), and shall sleep in safety (18). Many shall seek his favour (*cf.* 29^{7}–10, 21–25, and contrast 19^{18}, 30^{1}–10). —20 gives the dark reverse to the picture of the happiness of the righteous. "Bildad's prediction of the fate of the wicked is here repeated, but whereas he identified the wicked with Job's enemies, Zophar leaves open the possibility that Job himself may be included in that category, and in the last line significantly alludes to Job's repeated wish that he may die" (Peake).

6. Last clause lit., "God brings a part of thy sins into forgetfulness for thee."—**7.** First clause, *mg.* is to be followed rather than text.—**10.** Zophar takes up Job's own words in 9^{11}f. Duhm thinks the verse is out of place here altogether: it suits Job's idea of God's arbitrary sovereignty, not Zophar's conception of His unsearchable wisdom. He therefore omits as a marginal note out of place. "Shut up" means "put in prison," "gather for judgment" (*cf.* Ps. 50^{5}).—**12** is very difficult. Perhaps the best translation is: "and so an empty man becomes wise, and a wild ass's colt is born a man." This yields a good connexion with the preceding verse: God chastens the wicked, and so the empty man becomes wise. The change is as if a wild ass's colt were born a man (probably a proverbial illustration). The wild ass is an emblem of undisciplined freedom (39^{5}), and thus of rebellion against God (Jer. 2^{24}).

XII. 1–25. Eliphaz had appealed to revelation, Bildad to the wisdom of the ancients, Zophar assumes that he himself is the oracle of God's wisdom. Job answers this assumption. Firstly Zophar is not the only wise man in the world, and secondly, as to this wisdom of God, which explains everything, Job has himself studied the ways of God, and whatever wisdom there may be in them there is certainly also the most arbitrary exercise of Divine power.

The friends take themselves to be the whole people (2); in your own estimation, Job says, "you're everybody" (Peake). Job, however, is not behind them in wisdom: they are not its sole oracle (3).

4–6. According to Duhm an interpolation. They treat of the contrast between the fate of the pious and the rebellious men of the world, and contain sentences suitable enough for Job, but not in this place. The LXX has the passage in a much shorter form. Peake defends the passage. "Job speaks out of the consciousness of his own piety, and in his reference to the mockery to which he is exposed he does not mean that he was mocked on account of his godliness, which was not true in his case, but that in spite of it he was taunted with impiety."—**5** says that the prosperous despise and buffet the unfortunate.—**6** contrasts with this the happiness of the wicked. As so often in the Psalms, the prosperous and the wicked, the unfortunate and the pious are identified.

7–10 Duhm also treats as an interpolation. He says that these verses come from another poet, and express the thought that, as the animal world teaches, the life of all living beings is in God's hand. Between this and the context he sees not the slightest connexion. The usual interpretation of the passage when it is retained for Job (Davidson, Peake) is that in reply to the boasted wisdom of Zophar, Job intimates that such knowledge is the veriest commonplace. The observation of the animal world may teach it (Davidson), or perhaps the very animals possess it (Peake); "antiquity did not draw the same sharp line between human and animal intelligence as we draw." Duhm sees a confirmation of his theory that the passage is an interpolation in the use of the name Yahweh in **9**. "If the poet wrote Yahweh it must have been by an oversight" (Peake). Some MSS. read Eloah (God).

With **11** Duhm admits that we return to the genuine speech of Job. "The ear decides as to the sense or senselessness of what is heard, the palate itself knows best how things taste (*cf.* 6$_6$), man can therefore by means of his senses judge of the things of the external world, with which he has to do—why should he then require to be told by others, how anything tastes or sounds? Job stands upon his own individuality; if he has observed God's working, as he describes it in **14ff.**, no one need try to persuade him of the opposite of his own impressions and preceptions." **12** we must translate as *mg.*, "With aged men, *ye say*, is wisdom." No, says Job, it is God who possesses both wisdom and might. Varied illustrations of this truth follow (14–25).

The above interpretation of **11–25** is based on the assumption that it is to be retained for Job. We have seen that Duhm questions 4–6, 7–10. Siegfried, however, goes further and would reject not only 4–6, but 12$_7$–13$_1$; he thinks that the latter passage is an interpolation intended to bring the speeches of Job into harmony with the orthodox doctrine of retribution. The passage, however, rather illustrates the sovereign might of God's working, and is thus more in harmony with the thought of Job than with that of the friends.

5. Take the word translated "it is ready" as a noun meaning "a blow."—**6.** Translate as *mg.* "that bring their god in their hand," *i.e.* they worship their own power and make it their god (*cf.* Hab. 1$_{11,16}$).

XIII. 1–12. Job has shown that he can speak of God's working in the world; the friends, however, offer an apology for God, which He Himself must reject. "I am not inferior to you in knowledge," says Job (2). "But I would speak and reason with God—this you do not understand" (3). The friends had failed to diagnose his case (4); his want is a fresh Divine revelation. They are "plasterers of lies" in their zeal for God. Their best wisdom were silence (5) "si tacuisses, philosophus mansisses." God, however, will not approve their respect of persons, their partiality in becoming His advocate (8). "It will not be a pleasant experience for them when God strips bare their paltry souls and shows that which masqueraded as pious reverence to be cowardly sycophancy (9). It is noteworthy as showing the conflict of feeling in Job, that while he attacks with the utmost boldness the unrighteousness of God's conduct he should have such deep-rooted confidence in His righteousness as to believe Him incapable of tolerating a lying defence even of Himself" (Peake). God's appearance will terrify the friends (11): how miserable their proverbs, their defences, are (12).

XIII. 13–28. Job turns to plead his cause with God. He will speak whatever it costs (13–15). "This also," he says, "shall be my deliverance, that a godless man will not come before Him." Job means that his deliverance must come, not as the friends say, from submission and confession, but from courageous self-defence. Job seems to gain confidence from his resolve to speak without fear. He feels that God, the natural protector of innocence, must in the end be on his side: Job's very boldness will appeal to His better nature. This is the first time that Job really shows confidence in God. Behind His wrath, he feels, there is something that is on his side. It seems as if Job's firm resolve to maintain his consciousness of innocence gave him a basis whence to feel after the true nature of God. Such is Job's confidence, as he prepares to plead his cause (18), that he cries, "Who is there that can contend with me? For (if any such be found) then I would hold my peace and give up the ghost" (19). This forms a splendid climax to Job's declaration of innocence (*cf.* Is. 50$_8$, Rom. 8$_{33}$f.). As in 9$_{34}$, however, Job asks of God to remove his affliction and not to overwhelm him with His terrors, that they may contend upon equal terms (20–22). "What have I done?" he says. "Why is God become mine enemy?" (23f.). Why does God persecute one so weak? (25). God, like a judge, ordains him bitter punishment. To do so, He brings up the sins of his unwitting childhood, which he had supposed long ago forgiven and forgotten. God hampers his movements (27).

14 is difficult. To take one's life in one's hand means to prepare for death (Jg. 12$_3$). In accordance with this the first clause must be explained. By several it is understood of a wild beast defending its prey by carrying it off. Then the verse means, "Why should I seek to save my life? Nay, I will expose it to the utmost peril." By attaching the opening words of 14 (*'al māh*) to 13 (Duhm), or more simply by removing them as due to dittography of the last words of 13 (*'ălay māh*) (Peake), we leave the meaning of 13 unaltered and obtain for 14, "I will take my flesh in my teeth and will put my life in my hand." The interrogation is now gone from the first clauses, and the two lines of the verse mean the same thing, as the parallelism requires that they should.—**15** is also difficult. "The AV translation, 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him,' which is that of the Vulgate, is impossible, since it is utterly out of harmony with the context. It is very beautiful in itself, and no doubt what Job ought to have said, and what he would have said after the vision of God. But it is singularly unfortunate since it is one of the few fragments in the poem which are widely known, and has thus created an entirely false impression as to Job's real attitude" (Peake). The first clause is to be translated "Behold he slayeth me": the second either (reading *lō*) "I wait for him" (to do it) or 'for it,' or else (reading *lō'*) "I have no hope" or "I cannot hold out" (Duhm). The general sense is the same, whichever

of these readings or translations be adopted. The second clause is an expression of Job's despair.—**27.** Instead of "the stocks" translate "the block," *i.e.* a block of wood fastened to the foot of a prisoner impeding his movements.

XIV. 1–6. How sorrowful the lot of man, whom God so straitly overlooks! Man's life is transitory and insubstantial (1f.), why does God act the inquisitor with one so frail?—**3.** Let God cease to torment him (6).

4 is to be translated as *mg.* "Oh that a clean thing could come out of an unclean! not one can." This is probably a gloss. "It is the sigh of a pious reader, written on the margin, and mistakenly introduced into the text" (Peake).—**6.** For "accomplish" substitute *mg.* "have pleasure in."

XIV. 7–12 gives the reason why God should let man have what little pleasure he can (6): Death ends all. In Damascus it is still customary to cut down trees, the stumps of which being watered send forth new shoots. Job refers to such a practice, which shows the indomitable vitality of tree life (7–9). But man, when he dies, knows no rejuvenation (10f.).

11 may perhaps be a gloss, quoted from Is. 19$_5$, where both "the sea" and "the river" mean the Nile.

XIV. 13–15. If God, moved by longing for His creatures, would only restore Job to life! He who rejuvenates the tree, could reanimate the man. Death would then be a proof of the Divine love: it would be God's hiding Job in Sheol from His own wrath, till it was over (13). In this case Job would welcome death (14). For after it would come a time of uninterrupted communion with God (15). The first emergence of hope was in 7$_{21}$. Here the hope is stronger, and it will be stronger again yet.

14. Duhm follows LXX "If a man might die and live again!" This seems best: if we retain the text, the question is asked without being answered: the second line continues the thought of **13.**

XIV. 16–22 turns to the contrast of Job's present misery and hopeless end. Now God watches Job (16). God writes down his sins, and seals up the indictments in a bag (17). The mountains perish and the stones are worn away: so God destroys man's hope, and the man himself (18–20). He is sunk in Sheol where he neither knows nor cares for the concerns of his family (21). "Only his flesh upon him hath pain and his soul within him mourneth" (22). [The flesh suffers pain through the process of decomposition in the grave; but the soul in Sheol also participates in the pain of its body, for though death has rent them apart, they still belong to the same self and sympathetically feel each other's experiences. *Cf.* Jer. 82*.—A. S. P.] He is wholly shut up in his own misery.

XV. 1. Here begins the second cycle of the debate. Eliphaz had before said everything possible, presuming Job's real goodness—he had explained how he must accept his sufferings as a Divine chastisement, and be instructed by them. Job, however, rejects all this, and Eliphaz is consequently compelled to conclude that Job is a despiser of religion and wholly impious: all he can do is to point out the consequences of such irreligion and impiety.—**2–19** is a polemic against Job's arrogance and pretence of wisdom. Job's words are empty and violent (2f.). He does away with all religion (4) and breaks the reverential stillness, which should be observed in the presence of God. It is his wickedness that inspires his words and gives to his tongue the craft of the serpent (Gen. 3$_1$) (5). So he stands self-condemned (6). Is he the primæval man, of whom the myths tell, who sat in the council of God? (7f.). This mythical figure is not elsewhere found in the OT (but *cf.* the figure of Wisdom in Pr. 8$_{22–31}$); it is, however, "a conception which spreads its branches wide over the most various regions of religion" (Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 1907, p. 160). What does Job know, Eliphaz continues, that the friends do not know? (9). Age is on their side (10). Why did he despise Eliphaz's former gentle speech, roll his eyes in anger, and defy God (11–13)? Eliphaz can only repeat that no man or angel is pure (14–18). What he says is ancient wisdom, come down from the fathers, before intermixture with strangers had defiled the pure tradition (17–19).

16 refers, as the context indicates, to man in general. To drink like water means to drink in large draughts, whereas strong liquor is drunk more cautiously. **20–35** describes the fate of the ungodly. "The teaching which the wise have handed down is now given. While the wicked lives in outward prosperity he is constantly tormented by forebodings of disaster" (Peake). These forebodings proceed from his impiety against God (25f.). With **28** *cf.* Dt. 13$_{16}$, Jos. 6$_{26}$, 1 K. 16$_{34}$. The impious man shall perish hopelessly (**29–35**). Eliphaz does not even yet, however, apply this doctrine to Job; he leaves Job to make the application for himself. From **29** onwards the text is in disorder.—**29b** is hopelessly corrupt. It is best to omit the verse. Delete **30a** as a variant upon that of **22a** and read the last line "and his fruit is whirled away by the wind."—**31** is probably a gloss; it interrupts the continuity of the description of the fate of the impious with an admonition.—**32** is perhaps best read, after LXX, "His stem shall wither before his time, and his palm-branch shall not be green." With these alterations **30–33** pursues the metaphor of a withering tree.—**35** is also probably a gloss (*cf.* Is. 59$_4$).

XVI.–XVII. Job's Answer.—We see that the speech of Eliphaz has not missed its mark. Job complains that everyone is against him. But Job's realisation how vain is the help of man, serves to drive him back to God. Thus the friends indirectly help Job.

XVI. 1–5. Job has had enough of his tormenting comforters (2f.). He could, if the positions were reversed, well enough offer them such mere verbal consolation (the stress in **5** is on "mouth" and "lips"). Translate **5** as a continuation of **4.** "I could strengthen you with my mouth, and my lip's compassion I would not spare" (the last clause after LXX).

XVI. 6–17 contain a bitter complaint of God's ferocity against Job, in spite of his innocence. The connexion of **6** with the context is not clear: RV translation is probably, however, correct. With **7** the enumeration of God's unkindness begins. Davidson explains the change from "he" to "thou" by the rise of emotion. God has such hold on Job (8) by afflicting him.—**9** compares His onslaught to that of a wild beast.—**10f.** speaks of the hostility of men, not Job's friends, but the outcasts who mock him (30$_{1f.}$). The sense is improved by putting **11** before **10.**—**12** describes once more God's attack: the first two lines appear to continue the figure of **9**: with the third line we have a new figure, that of an archer. In **13** translate as *mg.* "arrows"—so the Versions.—**14** introduces the figure of an assault upon a fortress; "giant" means "hero," *mg.* "mighty man."—**15** describes Job's humiliation.—**16.** Job's face is "inflamed" with weeping (*mg.* "red"), his eyes are dimmed.—**17.** And yet in spite of Eliphaz (15$_{4–5}$) Job is innocent.

XVI. 18–21. Job cries to the avenger of blood to avenge his innocence. He is a martyr, and feels that

his blood must cry for vengeance (Gen. 4ıo*, Rev. 6ıo). Job arrives at the astounding thought that God will be his avenger, though it is God that slays him. We have noticed how in Job's bitter complaint against God, the thought that the God, who had loved him in the past, will one day turn to him once more, had again and again broken through (7s,21, 14ı3–ı5). Job now sets the God of the past and the future against the God of the present, one side of God against another, God against Himself (21). God is his "witness" (19). Davidson translates "advocate" and says, "There was no difference between advocate and witness in the Hebrew courts, the part of a witness being to testify on behalf of one and see justice done him."

XVI. 22–XVII. 16. Job pleads in favour of his prayer for Divine vindication, that death is before him and he has no hope, if he must now die.—**XVII. 2** is obscure; "the general sense seems to be that Job complains of the delusive hopes, held out by the friends, of return to health and prosperity" (Peake). —**3** continues the idea of 16ao2f. God, as Job's advocate, is to give to God as his creditor a pledge that He will in the future vindicate him. Who else will "strike hands" with Job over such a bargain? —**4.** Not Job's unintelligent friends.—**5** as translated in RV is a threat to the friends that their denunciations of Job will be punished by the suffering of their children (Duhm regards the verse as a gloss).—**6f.** resumes Job's complaint of his misery.—**8f.**, its effect on the righteous. These verses, as they stand, must express Job's conviction of final victory. But are they not rather an extract from some speech of the friends? (Duhm, Peake).—**10–12** appears to be a repudiation of the friends' delusive hopes of recovery. But the whole passage is very obscure except **11a.**—**13–15.** Translate as *mg.*, Job has no hopes. In 16*b* the sense is not certain.

XVIII. Second Speech of Bildad.—"Bildad speaks this time at unusual length, but his speech has no significance, since it simply describes the fate of the godless. Into the description of this, however, there are interwoven direct allusions to Job's case, so that to this degree it serves to increase Job's perplexity and bring on the crisis" (Duhm).—**2–4** contains the usual personal polemic; in 2 we must read sing. for plur.; 4 asks Job if the earth is to be turned upside down to suit him.—**5–21** contains an extended picture of the fate of the godless. In **13** "the first-born of death" is probably "the worst pestilence." In **14** the "king of terrors" is death.—**15** perhaps alludes to the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah. In **20** it is best to translate as *mg.*

XIX. Job's Answer.—Here the gradual progress of Job's soul towards faith reaches its climax (25f.). It is to be remembered that Job's problem is in reality twofold: it has a personal side, the problem of his individual relation to God, but also a more general aspect, the problem of the Divine providence. In this chapter we read the solution of the first half on the basis of a great venture of faith; the second half is really never fully solved.

1–6. Job sorrowfully remonstrates with his friends. Even if he has sinned, his sin cannot hurt them (4). But the truth is that it is God who is responsible for Job's calamity (6).

7–20. Complaint of God's dealings. In **17** it is better to follow RV text and supply "mother's" than *mg.*, and translate instead of "womb," "body." Job's children were all dead, unless he had others by concubines; 31ı, however, is against this. In **20b** the exact meaning of the "skin of my teeth" is not certain.

21f. Appeal to the friends. They, however, fail the suppliant. In **23** accordingly he turns to posterity and anticipates that history will justify him. Let his words be written in a book, or better still for durability, graven in the rock with an iron stylus and then filled in with lead.

25–27. This, however, is impracticable. So Job turns to God. "But I know that my Vindicator lives, and that as my successor he shall stand up (*i.e.* appear for me) upon the dust" (*i.e.* "my grave"). When Job dies as a martyr, there will be One to vindicate him. So far the sense is clear. In **26**, however, most unfortunately the text is badly corrupt. The literal translation of the first line is "and, after my skin, they have destroyed, this." All translations are more or less guesses. "The second line may bear quite opposite meanings. The word translated 'from' may mean 'without' or it may mean 'in,' since 'from' may mean 'away from' or 'from the standpoint of'" (Peake). Probably we should translate "without," referring the passage to an experience after death. Job expresses his confidence that not only will God appear as his vindicator, but that he will see Him. Not only will his character be cleared, but he will know it.—**27a** is put best taken as *mg.* It will be the old familiar Friend, not the present Enemy, whom Job will see. In **27b** Job says "I faint" either with longing for or anticipation of the Divine vision. (*Cf.* Dante in Paradise, *Paradiso*, xxxiii. 132).

28–29. "The last two verses bring us back from heaven to earth. They are difficult and probably corrupt" (Peake). Job warns the friends to beware of punishment (29). Read in **28**, "If ye say, How will we persecute him, and find the root of the matter in him" (*i.e.* the real cause of his affliction). In **29** the general sense only is clear: the text requires emendation.

Ch. 19 is the watershed of the book. Here is solved the first great problem—how Job in his misery can maintain faith in God. He does it by drawing upon the future. After his death God will vindicate him and he himself will be permitted to see his Vindicator. Sheol cannot finally hold one who on earth has enjoyed communion with God. The stages by which Job reaches this conclusion are marked in 7s–21, 14ı3–ı5, 16ı8–21, 19ı25f. After ch. 19 we descend, as Christian descended from the house Beautiful into the Valley of Humiliation, once more into the region of doubt and perplexity. The second great problem still remains unsolved. Is there a possible justification of God's providence in general?

XX. Second Speech of Zophar.—Zophar helps the return to the wider problem by appearing once more with a strong doctrine as to the shortness of the prosperity of the wicked. His theme is, Sin brings its own reward.

1–3. Zophar replies to Job's exasperating words (19ı–6). In **2b** *mg.* is probably to be followed. In **3b** Duhm, on the basis of LXX, reads, "and with wind void of understanding thou answerest me."

4–29. The portion of the wicked. How short is his joy, how utter his destruction! In **4** the literal translation of the Heb. is "knowest thou this of old." "In that case the question is a mocking one" (Peake). In **10** Budde reads for his "hands" his "children" with slight alteration and better sense.—**11** says that while his bones are still full of youth "it" (his youth) is prematurely buried in the grave.—**12f.** describes sin as a dainty morsel kept in the mouth; but (ı4) it is poison when swallowed. In **15** the morsel swallowed becomes ill-gotten gain. In **20** "within him" is lit.

"in his belly," which is regarded as the seat of insatiable greed. With **23** we come to the Divine judgment upon the wicked man; here *mg.* is to be preferred: "Let it be for the filling of his belly that God shall cast the fierceness of his wrath upon him, and shall rain it upon him as his food."—**24** represents the wicked man as attacked by warriors.—**25** means that, hoping to save his life, he draws out the arrow which has struck him; but the terrors of death seize upon him.

XXI. Job's Reply.—Zophar was graphic and vigorous, but had nothing to say. Nevertheless his speech suggests to Job his next argument. The facts are quite the opposite of what Zophar has said: the wicked do not die prematurely. Is the doctrine of Providence true?

1–6. Job invites the friends to listen in silence (5) at the terrible truths he has to disclose (6). In **4** read "of man" (*mg.*): the meaning is that Job complains of God.

7–13. The prosperity of the godless. In **8f.** the descriptions are quite idyllic.

14–22. Yet they renounced God: like the friends, they regarded religion from the point of view of profit and loss (15), but with opposite results. It is best to treat **16** as an anticipated objection of the friends (as *mg.*): after all, the prosperity of the wicked is not in their own power. God will destroy it. **17f.** will then be Job's reply. **19a** again must be given to the friends, **19b** is Job's reply. The dogma that a man is punished in his children only means that he goes scot free. In ancient Israel the idea of "corporate personality" made the man and his descendants so closely one, that the punishment of the one was the punishment of the other. But from the Exile onward, a growing individualism made this doctrine seem unsatisfactory (Jer. 31_{29}, Ezek. 3_{16-21}, 18_{1-32}). In **21** "what pleasure" means what concern.—**22.** The friends profess to know God's dealings better than He appears to do Himself, though He is the judge of the angels.

23–26. How God actually governs. The lot of men differs, but at last all alike die.

27–34. Job understands the insinuations of the friends (27). He appeals to the testimony of travellers (29). The wicked is spared in the day of calamity and led away in the day of wrath (trans. as *mg.* though it involves slight alteration). In **31** Job speaks: Who will rebuke the wicked? He rests peacefully in the grave and has innumerable imitators (32f.). In **32** if we translate as text, the meaning is that the dead man's effigy watches over his tomb, if as *mg.* that precautions are taken against desecration.

XXII. Third Speech of Eliphaz.—The only new thing that Eliphaz has to say, is definitely to describe the sin of Job! Yet his mildness makes him end with bright promises.

1–5. Is it not to Job's advantage to be pious? Will God chasten him for anything else but sin? Eliphaz would point out that it is Job's advantage to be pious, but he completes his statement by adding that it is no advantage to God. He means that God is too exalted to take any interest in man, except to reward and punish him. Hence the cause of man's calamities cannot be in God, but only in man (6–11).—**6–9** ascribes to Job the sins typical of the rich man.—**8**, if not a gloss, seems to refer to the sin of land-grabbing (Is. 58).—**10f.** deduce Job's calamities as the natural reward of his sin.

12–20. Job argues from God's exaltedness that He cannot see through the clouds and darkness down upon the earth (12–14). But He punished the rebels of old time (15f.): apparently the reference is to the Flood, when the solid earth (their "foundation") was overflowed.—**17f.** (*cf.* 21_{14a}, $15a$, $16b$) breaks the connexion, and is to be removed as a gloss. Then **19f.** tells how the righteous rejoiced over the fall of the wicked (16). With LXX we may change verbs in **19** to perfects.

21–30. Eliphaz recommends Job to return to God, and once more promises his restoration.—**22** means that Job is to regard his sufferings as disciplinary (5:17).—**29f.** is very obscure: the text is dubious. The general sense of **29** is that God casts down pride and saves the humble.—**30** as it stands seems to mean that God will deliver even him that is not innocent because of Job's innocence (*cf.* 42:8). The conclusion of Eliphaz's speech is very beautiful. Duhm's comment is, however, worth giving. "Humility and purity are also, according to this passage, for Eliphaz the essential elements of religion and the secure foundations of good fortune: both lie in the power of man, whose conduct God reviews and honours according to fixed principles. Theology makes salvation depend on the doing of men, religion on the heart of God."

XXIII.–XXIV. Job's Reply to Eliphaz.—He dwells on the mystery of Providence. He cannot put his own personal conviction of final justification forward as a general solution of the problem. Hence he seems to lose the vantage ground already reached and viewing his own case as a part of the general world-problem, restates it as a prelude to stating this on the large scale. His tone is, however, very different from what it was before. Job dwells little on his own misery, but much on the misery of the world.

To solve the world-problem a revelation here and now seems requisite. The question is no longer, Shall I again find God on my side? but, Does God govern the world righteously? Job, therefore, putting out of sight the thought of meeting God by and by, comes back to the thought expressed in 13_{22}, though in a very different mood, of meeting Him here and now.

XXIII. 1–7. Job still rebels, though he does his best to repress his complaints (2). Translate as *mg.*—**6f.** shows the gain Job has got.—**8–12.** He is still in quest of God, but now is convinced that if he could find Him, God would treat him reasonably (contrast 9_{14-16}). God's inscrutableness (8f.) now causes him no fear (10). Trial will but be the touchstone that will reveal his innocence (10–12). Read in **12b**, with LXX and Vulgate, for "more than my necessary food," "in my bosom."

XXIII. 13–17. But God follows His own will and does what He pleases. Therefore Job is afraid.

In **13a** read with Duhm, "But he has decreed."—**14** points out that Job's case does not stand alone.—**17** is obscure. Read "For I am cut off by the darkness, and thick darkness covers my face" (Duhm).

XXIV. This chapter has since Merx in 1871 been subjected to much criticism, the general trend of which has been to deny the whole or a considerable part of the chapter to Job. Peake, however, considers that the chapter as a whole reflects Job's point of view, though alien elements are to be recognised in it. Davidson sums up the chapter under the heading: The Divine rectitude which Job misses in his own instance he equally misses in the broad field of the world.—**1** asks why days of assize are wanting in the universe? With **2** begins a series of examples of injustice. In **5–8** we have the description of a wretched tribe of pariahs, nameless outcasts, probably aborigines. In **6** "provender" is literally fodder as for animals. But as the Heb. is literally "his fodder," perhaps it would be better to emend "They reap by night in the

field" (Merx).—**9** should probably be put after **4**. Then **10f.** may continue the description of the outcasts who by stealth raid the sheaves and the oil and wine of the rich, or it may be that we have a fresh description of day labourers, who starve in the midst of the harvest they gather and press.—**12** speaks of equal injustice in the cities. But God took no heed of it.—**13f.** describes the night-birds, who hate the light. In **14** for "with the light" read "when there is no light."—**16** See Ex. 12$_{22}$*.—**17** means that the morning is to them a time of peril, on the other hand they know and care little for the terrors of the deep darkness.—**18–24** describes what happens to these wrong-doers, but **18–21** takes the popular view. The Revisers recognise this by inserting "Ye say" in the margin: according to which Job is here to be regarded as anticipating the views of the friends. Or else we must regard the passage as misplaced from one of their speeches, or as a later gloss of an orthodox scribe. The text of **18** is obscure. As it stands, it seems to mean that the wicked is swept away like a twig upon the waters (Hos. 10$_7$). He no longer visits his vineyards, which a curse has made barren. In **19f.** again the text is not good.—**22** resumes Job's speech: translate as *mg.* "Yet God by His power maketh the mighty to continue: they rise up, then they believed not they should live." The meaning is, they recover even from an apparently fatal illness.—**23** refers to God's watching their ways to keep them from harm.—**24** is most naturally understood in the sense that the prosperity of the wicked is brief, and is therefore contrary to Job's point of view and to be regarded as a gloss.

XXV.–XXVII. offer a difficult critical problem. "The phenomena which excite attention are these: (*a*) Bildad's speech is unusually short; (*b*) Job's reply contains a section (26$_{5–14}$) very like Bildad's speech; (*c*) Zophar fails to speak; (*d*) ch. 27 has a title prefixed, which has no real parallel elsewhere in the middle of a speech belonging to the original poem (ch. 29 forming no real exception); (*e*) the greater part of ch. 27 so completely contradicts Job's views as elsewhere expressed, that it seems very hard to believe that it can have formed part of this speech" (Peake).

Here what is a very usual rearrangement will be adopted. We shall take 25 and 26$_{5–14}$ as Bildad's speech, 26$_{1–4}$ and 27$_{2–6}$ as Job's reply, and 27$_{7–23}$ as the missing third speech of Zophar. This seems the simplest arrangement, though it is open to objections. For this and alternative views, see Peake's *Commentary*.

XXV. Opening of Bildad's Third Speech.—Unable to reply to the facts of experience adduced by Job, he nevertheless makes his protest against his argument. Let the facts be what they will, God is great in power and man is unclean and sinful in his sight.

In **2** the reference is to battles of the angels, perhaps rebellions against God, who vanquishes the rebellious angels, as long ago He vanquished the chaos-monster Tiamat and her brood (9$_{13}$, 26$_{12–13}$, Is. 51$_9$). With **4–6** *cf.* the words of Eliphaz, 4$_{17–21}$, 15$_{14–16}$.

XXVI. 2–4. Beginning of Job's Reply to Bildad.—He speaks sarcastically of the helpfulness and instructiveness of Bildad's speech. He must have been inspired (4)!

XXVI. 5–14. Conclusion of Bildad's Speech.—Bildad pursues the theme of the greatness of God, begun in 25$_{2–3}$.

The giants (Dt. 2$_{11–20}$) tremble at God (5). Rephaim (Gen. 14$_5$*) means both shades (*mg.*) and "giants"; perhaps the connexion is that the giants, the oldest inhabitants of the earth, were the first to go down to Sheol, and so gave their name to all the shades. In any case it is best to translate here "giants." It gives an excellent illustration of God's power that these mighty men, who are conceived as having once done battle with Him, tremble under it. Abaddon (6) is a synonym for Sheol, which lies open to God's eyes (Pr. 15$_{11}$*). The "north" in 7 is that part of the earth known to the Jews as the place of great mountains, whose weight makes the wonder that the earth rests upon nothing more wonderful still. "Nothing" and "empty space" mean chaos.—**8** passes to the wonder of the clouds, the bottles of heaven (38$_{37}$), whose thin skins do not burst in spite of their enormous content.—**9a** is somewhat obscure; the meaning apparently is that God conceals His throne behind the clouds.—**10** is to be explained by reference to the Babylonian cosmology, adopted in Gen. 1. The earth is a flat disc resting on the "great deep" or chaos, an ocean of waters. Above it rises the vault of heaven or firmament, which is the sphere of light. Outside is darkness. In **11** the pillars of heaven are the mountains. In the Babylonian cosmology these rise from the extreme edge of the disc of the earth, and upon them is set the vault of heaven: their roots go down into the "great deep."—**12** refers again to the "great deep" or chaos under the names of the sea and Rahab (=Tiamat), the chaos monster (*cf.* 7$_{12}$, 9$_{13}$). We may translate either "stirreth up," when the meaning is God first incites and then destroys the rebellion of Tiamat, or else "stilleth," when the two lines of the verse become parallel.—**13** refers to the clearing of the storm-clouds. "By his breath the heavens are bright." The swift serpent is the leviathan of 3$_8$.—**14.** Bildad has enumerated all these instances of the Divine power, but concludes by saying that all this is only the mere fringe of its manifestation.

XXVII. 2–6. Continuation of Job's reply to Bildad. **1** must be removed as a gloss. Job swears by God that he (in full possession of his powers, 3) tells the truth (4). God forbid that he should justify the friends (5), *i.e.* declare them in the right; on the contrary he will maintain his innocence (6). In **6b** follow *mg.*

XXVII. 7–23. Third Speech of Zophar.—He once more reiterates, in spite of all Job has said, that the wicked shall perish. He bursts out "Let mine enemy be as God's enemy. I can wish him no worse doom." In **8** translate as *mg.*—**11** is quite in the vein of Zophar, who feels very much in the secrets of God (11$_{5–6}$). The plurals "you" and "ye" have probably been substituted for singulars when Zophar's speech had become attributed to Job. (Peake, however, gives 11 and 12 to Job, taking them as the opening and closing verses of a suppressed description of the immorality of God's government of the world.) From **13** onward we have the conventional description of the fate of the wicked.

In **15** read "their widows" with LXX. In **18** read for "moth" with Syr. "spider" (8$_{14}$). For the frail "booth" made for the use of the night-watchman in a vineyard, *cf.* Is. 1$_8$.—**19** is obscure.—In **19a** follow LXX and Syr. with *mg.*—**19b** perhaps means he wakes and is immediately destroyed.

XXVIII. Here again we come to a critical question. It is difficult to fit this chapter into the argument, whether 27$_{7–23}$ is given to Job or to Zophar. It is a widely accepted conclusion of scholars that the chapter is an independent poem on Wisdom (a very fine one) which has somehow found its way into the text of the Book of Job. In its present form it opens with the word "For," marking a connexion with something that has gone before; so that the beginning appears to be lost. Duhm has suggested that since the word "whence cometh wisdom (or "where shall wisdom

be found") and where is the place of understanding?" occur as a refrain in the poem, it probably also began with them. The poem has a parallel in Pr. 8.

1–11. The First Strophe.—(Where shall wisdom be found?) For silver, gold, iron, and copper can be found by mining (1f.). The miners set an end to the darkness (with their lamps) and so search the dark depth of the earth (3).—**4** is very obscure. Duhm reads, "He breaketh open a shaft away under the foot. He hangs beneath swinging on a rope." Some such emendation is absolutely necessary.—**5** suggests a contrast between the peaceful growth of the corn above ground and the blasting of the rocks beneath (read "by fire" instead of "as by fire"). From **6** we should probably pass on to **9–11**, completing the description of mining. Peake much improves the sense by transferring **7f.**, which, as Duhm says, clearly speaks of the path to the home of wisdom, to a position after **12.**

12–19. The Second Strophe.—Here, as above mentioned, we should probably insert after **12, 7f.**, which here fits in admirably. Where shall wisdom be found? No bird's eye has seen the path, nor beast trodden it. Man knows not the way thereof (in **13** "way" is read by LXX instead of "price"). The deep and the sea possess it not. It is absolutely priceless (15–19). "There is great difficulty in identifying the precious stones of this passage, and the ancient versions do not help us much. For 'onyx' we should perhaps read 'beryl' or 'malachite'; the 'sapphire' is the lapis lazuli; 'coral' is only a guess; 'rubies' should probably be 'red corals'; and the 'topaz' may be either serpentine or the peridot" (Strahan).

20–28. Third Strophe.—Whence then cometh wisdom? Man and beast, Abaddon (see 26b) and Death are all in the dark. God alone knows (23). At the time of the creation, when God weighed out the wind and the waters, and regulated the rain and the lightning (25f.), then He created wisdom and understood its innermost nature. "Declare" (27) perhaps means that God named the name of wisdom, expressing thereby her qualities. Duhm translates "study." "Established" (27) perhaps means "created" (Peake) or "took it as a pattern" (Strahan).

28 is a gloss. The chapter regards wisdom as belonging to none but God and as His instrument, or perhaps model, in the work of creation. This verse represents wisdom as a human possession; it is the fear of God. The verse expresses the interest of some scribe in practical piety. *Cf.* the similar addition, Ec. 12 13.

XXIX.–XXXI. Job's Reply to Zophar.—He sums up his whole case, ending with an appeal to God. In **29** he surveys his former happy days, in **30** his present misery. **31** is his great "oath of clearing"; Job solemnly protests his innocence and invites God to judge his case. In 30 21–24 Job almost returns to his former feeling against God. Since 19 25f. he has moved away from his great conviction that God will ultimately right him, to face the general problem of Providence, and has come to the dreadful conclusion that there is no moral law in the universe. He comes back, therefore, to the point from which he started, and demands that God should clear up matters here and now. It was necessary to the poet that Job should thus present his case in order to prepare for the Divine revelation which is the answer to the problem of Providence. He allows Job to gain the victory of faith and then to lose ground again, so as to state the wider problem and deal with it.

XXIX. Job's Former Happy Days.—1–6. Job longs that he might once again live as of old under God's favour. In **4** "secret" means intimacy (*cf.* Ps. 25 14).

7–10. Job describes the reverence done to him by not only the young, but even the aged and the honourable. The gate of the city is the place of assembly, the "counsel-house." Job lives on his country estate, but goes into the city to give counsel.

21–25 should probably now follow (Budde, Peake). These verses continue the subject of 7–10. In **22** "dropped" means dropped as rain (23). In **24a** *mg.* yields a better sense than text. Budde reads "I laughed on them and they were confident." In **25,** "their way" probably means "their course of action." Job means that he chose out their line of action in the counsel.

11–17. This follows well upon **25.** In this beautiful passage Job classifies himself as a helper of the helpless. In **11** "blessed me" means called me happy, *i.e.* because of his good life which must bring prosperity; the eye's witness means that it saw what Job was doing and testified his praise. In **14a** "diadem" is as in *mg.* "turban."

18–20. Consequently Job looked forward to a long and untroubled life. In **18b** read as *mg.* "as the phœnix." The poet refers to the Egyptian story of this bird, which renewed its life every 500 years, and was naturally, therefore, an illustration of great longevity. The "bow" in **20** is the symbol of strength.

XXX. Job's Present Misery.—As the text stands at present, Job begins by complaining that the very abjects of society now despise him. Many scholars, however, detach 2–8 as a misplaced section of the description of the outcasts, which we have already met in 24 5f. "When we look at the passage apart from verse 1, the impression it makes is not one of contempt for their abject condition, but of pity for their misery. Hence the greater part would have been better suited to one of Job's delineations of human wretchedness than to the picture he is painting of his own distress, from which he is diverted at a surprisingly early point" (Peake). Duhm, followed by Strahan, treats 1 as an insertion intended to connect 2–8 with its present context. Peake allows it to stand as part of Job's speech, which is perhaps better, as 9 seems to require some introduction.

1. Job complains of the mockery of his inferiors.—**2–8.** Misery of the outcast.—**2a** works the passage into the context by making them into erewhile servants of Job. Duhm reads, "Yea, the strength of their hands fails, vigour (so *mg.*) is perished in them."—**3b** needs emendation; Duhm reads, "They grope in wasteness and desolation." In **7** their uncouth speech is called braying (*cf.* 24 5). In **8** "base men" is literally "men of no name."

9–15. Here we join on to **1,** reading instead of "and now," "but now." Job describes how his enemies insult him. In **10** translate "spit before me." In **11** read as *mg.* "my cord." God has loosed Job's bowstring (*cf.* 29 20), and afflicted him; his persecutors therefore cast off all restraint. In **12f.** the text is corrupt. For **12** Peake and Strahan read "against me rise the rabble; they have cast up their ways of destruction." For **13–14a** Duhm, with help of LXX, reads, "They break up my path, they destroy my way. His helpers surround me, and through a wide breach they come."—**14b, 15a** go together. "The fortress is stormed, and terrors let loose upon the vanquished" (Strahan). In **15** read for "they chased" "is chased" or else follow *mg.*

16–31 describes Job's affliction, God's cruelty to him, and ends upon a note of the most poignant

lamentation. In **17a** *mg.* gives the right sense, in **17b** the text.—**18** is obscure. Duhm reads for **18a**, "By reason of my great wasting my garment is crumpled together."—**18b** means, "It clings to me like a vest." "It is not clear whether this line also refers to his emaciation. But the garment would surely hang loosely on his shrunken body, so that we should perhaps suppose that here the reference is to the abnormal swelling of other parts of the body which makes his garment fit tight to these" (Peake).

20–23 describe God's cruelty. In **20**, as the text stands "thou lookest" must mean lookest maliciously. Some read "thou lookest not." Syr., however, intensifies meaning of present text by reading, "Thou standest."—**24** is obscure. Either follow *mg.* or read with Dillmann, "Howbeit doth not a sinking man stretch forth his hand? Or doth he not in his calamity cry for help?" Job had wept for others (25), why not for himself? With **26**, therefore, his complaint begins anew.—**27a** describes the ceaseless turmoil of his inner emotions. Compare Goethe's lines:

> "Nur wer die Sehnsucht kennt
> Weiss was ich leide.
> Es schwindelt mir: es brennt
> Mein Eingeweide."

In **28a** follow *mg.*—**28b** is strange; what assembly is meant? Duhm emends, "I stand up in the assembly of jackals."—**28a** as translated in *mg.* and **30** describe the symptoms of Job's disease.

XXXI. "The Oath of Clearing."—Job's final protestation of his innocence, and appeal to God to judge him. This chapter, says Duhm, is the high-water mark of the OT ethic, higher than the Decalogue or even than the prophets, since they deal with social not private morality. Duhm notes especially the humanity towards the slave based on the fact of a common creation, also that we are not to hate our enemies. (Job does not go so far as to say, "Love your enemies;" that is Christ's.)

1–4. Job clears himself of secret sensual desires. He remembered that the all-seeing God punishes the evil-doer. Job speaks from the standpoint he had occupied before his trials made him doubt the Divine justice.

5–8. He clears himself of falsehood and covetousness. —**9–12** of adultery. If he has been guilty of this let his wife become another's slave and concubine (10). The slave-woman at the mill was the lowest female slave (Ex. 11 5).

13–23. Job clears himself of the abuse of power, or the selfish indifference of wealth.—**21** means that Job knew that with his great influence he could always win his cause in the courts.

24–34. Job clears himself of trust in his wealth, of idolatrous tendencies, of hating his enemy, of inhospitableness, of other secret sin.

27b is literally, "and my hand hath kissed my mouth." "This strange form is chosen because the hand is the main instrument in the act; first it touches the lips to receive the kiss, then wafts the kiss to the object of worship. The kiss of homage was given to images by the worshipper, and of course 'thrown' to such deities as the distant heavenly bodies" (Peake). Of **29** Duhm says that if ch. 31 is the crown of the ethical development of the OT, then this verse is the jewel in the crown. In **33** probably instead of text "like Adam" we should translate as *mg.* "after the manner of men."

35–37. Oh that one would hear him! Let God give him his indictment, he would proudly confront Him and declare his innocence.

In **35** "signature" is the "mark" which Job in imagination appends to his declaration of innocence.—**35c** is incomplete, but the sense is rightly given by RV. The adversary is God. The language in this verse reflects a judicial procedure where the charge and the defence were laid before the court in writing.

38–40. Job clears himself of having violently dispossessed others of their land (as Ahab did Naboth). The cry of the land (38) is to be understood as the cry of the blood of the dispossessed owners. There is no doubt that these verses are out of place; where during the earlier part of the chapter we should insert them is not clear. Unfortunately, however, their presence where they are spoils the magnificent close of **37**.

XXXII.–XXXVII. Speech of Elihu.—Reasons have already been given in the Introduction for regarding this as a later addition to the poem. The point of view of Elihu is very much that of Eliphaz, viz. that suffering is disciplinary. If it is rightly accepted, and its lesson learned, God will graciously restore the sufferer. An interesting point in the theology of Elihu is the idea of the intercession of angels (33 23ff.).

XXXII. 1–5. Prose introduction, explaining the intervention of Elihu. Observe that whereas Job and his friends are introduced without genealogy it is not so with Elihu. His name means "He is my God," that of Barachel his father "God blesses." Buz is a Nahorite clan, according to Gen. 22 21. Uz and Buz were brothers.

XXXII. 6–14. Elihu had remained silent because of his youth. However wisdom is not a matter of age, but of Divine inspiration. Where the friends have failed, Elihu will succeed: there is no need to call in God.—**13** "is a direct polemic against the poet, a strong assertion that the Divine speeches which follow had been better omitted" (Peake).

XXXII. 15–22. If the friends have nothing to say, that is no reason for Elihu's silence. He is full of words, and must give them vent. The fear of God will prevent his showing partiality.

XXXIII. 1–7. Elihu turns to Job and bids him answer him, if he can. He will not terrify him into silence, as Job said God would (9 34, 13 21).

4 should follow **6** and thus **5** follow immediately on **3**. This gives a much better connexion. In **7** for "my pressure" read, with LXX, "my hand."

8–13. Job has declared that he is innocent, and that God is his enemy. He is unjust in doing so. God is great. Observe that **10b** quotes 13 24, **11** quotes 13 27. In **13** read, "Why dost thou strive against Him, for that He does not answer any of thy words?"

XXXIII. 14–18. God answers man in two ways. One is by visions of the night, to withhold him from destruction.

In **14** read "God speaketh in one way, yea in two if man regardeth it not." With the vision of the night, *cf.* 4 12f. "Sealeth their instruction" (16) means that God, after opening the ear, closes it and seals the instruction communicated, or else that God impresses the instruction on the hearer as a seal is stamped upon wax. In **18** read as in *mg.* "That he may keep back."

XXXIII. 19–30. There is a second way, when a man is brought near to death, and the destroying angels wait to take his life. Then an angel of mercy instructs man in the meaning of his suffering, intercedes for him, and provides a ransom from the destroyer, so that he is restored to health, and avows before men his own sin and God's mercy. In these and other ways God savingly deals with men.

In **21** read "his flesh is consumed by wasting" (Duhm), instead of "consumed that it cannot be seen." The developed angelology of the above passage is very notable. Duhm says that it makes it probable that the Elihu speeches are very late. "The idea of spirits hostile to or protective of the soul can hardly have originated without foreign influence, though we can hardly determine whether we have before us Persian or Egyptian or other ideas." Compare the angels in Daniel and Tobit. What the ransom mentioned in **24** is, we are not told; it is supposed to be the sufferer's affliction (36^{18}).

XXXIII. 31–33. Let Job listen in silence to Elihu, who, however, will gladly hear if Job has any reply.

XXXIV. 1–9. Elihu summons the wise men who hear him to seek a right decision. Job has accused God of injustice, when he is innocent. But in reality Job is the worst of scorners, for he denies the profit of religion.

3 is quoted from 12^{11}. With **7f.**, *cf.* Ps. 1^{1}.

10–15. God will not do wickedly, but will render to each man retribution. He is no deputy of some higher power (13), but the Sovereign Lord of man's breath; when He withdraws it, man returns to dust.

In **13b–14** read, "Who setteth his heart on the whole world. If he cause his spirit to return to him and gather in to him his breath" (Duhm, transferring "his heart" from 14 to 13*b*). The meaning of 13*b* then is that God can see all that takes place in the whole world, nothing escapes His notice. With 14, *cf.* 33^{4}, Ps. 104^{29}f., Ec. 12^{7}.

XXXIV. 16–28. Injustice is incompatible with rule. How does Job condemn God, before whom even kings and princes are vile, and who regards rich and poor alike? He sees the oppressor and suddenly destroys him.

In **16** follow *mg.* "only understand." In **18** read with LXX, Vulg. "Who saith to a king, Thou art vile, and to nobles, Ye are wicked; that respecteth not the persons of princes." It is God who so speaks. In **20b** read for "the people" with Budde "the rich"; "without hand" means by the act of God. In **23** read, "For he appointeth no set time for a man that he should go before God in judgment" (Wright, Budde, Duhm). In **26a** some emendation is necessary; the oppressors were wicked and cannot well be struck "as wicked men." Perhaps we should read, "His wrath breaks the wicked, He striketh at them in the open sight of the others" (Bickell, Budde).

XXXIV. 29–37. If God does not intervene, who can condemn Him, even if He set up the wicked to rule? If only man penitently confesses his sin, is Job to presume to fix his punishment? Wise men will say that Job has spoken without wisdom. Would that Job were tried to the end, for to his sin he adds rebellion against God.

29–33 is very difficult. In **29a** render, "If he remains quiet." Budde reads in **29b** "blame" for "behold," and omits **29c** as a gloss. In **30** read with Theodotion and the Targum, "If he cause a godless man to reign, One of them that ensnare the people." The best construction of **31–33** seems to be, "If any one say unto God, I have borne chastisement . . . shall his recompense be as thou wilt that thou refusest it?" "Job is asked in amazement if any man who uses the language of penitence will presume to dictate to God the chastisement which he should receive. Elihu, in polite scorn, declines to join in such impiety" (Strahan). In **33b** Ley reads "For thou must choose and not God." This gives a much better sense.

XXXV. 1–8. Elihu inquires whether it is Job's righteousness which finds expression in his question as to the profitableness of religion. Let him look to the heavens and see how far God is above him. Man's sin or righteousness in no way injures or profits God, but only other men. In **2** instead of "Or sayest thou, my righteousness is more than God's," translate "And callest it my righteousness before God." With **5, 6, 7,** *cf.* 22^{2,3,12}.

XXXV. 9–16. Men cry out by reason of oppression, but do not inquire after God, who gives songs in the night and makes us wiser than the animals. They cry because of the pride of evil men, but God does not answer, since the cry is "vanity," has no real religious character. How much less will He hear Job, who is frankly irreligious (14)? In **15** follow *mg.*, But now, because he hath not visited in his anger, Thou sayest, He does not greatly regard arrogance (16). Thus doth Job open his mouth in vanity, etc. This is Elihu's condemnation of Job's criticism of God's government.

XXXVI. 1–4. Elihu has yet words to utter for God. By a wide survey he will establish the righteousness of his Maker. All that Elihu says is true and his knowledge perfect.

XXXVI. 5–12. God is mighty, yet despises none. He destroys the wicked, but watches over the righteous, exalting them to honour. If He afflicts them it is to bring home to them their sin. Thus God instructs them and teaches them repentance. If they repent they prosper, but, if not, destruction is their portion.

In **5b** read "He is mighty in strength and understanding" (Ley). In **7** read "his sight" with LXX instead of "his eyes."

XXXVI. 13–21. The godless cherish angry thoughts about God's discipline—they refuse to cry for God's help (13). They die young, perishing like the sodomites (those religiously consecrated to unnatural vice; see Dt. 23^{17}). God saves the afflicted by his affliction, and opens their ear by adversity (following in 15*b* *mg.* instead of text). So God would have dealt with Job (16). As it is, Job is visited by the Divine judgment (17). Let not Job be led astray by his sufferings (18). Nothing but suffering can avail to save him (19). Let him not desire the calamity that overwhelms nations (20), or choose iniquity rather than affliction.

16–20 is a very obscure and corrupt passage. The general sense may be as above given; but almost every line is matter of dispute. In **18** read "Because there is wrath (*i.e.* with God), beware lest thou be led away into mockery" (Peake). The ransom alluded to in **18b** is the suffering which is the only way of deliverance and escape for Job. In **19a** we should perhaps translate "will thy riches suffice, without distress." This is the rendering above implied but is by no means certain.—**20** is a *crux interpretum*—why should Job desire the night when peoples are cut off (*cf.* however, 18^{4})? In any case, what is the connexion with the context?

XXXVI. 22–26. God is great—who can teach like Him? Can man command or criticise Him? Man's part is to magnify his work in psalms, though only beholding it from afar, and unable to comprehend it.

XXXVI. 27–33. God draws up the water-drops and lets them fall in rain. Who can understand the distribution of the clouds, the thunders which fill the cloud where He dwells? (*cf.* Ps. 18^{11}). He is surrounded with light (30). By the thunderstorm He judges the peoples and supplies humanity with food (by the fertilising rain). He fills His hands with the lightning and sends it home to its mark.

30b is unintelligible. Budde reads, "and the roots of the sea He lays bare." Duhm corrects the whole

verse, "Behold He spreadeth His cloud about him, and He covereth the tops of the mountains." In **33** read "His war-cry announceth Him, kindling His wrath against iniquity" (Duhm).—**33b**, as it stands, is quite unintelligible.

XXXVII. 1–13. Elihu trembles at this. Listen to the thunder. First the lightning flashes (3) then the thunder follows (4f.).—2 suggests that a thunderstorm was actually taking place while Elihu was speaking, and many see in this a preparation for the manifestation of Yahweh in ch. 38. It is not clear, however, that the author intended this, as he passes on from the thunderstorm to snow and rain. These God sends on the earth (6). They stop the work of man (7) and drive the beasts to the covert of their dens (8). The storm comes out of the chamber (where it dwells), and cold from the granaries where it is treasured (reading "granaries" for the word translated "north" in **9b**, and omitting the words "of the south" in **9a**, to which there is nothing corresponding in the Hebrew). Ice is formed by the breath of God (*i.e.* the winter wind), and the waters are congealed (so *mg.*). God fills the cloud with moisture, and guides the lightning to do His will, whether for correction or for mercy.

Omit "or" in **13a** as a mistaken repetition, and read, "Whether it be for correction for His land, or for mercy."

XXXVII. 14–18. Job is invited to consider God's wonders. Does he know how God lays His charge upon them, *i.e.* probably the phenomena just described by Elihu in 1–13? Does he understand the flashing of the lightning, the balancing of the clouds, the warmth and stillness accompanying the sirocco? Can he spread out the firmament firm and bright as a metal mirror?

XXXVII. 19–24. How can he, whose mind is dark, address God? Shall I invite Him to converse and court destruction? (19f.). In **21** follow *mg.* "And now men cannot look on the light when it is bright in the skies when the wind hath passed and cleansed them" (*i.e.* when it has cleared away the clouds). But if man cannot look on the light in the skies how much less can he look on God? (22). "The north" was conceived by the post-exilic Jews as the home of God (*cf.* Is. 14$_{13}$). The golden splendour is therefore the radiance streaming from God's throne. The Almighty is unsearchable, He is great in power, yet not unjust (23). Men must fear him, He regards not those who think themselves wise (24). In 23 render, "*Touching* the Almighty we cannot find Him out, He is excellent in power and in judgment, and to plenteous justice He doeth no violence" (Peake).

XXXVIII. 1–XLII. 6. The Divine Speeches.—Here after the Elihu interpolation 32–37, we return to the original poem and the solution of **31**, in which Job summed up his second problem, that of Divine Providence, by challenging God to show the justice of His treatment of himself. The poet has no direct answer to give to the problem Job has raised. He cannot lift the veil of the future, and show another world where wrongs are righted and the balance of this world is redressed. He can only point to the creation and say, "God is there; how wonderful is His creative power." The world is certainly an enigma; well, let it be an enigma. God is greater than we. Moreover, the poet teaches that, enigma or no enigma, piety is still possible. Though Job never comes to understand the Divine Providence, yet he sees God face to face and bows in humility before Him. We may compare with the argument of the poet, "Providence is a mystery, but so is the creation," that of Butler's *Analogy*, "Revelation is a mystery, but so is nature."

XXXVIII. 1–3. Yahweh, speaking to Job out of the storm, challenges him to the contest, which he has so often demanded.

XXXVIII. 4–38. The Wonders of the Inanimate Creation.—Where was Job when the earth was made? The work of creation is described as the building of a house. In **7** the stars, which are older than the world (contrast Gen. 1$_{16}$), are thought of as animated beings: the "sons of God" are the angels. The morning stars and the angels then composed the choir at the laying of earth's foundation-stone; the stone-laying, therefore, took place in the morning.

8–11 speaks of the taming of the sea: when it burst forth from the womb of chaos, God clothed the newborn child with the cloud and swaddled it with thick cloud. In **10** read as *mg.* "and brake for it a boundary." The verse as a whole describes how God set the rocky coast as the bound of the sea.—**12–15** speaks of the miracle of the dawn. In **13** "The personified Dawn is represented as seizing the coverlet of darkness under which the earth has been sleeping, and shaking the wicked out of it like flies" (Strahan).—**14** describes how with the coming of the dawn the shapelessness of the earth by night is suddenly changed into definiteness as when a seal is stamped upon clay: "as a garment" seems to describe the varied colours of the landscape: *mg.* "as in a garment" gives the sense, continuing **14a**, things are defined by the light as a garment by its clinging to the wearer. In **15** the light of the wicked is the darkness (24$_{17}$).

In **16** Job is asked if he has penetrated the fountains of the great deep, whence the sea is fed. These are openings in the floor of the ocean just as the "windows of heaven" are openings in the sky.—**17** asks if Job has gone still deeper and penetrated Sheol. With **18** we pass on from depth to breadth. Light and darkness have their dwelling-places at the horizon, whence in due order they issue forth (Gen.1 3–5*).—**22** describes the snow and hail, the artillery of heaven (23). In **24a** perhaps "mist" should be read for light; light has already been mentioned. In **25** the waterflood "is the torrential rain, supposed to pour from the upper ocean down a channel specially cleft for it by God through the vault of the sky. So the lightning has a track along which to shoot" (Peake). As Strahan observes, the meteorology is primitive.—**26–27** are of great beauty, and also of great importance. The poet points out that nature has not only man as its end; there are other and wider purposes served by the order of creation. Job's fault has been to narrow things down to his own human outlook. With **28–30**, we have the further mysteries of dew, ice, and frost. In **30a** follow *mg.*, in **30b** "frozen" is literally "hidden": the ice hides the surface of the water under it.

31f. God asks Job if he controls the constellations. Here and on to the end of ch. 39 "canst" should be "Dost." In **31a** either cluster or chain (*mg.*) is possible; but what the bands of Orion are is not certain. In **32** it is not certain what constellation is meant by "the Mazzaroth."—**33–38** asks if Job controls the heavens. In **33a** translate with different pointing, "Dost thou make the heavens to know the laws," *i.e.* lay down the laws for them. In **34** read with LXX, "that abundance of waters may answer thee." In **36** the meaning of the words translated "inward parts" and "mind" is uncertain. But physical not psychical phenomena must be meant, as the context shows: follow therefore *mg.* in both cases.

The bottles of heaven in **37** are the clouds, conceived as skins full of water (26s).

XXXVIII. 39–XXXIX. 30. The Wonders of the Animate Creation.—In **39f.** God first names the lion. Man would rather hunt and destroy the lion than feed him. But God cares for the lion as well as for man. So also for the raven (41); but perhaps as the raven seems out of place here among the beasts, we should read, "Who provideth at evening its food?" In this case **41** continues the description of God's care of the lion.

XXXIX. 1–4 passes to the wild goats. Does Job, like God, care for them in their parturition? The Hebrew word translated "wild goats" is masculine, but if the text is correct, it is used as a feminine. Duhm emends "Dost thou teach the wild goats heat?" Then **1b** is to be translated, "Dost thou watch over the calving of the hinds?" In **2b** read, "Dost thou determine the time they bring forth?" The point is that it is not Job who regulates the course of nature. In **3b** "their sorrows" is used poetically for "their offspring." In **4b** following: the young of the wild goats return no more to their parents.

5–8. The wild ass, a picture of freedom.

9–12. The wild ox. In **10a** read "Dost thou bind him with the furrow-rope?" (Duhm).

13–18. The ostrich. This passage is by many scholars regarded as an interpolation. "The absence of the passage from the LXX, the position of the bird between the wild ox and the horse, the altered form of address, and the reference to God (who is elsewhere the Speaker) in the third person, suggest a different authorship" (Strahan), Peake, however, regards these reasons as "weighty, but not decisive." He thinks that the passage, the omission of which would be a distinct loss to the Divine speech, may have originally stood among the other descriptions of birds, and been transferred to its present position because of the reference to the horse in **18**. In **13a** translate "the wing of the ostrich beats joyously": the second half of the verse refers to the proverbial cruelty of the ostrich (Lam. 43). The word for "kindly" is used as the name of the stork because of its kindness to its young (*cf. mg.*). While *mg.* is not the right translation a contrast between the two birds is no doubt suggested. **14f.** describes the unkindness of the ostrich. In **16b** the meaning apparently is that the ostrich is so much without natural affection that she does not care if her labour in laying eggs is all for nothing. **17** refers to the proverbial stupidity of the ostrich.

19–25. The horse, a passage that has drawn the special admiration both of Bunyan and Carlyle. In **19b** the translation "quivering mane" is not certain; AV "thunder" is certainly wrong: LXX gives "terror." With **20**, *cf.* Jl. 24, Rev. 97. In **21b** *mg.* "the weapons" is the literal translation. In **23** follow *mg.* "Upon."—**24** means that the horse careers so swiftly over the ground as to annihilate it, and when he hears the trumpet cannot believe it for joy. Scholars generally, however, prefer as **24b** *mg.*

26. The hawk. The translation in the text refers to its migratory instinct: if we render "to the south wind" the reference is to the bird's courage in facing it.

27–30. The eagle closes the series, as the lion opened it.

The point of the Divine speech throughout is that the world is not only for man: the poet takes refuge in this idea, which, however, involves a break with earlier religious conceptions (Gen. 126ff., 24bff., Ps. 8). Duhm quotes, as illustrative of the poet's attitude, the couplet:

"Die Welt ist volkommen überall
Wo der Mensch nicht hinkommt mit seiner Qual."

He finds in nature a region where human questions about righteousness and unrighteousness have no meaning; but where the religious soul experiences the immediate working of God.

XL. 1–14. Divine Irony. The passage opens with a challenge to Job (2) in which God drives home the lesson of the previous speech.—**1** is wanting in LXX and is a gloss.—**3–5** contains Job's reply, in which he humbles himself before God. Peake and Strahan, however, both think that these verses are properly to be taken immediately before 421–6; so that there is only one reply from Job. If Job had already humbled himself, there seems no need of a second Divine speech. If, however, **3–5** are part of Job's one and only reply then **6f.** is a gloss (7 is repeated from 383), and **2, 8–14** are to be read continuously; **8** joins on well to **2**. "Disannul my judgment" means "deny my justice." Job, in order to demonstrate his own innocence, has been led to challenge the moral order of the universe. He has not, however, taken a sufficiently wide point of view.—**9–14** explains why Job has failed. He cannot put himself in the place of God, and govern the world: thus neither can he understand the method of its government. In **13c** "the hidden place" seems to mean Sheol.—**14.** "Then will I praise thee, that thy right hand getteth thee victory." Duhm explains this: "Thou hast so much care for my government of the world, thou wouldest no doubt maintain it better than I can do, for thou wouldst straightway smite down everyone who in any way seemed to thee dangerous or made himself displeasing to thee by arrogance. Man would, if he had God's power, in his zeal for righteousness and for his own honour become a tyrant. God because of His true superiority is patient, His apparent equanimity is therefore no proof of want of feeling for the right."

XL. 15–XLI. 34. Behemoth and Leviathan. Most scholars regard this passage as a later addition to the poem. The point of 408–14 is God's reply to Job's criticism of His righteousness; the description of these beasts, however, illustrates at great length man's impotence, which is only a secondary thought in the previous Divine speech. They therefore divert attention from the main issue. Moreover, there is a great difference between these descriptions and those of 3839–3930. "Here the descriptions are heavy and laboured, gaining their effect, such as it is, by an accumulation of details, a catalogue of their points and minute descriptions of the various parts of their bodies. But the poet who gave us the pictures of the wild ass, the horse, and the eagle was a swift impressionist, springing imagination with a touch, not stifling it with the fullness of detail proper to a natural historian" (Peake).

A further question is whether, in accordance with the generally accepted view, Behemoth is the hippopotamus, and Leviathan the crocodile. Some modern scholars think they are mythological figures. Gunkel, followed by Zimmern, identifies Leviathan with the chaos-monster Tiamat, and Behemoth with her consort Kingu. In some cases this identification suits, while certain details do not fit the usual explanation. Still the mythological interpretation has not been generally accepted; the inappropriateness of details on the usual theory is explained by the imperfect knowledge or the poetical exaggeration of the author.

XL. 15–44. Behemoth.—The name means a huge beast; it is an intensive plural of *bᵉhēmāh*, beast. In **17** "He moveth his tail like a cedar" is an exaggeration: the tail is only a short, naked stump.

The statement that Behemoth is the chief of the ways of God (19) suggests that he is God's masterpiece. We may, however, render "the beginning of the ways of God." The idea that Behemoth was the first animal might be derived from Gen. 1 24, where cattle (*bᵉhēmāh*) are placed first.—**19b** is corrupt. Giesebrecht reads "who is made to be ruler over his fellows." In **23** translate "a Jordan," the appellative denoting any torrent: the hippopotamus is not found in the Jordan. In **24** "when he is on the watch" is literally "in his eyes." The parallelism suggests that the meaning is "attack him in his eyes."

Duhm would place 41 9–12 here as the conclusion of the description of Behemoth.

XLI. Leviathan.—The author regards the crocodile as impossible of capture. In **1b** perhaps the meaning is that when caught the crocodile cannot be led about by a rope round his tongue and lower jaw. In **8** "Remember the battle" seems to mean, "Bethink thee of the struggle involved." We have already noted that Duhm places **9–12** after 39 24. In **10b** "me" is of course God, but Targ. and some MSS. read "him" so *mg.*). Whatever we do with **9f.** the following verses, **11f.** present difficulty. If **10b** is to be understood of God, then **11** is very loosely attached to it. **12** seems unsuitable in the mouth of God. Duhm reads, "Who has assailed him and been safe? Under the whole heaven not one! He would not renew his boastings and the talk of valiant deeds and his rich outfit." The meaning is Behemoth will soon stop the hunter's boast of his exploits.

With **13** we return to Leviathan. The double bridle in his jaws. LXX his double breastplate, *i.e.* his scales and hide together. The doors of his face (14) are the jaws. Neesings in **18** is an old form of "sneezings." The spray breathed-through the nostrils of the crocodile is luminous in the sunshine. His eyes are compared to the dawn (39*) because they are visible some distance under water. The Egyptians used them in the hieroglyphs as a symbol of the dawn. **19–21** is an exaggerated description of the crocodile's steaming breath. **22b** describes the terrified convulsions of other creatures when the crocodile appears. "The flakes of his flesh" refers to his under parts, which are not flabby like those of other animals. In **30** it is said that the scales on the under part are like sharp potsherds, making a mark on the mire like that of a threshing sledge. **31** describes how the crocodile churns the Nile (often called the sea, Is. 19 5, 21 1, or the deep, Ezek. 31 4–5) into froth. In **34a** read "everything that is high feareth him": "the sons of pride" (34b) are the proud beasts of prey.

XLII. 1–6. Job's final speech (continuation of 40 3–5). —**1** is to be removed as a gloss: as are also **3a, 4b,** which are quoted from 38 2f., and probably came in from the margin. Job abases himself before the Almightiness of God as displayed in the creation, and acknowledges that he has spoken ignorantly.—**5** contains "the supreme lesson of the book" (Peake). No new theoretical knowledge concerning God and His ways has been given to Job, but in direct intuition he has seen God face to face, and that is enough. This mystical solution is the only solution the author of the poem has to give to the mysterious problem of the Divine Providence.

XLII. 7–17. The Epilogue, taken from the old Volksbuch, which must also have contained, after the debate between Job and his friends, a Divine speech. "These words" (7) will refer to this, and not to the speech of the Almighty we have just been studying. In the original Divine speech of the Volksbuch Job was not reprimanded, as in the poem, but on the contrary Yahweh must have praised Job because he held fast to his integrity and blessed God, whether He sent good fortune or bad. Then (7–9) Yahweh turns upon the friends, and severely reprimands them. They must offer sacrifice and Job must intercede for them. Finally in **10–17** we have Job's restoration and happy end. God "turned the fortune" of Job (10). Before, Job's sacrifices had not availed for his children, now they avail both for his friends and himself. "Whoever, when God sends suffering, maintains his obedience without a murmur, wins for himself a position of honour and also becomes a mediator between God and his fellow-men." So Duhm sums up the lesson of the Epilogue. We may compare the position of the Servant of God in Is. 53, that of the Goel martyrs in the later Judaism, and that of the early Christian martyrs and confessors. In **11** we read how the friends and acquaintances of Job come to congratulate him and give him, as a congratulatory present, each a piece of money and a ring of gold (Jg. 8 24). Job's possessions are all doubled (10–12): *cf.* Is. 61 7, Zech. 9 12. Only the children remain the same in number as before (13). The names of Job's daughters were Jemima (dove), Keziah (cassia), Keren-happuch (horn of eye-paint). Job gave them inheritance among their brethren, which was contrary at least to the post-exilic practice, which allowed the daughters to inherit only when there was no son (Nu. 27 1–11). From Job's great age (16) we infer that his history is assigned to primitive times. With the Epilogue as a whole, *cf.* Jas. 5 11.

THE PSALMS

By the Rev. W. E. ADDIS

Our word "Psalm" is derived from the LXX, and signifies, though only in very late Gr., a song or hymn accompanied by a stringed instrument. It represents the Heb. term "mizmor." In the Alexandrine MS of the LXX the word used for the collection of sacred lyrics is "psaltery," *i.e.* stringed instrument. "Mizmor" never occurs in the text of the Pss., though found no less than fifty-seven times in the titles of individual Pss. Sometimes the Pss. are described as "songs," without reference to instrumental accompaniment. The Heb. title of the book is "praises," a name partly, but not altogether, appropriate. At the end of Ps. 72 the foregoing Pss. which bear David's name are styled "the prayers of David." The number of poems is 150, David's song of triumph over Goliath, added in the LXX, being confessedly "outside of the [canonical] number." Closer inspection shows that this number is artificial. The LXX reckon 9 and 10 as one Ps. and similarly unite 113 and 114. On the other hand, they turn 116 and 147 each into two Pss. Hence, there is a different numeration in the LXX, followed by Greek and Latin Christians, and in the MT, followed by Reformed Churches and EV. Neither is absolutely correct. Pss. 9 and 10 are doubtless one Ps., Ps. 148 is probably two; but there is no valid reason for dividing Ps. 116 into two Pss. Again MT and LXX recognise two Pss. in 42, 43 which are really one.

We may pass next to the Heb. titles which assign the Pss. to their supposed authors. One is ascribed to Moses (90), seventy-three to David. The LXX give eighty-three to David, and this increase by ten does not cover the difference, for Pss. 122, 124, 131 are attributed to David in MT but not in important MSS of the LXX. Twelve Pss. (50, 73–83) bear the name of Asaph, a leader of David's choir; one (89) is assigned to Ethan, who was also chief in the guild of Temple musicians; ten belong to the "sons of Korah," viz. 42–49, 84, 85, 87. 88 has a double title, viz. "For the Sons of Korah" and "A Maschil of Ethan the Ezrahite." 72 and 127 are said to be Solomon's. Fifty Pss. are in Rabbinical language "Orphan," *i.e.* have no titles. Of these sixteen have no title containing origin or source, though they have musical directions prefixed; the remaining thirty-four are absolutely "Orphan" Pss. Thirteen Pss. give both the author's name and the circumstances under which he wrote.

This arrangement, or rather want of arrangement, is perplexing, and the confusion becomes worse when at the end of Ps. 72 we find the words, "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." Ps. 72 is assigned not to David but to Solomon; moreover, David's prayers are not ended but continued, though with large insertion of Pss. from other authors or collections, almost to the end of the Psalter. As a rule the Pss. of Asaph and those of the Korahites are placed together or in proximity, though it is puzzling to find one Ps. of Asaph (50) separated from the rest of the Asaphic productions. Another difficulty arises from the use of a Heb. preposition which may mean either "by" in the sense of authorship or "belonging to," "used by." It seems almost certain, that "by David" is a correct translation of the titles in which David's name appears. The present writer at least can see no shadow of evidence for the supposition that this was a "Davidic Psalter, not composed by David, but gathered together from different authors and periods of composition under David's name." It is different with regard to Asaphite and Korahite Pss. A guild may sing a hymn together or make a collection of hymns for its own use, but a guild can scarcely write a hymn by joint effort. Nor is the order of the Pss. fixed by subject or tone. Occasionally, but only occasionally, kindred Pss. are linked together. The reader who examines Pss. 1–10 will see that the order has no connexion with the subject-matter.

There is, however, a division of the Psalter which throws some light on the inquiry before us. In imitation probably of the Pentateuch, the Pss. are divided into five books, each closing with a doxology, Ps. 150 forming a doxology which ends the last book and also the whole collection. We thus get Book I (1–41), Book II (42–72), Book III (73–89), Book IV (90–106), Book V (107–150). How old is this arrangement? No one can say. It is recognised, indeed, by the LXX, but we do not know when the Pss. were first turned into Gr., except that the task must have been accomplished some time before the earliest books of the NT were written. We are on surer ground when we turn to 1 Ch. 16$^{7-36}$. There a Ps. is inserted which consists of Pss. 105$^{1-15}$, 96, 106$^{1,47f.}$ Now the remarkable thing is that the Chronicler includes the doxology (Ps. 106^{48*}) at the close of Ps. 106 and treats it as an integral part of Ps. 106. It has been very naturally inferred that the Chronicler, writing about 300 B.C. or a little later, was not only familiar with the division into five books, but mistook altogether the purpose of the doxology to which he was used. This argument, however, is less certain than it seems. It is very doubtful whether 1 Ch. 16$^{7-36}$ belonged to the original text of Ch. The connexion between 6 and 37 gains by its removal. Additions were undoubtedly made from time to time and at a date much later than that of Ch. In the Book of Psalms the analogy of modern hymn-books favours this view, and it is beyond all reasonable dispute that Pss. of the Maccabean age do occur in the Psalter.

There is another feature peculiar to certain Pss. viz. 42–83. In these Pss. the personal name Yahweh is usually omitted and Elohim (=God) substituted. This is in accordance with later usage. In Ecclesiastes the sacred name never occurs; the Book of Daniel employs it in ch. 9 and nowhere else, and the Chronicler, when he is not copying from his sources, prefers to use Elohim.

Can we discover the collections out of which our Psalter grew? Book I furnishes us with an example of such a collection. It consists entirely of Davidic Pss. with rare exceptions which admit of easy explanation, viz. Pss. 1 and 2, which were probably added later, as respectively moral and theocratic introductions to the Psalter; 10, which has no inscription, because, as the LXX saw, it is the second half of Ps. 9; 33, which is assigned expressly to David in the LXX, the omission in MT being a scribal error.

Next come Pss. by David and his contemporaries, 42–89 (84–89 being an appendix). Here the question is more complicated. We have already referred to the subscription of 72, "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." Here and only here, we have Pss. in considerable number connected with other names, such as those of Moses, Solomon, Asaph, and the sons of Korah, and in LXX Jeremiah, Haggai, and Zechariah. Generally critics have agreed to place 42–50 after 72, so as to unite 50 to the rest of Asaphic Pss. Thus we obtain the following arrangement: 51–72 Davidic, the subscription being now quite appropriate; 42–49 Korahite; 50, 73–83 Asaphic Pss. Note carefully that all these are Elohistic. To them an appendix has been added, 84–89. Here we have four which are Korahite, one by David, one by Ethan. Their secondary character can hardly be doubted. Why else was the Davidic Ps. here separated from 51–72? It is a still stronger argument that 84–89 show no trace of Elohistic revision; the name of Yahweh is again dominant.

Our third and last collection extends from 90 to the end of the Psalter (Books IV and V). It entirely ignores the musical terms so frequent in the two preceding collections. Probably some radical change had been made in the Temple music, and the old musical titles had fallen out of use because they were no longer intelligible. These three collections were originally independent of each other. This is true of the first and second collections, for 14 of the first collection reappears as 53, except that it has undergone an Elohistic revision; 40_{13-17} recurs as 70; 31_{1-3} is identical with 71_{1-3}. It is also true of the third collection in relation to the second, since the beginning of 108 is a repetition of 57_{8-13}. There are also distinct traces of smaller collections. Of these the most valuable is the "Little Psalter of the Pilgrims" (120–134), sung by those who were thronging from other lands to keep one of the great feasts at Jerusalem.

We have also Michtam Pss. in 16, 56–60, the real sense of the word being quite unknown; and Pss. which begin and end with Hallelujah, viz. 146–150.

What, then, is the value of these titles? We will state the case in words taken from Professor Kirkpatrick's Commentary, because he is as conservative as a candid scholar can be. "It is now admitted by all competent scholars that the titles, relating to the authorship and occasion of the Pss. cannot be regarded as prefixed by the authors themselves, or as representing trustworthy traditions and accordingly giving reliable information" (p. 31). Availing ourselves of this liberty, we may examine some of the Pss. for which the titles claim Davidic origin.

Ps. 69 cannot be by David. The words "God will save Zion and build the cities of Judah, so that men may dwell there," are those of a post-exilic writer, not of a successful warrior and popular king. Nor could David say, "For thy sake have I borne reproach." "The reproaches of those that reproached thee fell upon me." Did David ever suffer reproach for his devotion to Yahweh? Religious persecution, so far as we know, began in Maccabean times. What is meant by the words, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up"? The Temple was still unbuilt when David died. And why should zeal for the Temple, even if it had existed, "eat up" the worshipper? Because he pined for the Temple and its worship, from which his enemies excluded him. Ps. 3 cannot have been composed by David when he was fleeing from Absalom. The reference to "his holy hill" points clearly to the Temple. Nor does Ps. 3 contain a single allusion to this crisis. All is lifeless and vague. Contrast the true account of David's pathetic sorrow in 2 S. or his noble and authentic lamentation over Saul and Jonathan.

The Aramaic tinge of 139 precludes of itself any idea that it is by David. In 110 a king is the subject of the poem: there is no trace of a royal author.

We come last of all to 18, a Ps. assigned to David by scholars who show little bias in favour of the late Jewish opinion embodied in the titles. "The internal evidence of its contents," says Prof. Kirkpatrick, "corroborates the external tradition." Certainly there is *prima facie* ground for giving this Ps. a position of its own. Of others we have, as has been already said, a double recension within the Psalter itself. For this we have external evidence, since it is repeated at length in 2 S. 22. But closer examination reduces this witness to nothing. 2 S. 22 and 23_{1-7}, "the last words of David," are late additions to the text, since 21_{22} finds its natural and obvious continuation in 23s (p. 292). The internal evidence is decisive not for, but against the Davidic authorship. There is a want of concrete detail, so that even the advocates of Davidic origin differ about the period of David's history to which the Ps. belongs. The conventional theophany would suit any victory won by a champion of Judah in later times. How could David have written "Thou savest a poor (or humble) people"? or described himself in the language of Pharisaic piety, as one "who kept the ways of Yahweh . . . for all his judgments are before me and I did not put his statutes from me"? Such language presupposes familiarity with the Pentateuch, or at least with a notable part of it. The monotheism of the Ps. is in keeping with that of the Psalter throughout: it is absolute and dogmatic, "Who is God save Yahweh?" Very different were the views of the real David, who kept idols called teraphim (p. 101) in his house (1 S. $19_{13,16}$) and assumed that when his enemies drove him forth from Yahweh's land he would have to worship other gods (1 S. 26_{19}). Nor could David (who died long before the Second Isaiah) have realised the missionary vocation of Israel and said, "Therefore will I give thanks to thee among the nations and sing unto thy name."

It may be well to add that scholars who have accepted a small number of Pss. as Davidic are unable to agree which those Pss. are.

How, then, did the legend of David the Psalmist arise? It has no attestation prior to the Exile. We are all familiar with his beautiful dirge over Saul and Jonathan (2 S. 1_{19-27}); and the fragment from a similar lyric on Abner (2 S. 33f.). But neither of these mentions religion at all. Further, an old tradition (1 S. 16_{14-23}) makes much of his musical skill. Otherwise the only pre-exilic mention of David as a musician is found in Am. 6s. The prophet is denouncing the frivolous luxury of the rich, and taunts them with devising for themselves "instruments of music like David." This negative evidence is clinched by the fact that Ezekiel, with all his elaborate rules for the restored Temple, makes no mention of singers. Our

conception of David as a sacred poet is mainly due to the Chronicler. It is he who idealises David after his own fashion and turns him into a saint of the Levitical pattern. Characteristically he omits David's sin against Uriah, and all the scandals in the royal family. David's numbering of the people is his solitary error, and that had to be related because of its connexion with the building of the Temple. The Chronicler dismisses military matters in a brief and perfunctory way, though he magnifies the military forces of Judah and Israel in the most extravagant fashion. On the other hand he attributes to David his own absorbing interest in ritual. According to him the pious king divided the Temple service between twenty-four courses of priests and Levites, and twenty-four courses of singers (1 Ch. 25). Now the first clear reference to Temple singers is in Ezr. 241, and in this passage, as generally in the oldest parts of Ezra and Nehemiah, they are distinguished from Levites. But the Chronicler turns the Temple musicians into Levites, and traces their descent to Asaph, Heman, and Ethan. Moreover, the sons of Korah are door-keepers in 1 Ch. 9 19, 2619, but appear as singers, 2 Ch. 2019. Evidently, after the Exile, music has become more prominent in Temple worship, and the pious Jews could not imagine this sacred function as left at one time to laymen. In the time of Herod Agrippa (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9,6) the Levitical musicians obtained leave to wear the white robe of the priests. It was easy for the Chronicler to identify the remote past with his own time, as we see from his ascribing to David admittedly post-exilic Pss.

We set out to prove that there are no Pss. certainly or even probably Davidic. We have in reality advanced further. The Psalter, as a whole, presumably belongs to the Second Temple and even to the later history of that Temple. It cannot, of course, be proved that there are no pre-exilic Pss. Pss. 20 and 21 presuppose the existence of a Jewish king, and if we take the royal title in its strict sense, we have to choose between a king of Judah who reigned before 586 B.C. and the Maccabean prince, Aristobulus (p. 608), who took the title of king in 105 B.C. Ps. 137 must have been composed after the Exile, while the hatred of the Babylonian conquerer was still fierce and bitter. Observe, also, that it speaks of "Yahweh's songs," though we are not told when the songs were sung. Possibly they were popular hymns preserved by oral tradition. With these, and, it may be, with some other exceptions, the general rule holds good, that when historical allusions are definite and certain, the Ps. containing them belongs to the Maccabean age. Yet we can but rarely state with precision the date and explain the historic reference of a Ps. Much learning and ingenuity have been spent on such questions, and with meagre results. Conjecture has been piled upon conjecture. Again, the history of the Jews under Persian rule from the middle of the fifth century B.C. to the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great is all but a blank to us; otherwise we might have understood many Pss. much better than we do, and escaped the temptation to find a clue for every difficulty in the Maccabean history. As specimens of Pss. certainly Maccabean we may take 44, 60, 74, 79, and 83. The reasons for this judgment will be found in the notes on the Pss. in question. Here it will be enough to note the following points: (1) Maccabean Pss. plead that the people of Judah are suffering by no fault of their own. On the contrary, they are faithful to the covenant and free from any enormous sin, especially from the sin of idolatry. We know from Jeremiah and Ezekiel that the state of things in this respect was wholly different among the exiles of 597 and 586. Not only had the people sinned, but they continued to sin with obstinate impenitence. (2) From certain Pss. we gather that the Jews were scattered over all lands, but had an army of their own in Palestine. This was the case in Maccabean times but not before. (3) In Maccabean Pss. the Jews are undergoing religious persecution. Antiochus Epiphanes was the first to persecute the Jews for their religion. In his mind Greek religion was bound up with Greek culture; he tried to enforce both, or at least to make the observance of the Jewish Law a crime. The Assyrians and Babylonians came seeking land and tribute, and displayed no interest in Jewish religion. (4) Ps. 47 complains, if the text is sound, that while the Sanctuary is profaned and partially destroyed there is no prophet. At the time when the first Temple was destroyed there were many prophets, including Jeremiah and Ezekiel. (See also the notes on Pss. 60 and 74 with the historical references there pointed out.) Add to this the use of the word *ḥasid* or "godly" man (see on Ps. 4), and *anav* or humble. This latter word, very rare elsewhere, is found twelve times in the Psalter, where it has become almost a technical term to describe a pious Israelite.

It is hard to say when the Psalter was completed. It probably received no addition after the Pss. of Solomon. These Pss. were composed in Heb., though preserved only in Gr. translation. They seem to have been written as late as 63 B.C., the year in which Pompey entered Jerusalem. Their belief in immortality and the coming of the Messiah is more pronounced than in the canonical Psalter. But they resemble that Psalter in the general tone of their piety, and on the whole they share the same faith and hope. If we ask why they did not gain a place in the OT Canon, the answer is because they were not yet written or at least not yet generally known. Of course glosses might be and were added later still. In one way or another, Pss. which represented the spiritual history of a devout Jew may have been altered for liturgical use. We may remark in passing that the number of Pss. intended from the first as the voice of collective Israel is still a subject of dispute.

The chief value of the Pss. lies in the insight they give into the common faith of the Jews, and also into the experience of saintly men who, in moments of inspiration, reached heights inaccessible as yet to the ordinary believer. It will be convenient to treat these two subjects separately. See further pp. 93f.

The Unity of God.—This truth is put in a dogmatic form, hardly known before the time of 2 Is. In Ps. 115 we have a confession of monotheistic faith, and this was the common heritage of Israel. No doubt we read in Ps. 14 of "impious" persons who say there is no God, but it is not certain that the Psalmist was thinking of Jews, rather than of heathen. In any case, their atheism is not theoretical but practical; God seeks for those who pay attention to His law and finds none. The Psalmist held no strict doctrine of creation. It is not till we almost touch the Christian era in 2 Mac. 728 that we light on a definite statement (contrast Wisd. 1118) that God made all things out of nothing (but see p. 136). It is needless to say that the Jewish conception of the world differed greatly from ours. It was supposed (see Ps. 104) that the heavens were spread out like a tent, and that upper stories were built above them with water instead of wood for beams. There was Yahweh's palace. Below the earth was Sheol, "the silent land" (11517), to which men go down after death and cease to be concerned with religion. Certain mythological matter is adopted (see

on 74¹³) but only for purpose of embellishment. We have a mythological allusion to the "bread of heaven" in 105⁴⁰. We also meet with anthropomorphism which jars on modern feeling. Not only has God a right arm, hands, fingers, eyes, eyelids, nostrils, but He is said to awake like a warrior out of sleep, as one who had been overcome with wine (78⁶⁵).

Still the monotheism of the Pss. upon the whole, is pure and noble. Yahweh is God from everlasting to everlasting (90). He knows everything, is present everywhere, even in Sheol. Observe that even in 139, the most spiritual in some respects of all the Pss., no abstract terms are employed: indeed such abstract terms do not exist in Biblical Heb. But the concrete language used is a gain, rather than a loss, for concrete terms preserve, as abstractions could not do, purest belief in the personal nature of God. One striking point illustrates the Hebrew conception of God. Why did God, who can do according to His will, tolerate the wicked? To this question the Psalmist gives no reply: no philosophic answer is attempted. He is content to pray for their destruction and to express his own horror and hatred of them.

God's Character.—The view given in 18²⁵f. is not a lofty one. Every man, it is implied, finds the God he deserves to find. "With the pure thou showest thyself pure, but with the perverse thou showest thyself perverse." This falls short not only of prophetic but of the higher heathen teaching, as is shown in the notes on this Ps. Very different is the teaching of Ps. 8, where belief in God's absolute elevation above man is united with the thought of God's loving care for man and man's greatness as a fellow-worker with God. God is much more than a personification of mere power. Rather "righteousness and equity are the foundation of his throne." Indeed, the usual doctrine of the Jewish Church is that God is a Being who can be safely trusted. This is well illustrated by Ps. 11. The author is in desperate case: his friends would have him flee like a bird to the mountain. The very pillars of the earth, *i.e.* the powers which maintain moral order, are shaken. Nevertheless God is in His holy temple: He is enthroned in the heaven: He constantly tries the children of men. He is righteous and the righteous shall see His face. Thus man is indebted to God, not only for his creation but also for his preservation at each moment. The needy and afflicted may take refuge in Him. Even the Gentiles share in His goodness, though of course they are not admitted to the same religious privileges which the Jews enjoy. Still God governs the whole world with equity (98).

God and Nature.—The Pss. acknowledge wisdom and goodness as displayed in the material world; but none of them can be said to love nature as Virgil loved it. It is a mistake to call the author of Ps. 104 "the Wordsworth of the OT" (Kirkpatrick, p. 605): he is too utilitarian for that. Biblical Heb. has scarcely any word for colours, except with reference to the cloth and garments used in the Sanctuary; this shows that the Jewish feeling for nature was widely separated from our own (p. 24). Still God's relation to nature is portrayed in imaginative language, which is sometimes sublime: "Thou clothest thyself with light as with a garment." We have a fine picture of God's beneficence, of the hill-streams where the wild asses quench their thirst, of the birds that sing among the branches, of the mountains that are a refuge for the wild goats, of Yahweh's trees which are full of sap. "The young lions roar after their prey and seek their meat from God." Generations pass away but the spirit or breath of God is continually replacing them and renewing the face of the earth. Perhaps the most imaginative and original thought of God in nature occurs in Ps. 19: "Day unto day uttereth speech, night unto night conveyeth knowledge." The poet personifies the days and nights. He pictures them as a long series of personal beings born of each other. Each day and each night, before it dies, passes on the story of creation. The sun, ever young, goes forth like a bridegroom from his nuptial chamber in joy and strength.

God and Man.—In nature God has manifested His care for man. He brings forth from the earth fodder for man's cattle, bread to eat, wine to gladden his heart, oil which makes his face shine (104). But He has crowned all His mercies by giving man the Law. "He showeth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and judgments unto Israel." "He hath not dealt so with any nation." And as God seeks man and strives to bring man into union with Himself, so man naturally longs for God. "As a hind which panteth for the water-brook, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." The pilgrim goes to God's altar. But the altar is only the means of approach: God Himself is the goal which the pilgrim seeks.

What God Requires of Man.—A general answer is given to this question in Pss. 15, 24. Liberality to the poor is also a prominent feature in the morality of the Psalter. The morality does not transcend that of the Egyptian "Book of the Dead," though the Psalter is quite free from the magical superstition of Egyptian religion. Fair dealing between man and man is often inculcated in the Pss.: nowhere, however, do they require a man to forgive his enemies, if they continue to be such. (For the apparent exception in 74, see the note.) Observe, on the other hand, that the righteousness required is that of the heart. The Psalmist knew little of that "war of the members" which tortured Paul, or even of that "enslaved will" of which Jeremiah speaks. The good Jew felt that he knew the Law and had strength to keep it. "The word of the law was very nigh" him, and God would pardon defective observance if the will to keep a law was there. Prayers like "Teach me to do thy will" (143¹⁰) or "Take not thy holy spirit from me" (51¹¹) are rare. If a Jew was faithful to the national covenant, then God rewarded him, and was indeed bound to do so by solemn and reiterated promise. No less was God bound to punish the wilful transgressor. If, again, a man sinned and repented, then God withdrew the stroke of punishment from the sinner and from others involved in the penalty. The reward or punishment must overtake a man in this life, for there was no intercourse with God after death. "In death there is no remembrance of thee, and who will give thee thanks in the pit?" (6). This is the habitual assumption of the Pss. (See further 88¹⁰–¹², 115¹⁷.) The sting of death lay in the belief that God and man took no knowledge of each other in the lower world. For this reason his view of death is radically different from the Greek view, which it resembles superficially. But it had a disastrous effect on Jewish religion. If a man was pious and his affairs prospered, he was apt to indulge in self-complacency. See among many other passages, 41¹², "As for me because of mine integrity thou has supported me and established me before thy face for ever." In contrast to this, if a just man suffered it was taken for granted that there was some secret flaw in his character. God was punishing him for secret sin, hidden, it might be, even from the sinner himself. It might be also that God

was correcting him, strengthening and purifying his character. Hence the Psalmist's prayer that God would manifest His favour again by restoring his fortune. Hence also the passionate cry for deliverance was really a cry for absolution. Nay even the curses which the Psalmist hurls at his foes are a prayer that God would assert Himself as the moral governor of the universe. Of course such words should not be adopted by Christians, and belong to a religion which was still rude and undeveloped.

Where is Man to Find God, or, in other words, where does God Dwell?—The answer in Ps. 139 is that God is everywhere. But He was to be found specially in heaven and in the Temple. No attempt is made to reconcile these two answers. He dwells in heaven, and is surrounded by the angels, who are the ministers of His mercy and justice. Those constitute the heavenly court (29$_{17}$). They inflict physical suffering, but they are not in themselves good or bad, nor do they incite to sin. This heavenly God is also called the Lord of Hosts, probably because the elemental powers are enlisted on His side and do His bidding.

Over against this theory we have, as has been said, to set another, viz. that God dwells in the Temple, which is a second Paradise. It is enriched (46$_4$) and gladdened by a river, of course metaphorical. Thence God hears the prayer of His people and blesses them. Occasionally, as in 14 and 20, those two views stand side by side. The lower view, as we must needs think it, did most to secure the steadfastness of Jews in their religion. In a world out of joint the Temple was the one place where light and blessing flowed. "We have thought of thy lovingkindness, O Yahweh, in the midst of thy temple" (48$_9$). "This is my rest for ever: here will I dwell, for I have desired it" (132$_{14}$). God's manifestation in Zion is the pledge that He will in the end reverse the doom of His people and alter the course of history in their favour. See especially Ps. 46. Moreover the Temple held Jews together all the world over. "Hear my supplications when I cry unto thee, when I lift up my hands unto thy holy temple" (28$_2$). Ps. 87 is peculiarly instructive. This Ps. regards every Jew, whatever his birthplace may have been, as a spiritual citizen of Jerusalem. That is his true home, and Yahweh, when He makes up the register of the peoples, sets down the pious Jew as a native of Jerusalem.

We turn next to special passages in the Pss. which cannot be taken as representing the accepted orthodoxy of Jewish religion because they transcend it. Some of the Psalmists rise above ritual religion, or at least suffer sacrificial worship to fall into the background. One reason is that the later Jews had the writings of the prophets, and looked upon them as part of the sacred Scriptures, though inferior in authority to the Law. Further, the Deuteronomic limitation of sacrifice to the one altar at Jerusalem made sacrifice impossible, except at rare intervals, to the mass of Jews scattered in distant lands. Something also may be due to the bad repute of priests like Alcimus (pp. 382, 385, 607) and the worldliness of the later Maccabeans, which, as both high priests and secular rulers, they could hardly escape. We can scarcely quote Ps. 50 in this connexion. It denounces "the severance of religion from morality," a denunciation which all pious Jews would have approved; it pours contempt on the notion that God needs to be fed with the flesh and to drink the blood of the victim. The strange thing is that the Psalmist thought it worth while to refute so gross an idea of the Godhead.

More to the purpose is Ps. 119$_{108}$, where the accepted sacrifices are the freewill offerings of the mouth, the sacrifice, not of animals, but of praise. Ps. 51 speaks in still clearer tones, "Thou desirest not sacrifice else would I give it thee: thou delightest not in burnt offerings. The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Similarly in Ps. 69 we are told that praise and thanksgiving please God better than the sacrifice of a bullock. The most interesting deprecation of material sacrifice is to be found in Ps. 40. The Psalmist does not exclude sacrificial worship: the offerings prescribed by the Law for the congregation remained as they were. But private piety was directed into another channel: the true sacrifice consists in joyful resignation to God's will. "Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not: mine ear hast thou opened" (*i.e.* to hear God's voice) "[illegible]. In the roll of the book it is laid down for me: to do thy will have I desired and thy law is within my heart" (*cf.* Jer. 31$_{33}$). This Ps. is a notable preparation for Christianity.

The Pss. now and again rise above Eudæmonism, *i.e.* the doctrine that prosperity here and now is the reward of virtue, and that affliction, though it may be imposed for a time in order to test and strengthen piety, is as a rule the punishment of sin. No doubt there is an important element of truth in this doctrine; Temperance, industry, honesty promote success in life on the whole; the doctrine becomes false, when applied to all cases indiscriminately. The ordinary Jew did not look forward to a life with God after death: hence he had to face the difficulty that men, apparently devout, were often unfortunate in life and died with their misery unredressed. There could be no question of educative suffering in such cases. Still the obstinacy of Jewish faith discovered a way of escape even here. It found the supreme blessedness in communion with God, even if temporal blessings were withheld. For the classical example of a life lifted high above the changes of fortune we may turn to Ps. 4. The Psalmist is surrounded partly by godless men, partly by men who would fain be pious but are driven almost to despair, because God does not recognise their piety by outward and visible blessing. Such persons seem to be righteous in vain. From the depth of their despondency they cry, "Who will show us any good?" We may understand the good meant to be fruitful harvests, strong and healthy children, in some cases positions of dignity and influence. The Psalmist answers indirectly with the priestly blessing (Nu. 14) in his mind, "Yahweh, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us." Thus in communion with God lies the supreme blessedness. "Thou hast put joy in my heart more than they had when their wine and corn and new wine abounded." Further, we are told the secret of this joy: "When I call upon him, Yahweh will hear." He will hear though the answer did not come in accordance with the current expectation.

The Hope of Immortal Life.—One or two Pss. may be considered which have been supposed to hold this hope, but on insufficient grounds. To this category Ps. 16 belongs. The poet believes that his God will not abandon his soul to Sheol, "neither wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption. Thou wilt show me the path of life. In thy presence is fulness of joy, at thy right hand are pleasures evermore." The author apparently refers to salvation from sudden death. We may compare 61$_7$f. He (the king) shall abide before God for ever. "Oh prepare mercy and truth which may preserve him." Mercy and truth would not, of

course, preserve him from dying at last, but they would secure an easy departure in ripe old age. So Ps. 17 also fails us, when we search for trace of this hope. Here the Psalmist is confident enough, but not of life after death. "I shall behold thy face in righteousness: when I wake up I shall be satisfied with thy appearance" (*i.e.* the manifestation of thyself, the vision of Divine glory. *Cf.* Is. 6). Beholding the face of God usually means to participate in Temple worship: the words "When I awake" may be taken quite literally as referring to the morning worship in the Temple. Much more to the point is 49[15]*, "God will redeem my soul from the power of death, for he shall receive me." Finally we have to consider 73[23]ff. "Nevertheless I am continually with thee: thou hast holden me by my right hand. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel and afterwards receive me into glory, Whom have I in heaven but thee and who is there on earth that I desire beside thee? My flesh and my heart fail: God is the strength of my heart and my portion for ever." The meaning seems to be that communion with God begun here and faithfully maintained cannot be broken by death. At all events belief in immortality becomes inevitable when man has advanced so far. In the supreme bliss of Divine communion the thought of death and even of time fades away. Such knowledge of God is eternal life and holds within itself the promise of endless continance. We may note in conclusion the following points with regard to the Jewish doctrine of personal immortality. It is not physical or metaphysical but religious. Next, Hebrew thought observes the true order: it begins with God and through Him reaches the hope of immortal life in Him. The reverse order has constantly led to reliance on magical superstition of one kind or another, or else to physical and metaphysical "proofs" which are not convincing. The OT religion contemplates the immortality of faithful souls, and not, with one or two possible exceptions (Ps. 15, Dan. 12[2]), the immortality of man as such. But the Divine communion of elect souls with God discloses the possibilities inherent in human nature, and therefore open to all. See further pp. 378f.

As we have seen, the Psalter frequently insists that the highest spiritual privileges belong to the Jews, but there are striking passages in which the Psalmists address themselves, not merely to fellow-Jews but generally to mankind. This liberal spirit may be due to the conquests of Alexander, which brought different races into immediate contact with each other. From Assyria and Babylon little was to be learnt. They represented for the most part, though not of course exclusively, the rule of brute force. Alexander the Great and his successors inherited the loftiest civilisation then known. Ps. 46 may have been written in the time of Alexander or one of his early successors. Jerusalem has been wonderfully preserved: the poet expects a time of universal peace. He calls on the warriors to be still and know that Yahweh is God and is exalted above all nations. In a considerable number of Pss. it is not Jew or Gentile but man as man—man in his relation to God—that comes into question. The Gentiles, moreover, are invited to rejoice in God's care for Israel. They are to bow down before Him, to worship and serve Him; they are even to offer sacrifice to Him. Ps. 82[8] goes so far as to speak of the foreign nations as the future "inheritance" of Yahweh, a term reserved elsewhere for Israel. We have a trace of proselytising zeal in Ps. 119[46], "I spake of thy testimonies before kings and was not ashamed." It is best to treat Pss. 15 and 24 as catechetical instruction for those who desired to attach themselves to the Jewish Church and become the clients of Yahweh. In Ps. 105[22] we have the first appearance of the theory, constantly asserted in Philo and in the Christian Fathers, that Gentile wisdom was borrowed from the Hebrews.

The Messianic Age.—The most remarkable thing in the character of the Jews generally, and especially in the Jews of the post-exilic age, was the firmness of their faith and hope. They have been well called the nation of hope. They were suffering from the oppressive rule of foreigners, who mocked at their religion and at one time tried to exterminate it. Nor was there any escape by human means from the exile which threatened them. Therefore their faith rose higher and its light burned clearer. They were confident that God would reverse the order which pressed so severely upon them and was besides an insult to the Divine majesty. God had wrought wonders for them in the past (see *e.g.* 77), Surely He could do again what He had done long ago. This belief was stimulated by the actual condition of Israel. In the Maccabean age the heart of the nation was set in the right direction: the people, as a whole, were free from idolatry and faithful to their covenant with their God. Here was another reason for Divine interference. It is no doubt for God to keep the "times" in His own hands. Nevertheless the author of 102 felt that the appointed time of restoration could not be far off. "It is time to have pity upon her, yea, the time is come." Then the heathen were to be shattered, the righteous rewarded, and Yahweh to be enthroned for ever (101[5]f.) The future is to be rich in temporal blessings for Israel. Zion and the cities of Judah are to be built up again. But spiritual blessings were not forgotten, and the author of Ps. 84 draws a charming picture of the approaching age from its spiritual side—"Mercy and truth are met together: righteousness and peace have kissed each other. Truth springeth out of the earth and righteousness looketh down from heaven." The Pss. just cited and many others inspired by the same hope are usually called Messianic in a wide and general sense. The term is apt to be misleading, for they do not make any reference to the ideal King, to the anointed One or Messiah who was to establish the Kingdom of God upon earth. The pious Jew, however, did not apprehend as clearly as we do this distinction between Pss. which are, strictly speaking, Messianic and others which are eschatological rather than Messianic. The hope of the Jewish saints and heroes was satisfied if sin was punished and righteousness rewarded and triumphant. They cared little for the exact means by which the momentous change was brought about. It might be effected (so, *e.g.*, Mal. 4) directly by Yahweh Himself, or by an ideal King or by a succession of ideal kings. All this was of secondary moment, and in any case the promised salvation must come ultimately from Yahweh.

Still the distinction, which did not greatly interest the Jews, has very great interest for us, partly because belief in a personal Messiah marks a stage in the development of religious ideas, and still more because it left so deep an impress on the NT writers and upon the early Christians in general, not to speak of its strong influence on the mind and career of our Lord Himself. Observe that the word Messiah or ideal prince in its technical sense is not found or is scarcely found in any part of the OT. 1 S. 2[10] and Ps. 2 are said to furnish instances of its use, but this is at least doubtful. That the notion, if not the name, has a place in the Pss. is beyond question. Some of the

most definite references to an ideal King may have been interpolated by a later hand. But this only proves how strongly Messianic expectation had seized upon the heart of the people. The writer of Ps. 89 approaches, though he does not actually reach, the Messianic faith. He pleads the promise made to David that his seed is to be established for ever. It is to endure like sun and moon. In 72 the Messianic belief is made more definite: it speaks, moreover, of a Messiah who is superhuman. He is to rule from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth. All kings are to do Him homage; all nations are to serve Him. His rule is to be a beneficent one; the needy and the poor are to be the special objects of His care. All men are to be blessed in Him. He comes down like refreshing rain on the grass. He is to live (725 in LXX) as long as the sun and moon. Psalm 2 is also distinctly Messianic. The conquering King is victorious by Divine decree, nay, He is the Son of God. True, Hos. (11₁) speaks of Israel as the son of God. Concerning Solomon also as the representative of the nation the promise ran (2 S. 7₁₄), "I will be his father and he shall be my son." Probably, however, we are justified in a stricter and eschatological interpretation of the title in Ps. 2. From a religious and ethical point of view this Ps. is greatly inferior to 72.

The OT knows nothing of a suffering Messiah. The belief found a measure of support among Jewish doctors. They distinguished between the Messiah, the Son of David, and the Son of Joseph. The latter was to gather the ten tribes once more together, but was afterwards to fall in battle against the Romans, led on by a sort of Antichrist. The Jews were then to endure redoubled sufferings, from which they were to be finally delivered by the true Messiah, who was the Son of David. This idea, however, cannot be traced beyond the third century A.D. and has no shadow of support in any part of the Bible. Ps. 22 has been generally accepted as a prophecy of Messiah's sufferings uttered by the Christ in His own person. So in the ancient Church Cassiodorus called it "a history rather than a prophecy," and Theodore of Mopsuestia, who thought it referred to the Psalmist's own time, was condemned by the general feeling of the Church. We must bear in mind that its fulfilment in Jesus by no means implies that the Ps. itself is Messianic. It speaks not of an ideal King but of an ideal sufferer. It is a striking feature that the man who suffers so terribly refrains from the usual curses of the persecutors. There is nothing unreasonable in the belief that the image of an ideal sufferer here portrayed was realised above all human expectation in the passion and death of Jesus, and a psalm which Jesus Himself quoted as He hung on the cross makes a unique appeal to the Christian heart. Only we must refrain from pressing the details. "They have pierced my hands and feet" is a favourite text, but the meaning of the words so translated is more than doubtful. The parting of the vestments, and the vinegar given to Jesus that He might drink, are instances of the way in which the Gospel history was conformed in detail to OT prophecy. Not that the Gospel story is mythical—very far from it; but there may be and probably are a few mythical accretions even in the Synoptic narrative, of which accretions Ps. 22 furnishes two. One important point remains to be mentioned. In 22–31 agony changes into joy and triumph. Not only is all Israel to exult, but "all the ends of the earth," and "all the kindreds of the nations are to be converted and acknowledge Yahweh and are to bow down before Him." It is, therefore, natural to regard the sufferer in the former half as a being of superhuman grandeur. How else could His suffering and deliverance affect the whole world in so marvellous a degree? But the last nine verses are probably a separate Ps. or a liturgical addition. The sufferings depicted in 1–21 have no apparent connexion with the triumphant song which follows.

On a superficial view the Pss. are intensely national. They speak of the struggle for national existence, of Israel's past glories and present trials. They magnify the Jew: they console and encourage those who are faithful to Judaism. The individuals who pour out their complaint, their confession, or their thanksgivings before God are all loyal Jews. No Psalmist reached the standpoint of Paul, from which all national distinctions are lost in a higher unity. Nevertheless there is an element of universalism in the Psalter, easy to see and more prominent here than elsewhere in the OT. The more the Jews were scattered among the cities of the Mediterranean, the harder did the literal observance of the Law become. Hence Jews were forced, almost in spite of themselves, to lay the stress on the moral element in religion and on the great central truth—on God's spiritual nature and on man's communion with Him. No sacrifice was lawful unless offered in the Temple; but a visit to the Temple in the case of many foreign Jews involved a long and perilous journey, and could be made but seldom. The obligation of paying tithes was limited in the Law to the fruits of the earth and cattle. A Jew engaged in trade at Alexandria or Rome had no need to give them a thought. A religion thus purified from ritual observance could address itself to mankind, and this the Psalmists often do. God requires obedience from men as such, not merely from Jews. "Yahweh looked from heaven and beheld the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, that did seek after God" (Ps. 14₂). Yahweh is to rule the world in righteousness (98). God's care for man is wonderful, considering the gulf which parts man from God: "What is man that thou art mindful of him or the son of man that thou visitest him?" (8₄). The relation of the Psalmists to the heathen world is best understood when we remember that they are invited to rejoice with Israel over Yahweh's victories. He triumphs for their good. "Oh let the nations rejoice and be glad and sing for joy, for thou shalt judge the peoples with equity."

What has been said may partially explain the charm which has made the Psalter a bond of union between the Churches of Christ and even between church and synagogue. The sublime and pathetic utterances of the best Pss. came straight from the heart of Israelites thousands of years ago—and they go straight to the heart still.

Appendix on Heb. metre, the musical directions in the titles, and a brief comparison of Heb. with Babylonian and Egyptian hymns.

1. Hebrew Metre.—The parallelism in Heb. poetry has been discussed elsewhere (p. 23). The rhythm or metre of Heb. poetry is still imperfectly known, but the following points may be taken as fairly certain. Heb. metre is accentual, *i.e.* a line has a certain number of accented syllables. A line contains two, three, or four accented syllables. One line with the same number of accents may follow another, or the number may vary to lines with three and two accents alternating with each other. An example will best illustrate the metre intended, though a representation in English must obviously be very imperfect. The passage selected is Ps. 19₇ff.

"The law' of Yahw'eh is perf'ect / enliven'ing the so'ul,
The wit'ness of Ya'hweh is su're / making w'ise the si'mple.
The prec'epts of Yahw'eh are right / rejoic'ing the hea'rt,
Yahweh"s comma'nd is pu're / enli'ghtening the ey'es.
The fe'ar of Yah'weh is cle'an / endu'ring for ev'er."

So far we may speak with reasonable confidence, especially as a Babylonian hymn has been discovered in which the numbers of the verses are marked by signs. The question becomes more difficult when we attempt to divide a Ps. into strophes. The refrains which recur in some of the Pss., perhaps also the occurrence of the enigmatical word Selah, may be our warrant for believing that strophes exist. Each strophe in a poem should preserve the same metre and number of verses, but we are still far from being able to carry out the strophic arrangement in the Pss. and metrical portions of the prophetic books.

2. It may be well to give a specimen of Babylonian hymns, many of which are found in the cuneiform inscriptions. The hymn from which a few verses are subjoined is much above the average in moral tone. It is addressed to Shamash the Sun God.

"As for him who plans wickedness / Thou dost destroy him:
As for him who meditates oppression / his abode is overthrown.
As for the evil judge / Thou dost cast him into fetters.
On him who takes bribes and doth not guide aright, / Thou imposest punishment.
With him who takes no bribe / and intercedes for the poor
Shamash is well pleased / and promotes his life.
The true-hearted judge: / who passes just sentence,
Prepares for himself a palace; / a princely mansion is his dwelling."

3. We conclude with a few words on a barren subject, viz. the technical and musical titles which occur in the titles. Fifty-five Pss. are "for the Chief Musician." Here the rendering is certainly correct. Possibly the title "for the Chief Musician" refers to an official collection of Temple hymns. Higgaion (9^{16}) is said to mean resounding music. Maschil occurs in the title of Pss. 32, 42, 44, 52, 53, 74, 78, 88. It is explained as meaning a didactic poem, but most of the Pss. to which it is prefixed are not specially didactic. "Wisely" is another conjecture; really the meaning is unknown. The meaning of Michtam is also unknown. Neginoth is rightly translated "stringed instrument" in RV. Nehiloth (5^{1}) is rendered in *mg.* "wind instruments"; this may be right, but the meaning is uncertain. Selah, according to the LXX, signifies a change in the music. No better conjecture has been made. The origin and sense are both obscure. It is found very frequently, almost always in the middle of the Ps., but now and then at the end. Shiggaion is plausibly said to mean wild or tumultuous music.

A number of inscriptions admit of easy translation, though it is hard to determine their meaning in the context or absence of context. These are "after" or "according to the death of the son" (9); "after" or "according to the hind of the dawn" (22); "the silent dove of those that are afar" (56); titles which speak of lilies (45, 60, 69, 80); "Thou shalt not destroy" (57, 58, 59, 75, *cf.* Is. 65^{8}). It has been supposed that these titles refer to popular airs to which certain Pss. were set. It is an objection to this theory that *e.g.* Pss. 45 and 65 both have a "lily" superscription but are in widely different metres. Shemini (=eighth) occurs at the head of 6 and 12, but its meaning is unknown (1 Ch. 15^{21}*). The Gittith (8,^{1} 81, 84) may refer to some instrument or song invented at Gath or to the wine-presses and the vintage songs. Mahalath (53, 88) = "sickness of," but of whom or what we are not told, nor can we say what is the point of the words "to teach" in 60.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Kirkpatrick (CB), W. T. Davison and T. Witton Davies (Cent.B), Wellhausen (SBOT Eng.); (*b*) Cheyne (1st ed.), Briggs, (ICC); (*c*) *Ewald, Olshausen, Hupfeld-Nowack, Hitzig, *Delitzsch, **Baethgen** (HK), Duhm (KHC), Stärk (SAT); (*d*) Maclaren (Ex.B), Spurgeon, *The Treasury of David. Other Literature:* Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter;* Davison, *The Praises of Israel;* W. R. Smith, OTJC^{2}, pp. 188–225; Gordon, *The Poets of the OT*, pp. 97–201; Driver, *The Parallel Psalter, Studies in the Psalms*; Jordan, *Religion in Song*; M'Fadyen, *The Psalms in Modern Speech, Messages of the Psalmists.*

BOOK I.—PSS. I–XLI.

I. The Jewish Saint.—This and Ps. 2 (see, however, on Ps. 33) are the only Pss. in Book I. which have no title or superscription. In Ac. 13^{33}, there is very ancient authority for reading "in the first Ps.," though the Ps. quoted stands second in the Psalter, as we have it. Origen had seen Ps. 1 joined with Ps. 2 in a Heb. copy, and the same arrangement is still found in some Heb. MSS. Probably then Ps. 1 was prefixed as an introduction to the rest of the Psalter after its completion. But it is not one with Ps. 2, nor even resembles it. It expresses the general spirit of the Psalter admirably. For that very reason it does not reach a high level. It has nothing of the spiritual tone which is so striking in 4, 73, and in other Pss. Rather it represents the current orthodoxy of its time, which must have been a very late one. It is legalistic, and accentuates the doctrine of retribution here and (probably) hereafter. It is not metrical, and its best imagery, that of the tree planted by the river-side, is borrowed from Jer. 17^{8}, and has lost something of its original beauty in the appropriation.

1–3. Negatively the righteous man avoids those who are wicked and who turn religion into mockery. These last scorn self-restraint and piety, and in effect, though not in theory, are atheists. They scorn God and He scorns them (Pr. 3^{34}). Positively the saintly scribe delights in the fear of Yahweh (so emend *2a*). He spends day and night in the study of the Law and therefore prospers in all that he undertakes.

4f. The contrary fate of the wicked. They will not be able to maintain themselves (or their cause) in the Day of Judgment. They are to be condemned in the congregation of the righteous, *i.e.* of the new Israel, sifted by judgment and absolutely pure. Judgment is given on a moral principle. Yahweh takes cognisance of the righteous, whereas the way, or conduct, of the wicked brings about their own ruin.

II. Messiah's Reign.—Also without a title. Here we have a distinctly Messianic Ps., put in this place, possibly, as an introduction to other Messianic Pss. which follow. Messianic it is in the strictest sense of the word, for it does not look forward to a dynasty of Davidic kings (*cf.* Jer. 23^{4}ff., Ezek. 34^{23}), or to the direct intervention of Yahweh, as 2 Is. and Malachi do. Rather the Kingdom of God is to be founded and maintained by an anointed King who is the Son of God and His vicar on earth. The poet speaks as if the ideal King had already ascended His throne. But we cannot be sure that the Ps. refers to an actual king then alive.

He is present to the imagination of the Psalmist: that is all we can say. Much less can we point to any contemporary in whom his dream was already realised. Commentators have put the Ps. back as far as David's time or on to that of Alexander Jannæus (p. 608), a bloodthirsty prince of Maccabean race who died in 78 B.C. The Ps. is frequently quoted in the NT (Ac. 4^{25}, 13^{33}; Heb. 1^{5}, 5^{5}; Rev. 2^{27}, 19^{15}). But it does not, except in a very general sense and with large allowance, prepare the way for the Christian Messiah. Certainly it does not breathe Christ's spirit. See p. 372.

1–3. The heathen strive to rid themselves of Messiah's yoke.—**4–6.** But in vain: Yahweh enthroned on high laughs at this conspiracy and will at the appointed time annul it. According to the LXX it is the Messiah who speaks. "But I have been installed by him on Zion his holy mountain."—**7–9.** Men are Yahweh's servants. Israel collectively is Yahweh's child (Hos. 11^{1}): Israel's kings are individually sons of Yahweh (2 S. 7^{14}). The Messiah is Son of Yahweh in a unique sense. As such he is the Lord of the world, and the heathen have no chance against Him. The Psalmist includes all this in the oracle ("the decree") given to Him on the day of His coronation.—**10–12.** Kings of other lands are invited to do homage, ere is too late. "Kiss the son" in 12*a* is an impossible rendering, and those in *mg.* are no better. The text is hopelessly corrupt, though probably some outward mark of submission is referred to.

III. A Morning Hymn of Triumph and Peace.—It is a king or party leader who speaks, but who he was or when he wrote we cannot say. The conjecture in the title is of no value except as an extreme instance of failure on the part of editors to understand the Ps. before them and the real character of David their hero. There is no trace of the pathos natural in such a situation (contrast 2 S. 18). No tenderness mingles with the thought of victory. The Psalmist was hard beset. He cried to the God who lived in the Temple. The victory was won. The Psalmist sleeps in peace, and awakes full of trust now that his enemies have suffered a crushing defeat.—**6*d*.** Translate "people," not "the people."—**7*a*.** Yahweh has already saved him.

IV. An Evening Hymn by a Man High in Office whose Rule Excites Jealousy and Resistance.—The Psalmist begins with an appeal to "the God of his righteousness," *i.e.* the God who declares that his case is good. The Heb. words usually translated "righteousness," "righteous," "make righteous" were originally legal in their implication. A righteous man was one whose cause was decided in his favour, so that he was clear of guilt in the judgment of the Court. Next (2–5) he appeals to his foes who slander him and bring reproach upon his office, possibly that of High Priest. However angry they may be, they are exhorted to quiet their hearts with silent meditation. They are moreover to "offer the sacrifices of righteousness," *i.e.* sacrifices in which the Pentateuchal ritual was strictly observed. "Godly" in 3 is a technical term, and represents the Heb. Hasid, in Gr. Asidean. It was applied in Maccabean times to Jews who adhered to the Law in the face of opposition and opposed the introduction of Greek culture by the Greek kings of Syria. It occurs only in the Pss. and chiefly in Pss. which on other grounds are assigned to a late period (see 1 Mac. 7^{13}ff.). There is, however, some doubt about its occurrence here, 3*a* being difficult as it stands and capable of easy emendation into "Thou hast wondrous loving kindness for me."—The meaning of 4 is very doubtful; RV and RVm are both possible.—**7*f*.** is one of the noblest passages in the Psalter, and is of extreme importance for the history of religion (see p. 370). Men are on the watch for signs of coming prosperity; they hope for plenteous harvests and the like. The Psalmist, on the other hand, recalls the blessing of the High Priest in Nu. 6^{24}ff. "Yahweh bless thee and keep thee," etc. He finds his rest in God, and is happier in Divine communion than other men are in the possession of their wealth. He lies down and is soon asleep in the peace God gives.

V. A Hymn for Morning Sacrifice in the Temple.—**1–3.** Solemn invocation of Yahweh. The Psalmist sets in order (3), not perhaps his prayer (RV), but his sacrifice, the victim and the kindled wood upon the altar. Laying out or ordering in this sense is a common technical use of the Heb. verb. "Keep watch" may refer to a watch for favourable signs before or during the sacrifice.—**4–7.** The bloodthirsty can find no acceptance before God. Unlike them, the Psalmist approaches God "in fear." This word is used as a summary of Jewish religion, though, of course, men like Hosea and the Deuteronomist knew very well that Israel was bound not only to fear but also to love Yahweh. Many Psalmists placed God's dwelling-place in heaven, but the belief that God also dwelt "in his holy temple" still held its ground, at least in the popular creed.—**8–12.** The poet prays for Divine guidance, for the defeat of the wicked, and the triumph of the righteous, concluding with that note of absolute confidence in God, which is the most striking characteristic of the Psalter. Translate 9, "Their inward desire is one of engulfing ruin," *i.e.* the ruin of the good. Hence (10) God "declares them guilty," and does so by the calamities He inflicts, which are the tokens of His wrath. The "name" of Yahweh is His revealed character; so we speak of a man as having a good or bad "name," *i.e.* reputation.

VI. A Righteous Man's Prayer in Distress.—(*a*) Notice (1–7) the recognition of the fact that suffering is not always the proof of guilt and of God's wrath. Sometimes it is sent to prove, correct, and purify the righteous. So here 1, Ps. 66$^{8-12}$, Job 5^{17}, and especially Pr. 3^{11}f.*

(*b*) Reward or penalty, if they come at all, must, according to the general teaching of the Psalter, come in this life; the life beyond the grave is scarcely worthy of the name. The dead are gathered together in the subterranean pit of Sheol. They are cut off from the light of the world, and above all, from the light of God's presence and from communion with Him. See Ps. 30^{9}, 88$^{10-12}$, 115^{17}, Is. 38^{18}.

(*c*) Yahweh has heard the Psalmist's prayer and will grant it still more by defeating his enemies (8–10).

VII. A and VII. B.—Here two Pss. have been welded together. In 1–5, 12–17 a man hard bestead in spite of his innocence pleads his cause before God. In 6–11 Israel personified asks for justice at God's hands and begs Him to summon all nations to the great assize, that they may attest the Divine sentence which declares Israel innocent.

A. 1–5, 12–17. The parenthesis in 4 is difficult. Read with slight change of MT and with support of Syr. and Targ., "And oppressed him that without cause was mine enemy." In this way we recover sense and grammar, nor do we lose anything by removing the love of enemies from the OT and confining it to its proper place in the NT. In 12 follow *mg.* The enemy is the subject in 12–15. In 13 translate, "It is for himself that he has (unwittingly) prepared the instruments of death."

B. 6–11. Read in 7*b* "over them be enthroned on

high.' "—*9b* may be a reminiscence of Jer. 11$_{20}$.—**10f.** is hopelessly corrupt. Read, perhaps, "My shield over me is God."

VIII. A Nature Psalm.—1f. The majesty of God. In MT 2 defies the rudiments of Heb. grammar and all attempt at translation. Of many emendations the following is the most ingenious and does least violence to the text, "'Let me sing, I pray thee, of thy glory above the heavens, [though] with the mouth of babes and sucklings. Thou hast founded a stronghold because of thine enemies, to still the foe and the avenger." The reference may be to the chaotic power of darkness dispelled by the God of light, whom the Hebrews identified with Yahweh.—**3f.** The insignificance of man.—[Observe that "son of man" is equivalent to "man." It has not the special significance it bears in the apocalyptic literature and the NT. Probably it bears the same significance in the quotation in Heb. as in the Ps. The author of Heb. 2*6–8* gives a temporal sense to *5a*, referring it to man's temporary inferiority ("a little while lower") to the angels, and turns *5b* into a contrast rather than a parallel with *5a*, expressing man's lordship of the world to come, not as yet realised, it is true, but guaranteed to us by the fact that Jesus is already crowned.—A. S. P.]—**5–8.** Man's greatness as God's vicegerent. Elohim is translated "angels" in AV and "God" in RV. It includes the angels, who were originally gods, and were, under the influence of monotheism, degraded to the rank of Yahweh's servants.

IX. and X. Yahweh the Refuge of His People.—These two Pss., divided in MT, were originally one, This is proved by the fact that they are one in LXX. and Vulg., by the absence of title over Ps. 10, and, conclusively, by the evidence that 9 and 10 form one acrostic poem. It was arranged in strophes of four lines each, the first letter of each strophe being one of the letters of the Heb. alphabet in regular succession. This system is carried out in the whole of Ps. 9 to 2 in Ps. 10. So far we have the first twelve letters of the alphabet, the only omission being that of the fourth letter, which, however, can be supplied by an easy and convincing emendation. Then from 10$_3$ to 10$_{11}$ the acrostic character disappears and can be recovered only by precarious emendation. It reappears in 12 and continues to the end, where the strophes begin with the last four letters of the alphabet. This irregularity implies great corruption in MT, and shows, like the comparison of Ps. 18 with 2 S. 22, that any absolute trust in that text is misplaced.

The subject-matter raises a further difficulty. The poem is in part a triumphal song over Israel's foes, but the writer oscillates between the thought of foreign oppressors and of godless Israelites who defy Yahweh and spoil the orphan and the afflicted. A very slight emendation in 16, "proud" instead of "nations," removes this second difficulty. But a third remains: the Psalmist begins with gratitude for the defeat of his adversaries and changes his song to one of supplication for a victory which is not yet secure.

IX. 13f. Observe the contrast between the gates of Sheol and those of Zion.—**X. 4.** Here, as always in the OT, the atheism meant is practical not theoretical. The "godless" believe in a God who lives far away and does not trouble Himself with human affairs.—**5.** Read, "He prospers in his ways at all times." The villages in Ps. 10 may, being unwalled, have fallen an easy prey to the enemy, or, more probably, they have become nests of robbers. The LXX. 10*8* reads, "He sitteth in ambush with the rich."

XI. Yahweh the Sure Refuge.—1–3. The problem stated. The wicked are bold: the righteous cannot meet their attack. They can but flee like a "little bird" (the habitual meaning of the word translated "bird"). "The mountain" (LXX) is preferable to "your mountain." An eagle might be poetically described as lord of the mountain, not so a "little bird," which seeks refuge there. The reason for this despair is that while the very foundations of social order have been shaken, the righteous have made no head against prevailing evil. After all "what hath the righteous done" or effected? (*mg.*). The answer (4–7), Yahweh is in His heavenly Temple. But far from dwelling apart, He proves or tests the righteous. He rains burning wood on the wicked (so emend the senseless word "snares" in 6). "The righteous behold his face," *i.e.* have the sense of His gracious presence.

XII. A Prayer of Faithful Jews against the Arrogant Tongue of the Ungodly.—1–4. "The godly man ceaseth" (see Ps. 4$_{1-5}$). The wicked acknowledge no responsibility for their words: they say, "To our tongues we give might," *i.e.* free rein.—**5–8.** Yahweh declares His intention of rising in defence of the poor and needy. Here the author quotes (unless the identity of the words be mere coincidence) Is. 33$_{10}$. He relies on a Divine promise there given, to which he now (*5b*) appeals. Well may he rely on the promise, for Yahweh's words are like silver purified from dross seven times over. The Ps. must be very late, if it really quotes Is. 33* as Scripture, for that chapter probably belongs to the second century B.C.—**6. furnace on the earth:** the words are of unknown meaning.

XIII. A Prayer in Distress with Confidence of Final Victory.—2. Read, "How long must I bear affliction on my soul?" (11*a*) and in the same verse "day and night" (LXX, in some codices) or by conjecture "day after day."—**5f.** confidence in coming deliverance.

XIV. and LIII. This Ps. occurs twice in the Psalter, and an examination of the double form in which we have it, is important for the light it throws on the value of MT. It proves that the text presented variants and corruptions which go back beyond the present compilation of the Heb. Pss. This Ps. was inserted in an early collection, and afterwards in the Elohistic Psalter, Pss. 42–83. In this latter collection the name Yahweh seldom occurs, Elohim (God) constantly replacing it. Hence whereas in 14 Yahweh is found four times, in 53 it is always replaced by "God." In 4 each recension is corrupt, for though EV gives good sense it is not philologically justified. The addition of one letter would make this translation possible. Either emend thus or read, "though they have eaten the bread of Yahweh, on Yahweh they have not called." In 5 the texts are in complete discord. Ps. 14 has, 53 has not, the words "where no fear was." In 146 *mg.* gives good sense; the Heb. particle translated "but" cannot, however, bear that meaning, unless preceded by a negative. The corresponding line in 53 runs thus: "For God hath scattered the bones of him that encampeth against thee."

The Ps. falls into two parts.—**1–6.** The cruelty and practical atheism of wicked Jews, for it was Jews, not heathen, who could be expected to "seek after God."—**7.** The Messianic hope. The Psalmist anticipates a time when Yahweh will "bring back the captivity of his people." This expression need not mean more than a radical change for the better in the state of the people. "Restore the fortune" would be an adequate translation (*cf.* Job 42$_{10}$).

XV. Yahweh's Client.—The Phœnicians were familiar with the idea that a man might become the client of a god and so put himself under Divine protection.

They used the same word for "client" as the Hebrews, viz. *gēr*. Hence we have such names in Phœnician, as Gerastart, "client of Astarte," Gerhekal, "client of the temple," etc. But to be Yahweh's client moral qualities are necessary; indeed no others are mentioned here. With the whole Ps. *cf.* Is. 33¹³–¹⁶.—**1. tent** (so Heb., *cf. mg.*) is a poetical name for the Temple.—**4.** "To his own hurt" is abbreviated from "to his own advantage or to his own hurt"; whatever the result of keeping his oath may be to himself. *Cf.* Nu. 24¹³, "I cannot go beyond the word of Yahweh to do either good or bad."—**5.** The Law forbade a Hebrew to take interest from a compatriot: it was no fault to take it from a Gentile (see, *e.g.*, Dt. 23²⁰). Probably the Psalmist was thinking only of interest taken from a brother, *i.e.* a Jew (p. 112).

XVI. God, the Supreme Good.—1–3. The Psalmist's devotion to God and His saints.—**2*b*, 3.** The text is corrupt; RV requires a slight emendation or we may supply, "I have said," from 2. "And I have said of the holy ones that are in the land: they are the excellent ones in whom is all my delight." But the LXX had a very different text. Some ancient authorities omit 2*b* or read, "because thou hast no need of my goods." In LXX 3 reads, "For the holy ones that are in the earth, he hath made all his good pleasure marvellous." Many attempts have been made to restore the original text by conjecture or with the help of the LXX. Such are, "He dealeth nobly with the holy ones who are in the earth: all his good pleasure is in them"; "I have no bliss apart from thee and from the noble ones; all his good pleasure is in them." "I have no bliss apart from thee and from the noble ones in whom is all my delight."

4–6. The Psalmist will have nothing to do with idols: God is his portion.—**4.** The meaning is again obscured by textual corruption. The following renderings have been given, *e.g.* "They shall multiply their sins who hurry backwards," *i.e.* by apostasy: "Many praise those who multiply their idols." In reality their drink offerings are no better than sacrifices of blood, *i.e.* of murder (*cf.* Is. 66³), and the Psalmist will not pollute his lips with the names of foreign gods.

7–11. The contrasted lot of the righteous. Yahweh maintains him in the land he has inherited and fills his cup with joy. His reins, a chief seat of emotion, suggest to him in the lonely night the steps he shall take. He is secure in body and soul. RV renders rightly "Thou shalt not leave his soul to Sheol"; AV "in Hell" (Hades) is quite misleading. The Jewish saint does not expect to live after death. For the present at least he is not to die at all. Sheol will not lay hold of him: he will not see the pit (*mg.*), which is a synonym for Sheol. The rendering "corruption" is false. What is meant by exemption from death? It is tempting to regard the promise as one made to the ideal Israel. The nation once purified would endure for ever. But nothing in the context suggests this interpretation. Probably the poet is thinking merely of long life, the reward of the pious (*cf.* Ps. 63). To sum up, (11) Yahweh instructs the good man in the way of righteousness. He rewards him with length of days and is ready to confer the fullness of joy, spiritual and material.

XVII. The Prayer of a Godly Man for Deliverance from his Foes.—These foes are not foreign enemies but worldly Jews who persecute their pious and innocent neighbours. The cry for Divine help is made in 1 and is repeated in 6 and 13.

1–5. In 2 follow *mg.*—**3*b*.** With slight alteration of the text translate "Thou shalt find no evil thought in me; my mouth shalt not transgress." Such self-complacency is common in the Pss. and is a marked point of divergence from Christian piety.—**4** is hopelessly corrupt; even RV requires an emended text and "As for the works of men" gives no satisfactory sense.

6–12.—**10*a*.** "They have closed their fat" (*cf. mg.*), *i.e.* their gross, unreceptive heart. This is a good description of worldly Jews, but is quite unsuitable if applied to foreign invaders.

14. Translate, "from men with thy right hand, O Yahweh, from men whose portion is from this world all their life long, and whose belly thou fillest with thy hid treasure," etc. Another admirable description of worldly Jews. Two points deserve notice. (*a*) The Psalmist rises above the common notion which prevails in the Pss. and OT generally, that material prosperity is always a token of Divine approval. (*b*) The Psalmist, probably though not certainly, has in his mind the hope of life after death. But this hope is not definitely expressed (p. 371). In 15 "When I wake" is best taken in its literal sense. The Psalmist when morning dawns will visit the Temple. Then like Isaiah (Is. 6) he hopes to see the "glory" of Yahweh or His "beauty" (Ps. 27⁴). "Glory" indeed is the LXX rendering of the word which is commonly and more strictly translated by "likeness."

XVIII. See p. 367 for the reasons which make it impossible to ascribe this Ps. to David. Even scholars who hold traditional views admit that he cannot have written it as it stands, and that additional matter has been interpolated by later scribes. The language, which is Aramaic in its colouring, confirms the view that it is late, and so does the theophany in 3–20 when compared with Dt. 32. Possibly a later writer composed it and put it by a very permissible license in David's mouth. If so, he paints David not as he was, but as a later age conceived him to be, a warrior on the one hand, a strict observer of the Law upon the other. The portrait would then agree with that given in Chronicles. It is, however, quite as likely that the Ps. is intended to glorify the success of a hero in the Maccabean age, the first time known in which legal piety was united with leadership in battles. Little is to be said for the view that the writer speaks in the name of the Jewish nation.

We have another recension in 2 S. 22. There are numerous divergences which testify to the uncertain state of the text here and by inference elsewhere. The Ps. and the last words of David that follow it are a late insertion in 2 S. They destroy the connexion between 2 S. 21²² and 23⁸.

1–6. Introductory. 1 is absent in 2 S. which, on the other hand, adds at the end of 2, "And my refuge, my saviour that savest me from violence."—**2. the horn of my salvation:** *i.e.* the weapon which secures victory. The metaphor is taken from a bull's horn.—**5.** Read with 2 S., "breakers of death" for "snares of death."—**6.** the heavenly palace is meant.

7–19. Yahweh appears.—**10.** For the cherubim, who bore the throne of Yahweh from place to place, see Ezek. 1. The word cherub and the idea it represents were probably borrowed from the Babylonian winged bulls which were the protecting genii of the house (Gen. 3²⁴*, Is. 6²*). In Jg. 5⁴f. Yahweh strides northwards to help His people.—**12.** Translate "without radiance before him thick clouds passed."

20–30. Yahweh has rewarded the Psalmist for his strict observance of the Law, and this is the general principle of His government.—**26*b*.** *Cf.* 1 K. 22²⁰, 2 S. 24¹, and contrast Laotse, the Chinese sage, in

Grill's translation. "I deal well with him who deals well with me: I deal well likewise with him who is not good." To repay injury with kindness is indeed a principle with Laotse. He was born in 604 B.C.—**28.** In 2 S. "Thou art my lamp, O Yahweh."—**29.** "Leap over a wall," *i.e.* of a besieged city.

31–45. The Psalmist recurs to a success in battle given by Yahweh.—**35.** "Thy gentleness hath made me great." Unparallelled in OT. 2 S. points differently, "thy answer," *i.e.* to my prayer. The LXX also point differently, "thy discipline has made me great."—**41.** The Psalmist's foes call on Yahweh and must therefore have been at least in part Jews or Samaritans.

46–50. Ascription of praise.

XIX. A. 1–6. The Revelation of God in Nature.—A fragment of a longer poem. Day and night are pictured as living beings who hand on the tradition of God's creative act from age to age (see Job 33–10*).—**3** is a prosaic gloss to guard against any idea that the heavenly bodies speak in the literal sense.—**4.** for "line" read "voice."—**In them:** *i.e.* "in the heavens," but the text is probably corrupt.

XIX. B. 7–13. An Independent Poem in Praise of the Law.—In 13 follow *mg.* The "proud" are bad Jews.

XX. A prayer for deliverance from national disaster, changing (probably after the sacrifice has been offered) into confidence at 6; "Now know I," etc. The mention of a king or "anointed one" would seem to place the Ps. in pre-exilic times, unless we are prepared to carry it down to the reign of Aristobulus I (p. 608), the first of the Maccabees who took the royal title (105 B.C.). Certainly the religious tone is in favour of a Maccabean date.

9. Follow *mg.*

XXI. A Thanksgiving for Royal Victory.—The indications of date are the same as in 20, though the tone is less religious.

4*b*. For the hyperbole *cf.* 1 K. 131, Ps. 617*f.*—**6. in thy presence:** the king dwelt hard by the Temple.—**9.** Read, perhaps, "Thou as a furnace shalt destroy them, like a fire at the time when thou appearest."

XXII. This Ps. (p. 372) consists of two parts. In 1–21 a godly man in deep and manifold distress complains that the God of his fathers, the God who has been with him from the beginning, has deserted him (see p. 372). 22–31 is a liturgical addition: it expresses the pious Israelite's gratitude for Israel's glory, which is to be acknowledged even by the heathen. No attempt is made to bridge the gulf between the despair of 1–21 and the confidence of the added verses, which depict Israel's prosperity as already come.

3. The LXX read, "Thou dwellest in the holy place, O thou that art Israel's praise," *i.e.* the theme of his praise.—**16.** MT has, "They dug into my hands and feet," or according to another reading, "As a lion [they compassed] my hands and my feet." Neither men nor lions would make a special attack on hands or feet. It is impossible to give any satisfactory explanation.—**18.** The "garments" and the "vesture" are two parallel words for the same thing, so that the interpretation in Jn. 1924 is untenable.—**21. thou hast answered me:** read, "Help me." The parallelism requires some such verb.

XXIII. Yahweh as Shepherd (1–4) and Host (5*f.*).—**2***b*. "waters of rest" as in *mg.*—**3.** Read, "right paths": the metaphor is still maintained.—**4***a*. Read *mg.*—**4***b*. The staff supports, the rod protects.

XXIV. 1*f*. Yahweh the Creator.

2. For the water under the earth, *cf.* Ex. 204. There was sea below the earth, another on a level with the earth, and a third ocean above the firmament (Gen. 16*f.**).

3–6. The moral qualities required of the worshippers in the Temple (*cf.* Ps. 15).

7–10. Once more Yahweh in His glory enters the Temple. The Ps. may have been composed for the feast of the Encænia (*cf.* Jn. 10$_{22}$*, p. 104), which celebrated the purification of the Temple in 165 B.C. by Judas Maccabæus (p. 607).

XXV. An acrostic poem composed of religious maxims and prayers which have little or no connexion with each other. The text is imperfect, for in 18*f.* the letter Q is omitted and R is repeated twice.

9. In post-exilic times the pious Jews were usually poor. Hence the favourite virtue of the good Jews was submission to God, gentleness, resignation; such are the persons here called "meek." See Ps. 62 for the estimate of riches in later times.—**11. for it is great:** and so too hard for me.—**14.** The secret of Yahweh is His purpose of exalting the meek.—**22** is an addition to the original acrostic.

XXVI. A persecuted man protests his absolute innocence, his avoidance of unfaithful Jews, his joy in the Temple service. The claim to innocence is repugnant to Christian feeling, scarcely less so than the imprecations upon enemies which occur frequently in other Pss. Men become humble in the Christian sense through the vision of Him in whom there was no sin.

3. in thy truth: *i.e.* in the confidence that Thou art faithful.—**6.** This is the only direct evidence in the Bible for the festal procession round Yahweh's altar.—**12. congregations:** probably guilds of singers, etc.

XXVII. Many scholars hold that we have here two Pss., and not without reason. 1–6 is the expression of childlike trust under favourable circumstances: in 7–14 the poet is in grievous affliction and implores Yahweh's help.

10. Read *mg.*

XXVIII. Prayer for deliverance from godless Jews, and for vengeance upon them. The Ps. ends with thanksgiving and prayer for ruler and people.

2. Read *mg.*—**4.** Yahweh's "anointed" may be either a king or a high priest.

XXIX. Yahweh's glory in the storm (1–9): He is enthroned for the protection of His people (10*f.*).

1. the sons of God (*mg.*) are superhuman beings (*cf.* Gen. 61*, Job 16*) who minister in the heavenly Temple.—**2***b*. Follow *mg.* The LXX read, "in his holy court."—**6.** Sirion is another name for Hermon.—**7.** MT makes no sense. Probably some word has fallen out and the meaning is that the thunder cleaves rocks or the like [with flames of fire].—**9***b*. Read with a different punctuation, "shaketh the terebinth trees."

XXX. Trust in God, not in Self.—The Ps. was not intended originally, as the title suggests, for the purification and dedication of the Temple in 165 B.C. after its pollution by Antiochus Epiphanes (p. 104). Rather it is the hymn of an individual, who (1–5) thanks Yahweh for deliverance in sickness which threatened death.

3*b*. Read *mg.*

6–10. He had made too sure of his prosperity, and was taught by pain his dependence on God. The Hebrew horror of death (9) arose chiefly from the belief that in death all intercourse with God ceased. This differentiates the Hebrew fear of death from that of, *e.g.*, the Greeks.

11*f*. He renews his thanksgiving.—**my glory:** *i.e.* my soul as the seat of honour and dignity.

XXXI. Prayer in distress strangely intermingled

with such confidence in God that the deliverance seems to be already accomplished.

1–3*a*. Recurs with textual variants in Ps. 71*1–3*.—**5.** The poet commends his spirit to God, that God may preserve it from death. In Lk. 22*46* the application is different.—**truth:** *i.e.* faithfulness.—**15.** The crises of life are in the hands of Yahweh, and Israel has, therefore, no room for such comfort as, *e.g.*, astrology.—**21.** The words "in a strong city," make no sense. We may translate, "although in the heat of trouble," or with a slight emendation of MT "in the time of affliction."

XXXII. Pardon of Sin.—**1***f*. The joy of Divine pardon.—**3–5.** Sin remitted on confession.—**6***f*. The security of the godly. Read, "in time of stress" and omit "surely."—**8.** Their guidance by God. The general sense is "Do not wait till affliction compels recourse to God."—**9.** Read, "Be not like horse and mule which have no understanding, which must be brought to thee by bit and bridle." The rest of the verse is probably a gloss.

XXXIII. A Song of Praise.—This Ps. has no title in MT. It may have been added at a later time to an older collection, probably 3–41. The LXX prefix, "By David, when he changed his face before Abimelech (*sic*) and he loosed him and he went away." The Ps. is an invitation to praise Yahweh as the Creator and for His care of Israel throughout its history. Yahweh alone can save His people, and for that salvation the Psalmist will wait.

XXXIV. Yahweh's Care for His Own.—An acrostic Ps., the letter Waw being omitted as in Ps. 25. Yahweh's care of the poor who fear Him.

5. Read with LXX, "look to him," "be radiant," "your faces."—**7.** "The angel," *i.e.* the angel who represented Yahweh (*cf.* Mal. 3*1*, Is. 63*9*).

The acrostic is complete with 21; 22 is an addition for liturgical use (*cf.* 25*22**).

XXXV. Prayer against Treacherous Foes by One who is "quiet in the land."—**6***b* should replace **5***b*. Chaff driven before the wind may well suggest the image of the angel pursuing the foe—but not that of pushing or thrusting.—**7.** Read, "Without a cause have they hid for me their net: without a cause have they dug a pit for my life."—**9***f*. "Soul" and "bones" stand for the whole person.—**12***b*. The text cannot be right. "Laying snares for my soul" is a possible conjecture.—**13.** His prayer returned into his own bosom, because his head was bowed down and he did not look up.—**15. abjects:** read probably "aliens."—**16.** MT is senseless. A conjecture (*cf.* LXX) is, "They have reproached me and mocked me exceedingly."

XXXVI. We have here two Pss. or fragments of two Pss.: **A**, 1–4 and possibly 12, and **B**, 5–11.

XXXVI. A. 1–4. A denunciation of wicked Jews, who might well be in terror of Yahweh but are not. The general sense seems to be that as God inspires His prophets, so wickedness personified inspires sinners with a false confidence. The sinner thinks that he has made everything smooth for his own interests and need not fear that God will discover and hate his iniquity.

1*f*. The text is very doubtful. We may perhaps emend (*cf.* LXX) and render: "Thus saith the inspiration of the transgressor, My inmost heart is set on doing evil." "And be hated" can scarcely be right and may be a misplaced gloss.

XXXVI. B. 5–11. Yahweh's Loving-kindness.—**6. mountains of God:** *i.e.* on which God dwells. See Ezek. 28*14*.—**a great deep:** *i.e.* like the great deep which surrounded and bore up the earth (Gen. 1*6*f.). Note the universalism; Yahweh preserves men as such, not merely Jews; all nations are to worship in the Temple.—**9***b*. The light of God's favour makes all our lives full of light and joy.

XXXVII. An acrostic poem. Its object is to teach patience and hope. The pious Jews, the Hasidim of Ps. 43* who observe the Law strictly, are at present poor and oppressed. They are to wait for the end, when God will separate the good from the bad and will recompense men according to their deserts.

1 agrees almost verbally with Pr. 29*14*. For the "envy" intended, see Ps. 73*3*.—**4***a*. Render as *mg.* Godly men find their delight in Yahweh because they do His will, and He in return answers their prayers.—**6.** God manifests the "righteousness" of the godly, *i.e.* the fact that they are in the right. Their "judgment" is their plea, which in the end gains the day. The language is borrowed from the courts of law.—**8. to evil-doing:** render "to thine own hurt," *i.e.* by fruitless anger and jealousy.—**11. peace:** substitute "prosperity."—**13. his day:** *i.e.* the day of judgment.—**16***b*. Read "than the great abundance of the wicked."—**20.** Neither RV nor RVm makes any sense. Wellhausen's brilliant conjecture sets matters right. "The enemies of Yahweh shall be as the burning of ovens," *i.e.* as the stubble and other rubbish thrown into the oven. "As fuel they vanish in smoke, they vanish." The LXX has a completely different text: "When they are glorified and exalted, the enemies of the Lord fail utterly like smoke."—**35.** Read with LXX, "I have seen an impious man exalted and rising like the cedars of Lebanon: And I passed by and behold! he was gone."—**37.** Translate, "There is a future for the peaceable man" (*cf. mg.*), in the Messianic age, when Yahweh will establish the pious and expel sinners from the land of Israel.

XXXVIII. A Penitential Psalm.—After a short prayer for pity (verbally identical with Ps. 6*2*), the poet describes his bodily and mental pains, the desertion of his friends, and the unscrupulous attack of his foes. But he waits in silence for Yahweh's answer and is ready to confess his sin, turning eagerly and hopefully to his God.

2. arrows: the pains God sends.—**8***b*. Read, "I have cried out louder than the roaring of a lion."—**18.** It is impossible to say whether the poet is referring to some definite sin or only to the general sinfulness of human nature.

XXXIX. Prayer of a Pious Israelite in Distress.—**3.** The poet, afflicted though he is, is silent in presence of the wicked, lest they should impugn or ridicule God's righteous government of the world. But silence is unendurable.

1. Read, "I will *set* a muzzle on my mouth" (LXX).—**2.** The LXX suggests a better text: "I am bowed down with misery," "I am far from welfare."

4–6. The Psalmist begs God to teach him how brief, uncertain, and vain life is.

5. Read, "Surely every man standing firm is vanity" (*cf. mg.*). But the text is evidently corrupt.

7–13. The Psalmist, repeating his former complaints, prays for pardon and delivery.

11. like a moth: *cf.* Job 4*19*.—**12.** The Psalmist is a "stranger and settler"; he is therefore under the Divine protection and is entitled to claim it.

It has been maintained by Duhm that in this Ps. the author had the idea of conscious and personal immortality before him. He longs to know whether his life, or at least his full conscious life, is to cease with death, and asks God to teach him this mystery. "Let me know whether I shall cease to be" (4 emended).

But there is no clear indication that the Psalmist had any such question in his mind. The same scholar puts aside 8, 10, 12f. as no part of the original poem. They are, no doubt, inconsistent with the rest of the Ps., as Duhm interprets it. In these the poet is busy not with thoughts of life after death, but with external adversity, and 13 takes for granted that death ends all. If we accept Duhm's interpretation, Ps. 39 would be one of the most interesting in the Psalter, because it would, in a very striking manner, prepare the way for belief in the immortality of the righteous. But Duhm's reasons are very precarious, and can be read into the Ps. only by the help of emendation. Surely if the question of immortality had occasioned the poet's perplexity, he would have expressed himself more clearly.

XL. A. 1–11. A Thanksgiving for Deliverance.—The Psalmist believes that his own gratitude will give confidence to others. God, he says, takes no special delight in sacrificial worship. It is gratitude and submission to God's will which find acceptance with Him.

Do the contents of the Ps. furnish any real indication of its date? It has been attributed to Jeremiah for reasons which, though plausible, are not convincing, and have now been generally abandoned. (*a*) 2*a* certainly recalls the prophet's fate as told in Jer. 28f–13. But the language of the Ps. is evidently metaphorical, and the words "set me on a rock" have no parallel in Jeremiah's case. (*b*) The Ps., like Pss. 50 and 51, depreciates sacrifice. So does Jeremiah in 7f21f., and this indeed is the general teaching of the prophets. At most, then, this would prove the Ps. anterior to the publication of P, which enforced the obligation of sacrifice. Moreover P imposes the duty of sacrifice on the community as a body, whereas the Psalmist is thinking of individuals. God, as he believes, regards sacrifice with indifference and desires obedience. (*c*) Other resemblance to Jeremiah may be reasonably explained by supposing that the Psalmist was familiar with his writings.

2. miry clay is doubtful. "Clay bottom of the sea" is a possible emendation.—4*b*. Read, perhaps, "And hath not turned to vain things," *i.e.* idols. The poet is thinking of apostate Jews.—5*c*. Read, "There is none to be compared with thee" (*mg.*).—**6.** God in creating man has bored ears in his body, *i.e.* He has given him ears that he may know the Divine Law. God regards sacrifices with indifference. The Psalmist "comes" obedient to His call and fulfils the commandment "prescribed to him" (*mg.*) in the sacred roll. By a slip of the pen the LXX scribe wrote "a body" (*somation*) instead of "ears" (*otia*) and an argument has been founded on the corrupt text in Heb. 10*.

XL. B. 13–17. A Ps. or fragment of a Ps. completely diverse. It describes the sufferings of a man punished for his sins and surrounded by unscrupulous foes.

12 is by an editor who wished to connect the Pss. with each other.—**13–17** recurs in Ps. 70.—**15.** Read with LXX of 70*3*, "Let them be turned back by reason of their shame," *i.e.* of their disappointment.

XLI. The Prayer of a Sick man against Cruel and Treacherous Foes.—1. Kindness to the poor is a favourite virtue in the OT, but seems to have no natural place at the beginning of this Ps. We gain a better connexion by reading: "Blessed is he who acts circumspectly though poor."—**3. thou makest all his bed** is a rendering which the Heb. scarcely admits, and the change from the third to the second person is suspicious. A plausible conjecture is, "On his couch he supporteth him in his sickness."—**8.** Follow *mg.*—**9. lifted up his heel:** read probably, "Made his mouth (?) against me."—**10** is far removed, further perhaps than any verse in the Psalter, from Christian feeling. The Psalmist desires to recover that he may requite his enemies.—**13** is no part of the previous Ps. It is a doxology added to mark the close of Book I.

BOOK II.—PSS. XLII.–LXXII.

Pss. 42–83 are Elohistic, *i.e.* they use the word God (Elohim) and avoid the proper name Yahweh, probably from motives of reverence. Here and there, however, the name Yahweh has crept into the text by a natural slip of the scribes.

XLII., XLIII. Originally these two Pss. were one. This is proved by the long refrain common to each, "Why art thou cast down, O my soul," etc. It recurs in 42*5*, 11 and 43*5*, and thus divides the Ps. into fairly equal portions. The theme, moreover, is the same in both, and 43 is an "orphan" Ps. (p. 366), *i.e.* it has no title, because it did not originally rank as an independent poem.

1–5. The misery of exile from the Temple and the memory of happy worship there. **1.** For "hart" read with many scholars "hind." Grammar requires a feminine subject.—**2.** Read by a change in the pointing, "and see God." Probably the other reading, "appear before God," is due to fear of anthropomorphism.—**4.** The rendering "led them" presupposes a slight correction of the Heb. text, and even then the meaning is doubtful.

6–11. The poet lives far north, below the peaks of Hermon (notice the plural form) and near Mizar. Nothing is known of the last mountain. The evil is aggravated by the winter floods and by the fierce hatred of his enemies. Several cataracts would be audible at one place, so that they seemed to answer each other.—**8–11** appears to be out of harmony with the context; the insertion of "yet" (8) is illegitimate.

10. Render "crushing" (*mg.*).

XLIII. 1–5. Hopeful prayer for restoration to the Temple. It is impossible to say who are meant by the "ungodly nation," the nation that is not *ḥasîd* (see Ps. 43*) or pious. Following this clue we might understand by the nation that is not pious, the mass of careless or apostate Jews, since nobody would expect zealous piety from heathen. But it is doubtful if *goi*, the word translated "nation," could mean here a party in a nation. Besides, *ḥasîd* may be used in a more general sense, viz. "merciful."

3. The light is that of God's countenance, His favour: His truth is His faithfulness. They are here personified.—The plural form "tabernacles" refers to the Temple with its various rooms and courts.—**4. the gladness of my joy** (*mg.*) is almost as strange in Heb. as in English. We may perhaps read "I will go to the altar of God, the God of my joy, I will exult and upon the harp," etc.

XLIV. A National Prayer in Unmerited Distress.—The Ps. evidently depicts the situation of Israel under Antiochus Epiphanes [but see OTJC², pp. 207f., 437–440.—A. S. P.] So much was plain long ago to the Antiochene Fathers and at a later date to Calvin. Antiochus promulgated a decree enforcing unity of worship in his dominions and especially in Palestine. He also polluted the Temple at Jerusalem by heathen sacrifice. He encountered fierce opposition from the Asidæans (=Ḥasidim), led by the Maccabees, and died in 164 B.C. without effecting his purpose (p. 607). This Ps. was written when the cause of the faithful Jews was under a temporary cloud. The following are the chief points which enable us to place it with confidence in

Maccabean times. (*a*) The Jews have an army of their own, and therefore enjoy some measure of independent government, but at the same time many of their brethren are "scattered among the nations" (11). (*b*) Israel suffers, though faithful to its covenant with its God (17f.). (*c*) There is no idolatry among the Jews (20). (*d*) The Jews are suffering religious persecution for, so far as we know, the first time. They are killed for the sake of their God and their Law. "For thy sake are we killed all the day long" (22). The earlier enemies of Israel and Judah, viz. the Assyrians, Babylonians, and the Greek successors of Alexander down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, had shown no inclination to interfere with the Jewish religion as such. To what period in the Maccabean age does this Ps. belong? Possibly to the time which followed hard on the defeat and death of Judas Maccabæus (p. 608). But no certain answer can be given.

1–3. God's wonderful work in olden days, when He uprooted the peoples of Canaan and planted the Israelites in their place.

2. drive out: read, "root out."—**afflict:** read, "break down."—"Thou didst spread them (*i.e.* the Israelites) abroad." The image is that of a tree spreading its branches.

4–8. Petition for renewed help: the people of Israel rely on God alone.

9–16. The present distress.

12*b*. "Thou hast not made their price great." We learn from 1 Mac. 341 that slave-dealers followed the Syrian army to purchase the captive Israelites as slaves. —**14.** The shaking of the head was a gesture of scorn (*cf.* Ps. 227).

17–22. The misery is quite undeserved. The Jews have been faithful to the covenant.—**19.** "place of jackals," *i.e.* in desolate ruins such as jackals haunt.

23–26. A renewed cry for Divine help.

XLV. A Royal Marriage Song.—This Ps. owes its place in the Canon to that allegorical interpretation which has been accepted by the Synagogue and the Church, the Messiah being the bridegroom and Israel the bride. The friends of the bride are the convert nations who bring tributary gifts. But any such theory is untenable. (*a*) The friends of the bride in 14 are clearly distinguished from the nations in 12. (*b*) The bride is urged to forget her people and her father's house, whereas Israel is exhorted by the prophets to remember her Maker and her origin. (*c*) The king is said to desire the beauty of the bride, while on the contrary the prophetic religion teaches that Israel must first be united to God and the Messiah: then and then only does she become beautiful.

We have accordingly to deal with an actual king, not with an ideal Messiah yet in the future. The king was an Israelite, for it is assumed (7) that Yahweh is his God. Who this king was we cannot say. One living scholar would place the Ps. in Solomon's time—about 1000 B.C., another would carry it down to Maccabean days. Intermediate dates are suggested. But all this is mere guesswork. The language supplies no sure test.

1. Introduction.—**the things which I have made:** *i.e.* "my poems" (*cf.* our word "poem," originally a thing that is made and then a metrical composition).

2–7. Praise of the king as a hero in war and also as an equitable, attractive, and kindly ruler.

3f. The text is corrupt. Read, "In thy glory and thy majesty ride prosperously on behalf of truth and meekness and (LXX) righteousness." "Fearful is thy right hand in glory and in majesty."—**6.** The rendering a "divine throne" (*cf.* *mg.*) is perhaps possible. For "thy throne, O God," the original text must have had "thy throne, O Yahweh," "God" being due to the editor of the Elohistic Psalter. But "Yahweh" was itself a mistake of the scribe for "will be" (yih^{e}yeh being changed into "Yahweh"). Read, therefore, "Thy throne will exist for ever and ever."

8–17. The king's marriage with a foreign princess.

8. For "ivory palaces" see Am. 315* and 1 K. 2239. The walls were panelled with ivory.—**11.** Read with LXX, "For the king desireth thy beauty."—"Worship" is a legitimate rendering if taken in its Old English sense. It does not imply adoration.—**12.** The daughter of Tyre is a personification of the city and its inhabitants like "daughter of Zion," "daughter of Babel," etc.—**13.** "Within" [the palace] makes no sense. An ingenious emendation, "all glorious with corals," restores the parallelism with very little change in the MT.—**17.** Read, "They" (*i.e.* the princes) "shall cause thy name to be remembered in all generations."

XLVI. God the Refuge of His People.—The poem is divided into three parts by the word "Selah," which also marks its close. It was further divided by the refrain which occurs after 6 and 10 and, no doubt, originally stood after 3 also.

The Ps. looks back to the deliverance from Sennacherib. *Cf.* 5, "God shall help her at the dawn of the morning," with Is. 3736: "Early in the morning they" (*i.e.* Sennacherib's troops) "were all dead men." But it may be much later than the time to which it alludes. The confused state of the known world, the exaltation of Judah's God, the promise of future peace, are well suited to the strife among the successors of Alexander the Great. This, however, is no more than plausible conjecture.

Title: set to Alamoth: 1 Ch. 1520*.

1–3. In all physical catastrophes God is the refuge of His people.

2. The mountains are planted like pillars in the ocean which is beneath the earth.

4–7. They are no less safe amidst political tumult.

4. The "river" is symbolical (*cf.* 369, also Is. 3321). The river here is not to be confounded with the material river which was to issue in Messianic times from the Temple (see Ezek. 475). The LXX reads, probably correctly, "The Most High hath sanctified his tabernacle," *i.e.* has put it beyond the possibility of profanation. The author wrote before the very beginning of the outrages on the Temple committed by Antiochus Epiphanes.

8–11. Promise of peace.

9. chariots: translate, "wagons."

XLVII. Joy of all Mankind in Yahweh.—All nations are invited to rejoice in Yahweh's exaltation. It seems strange that they should be expected to rejoice in their own defeat; but this is explained by the belief (9) that the heathen nobles are to be gathered together with the people of the God of Abraham. In other words, they are to share in the promise made to Abraham (Gen. 123), "In thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." The Ps. is sung in the synagogues on the "Feast of Trumpets" (p. 104), the Jewish New Year's Day. This ritual use may have been suggested by 5, or on the other hand, the Ps. may have been composed for liturgical use.

3. Translate "He subdueth" (*mg.*).—**4. chooseth** (*mg.*), *i.e.* chooseth anew, by restoring it to us.—**excellency of Jacob:** substitute "pride of Jacob," *i.e.* the land of which the Jews are so proud.—**5. God is gone up:** the meaning may be that God came down to the sacrifices in the Temple on New Year's Day, and while the trumpets sounded, returned to His throne on high.—

7. The rendering **sing with understanding,** though supported by the VSS, is certainly inadmissible. "A didactic poem" is a possible rendering, so far as linguistic grounds go, but is quite out of keeping with the context. Probably some musical direction is intended, or we may write the word "Maschil" in the plural and translate "Sing ye that are skilful" [in music].—**9. the shields of the earth:** *i.e.* its princes and protection.

XLVIII. A Psalm which Describes the Impression made on a Pilgrim by his Visit to Zion.—1f. Praise of Zion.—**sides of the north** is hard to comprehend. It has been explained as contrasting Zion, the true mountain of the North, with the Oriental Olympus (Is. 14^{13}). The text, however, does not even hint at any such contrast. Mount Zion did indeed occupy the NE. corner of Jerusalem, but what of that? It has been suggested that the pilgrim came from the extreme S. of Egypt. But even then he must have known that there were mountains far further N. Really the text is unintelligible and probably corrupt.

3–7. God's protection of His own city. The poet is thinking of Sennacherib's fate (see on Ps. 46) though he may well have written centuries later. Notice in 4 the vague word "kings," which can hardly refer to Sennacherib and his princes.

7. Tarshish is an unknown place. It has been identified with Tartessus in S. Spain, with the land of the Tyrseni or Etruscans, with Phœnicia and Sardinia. The phrase "ships of Tarshish" came to mean large ships of any kind. The author borrows the phrase from Is. 2^{16}*. But neither "great ships" or "E. wind" are appropriate here when the reference is to a siege of Jerusalem.

8–14. The pilgrim has often heard of, now he has seen and worshipped at Jerusalem and would tell others of its marvels.

10. The congress of pilgrims proves that the praise of Yahweh has reached the remotest parts of the world.—**11.** The "daughters of Judah" are, according to a common Heb. idiom, the country towns in Judah.—**14.** RVm is possible, RV is not. But it is highly probable that the last two words, *'al-muth*, are a musical direction, and belong to the title of the next Ps.

XLIX. The Immortality of the Righteous.—The poet takes a popular proverb for his theme. This proverb recurs as a refrain in 12 and 20, and it probably stood originally after 8 and 15 also. Adopting this supposition we find that the Ps. falls into five parts, 1–4, 5–8, 9–12, 13–15, 16–20.

1–4. The question stated; if we supply the refrain here, the sense becomes clear. Why is it that man, however high in state, does not continue in that state but perishes like the beasts?

5–8. There is no escape from death. God will accept no bribe and give exemption from death in return. 9*a* belongs to 6, "He must give up for ever the thought of living always." Then insert the refrain as in 12.

9–12. Continues the same thought.—**9.** Shall he fail to see the pit? Nay, he seeth that wise men die, etc.—**11.** Follow *mg.*

13–15. The wicked like the righteous die, but the righteous alone have the prospect of immortality.

13. Translate with slight emendation, "This is the way of those who have confidence in themselves and the end of those who approve their sayings."—**14. Death shall be their shepherd:** Cheyne quotes an interesting parallel from the Hamasa—the great collection of Arabic poetry. There a plague-stricken tribe is described as a herd of camels driven by death.—**And the upright,** etc., read, "They shall go down straight [*i.e.* to Sheol]: Soon their form shall waste away. Sheol shall be their abode for ever."—**Soon,** literally, "In the [next] morning" (*cf.* Ps. 90^{14}).—**15.** One of the most important verses in the OT. The Heb. word for "take" is technical. It is applied (Gen. 5^{24}) to the translation of Enoch and in 2 K. 2$^{9f.}$ to that of Elijah. Where were the righteous to go after death? Some have interpreted the Ps. as the voice of the nation. The individual saints might perish, but not Israel, God's son. The language, however, gives no hint of any such personification. Possibly the writer hoped that righteous souls would be translated, like Enoch or Elijah, to some unknown Paradise. Or he may have been looking forward to the sudden advent of a Messianic Age, in which men did not die, or at least lived to patriarchal ages. Nothing is said about the immortality of the wicked.

16–20. Again the poet thinks of the destruction of the wicked.

16. Read *mg.*—**18.** Read "Though in his lifetime he congratulated his soul [*i.e.* himself] and praised it because it did well for itself."—**20.** Correct the refrain in agreement with 12.

L. God Looks to Conduct rather than to Sacrifice.—For the attitude to sacrifice, *cf.* Ps. 40*.

1–6. The expected Theophany.

1. Read *mg.* with LXX.—**called the earth:** since the calling occurs in 4, which is a more appropriate place, read "the earth feared."—**5.** The LXX reads "Gather his saints together unto him, those that have made his covenant with him by sacrifice." The last words refer to Ex. 24^{5}ff. For "saints" (*hasīdīm*), see on Ps. 4.

7–15. God does not ask for abundance of sacrifice. He does not eat flesh or drink blood. It is surprising that a Jewish poet should have found occasion to rebuke such gross materialism.

11. Read with LXX, "birds of the heaven," *i.e.* of the air.—**14f.** Prayer and thanksgiving are better than material sacrifice.

16–21. The show of piety in men of corrupt life is hateful to God. The requirements implied are all negative.

22*f.* Final admonition and summary.

23. To offer a material sacrifice, for the technical language compels us to understand no less, is well, but a well-ordered life is better.

LI. A Penitential Psalm.—1–12. Prayer for pardon and inward renewal.—**13–17.** A promise to proclaim God's mercy and bring sinners back to Him.—**18f.** Prayer for the restoration of Jerusalem, which will make sacrifice possible and popular once more.

The Ps. was not written by David, and still less by David after his double sin of murder and adultery. How could David have said, "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned"? Besides, the Ps. shows the influence of exilic and post-exilic literature. The mention of the Holy Spirit occurs here only and Is. 63^{10} in the so-called "Third Isaiah." Again the conception of a "new heart" is found here and also in Ezek. 11^{19} and 36^{26}.

It has been held by many scholars that it is the nation or church of Israel which speaks. This opinion finds some argument in its support from the missionary activity which is to follow the Psalmist's pardon, and which reminds one of the Second Isaiah. But the words "Against thee only have I sinned," are nearly as unsuitable in the mouth of collective Israel as they would be in the mouth of David. They have been taken to mean that Israel had indeed been unfaithful to its God but had done no harm to other nations, *e.g.* the Babylonians. What evil could Israel do the

mighty power of Babylon, and what scruple would Israel have felt on such a point of international morality? Nor, again, could Israel, in spite of Ezek. 16₃, confess that it was "conceived in sin." True, the prayer for the rebuilding of Jerusalem fits in with national rather than individual pardon, but probably 18f. is a liturgical addition. On the whole, therefore, we may assign the Ps. to one who in Persian or Greek times had sinned against his God by undue compliance with foreign worship, but was otherwise blameless.

1-12. The Psalmist "acknowledges" his sin in order that God's justice in punishing him may be clearly seen. He comes, like all men, of a sinful stock. The reference is to actual and not to original sin. True, he inherited sinful tendencies, but this is quite a different thing from inheriting guilt.

6. inward part: of doubtful meaning.—**7.** Hyssop, a plant of uncertain identification (Ex. 12₂₂*), was used in purification of a leper and of one who had touched a corpse (Nu. 19₆*).—**8. joy and gladness** are the signs that God has forgiven the suppliant.—**10.** Render "steadfast spirit" (*mg.*), and in 12 "a willing spirit" (*mg.*). The Holy Spirit in Is. 63 leads the people through the wilderness and directs them by the prophetic revelation of Moses; so also it admits the Psalmist to God's presence, *i.e.* the Temple worship.

13-17.—14. bloodguiltiness has been understood of Uriah's murder by David. That, however, was a sin already done; prayer could then only avert the consequences of the murder, and the Heb. *dāmīm* ("blood-guiltiness") never has the sense of punishment for homicide. It is, however, not unlikely that the word here used was misunderstood, and led to the account of the psalm's origin given in the title. It is best then to take the word as meaning "Save me from the shedding of my blood," from death brought upon me by God or man. The word *dāmīm* need not mean actual bloodshed (*cf.* Ps. 30₉): it may refer to death by disease which God sends.—**16.** The poet does not repudiate legal sacrifice. But God, he thinks, does not accept sacrifice as in itself a proof of piety: a broken spirit is the sacrifice which He loves.

18f. is from the hand of one who did not approve the low estimate of sacrifices just given. God did not indeed allow them in the evil time when altars and temples were gone, but these being restored, sacrifices will be restored also.

LII. The Psalmist denounces an enemy of his who trusts in his wealth and in unscrupulous falsehood. He is confident that this adversary will be rooted up and that he himself will flourish and abide in the Temple. The reference to the Temple and the complete silence about the massacre of the priests shows that the title gives an impossible explanation of the Ps.

1b. Read, "Against the godly man continually."—**2.** Translate "O thou that workest deceitfully." But the text is probably corrupt.—**5.** Translate "Shall snatch thee away and pluck thee up tentless."—**7. wickedness:** read (T.) "wealth."—**8.** The simile may have been suggested by the actual presence of olive-trees in the Temple courts. (See Zech. 4₃.)—**9.** See Ps. 5.

LIII. See Ps. 14.

LIV. The Psalmist Prays for Deliverance from Powerful and Bitter Foes.—He trusts in God who will destroy his enemies. When that is done, he will offer sacrifice in thanksgiving. His enemies are Jews—for who would expect heathen to "set God before their eyes" (3)? True, we are told expressly in 3 that the adversaries are "strangers," *i.e.* foreigners, but we should read "insolent men." *Cf.* also Ps. 86₁₄.

1. The **name** sums up all the attributes of God, but especially His power. See on Ps. 5 and *cf.* Ps. 124₈.—**7. hath delivered:** a future-perfect of confident expectation.

LV. A Prayer for Deliverance from Treacherous Foes.—**1-11.** The Psalmist tells God of his disquiet and terror. His desire to flee from Jerusalem to the wilderness.—**12-15.** A description of the treacherous friend, ending with an imprecation: let them go down suddenly to the pit.—**16-19.** The Psalmist's continuous prayer and his trust that God will defeat his enemies.—**20f.** The treachery of his foes described.—**22f.** God's care for the godly: His vengeance on the wicked.

On the traditional view that David wrote this Ps., commentators, beginning with T., have identified the treacherous friend with Ahitophel (2 S. 15-17). He, however, was not David's "equal" (14). With better reason it has been suggested that Alcimus (pp. 385, 607) is the traitor intended. He being a descendant of Aaron became High Priest with the assent of the Ḥasidim (see Ps. 4), but afterwards took the side of the Hellenising party. He died in 159 B.C. But this ingenious conjecture is only a conjecture after all. We do not know even approximately the date of the Ps., though we cannot doubt that it is post-exilic, nor can we explain the historical reference with any confidence. The text is very corrupt, but the corruption leaves its general sense unaltered, and the difficulties are mostly grammatical merely. There is no sufficient reason for dividing the Ps. into two.

6. A reminiscence of Jer. 9₂. The words "like a dove" are absent from Jer. and may be a gloss. Doves do not find their home in the wilderness.—**9.** The Psalmist's enemies go about the city walls like watchmen, but with evil purposes.—**12.** The traitor was apparently a high official in the Temple who, in the struggle between Jews of strict observance and Hellenising Jews, had changed sides.—**15.** The Psalmist is thinking of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and of their fate, as recorded in Nu. 16. The section ends with a sudden imprecation.—**18.** Read "will redeem" and "strive."—**19.** Translate, "He will hear" (*i.e.* "will hear" the Psalmist) and "will humble them, he that is enthroned of old." The rest of the verse is unintelligible. "The men who have no changes" is generally taken to mean "Men who do evil incessantly." But this is a far-fetched and unnatural mode of expression. The VSS gives no help and no plausible emendation has been made.—**22.** Translate, "Cast thy lot" (*i.e.* the cares which are thy portion) "upon Yahweh."

LVI. A Prayer against Strong, Numerous, and Crafty Foes.—**2.** For "enemies" read "they that lie in wait for me" (*mg.*).—**proudly:** read "bitterly."—**4.** Will praise his word, *i.e.* the fulfilment of His promise. The fulfilment comes, of course, "through God." The verse recurs in 10f., which is probably its original place since it cannot be a refrain. It has been anticipated here by a mistake of the scribe.—*6b, c, 7a.* Read, with slight change in text, "As for them that watch for my footsteps, since they have hoped for my death, even so requite them according to their iniquity."—*7b.* For "peoples" read, by changing only one letter, "strong" or "bold." Nations were not concerned in the petty espionage which the Ps. describes.—**8. tellest,** *i.e.* "countest" (Gen. 15₅*). Yahweh preserves the tears of the godly that He may remember and revenge them.

LVII. Here two Pss. are united: A containing 1-6, B, 7-11.

1-6. The Ps. is closely allied to the preceding, also a "michtam" Ps. (p. 373). The author flees to God's

protection against his foes and is confident in his own safety and their overthrow.

1. will I take refuge: read, "I will hide."—**2. performeth all things for me:** read, "will requite me."—**3. save me . . . reproacheth:** read, perhaps, "and save my life from the hand of him that would swallow me up."—**4.** Read, "I dwell among them that greedily devour the sons of men."—**5.** Quite out of place here; finds its proper position in 11.—**6. My soul is bowed down:** this cannot be right. The idea of the verse is that the wicked are caught in their own trap. Read *b*, "In the net they have set for my feet their own hand was caught."

LVII. B. A Morning Hymn.—Found also in Ps. 1082–6 with variants.

7. Translate, "ready," *i.e.* to sing and play.—**8. awake up my glory:** in Ps. 108 we have "also my glory," which is meaningless but probably presupposes the original reading, "Thou art my glory."—Translate "I will awake the dawn" (*mg.*). This is a natural personification. The dawn has eyelids (Job 39*, 4118) and wings (Ps. 1399).—**9. among the peoples:** *i.e.* wherever the exiled Jews found a home.

LVIII. A Prayer for Vengeance on Unrighteous Judges.—This Ps. is closely allied to Ps. 82. The reproaches in 3, where the enemies of the Psalmist are said to have gone astray from the womb, and 4, where they are compared with deaf adders, point to Jewish tyranny, such, *e.g.*, as that of the Sadducean priests, rather than to a foreign power. Nobody would have expected heathen to hear the voice of Jewish religion.

1. We ought certainly to read, "Do ye indeed speak righteousness, O ye gods?" (*mg.*). The title was given in flattery (*cf.* 2 S. 1714–20, where see *mg.*), or with rhetorical exaggeration as in Zech. 128. Here it is ironical. [But heathen deities may be intended. They were regarded as the unseen rulers of the heathen nations, responsible for the hostility they showed to Israel (see Is. 2421f.*, Dan. 1013*,20f.—A. S. P.]—*2b. i.e.* when people come, hoping that justice will be weighed out to them, it is violence which is really put into the scale.—*7b.* Read, "like tender grass let them be cut off."—*8b.* Translate, "unseen by the sun."—**9.** Hopelessly corrupt. We may perhaps translate with moderate emendation, "Or ever your pots have felt" (*i.e.* have been heated by) "the thorns, whether they be briars or thistles he" (*i.e.* Yahweh) "shall sweep them away." The pots are the means by which the enemies of the Psalmist mature their plans. Fuel for the flame lies about in abundance, but Yahweh sweeps it away with the tempest.

LIX. The Ps. seems to be directed against Jewish and not foreign enemies. It might well be a prayer for the downfall of the aristocratic Sadducees. On the other hand in 5 and 8 the Psalmist prays against "heathen." But a slight change gives the word we need, viz. "proud" (*cf.* Ps. 917).

6 is a variant of 14; it is in its right place after 13.—**7. Swords:** read "insulting words."—**Who doth hear?** Nobody, they think, hears, *i.e.* nobody of any consequence. Especially God does not hear.—**11.** The Psalmist desires not a sudden victory over the wicked. That might make a great impression at the time and soon be forgotten. He prays rather that they may be gradually displaced, till the Law reigns supreme in Israel.—**14f.** Translate "Every evening they come again and howl like a dog." Probably the meaning is that the enemies of the pious make raids on the city by night.—**tarry:** read "murmur" (LXX).

LX. This Ps. really consists of two bound together in an abrupt style. In A, *i.e.* in 1–5, 10*b*, 11f. we have a lament over the desperate condition of Israel, though the Psalmist is driven by his despair to renewed trust in God. In B (6–10*a*) the tone is quite different. Appeal is made to a Divine oracle and the poet exults in the confidence that Israel will recover its possessions and utterly subdue Moab and Edom. The whole of B recurs in Ps. 108 7–11*a*: so also does the conclusion of Ps., viz. in 11–13.

LX. A was written in a time of such depression that the very earth seemed to be shaken by the calamities of the Jews. Beyond this there is no indication of date. With 60 B it is different. According to its most natural interpretation the oracle predicts the complete recovery of territory lost, and now at least partially regained. It is, therefore, not a mere summary of Joshua's conquests. Nor can it be Davidic. David did not, so far as we know, fight for the complete recovery of central, southern, and eastern Palestine. It must have been composed after the captivity of N. Israel in 721, and that being granted we must go down to the Maccabean period, since then for the first time after the Exile Judah possessed an army of its own and led it against N. Israel. But we cannot determine the precise point in the Maccabean wars which the poet has in mind.

LX. A.—3. Translate with slight emendation, "Thou hast *drenched* us with hard things."—**wine of staggering,** a common metaphor in Heb. (see, *e.g.*, Is. 5117, Jer. 2515–17). The writer means misfortunes which bewilder, like excess of wine which robs a man of his senses.—**4.** Read *mg.*—**10.** The continuation of 1–5 in 10*b* is, "Thou hast cast us off and goest not forth, O God, with our armies."

LX. B. The anthropomorphism is very remarkable if the very words of the oracle are given. But another interpretation is possible: "God hath spoken in His holy place," *i.e.* the Temple. Therefore the Jewish general, or the poet identifying himself with him, breaks forth into a song of triumph and anticipates victory. Ephraim and Shechem were in the centre of Palestine, the latter being the seat of Samaritan worship. So also was a part of Manasseh; Gilead and Succoth are on the E. of Jordan. The victories anticipated are quite unlike those ascribed to Joshua and are wholly unlike those of David.—**7. sceptre:** translate "marshal's staff" (*cf.* Gen. 4910).—**8.** The poet passes to Israel's ancient foes. Moab is to be like the slave who presents the bason for the washing of his master's feet: Edom a slave who removes the dusty shoes (*cf.* Mk. 17).—**10.** In the first words of 10 and the last of 9 we have the end of 60 B, "who leads me into the strong city?" (*i.e.* Bozrah, with a play on the meaning of the name, viz. "stronghold") "Is it not thou, O God"? But there was, no doubt, a fuller close, now lost.

LXI. The Psalmist prays from the end of the earth in the confidence that God will protect him. He expresses his desire to dwell in the Temple and ends with a prayer for the king. The Exile is presupposed: further we have no clue to the date except in the mention of the king (see on Ps. 20). We may add, however, that this king seems to be high priest also, for he is to dwell in the tabernacle (4) and to "abide before God" (7). This suits later Maccabean times, but scarcely any other period after the Exile.

2b. The LXX, with a different text, translates, "Thou hast exalted me on a rock: thou hast led me." Jerome, with the present text, translates, "When the strong man shall be exalted against me, thou wilt be my guide." We may with a slight emendation

translate, "In straits that are too mighty for me, lead thou me."

LXII. Rest in God.—The Psalmist, who is closely allied in thought and style to the author of Ps. 4, exhorts to complete trust in God. He expresses his trust in 1f., his rest in 3; in 4 he denounces sinners; in 5–12 he reverts to his original theme, which he states with greater fullness. All other trust is vain. He repeats 1f. in 5f., probably as a refrain, though the words may be variants of the same text.

1. Read the imperative as in 5, "Wait in stillness upon God" (*cf.* *mg.*).—**3.** Omit "against a man," which is an erroneous gloss, and read, "How long will they cry out and exclaim, as if at a burning wall, a tottering fence?"—**4. From his excellency:** another erroneous gloss. Translate, "They only consult to throw down," *i.e.* the wall. The tottering wall represents the tottering state or community. For this condition of things, his enemies blame the Psalmist, while they themselves are bringing on the catastrophe.

LXIII. Written by one who has seen God's glory in the Temple and resolved to praise Him all his life. He is confident his enemies will perish.—**11** refers to a Hebrew king, possibly Maccabean. The language of the Ps. is late.

1. Follow *mg.*—**In a dry:** read, "as a dry." As the parched soil pines for rain, so the Psalmist for union with God.—**2. So:** read "as."—Place **4** immediately after **2.**—**6. When** has no apodosis: read "also."—**10***b*. Render **jackals** (*mg.*).

LXIV. Prayer of a Righteous Man against Treacherous Foes.—6. The text needs correction. We may read, "They plan evil deeds: they have hidden a well-devised plot, for the inner man is incurable and their heart is deep."—**8.** Read, "He shall make them stumble because of their tongue."

LXV. A Psalm of Thanksgiving.—1–4. For pardon and the joy of Temple worship.

1. waiteth for: read "beseemeth" (LXX).—**2. all flesh** may mean no more than "all Jews" (*cf.* Is. 6623 and Jl. 228), but is better taken in a wider sense.—**3.** Read, "against us" (LXX).

5–8. For God's sovereignty in nature. In 5 read "afar off on the sea-coasts," and observe in 5 and 8 the approach to a universal religion, the religion of humanity, as distinct from a merely national religion. They imply much more distinctly than 2 some "feeling after God" on the part of the heathen.

8. The evening, like the day, is personified and goes forth from its house to cover the earth.

9–13. For an abundant harvest, which probably furnished the immediate occasion of the hymn.

9. waterest it: substitute "givest it abundance."—**The river of God** is the ocean above the firmament (Gen. 16f.*, 711), which descends in rain from time to time—**for so preparest thou the earth** (*mg.*): *i.e.* as described in 10, viz. by watering the furrows, etc.—**11.** Wherever God passes over the earth, fruitfulness attends His steps.

LXVI. A and LXVI. B. Here again we have two Pss., rather unskilfully joined together, for the former ends, the latter begins abruptly. In 66 A (1–12) the speaker always uses the first person plural in speaking of himself. He represents the people, or at least a section of the people. He deals with matters of public concern. In 66 B (13–20) the poet uses the singular number and thanks God for grace bestowed upon himself personally.

LXVI. A. The author invites the Jews, and indeed the whole world, to praise God's wondrous deeds. God had guided the Hebrews in their trials, as He had led them long ago through the Red Sea and across the Jordan dry-shod. The most notable thing in the Ps. is its universalism. The heathen, though no doubt in a subordinate position, are to share in the good time coming and to rejoice in Israel's deliverance. Partly their submission is extorted by terror (3 *mg.*) but partly also proceeds from nobler motives.

12. wealthy place: read, "place of relief."

LXVI. B.—15. incense: smoke of sacrifice (*cf.* Is. 113).—**16. for my soul:** *i.e.* "for myself"; no contrast is implied between soul and body.—**17***b*, **18.** The text is hopelessly corrupt. The following is a plausible emendation: "and thou didst exalt me above them that hate me. If there is deceit in my heart," etc.

The Ps. takes for granted that God is pleased with sacrifice, and assumes the common Jewish doctrine that by prosperity God approved innocency of life.

LXVII. An Expansion of the High Priest's Blessing (Nu. 624–26).—The Jews have had an abundant harvest, and the Psalmist hopes that Yahweh's favour to Israel may lead other nations to a knowledge of the true God.

LXVIII. A Song of Triumph.—The most difficult of all the Pss. In some places the text is so corrupt that it defies any attempt at emendation, and the VSS give little, if any, help. The historical allusions are obscure. The poet makes use of older works, especially of "Deborah's Song" in Jg. 5.

1–6. Praise of God for His power and lovingkindness. This section begins with a quotation from Nu. 1035, the words used when the Ark moved forward in the forty years' wandering through the wilderness.

4. rideth through the deserts or rather **steppes** (*cf.* Is. 403).

7–14. God's care of Israel in the past. The poet illustrates this by his picture, borrowed from Jg. 5, of the great victory over the Canaanite kings at the battle of Megiddo in Central Palestine.

8. The words "even yon Sinai" here and in Jg. 55 are an erroneous gloss. They are ungrammatical and are absent in one of the oldest MSS of the LXX. Besides the poet is thinking of the time of Deborah, not Moses.—**13f.** is unmeaning as it stands, and no emendation helps matters much. The "snow that fell at Salmon" is also unintelligible: perhaps the poet knew some traditional feature of the story lost to us. Salmon was near Shechem.

15–23. Yahweh is enthroned on Zion for the deliverance of His people.

15. A mountain of God: *i.e.* a mountain fitted by its height to be the abode of superhuman beings. But even the peaks of Bashan, the range on the NE. of Palestine, may well look with envy on Zion.—**17.** Read perhaps, "He hath come from Sinai into the sanctuary." Sinai was His old home.—**18. ascended on high:** perhaps to contend with the powers of the air and sky (*cf.* Is. 2421).—**22.** Some have interpreted this as a reference to the exploits of Judas Maccabæus in Gilead, as recorded in 1 Mac. 7. The Ps. has also been placed later, in the time of Alexander Jannæus (p. 608), who died in 78 B.C. There is, in fact, no certain or even probable indication of date. Here we have a Jewish leader hard pressed by the foe but cheered by a priestly oracle with promise of deliverance and revenge. That is all that we know.

24–27. The Festal Procession. Judah, Benjamin, and Galilee were the orthodox Jewish lands in the Maccabean times. So here again we may have a faint sign that the Ps. is Maccabean.

26*a*. Translate, "Bless God in the choirs."—**27. their ruler:** read, "in front."

28–35. Zion the spiritual centre of the whole world.

God is to maintain His rule in Jerusalem: nay, the Temple is to attract foreign kings. Egypt and Ethiopia are specially mentioned.

30, except the last clause, is hopelessly corrupt. We only know that beasts are the symbols for foreign kings.

LXIX. A Prayer for Deliverance and Revenge.—The author was a pious Jew, burning with zeal for the purity of the Temple worship (9). He was a representative man, so that the reproaches of those that reproached Yahweh fell upon him. If he was defeated, the pious throughout Israel would lose hope. He was in great danger of his life, and that from his fellow-Jews (8). Maccabean times suit the situation best, though Maccabean origin is incapable of proof. *Cf.*, *e.g.*, the career of Alcimus (pp. 382, 607) the Hellenised High Priest as related in 1 Mac. 9, where he is said to have pulled down the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary. The Psalmist, when he wrote, was apparently excluded from Temple service, for he is content to offer the sacrifice of praise, confident that such a spiritual offering will please God better than the slaughter of a dumb beast.

2–4. Cry for Help.—The poet suffers metaphorically what Jeremiah (Jer. 38) suffered literally.

4. while I wait: read, "from waiting" (LXX). Read also, "I (emphatic) had to restore that which I took not away."

5–12. The Psalmist acknowledges his sin before God, but it is his virtue, not his fault, which has brought ruin upon him.

13–18. Prayer for deliverance.

13. in an acceptable time: read, "do thou accept me." The time was the reverse of acceptable.

19–28. The Psalmist's suffering and thirst for vengeance.

22*b*. Read "and let their peace-offerings become a trap."—**26*b*.** Read, "They add to the affliction of thy wounded ones" (LXX). This may refer to the defeat and death of Judas Maccabæus and his men.—**27. into thy righteousness:** *i.e.* into the assembly of those whom God declares righteous.—**28. the book of life:** the burgess roll of citizens of the Kingdom of God.

29–33. The Psalmist's confidence and gratitude.

The whole Ps. is intensely individual: it depicts the agony of a lonely soul. But the compiler of the Psalter has added the three final verses, in which the popular desire for the restoration of the county towns of Judah and the faith of the pious in the God of the whole earth, find expression.

LXX. See Ps. 40(14)–18.

LXXI. A Psalm of Gratitude for God's Constant Care of His Servant from Youth to Old Age.—The Psalmist expresses himself in language borrowed from older sources.

1–3. Quoted from Ps. 31. Use is also made of Ps. 22. But the Psalmist is a man of original power, and the Ps. has a definite character of its own. He has powerful enemies and has been brought to death's door, but he is full of trust that God, who has led him from his infancy, will lead him to the end. He is already growing old. The writer cannot be speaking in the name of Israel (see 9).—**6*c*.** Read, "my hope shall be continually in thee."—**7.** The Psalmist was a wonder to many, for why should a pious man suffer so severely? — **20.** Follow *mg.* The Psalmist was in imminent danger of death, but did not lose hope.

LXXII. Prayer for the Ideal King.—The king is to be just, beneficent, renowned. But he is in no sense superhuman. On the contrary, in 15 we are told that men will pray for him constantly. But in 5–11 another view presents itself. Not only is he to rule all nations, but his pre-existence, as some have thought, seems to be assumed in 6, and clearly his immortality is implied in 5. The insertion breaks the connexion between 4 and 12. Hence it is now generally admitted that 5–11 is, at least in part, a later addition. The king prayed for was certainly Jewish (see 2) and not improbably Maccabean. The passage inserted (5–11) assumes a Messianic doctrine of very late age; how late, it is impossible to say. See further p. 372.

3. A reminiscence of Is. 45*8*.—**7.** Read "righteousness" (LXX).—**9.** Read, "Adversaries shall bow."—**10.** Tarshish was probably a Phœnician colony in Spain, Sheba (1 K. 10*) in S. Arabia, Seba in Ethiopia.—**15.** Read, "May he live and may there be given," etc.—**16.** Only the first nine words are intelligible; the rest of the verse is hopelessly corrupt.—**17.** Read, "His name shall be established." This is not, as in 5–11, a personal immortality, but one of fame. Translate also "men shall bless themselves in him" (*mg.*), *i.e.* take him as the standard of prosperity (*cf.* Gen. 12(3)). So we say "as wise as Solomon," "as rich as Crœsus."—**18f.** is no part of Ps. 72. It is the doxology which closed the book of "the prayers (LXX 'Pss.') of David," and at a later time was used to mark the end of Book II of the Psalter.

BOOK III.—PSS. LXXIII.–LXXXIX.

LXXIII. The Hope of Immortality.—Here the Psalter reaches its highest elevation. Job, in 19(25)f.*, believes that God will vindicate his innocence even after death, and is confident that he himself, in spite of death, will see God. Job, however, expresses no belief that he will live for ever. He is to see God for a moment; he does not expect that he will abide with God continually. This is just what the Psalmist does expect. This belief flows from the depths of his spiritual experience, and he utters it with intensity of conviction and in calm and measured language. He has seen the prosperity of the godless and has all but lost his faith in God. He will not, however, condemn the generation of God's children, or admit that their piety has been in vain. God teaches him how precarious the prosperity of the wicked is, and leads him to the conviction that communion with God, the source of life, is the supreme and eternal blessing. See p. 371.

1–12. The pride of the wicked and their prosperity.

1. As the text stands, Israel means the spiritual Israel, but the Psalmist makes no such distinction. Read, "to the upright."—**4.** Read, with new division of consonants, "They have no pangs: sound and firm is their body."—**7.** LXX reads, "Their iniquity goeth forth from their fat," *i.e.* from their gross, sensual nature. In *7b* read *mg.*—**8. oppression:** translate, "perverse words."—**9f.** These practical atheists discuss all questions, human and Divine. This attracts many to their side. Nothing can be made of 10*b*.

13–22. The Psalmist's temptation and his deliverance. He is tempted to think piety of no account. Temporal prosperity was its promised reward, but under the later Greek rulers, especially Antiochus, a Jew would profit far more by adopting Greek fashions than by strict observance of the Law. But the Psalmist will not be disloyal to the revelation which belonged to the Hebrews as the children of Yahweh (Dt. 14(1)). In the "sanctuary of God," *i.e.* the Temple (for there is no need to think of secret religious societies like the Greek mysteries), the truth flashes upon him. "As a dream when one awaketh they are gone, as a phantom which thou despisest when awake" (20

emended). The Psalmist confesses that he has been like a beast which has no spiritual sight.

23–28. Now, on the contrary, he enjoys unbroken communion with God and learns that this is the supreme good. God is his guide here and will receive him into glory hereafter. 28c is an interpolation.

LXXIV. The date may be fixed with certainty and that within narrow limits. The Jews are suffering extreme distress, but apparently by no fault of their own, for there is no confession of sin. The persecution is a religious one, since we are told repeatedly (10, 18, 22) that their foes blaspheme God. Synagogues, unknown in pre-exilic times, exist throughout the land. Calamities, to some extent similar, existed in 586 B.C. when the Babylonians took Jerusalem and burned down the Temple. But if the writer had lived in the time of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, he could not have complained that no prophet had arisen (9). This, however, is just the complaint which befits Maccabean times (1 Mac. 9*27*, 4*46*, 14*41*). Everything, therefore, points to the composition of the Ps. between 168 B.C., when Antiochus defiled the Temple with heathen sacrifice, forbade Jewish rites, and burnt copies of the Law, and 165, when Judas Maccabæus cleansed the Temple and reorganised the worship (p. 607).

1–11. The misery of Israel beneath the oppression of the heathen, prayer for deliverance.

3. perpetual is a strange expression, for the ruins were of very recent date. But the Psalmist may have despaired of their restoration.—**4** may refer to Greek inscriptions, weapons, etc., hung in the Temple as "signs" of the Greek ascendancy.—**7.** The Temple was not burnt down, but the door-posts were set on fire and destroyed (1 Mac. 4*38*).—**9. our signs:** all the outward token of religion, *e.g.* observance of Sabbaths and feasts.—**11.** Read, "Why dost thou hold back thy hand and keep thy right hand in the midst of thy bosom?"

12–17. God's Omnipotence as Creator.

13f. The Psalmist draws from the popular mythology. He refers to the struggle between the powers of light and darkness, the latter being personified as "dragons" and Leviathan (Job 38***).—**14***b*. The carcase of Leviathan was food for the wild beasts of the desert which feed on carrion.

18–23. Arise, O God!

18. Emend, "In spite of this (*i.e.* in spite of God's wonders in creation) the enemy hath blasphemed Yahweh and a foolish (*i.e.* impious, see Ps. 14*1*, Is. 35*8**) people hath blasphemed thy name." It is perhaps worth noting in this connexion that the great adversary of the Jewish Law, Epiphanes, *i.e.* "the illustrious," was nicknamed Epimanes, *i.e.* "the madman."—**20.** Render, "Look to the fat ones for they are full." The wealthy oppressors are compared to fatlings. The pious Jews repair to dark holes and corners (1 Mac. 1*53*, 2*27*ff.), but even there the oppressors find them out.

LXXV. The Inevitable Judgment.—The Ps. opens with praise of God and His wondrous works. After 1 it is God who speaks. God will surely judge the world, though He waits for His appointed time. He holds the brimming cup of wine, and all must drink.

1. for . . . works: read, "We have called on thy name: we have told of thy wondrous works" (LXX).—**2.** For the appointed time long delayed but sure to come, *cf.* Hab. 2*3*.—**3.** Follow *mg.*—**6***b*. Read, "Nor yet from the wilderness or the mountains (*cf. mg.*) cometh it" (the sentence of exaltation or depression).—**8.** The imagery of the cup is found in Jer. 25*15*ff. and elsewhere.—**mixture** refers to herbs which increased the intoxicating power of the wine.—Read, "He poureth it out to one after another" (LXX).—**9. declare:** read, "rejoice."—In **9f.** the poet again speaks.

LXXVI. The Majesty of God in Zion: Homage of the Nations.

2. Salem: a poetical name for Jerusalem (Gen. 14*18**).—**3. lightnings of the bow** (*mg.*), *i.e.* arrows.—**4.** Read, "from the eternal mountains" (LXX) or rather "mountain," *i.e.* Zion.—**7.** Read, "because of the strength of thine anger."—**9.** The Divine sentence is given from heaven: the earth trembles and is still, persecuting the meek of the land no more.—**10.** For "wrath" in each case read "nations," and for "shalt thou gird upon thee," read "shall keep feast," *i.e.* at Zion. By "the residue of nations" the poet means those who are left after the judgment. All mankind are to acknowledge the God of Israel.

LXXVII. Israel's Present Distress and Past Glory.

1–3. The present distress.

1. with my voice: *i.e.* with a loud voice.

4–15. Past glory.

4. Perhaps we should translate, "Mine eyelids are held fast," *i.e.* so that they cannot close in sleep.—**6.** The first words ought to stand at the end of 5. "The years of ancient time I call to remembrance."—**my song:** inappropriate; we need some such word as "I mused."—**10***b*. Render, "This is my affliction that the right hand of the Most High is changed" (*cf. mg.*). Of course God's right hand had not really lost its power; but that power was no longer displayed to His people.—**13. holiness** (*mg.*): God's presence with His people and in their wanderings sanctified all the way they went. See especially Is. 63*9*ff.

16–19. Here we have the fragment of another poem. It describes a theophany and has no connexion with its context.—**20** belongs or may belong to Ps. 77.

LXXVIII. The Lesson of Israel's History.—The northern tribes have been perverse from the first. Their wickedness has culminated in the schismatical religion of the Samaritans. God, on the contrary, has chosen Zion, the sanctuary of Judah. The Ps. must have been written before John Hyrcanus (134 B.C.) destroyed the Samaritan shrine on Mt. Gerizim (p. 608).

1–11. Introduction.

2. parable: rather "poem."—**dark sayings:** rather enigmas in the history of Israel and Judah which the Psalmist explains.—**4.** Point with LXX, "It was not hid from their children: they told it for the generation that was," etc.—**5. testimony:** *i.e.* the Law which bears witness to the Divine will.—**9.** Correct from 5*7*, "The children of Ephraim, like a deceitful bow, turned back, etc. They were like mercenaries who fled when danger came" (*cf.* Hos. 7*16*). The Psalmist would find a plausible support for his theory in the Book of Judges, a North-Israelite production, and concerned with Israel's, not Judah's sins.

12–39 dwells chiefly on God's wonderful work on His people's behalf, though it also relates instances of their perversity and God's merciful forgiveness.

12. Zoan: Tanis (Is. 19*11**). It was at the NE. corner of Egypt.—**25.** Manna was the ordinary food of the "strong," *i.e.* angels (see Ps. 103,20).—**30.** They were as yet in full enjoyment of the flesh; they were not tired or sick of it.—**33. in vanity:** *i.e.* in aimless wanderings through the desert.

40–58. Israel's constant apostasy despite all that God had done for them, especially by punishing their enemies in Egypt and by destroying the Canaanites.

48. hail: read, "pestilence."—**49f.** Here the Psalmist adds to the story as told in Exodus. The "band of evil angels," and the general plague, are not mentioned elsewhere in the Bible.—**51. Ham:** a name

for Egypt in late Pss. (10523*). Egypt was the greatest of Ham's sons.—**54.** Follow *mg.*—**55***b*. Read, "and allotted their (the Canaanites') inheritance by line" (*cf.* Is. 3717).

59–72. Shiloh replaced by Jerusalem. The Kingdom of David.

59. Israel in the old language included the central and northern tribes, as distinct from Judah, though after the captivity of the northern nation, Judah adopted the now vacant name. Shiloh was the great shrine and was destroyed, we know not how, probably by the Philistines (see 1 S. 71*, Jer. 712–14*, 266–9).—**64.** Read with LXX, "No lament was made for their widows."—**65***b*. Translate with LXX, "like a mighty man who had been overpowered by wine." The Ephraimites and the other tribes associated with him are the "adversaries": God has been patient with them too long: now He rises, as from sleep or wine, to punish the Samaritans, who in their rejection of the shrine at Jerusalem upheld the old evil tradition. But the sequence of thought is far from clear.

LXXIX. The Sanctuary Profaned.—The Ps. is of the same date as 74. It does not suit the earlier destruction of the city and the Temple in 586 B.C. The words "war," "overthrow," and the like do not occur: the Temple is profaned, not destroyed. On the other hand, 3 is in striking accord with the picture drawn in 1 Mac. 137. Notice also the mention of the godly or Asideans in 2 (see Ps. 43).

2f. is quoted in 1 Mac. 717.—**6f.** is from Jer. 1025, and was perhaps inserted here by a later hand.—**11. preserve:** read, "loose."—**12.** The eastern flowing robes were well adapted for carrying burdens in the front folds (see Is. 656, Jer. 3218, Lk. 638).

LXXX. Then and Now. The Messianic Hope.—The Ps. depicts Judah's forlorn condition, first directly (1–7) and then under the figure of a vine (8–19). It is divided into strophes by the refrain in 3, 7, 19. (In 3 insert "of hosts" (LXX) as in 7, 19.) Probably also the refrain has fallen out after 13.

1*c*. A rhetorical reminiscence of the time when the Ark (1 S. 44, 2 S. 62) represented Yahweh and was carried out to battle.—**2.** The Psalmist looks forward to the recovery of the northern tribes and their union with Judah before the advent of the Messianic age.—**4.** Translate, "Wilt thou fume at the prayer?"—**5.** Read with LXX, "fed us," "given us."—**6. strife:** *i.e.* an object of contention, such as, *e.g.*, Poland or the Italian States have been to the greater powers.—**among themselves:** read, "at us."

8–11. The vine in its glory. For the allegory *cf.* Gen. 4922, Is. 51–7, Jer. 221.

10. cedars of God: *i.e.* so great that they are in a special sense due to Divine action.—**11** gives the ideal boundaries of the Davidic kingdom, viz. the Mediterranean and the Euphrates.

12*f*. The vine in its abandonment.

14–19. Prayer for revival.—**15. stock:** a word of uncertain meaning.—**15***b* is the original, **17***b* is an inferior variant. The context shows that the "son of man whom thou madest so strong for thyself" is primarily Israel personified.

LXXXI. This Ps. is probably composite.

A. 1–4.—A Festal Hymn, specially adapted for the old New Year's Day or Feast of Trumpets (p. 104), which was held on the new moon of Tishri, the seventh month, and for the Feast of Tabernacles (pp. 103f.) at the full moon of the same month. The old New Year in the autumn, when the cycle of agricultural work was complete, is to be distinguished from the Babylonian New Year in the spring month of Nisan (see p. 118, Lev. 2324ff. and Nu. 29). Possibly 81 A is a mere fragment.

B is different in tone and subject. It relates (5–10) God's care for His people in Egypt and the wilderness, (11–16) Israel's disobedience. The triumph through God's favour, if Israel would do as He commanded.

5. The "testimony," *i.e.* God's witness for the effect of disobedience and obedience, relates to the verses which follow, but probably the text of 5 has suffered from the union of 81 B with 81 A. Read with LXX, "He heard a language that he knew not."—**7.** "I proved thee": the reference is to some lost tradition.

LXXXII. Against Iniquitous Rulers. Jewish rulers are meant, as is plain from 3f.

6f. The use of the word "God" in 6f. is ironical. The great men bear themselves as if Divine, but have to die like other men. [But see on Ps. 581.—A. S. P.] —**princes:** read, "demons." The writer may have had Gen. 61–4* in mind.—**8. inherit:** read, "rule." But the verse is a later addition. God's rule over the heathen has nothing to do with administration of justice in Israel, and there is no reason for begging God to rise and judge, for this He is already doing.

LXXXIII. The date can be fixed with a near approach to certainty. The clue is furnished by 1 Mac. 5. The victories of Judas Maccabæus and the cleansing of the Temple in 165 B.C. (p. 607) were followed by a general uprising of the neighbouring States, which were jealous of Judah and bent on hindering its national revival. So far as we know, no simultaneous attack of this kind had ever occurred before or ever occurred again. But the political situation exactly corresponds to that here presupposed. To each account the names of the Edomites, Ammonites, Philistines, Arabians, Tyrians are common. The object of the attack is also identical, viz. to "cut off Israel from being a nation." The poet recalls past victories in the time of the Judges and prays that Israel's enemies in his own time may meet with crushing defeat. Of the hostile nations mentioned Edom was on the S., Ammon on the E. of Israel, the Ishmaelites seem to have lived on the N. of the Sinaitic wilderness, the Hagarenes (mentioned only here and 1 Ch. 510,19f.) were an Arab (or Aramæan) tribe on the E. of Jordan. Gebal was the mountainous region (*cf.* Arabic "Jebel"="mountain") S. of the Dead Sea; the Amalekites dwelt originally on the S. of Canaan. Some of these nationalities existed no longer, and are used here poetically as types of Israel's foes. It is surprising to find Assyria linked with these petty powers. But Assyria in late Heb. stands for Syria (Nu. 2423*), which indeed is a mutilated form of the same word. Antiochus Epiphanes had withdrawn to Persia and left only a detachment under Gorgias (1 Mac. 559) as a defensive against the Jews. The "children of Lot" were Moab and Ammon (Gen. 1937*b*).

9–12. For the victories over the Canaanites and Midianites, see Jg. 4–7. For **habitations** (12) read "habitation" (LXX).

Since the Ps. makes no mention of the victories which Judas Maccabæus won over the hostile States, we must place it after, but not much after, 165 B.C.

LXXXIV. A Pilgrim Psalm.—**3. sparrow** (rather "little bird" generally) and **swallow** are metaphorical for pious Jewish pilgrims. As the birds find their nests and homes, so the Jew, worthy of the name, finds his rest and joy in proximity to the altars of his God. "Altars" may be a poetical plural, like "holy places" in Ps. 6835 (*cf.* especially 1325,7). To take the words as if they meant that the birds in the literal sense found a home at the altar would involve manifest absurdity. The swallow still haunts the temple-

mosque at Jerusalem, but an altar with its crowd of worshippers and its sacrifices by fire is surely the last place which a bird would choose for its nest or even as a favourite resort.—**5.** Read, "in whose heart are ascents" (LXX), *i.e.* pilgrimages to Jerusalem on the height.—**6.** The meaning is very doubtful. The "valley of balsam shrubs" (? *cf. mg.*) is mentioned only here. Possibly there was such a valley on the way to Jerusalem. The Psalmist by a play of words thinks of it as a vale of weeping, barren and repulsive. *Cf.* Bab el Mandeb, "Gate of lamentation," at the narrow and perilous entrance of the Red Sea. Read, perhaps, "As they pass through the valley of Baca, He (*i.e.* God) maketh it a spring."—**blessings:** read "pools." The early rain falls in October, before the new farming year begins.—**7.** Instead of growing weary, the pilgrims are strengthened by that journey. Read, "seeth God in Zion."—**9.** Translate "O God, behold our shield and look," etc. The "anointed one" may be the High Priest (see Lev. 43,5,16, 615).—**10.** Read, "A day in thy courts is better than a thousand away"; *mg.* gives better the sense of what follows.

It has been thought that 9, 11f. have been in whole or part interpolated into this Ps. as a liturgical conclusion.

LXXXV. Prayer for the Completion of Israel's Restoration.—The Ps. falls clearly into two halves. 1–7 is a prayer to God. It begins (1–3) by commemorating God's mercy. He had restored His people (see on 147) and forgiven their sin, but the expectation of Jewish saints remained unfulfilled (4–7). The reference may be to the hopes raised by the "Second Isaiah" (Is. 40–55). Israel did return under Cyrus (pp. 77f.), but the hopes of coming glory were disappointed.

The second half, on the contrary (8–13), is not a prayer to God but a revelation from God, uttered perhaps by a prophet. The long-looked-for glory will surely come.

8*b*. unto: read, "concerning."—**saints:** see Ps. 43*. —**8*c*.** Read, "and concerning those who turn to Him with their heart" (LXX).—**9. his salvation:** *i.e.* the Messianic age.—**glory:** the light in which God lives (see Is. 2423). It was present in Solomon's Temple and in the Tabernacle but not in the second Temple, but it was to return. Observe that the religious blessing, the glory of God, comes first; then the moral virtues, mercy, truth, righteousness, peace; lastly the material blessing of abundant harvests.

LXXXVI. The Prayer of a Godly Man in Affliction.—This Ps. is little more than a cento from the rest of the Psalter.

1–10. The Psalmist prays for succour, pleading God's mercy and his own piety. For piety, see Ps. 43.

8–10. The incomparable greatness of God, which all nations will in the end acknowledge.

11–17. Prayer for Divine guidance and for a token that God is on his side, not on that of his more prosperous foes.

11. to fear: read, "to them that fear." The LXX reads, "let my heart rejoice to fear thy name."

LXXXVII. Zion the Mother of all Yahweh's People.—When this Ps. was written, the Jews were scattered everywhere in the known world. But every true Jew recognised Jerusalem as his mother city. The glory of Zion was due to the establishment there of David's court and to the great principle of the Deuteronomic reform, "one Yahweh and one altar," viz. at Jerusalem. Attempt was made by interpolation in ancient records (see Gen. 1418–20* and 222*) to carry the consecration of Jerusalem back into patriarchal times.

3. are spoken: read, "he speaketh."—**4, 5*a*.** A short speech by Yahweh. Render, "because of them that know" (or "acknowledge") "me," *i.e.* the Jews who are settled there. Rahab (Job 913*,2612, Is. 519*) was a mythical sea-monster, identified here with Egypt (*cf.* Is. 307*). Many Jews had been born in Egypt, Babylon, etc., but their spiritual birthplace was in Jerusalem.—**5*a*.** Read "I call Zion mother"; every one was born there (LXX), whatever the place of his physical birth may have been, if he be a true Jew. —**6. when he writeth up:** read, "in the register of peoples" (LXX).—**7.** The dance and song are sacred, and the springs are metaphorical.

LXXXVIII. A Leper's Prayer.—This Ps. has striking peculiarities. The suffering here portrayed has been long and terrible. The Psalmist has been tormented by sickness from his youth (15). Yahweh has "put lover and friend away from him." This seclusion was, no doubt, due to leprosy, which was a living death, separating a man from his dearest. The malady was supposed to come directly from God: it was His "stroke" *par excellence*. The Psalmist mentions no enemies, he confesses no sin, he pleads no merits. Nor does he draw comfort from the thought of an afterlife. On the contrary, he shares the common belief in Sheol (10–12). But he still holds to his faith in God, and assumes (14) that there is some reason for God's wrath, for he did not doubt that the leprosy came from God's anger (7, 14, and 16).

1. Read, "Yahweh my God I have cried in the daytime, and my plaint is before thee in the night."—**5. Cast off:** the meaning is doubtful, perhaps "my bed": or we may read "I have been reckoned" or "I have been made to dwell."—**15. distracted:** read, "benumbed."—**18.** Read perhaps, "and only darkness is my familiar."

LXXXIX. The Covenant with David.—The Ps. may be divided thus: **1–18.** The promise made to David (2 S. 7). Yahweh is all-powerful, so that He can, faithful so that He will, fulfil His word. **19–37.** The promise considered at greater length. Observe the sobriety of tone. It is David's dynasty, not David himself, which is to endure for ever, and the kingdom promised is not world-wide but limited to the old boundaries, viz. the Euphrates and the Egyptian frontier. **38–51.** In spite of this great promise Israel is in abject misery, and the time is short, for human life is soon over. The Ps. is generally admitted to be post-exilic. The sceptre had already (39,44f.) fallen from the hands of the Jewish monarch. The Ps. must have been composed long after the Exile, since there is no prayer for restoration to Palestine, no confession of sin. But it is impossible to determine the date more precisely. It has been suggested that the poet does not look for any one man as the "anointed" (38 and 51), in whom the covenant is to be fulfilled; but transfers the Davidic promises to the idealised and personified Israel, the true "anointed" of Yahweh. On the other hand the Ps. has been referred to late Maccabean times, and in particular to the defeat of Alexander Jannæus (p. 608) in 88 B.C. by Ptolemy Eukairos (Josephus, *Ant.*, xiii. 14, 1f.). Possibly the Maccabean princes claimed to be David's heirs, though they had no Davidic blood. But Alexander was a brutal and sanguinary leader, so that some Jews preferred Eukairos to him, and in any case the conjectural reference has little or nothing to support it.

2. Read with LXX, "thou didst say," and "shall be established."—**7.** Read with LXX, "Great is he and to be feared above," etc.—**8. Jah:** a contracted form of Yahweh.—**10. Rahab:** the mythical sea-

monster (*cf.* 874*, Job 913*, Is. 519*, Ps. 83*).—**19. saints:** read, "saint," and refer to Nathan.—**laid help:** read, "I have set a diadem on."—**27. my first-born:** used of Israel (Ex. 422) as dearest to the heart of Yahweh his Father.—**51. reproached the footsteps:** —either because his advent is so long deferred or because he is fleeing before his foes.

BOOK IV.—PSS. XC.–CVI.

XC. Man's Mortality and his Refuge in the Ever-living God.—**1–6.** The nothingness of man's life, the eternity of God's life.—**7–10.** It is the sinfulness of man which makes his life so short.—**11f.** Man's lot should teach him reverence and wisdom.—**13–17.** Prayer for God's blessing in the future.

1. dwelling-place: the thought is beautiful but irrelevant. The Psalmist is speaking of God's eternity, not of His dealing with Israel. Moreover, 1*a* and 1*b* are out of order. Read, "Lord, thou hast been in all time. Even from everlasting to everlasting thou art God. Before the mountains were brought forth or ever the earth and the world had been formed." Not "thou hadst formed," for no one would need to be told that the Maker must have existed before the things which He made.—**3. Return:** to the dust from which you were made.—5*a*. RV is scarcely possible. Read, "Thou sowest them year by year." New generations spring up, flourish, and die, God lives for ever.—11*b*. Read, "And who looketh upon thy fury?"

XCI. God Protects His Own.—**1f.** Read perhaps "Blessed is he that dwelleth," "that abideth," "that saith of Yahweh."—**3. noisome pestilence:** read, "from the pit of destruction." The pestilence is mentioned with greater fullness (6).—**5.** The **arrow** may be a metaphor for the sun-stroke.—**9.** Read, "For as for thee, Yahweh is thy refuge." We thus avoid an intolerable confusion of persons.—13*a*. Read, "Thou shalt tread on the creeping thing and adder."

The poet holds the view common among the Jews in the second century B.C. The righteous are rewarded with material prosperity, especially long life. The prosperity of the bad is precarious.

XCII. In Praise of Providence.—God's counsels are too deep for the stupid man. But in fact the prosperity of the wicked is superficial.

10*b*. Read, "Thou hast sprinkled me with fresh oil."

XCIII. God in Nature and the Law.—1*b*. "Yahweh is apparelled with strength: He hath girded himself with"? A word has fallen out at the end.—**3.** The floods are the chaotic powers which Yahweh reduced to order at creation.—**4.** The same God gave the Law and ordered the sanctity of His house.

XCIV. A Prayer for Vengeance on Oppressive Rulers and for Deliverance from them.—**1–6.** The wickedness of the arrogant. The bad rulers here are evidently Jews. They are oppressors, not invaders, and their offences against the moral law are just those which the prophets had denounced in the Israel of their day.

7–11. The practical (see on Ps. 14), not theoretical atheism of the arrogant. They thought God did not care for men's conduct. As if He who planted ear and eye would fail to hear and see! Only a Jew could adopt this semi-sceptical position to Israel's God.

10*b*. Emend, "He that teacheth men—shall he be without knowledge?"

12–23. Hope of better days. He with whom evil cannot dwell, will in the end vindicate the good and destroy the wicked.

13. rest: not interior rest, but security from the calamities which will overtake the world.—**15.** Read, "For authority shall return to the righteous man, And all the upright of heart shall follow him" (Syr.). Good rulers will replace the bad (Pharisees or Sadducees?) and these last shall win the loyalty of the people.

XCV. A Hymn of Praise.—The greatness of God in nature. A warning from the history of Israel in the wilderness. There is no cogent reason for dividing the Ps. into two. For Massah and Meribah, see Ex. 17iff. and Nu. 20iff.

4. heights: (not "strength," *mg.*). The poet contrasts the deep places of the earth with the mountain peaks.

XCVI. The Praise of Yahweh in Israel, among the Nations, in all Creation.—This Ps. is inserted with considerable variations, in 1 Ch. 1623–33, probably by a later hand, and not by the Chronicler himself. It is largely compiled from other sources, notably from 2 Is.

1. a new song: a song evoked by some new and startling event. The phrase occurs in Is. 4210, where it is much more in place.—**5.** Read *mg.* but the meaning of Heb. is doubtful.—**6. sanctuary:** *i.e.* the "heavens." 1 Ch. has "place."—**9.** Translate **in holy array** (*mg.*); but "on the holy mountains," *i.e.* on the heights of Zion, is a plausible emendation.—**13** expresses the Messianic hope in a general form. But here, as in Mal. 46, there is no thought of any personal Messiah. Yahweh Himself is the deliverer.

XCVII. Yahweh in the Storm.—The appearance of Yahweh is described in terms of primitive religion, when He was the God of fire and tempest, earthquake and volcano. These traits are retained, but united with that later and far more perfect religion, which recognised Him as the only God (5, 7) and as a God of absolute righteousness.

1. isles: really means "coastlands."—**7.** See on Ps. 291 where sons of God=gods here.—**10.** Read, "Yahweh loveth them that hate evil."—**11.** Read, "Light is risen for the righteous" (LXX).

XCVIII. A Psalm of Grateful Joy.—The poet calls all nations and all mankind to rejoice, because Yahweh "has manifested His righteousness." Here, as in 2 Is., righteousness means Yahweh's vindication of Israel's rights (see Ps. 1036, Is. 4524). It is almost equivalent to the grace which Yahweh shows to Israel. Yahweh will, moreover, come speedily to judge the world.

1. a new song: see on Ps. 961. Yahweh's arm is holy, because separate from all human weakness and defilement.—**6.** The trumpets are possibly mentioned here, because the Ps. was meant for use at the Feast of Trumpets (the Jewish New Year's Day, p. 104).

XCIX. A Temple Song after Victory.—The Ps. is divided into three parts by the refrain "Holy is he" (*i.e.* separate from all defilement) at 3, 5 and (in an expanded form) at 9.

1–3. The Psalmist praises Yahweh as exalted above all material things. The cherubim seem to recover what was perhaps their original significance, as spirits of the tempest (see on Ps. 189). Yahweh is seated on the cherubim, *i.e.* on the throne which they guard.—**4f.** He extols Yahweh's righteousness to Israel.—4*a*. MT is meaningless. Read with different pointing, "A strong one reigneth, a lover of judgment."—**5. footstool:** *i.e.* Zion or the Temple.

6–9. Yahweh still speaks as in the old time through priest and saint and through the Law.

6. Better, "a Moses and an Aaron are among his priests and a Samuel is among them that call upon his name." The people still has its priests and saints who mediate between the nation and its God.—**7.** Translate, "He speaketh in the pillar of the cloud to them that

keep his testimonies and the statutes which he hath given them," *i.e.* the same God still speaks from the pillar of the cloud to those who con the lessons of olden days. The past is continued in the present.—8*c*. These words are out of place here. Read perhaps, "But avengest the insults that fall upon them." God forgives the priests and their adherents (the Sadducees ?), but takes vengeance on the insults offered to the priestly rulers.

C. A Processional Hymn (see 4).—The Ps. invites the Israelites to be joyful, declares Yahweh is the only God and the Maker of all, and that He is specially the God of Israel.

2. Serve: offer sacrifice to (see Is. 19^{21,23}).—**3. we are his:** this suits the context better, but "He hath made us," *i.e.* made us what we are, viz. the people of redemption, is also a possible reading.

CI. The Ideal Ruler.—The main purport is clear. The ideal ruler is faithful to the high standard which he sets before himself (2*b*–4). He requires (5–8) the same strict observance from others. The crux of the Ps. is 1, 2*a*. Mercy and judgment, unless another meaning is suggested by the context, would refer to the Divine mercy and justice, but of this the Psalmist makes no mention. The question, moreover, "When wilt thou come unto me?" is puzzling. The ruler seems to have no special difficulty or distress such as the question implies. Perhaps the introduction belonged to another Ps. and was prefixed to the didactic poem which follows in order to fit the Ps. for liturgical use. Or we may accept the emendation, "I will keep mercy and judgment . . . I will give heed to the way of the perfect, let it come before me."

8. morning by morning: *i.e.* "constantly."

CII. The title, which is unique in the Psalter, describes the contents of 1–11 very well. So far the Ps. is the prayer of a man in extreme affliction. The same may be said of 23 and 24*a*. But the theme which occupies the rest of the Ps. is quite different and indeed contrary. The poet turns to the eternal life of Yahweh. He has already "built up Zion": His glory has appeared: not only the Jews but other peoples and kingdoms are to serve Yahweh. We may try to evade this difficulty by treating the perfect verbs as futures of prophetic certainty. Thus in 16 the translation would be "Yahweh shall build up Zion": and so in other cases. This explanation may be right. It is, however, more probable that 1–11 is the prayer of an individual sufferer; that a later poet misunderstood the meaning and took the sufferer to be Israel personified, and then appended new verses to the older poem, predicting Israel's glory and the advent of the Messianic age. Thus the Ps. was adapted to Temple use. It bears no mark of date except that 2 agrees almost verbally with Ps. 69^{17}. Now Ps. 69 is certainly Maccabean, and as the Ps. before us is full of thoughts which are reminiscences of other Pss., of Job and Is., and has little or no originality, it is probably later than Ps. 69.

5. Emend, "My flesh cleaves to my bones." An emaciated man does look as if his flesh was drawn tight to his bones. In the case of every man the bones cleave to the flesh.—**6. pelican:** what bird is meant is not known.—**8.** "do curse by me" (see Jer. 29^{22}).

CIII. A Hymn of Thanksgiving for Yahweh's Pardoning Love.—The main theme is stated in 6–14. Yahweh is just, He rights the oppressed, but above all He is considerate and ready to pardon sin. He acts like a father to His children.

1–5. The poet speaks from his own experience. He calls on his own soul to bless Yahweh. Here the singular is used: not so in 6–14 (see above). **15–18.** A man's life is short, but Yahweh continues His kindness to a pious man's descendants.—**19–22.** Thanksgiving, in which men and angels are to share, for Yahweh's almighty power.

3. diseases: to be taken literally. The cure of disease was the proof that Yahweh had forgiven sin.—**5. mouth:** meaning uncertain (see *mg.*). "Thy desire" (LXX) makes good sense but has no linguistic justification.—5*b* also is of doubtful interpretation. It may refer to some forgotten myth about the eagle (or rather vulture). Otherwise we must accept the prosaic solution that the poet refers to moulting.—**13.** There is no real approach here to Mt. 5^{48}. Here God is compared to a kindly father who knows the weakness of His children and does not expect too much from them. There God as Father demands perfection itself from His children, and lays on them a task which will continue for ever.

CIV. The Glory of the Creator.—1–4. Yahweh's power in the heavens. He is clothed in the light which God made first (Gen. 1^{3}) before the heavenly bodies. He lays the foundation of His dwelling in the waters above the firmament (Gen. 1^{7}*). Thence He issues from time to time in person riding on the clouds (Is. 19^{1}), or else sends His message by wind or flame. —**5–9.** Separation of land and sea.—**10–18.** God's care for man and beast.

13*b*. The emendation, "The earth is satisfied from thy clouds," *i.e.* with the rain which falls from them, implies the use of a word for clouds which means "vapours" rather than actual rain.—**14. service of man:** rather, "for man's work," *i.e.* in tilling the ground and so raising grain.—**16.** The cedars of Lebanon are so great that only God could have planted them.—**18. conies:** Pr. 30^{26}*.

19–23. The night.—**19. for seasons:** especially holy seasons such as Passover, etc.

24–30. The poet begins with the sea and passes to the thought of God as giving and renewing all life.

26. Read perhaps, "There go the dragons." This preserves the parallelism.—**leviathan:** a mythical sea monster (see Job 40^{25}–41) with features borrowed from the crocodile and the whale.—**31–35.** Ascription of glory to God who Himself rejoices in His works.

CV. Hebrew History from Abraham to Joshua.—1–6. Introductory. An invitation to praise God.—**7–11.** The covenant and promise of Canaan.—**12–25.** Yahweh's kindness to the Patriarchs.

12. number: read perhaps, "Canaan."—**14. kings:** notably Pharaoh and Abimelech of Gerar.—**15.** "mine anointed ones," *i.e.* the Patriarchs who were great princes (*cf.* Gen. 23^{6}).—**22. bind:** read "admonish" (LXX).—22*b* possibly refers to the belief held by Philo and other Jews, that the wisdom of the Gentiles was stolen from the Jews.—**23. Ham:** *i.e.* Egypt. Egypt (Mizraim) was a son of Ham (Gen. 10^{6}), and the native name was Kham, *i.e.* "black," with reference to the colour of the soil.

26–41. The marvels of the Exodus and the Wanderings.

28*b*. This contradicts, as it stands, the writer's evident meaning; read, "But they did not observe his words."

42–45. The poet recurs to the thought of the Covenant.

CVI. Israel's Sin.—1–5. Introduction. Praise to Yahweh for His power and greatness. The writer's desire to share in Israel's joy.

3. he that doeth: read "they that do."—**5.** read throughout "we" for "I."

6–43. Israel's constant relapse into sin.

7c. Read, "They were rebellious against the Most High at the Red Sea" (Ex. 1410).—**15*b*. leanness:** read "loathing."—**18*b*.** There was no need of fire, if the rebels had already been swallowed up by the earthquake. The Psalmist, however, is not responsible for this confusion. He had before him the two inconsistent accounts welded together in Nu. 1631–35.—**19f.** seems to imply that the Israelites forsook Yahweh for another God. They had no intention of doing so. That it was an image of Yahweh which they made appears plainly from Ex. 325.—**22. Ham:** see Ps. 10523*. —**26.** taken from Ezek. 2023.—**lifted up his hand:** *i.e.* took a solemn oath.—**28. the dead:** contrasted with the living God.—**33.** What the fault of Moses was is left uncertain in Nu. 203ff.*, which may have been mutilated in the interests of edification.—**37. demons:** *i.e.* false gods. The Psalmist oscillates between the belief that the false gods were lifeless blocks or malignant spirits.

44–47. Still Yahweh forgave His people. A prayer for restoration of the Diaspora (the Dispersion) from the many lands into which the Jews had wandered.

48 is no part of Ps. 106. It is a doxology which separates Book IV from Book V. The writer in 1 Ch. 1636 mistook it for part of the Ps. But the words "Praise ye the Lord," are rightly placed by LXX at beginning of Ps. 107, because all the superscriptions over the first three books end with Amen. [The injunction to the people, however, differentiates this doxology from the others, which like *Laus Deo*, express the scribe's thankfulness that his task is completed. It may, therefore, be a part of Ps. 106. If so it would seem to the editor who was responsible for the division into five books a good, ready-made mark of division.—A. S. P.]

BOOK V.—PSS. CVII.–CL.

CVII. A Psalm of Thanksgiving for Yahweh's Special Goodness.—It is divided at 8f., 15f., 21f., 31f. by a refrain: viz. "Oh that men would praise Yahweh for his goodness and for his wonderful works," etc. The Ps. therefore falls into the following divisions: **1–9.** Deliverance of homeless wanderers. In our text, as it stands, there seems to be some confusion between deliverance from adversity in general and especially from loss of way in the desert and the return from exile (3).—**10–16.** Deliverance from prison. In 12 LXX has "was brought down."—**17–22.** Deliverance from sickness which, according to the accepted doctrine, was the consequence of sin.—**23–32.** Deliverance from perils at sea.

After this the refrain recurs no more, and the remaining verses are an addition by a later hand, and have no strict connexion with the preceding Ps. They are chiefly borrowed from Is. and Job. They treat of Yahweh's power and righteous judgment, not specially of His mercy.

CVIII. A composition from parts of Pss. 57 and 60. Thus 1–5 = Ps. 577–11; 6–13 = Ps. 605–12.

That Ps. 108 is a composition from two Pss. originally distinct appears further from the fact that Pss. 57 and 60 are Elohistic (p. 366) and stand naturally among the other Elohistic Pss., while Ps. 108 is also Elohistic, but stands among other Pss., all Yahwistic. The compiler has combined two portions of neighbouring Elohistic Pss., leaving the mark of Elohistic revision. Owing to the union of fragments, thanks and prayer come in the reverse order.

CIX. A Psalm of Cursing.—This Ps. is further than anything else in the whole Psalter from the spirit of Christianity. It falls into three parts: **1–5.** The Psalmist's distress in persecution; **6–20.** Bitter curses against his foes; in **21–31** he recurs to his suffering but is confident of final deliverance. Note that in 6–20 he does not merely assert that God will punish. Had he done so, he would have felt his pain of body and soul much softened. As it is, he is in utter wretchedness, and curses his foes in the anguish of his spirit. No doubt he regards his enemies as utterly wicked. But we do not know how far he was justified in so doing, nor even who his enemies were. The curses strongly resemble those in the Psalms of Solomon (Ps. 4), which are probably pointed at Alexander Jannæus (p. 608), the Sadducee leader, and must have been written before 80 B.C.

2. wicked: read, "wickedness."—**4*b*.** literally, "and I [am] prayer" (note italics). The Heb. makes no better sense than the English. The text is corrupt.—**6.** Read perhaps, "Let his wickedness be sought out in him."—**10*b*.** Read with LXX, "and let them be driven out of their ruins."—**11*a*.** Read, "search out all that he hath."—**13*b*.** Read, "in one generation."—**16.** Syr. has "those that were sorrowful of heart even unto death."—**23.** The poet is thinking of a swarm of locusts driven helpless before the storm and at last, it may be, drowned in the sea.—**24*b*** literally, "My flesh faileth, because there is no fat upon it."

CX. We may with some confidence refer this Ps. to 141 B.C., when Simon the Maccabee prince was accepted by the people as supreme Governor, though he was not a descendant of David, and as High Priest, though he was not a descendant of Aaron's first-born (see 1 Mac. 1435). To Jonathan first the double dignity belonged. But Simon owed his dignity as High Priest to his own people, and not, like his brother Jonathan, to the favour of a foreign potentate (p. 608). The idea of supreme priesthood and supreme secular rule over Judah being united in the same person does not appear elsewhere in the OT except in Jer. 3021, a very late and possibly a Maccabean passage. These arguments are clinched by the fact that the oracle beginning "Sit thou" forms an acrostic on Simon's name. The Maccabees only needed a prophetic sanction for their inevitable changes in the constitution (1 Mac. 1441ff.), and the first four verses of this Ps. supply the desideratum.

1–4. The twofold dignity of the royal priest.—**1. The Lord,** *i.e.* Yahweh, **saith unto my Lord,** *i.e.* to the earthly ruler: here Simon.—**3. in the day of thy power:** *i.e.* thy proclamation as governor.—**in holy attire** (*mg.*): *i.e.* in the High-priestly vestment.—**from the womb of the morning:** *i.e.* from the very beginning of the proclamation.—**3*c*.** *i.e.* the enthusiasm of the people makes the ruler young again.—**4.** Simon is to be priest and prince "for ever," *i.e.* for his lifetime. Melchizedek is mentioned because, though not a Jew, he was both priest and king and neither by hereditary descent (Gen. 1413ff.).

6*f*. The warrior's victories. We do not know what the victories were, and some of the language is strange. —**7** is generally taken to mean that the warrior is so eager that he does not wait to eat and drink in the common way. He drinks from the first brook that he sees, and so recovers strength. But why should a very plain thing be expressed in such a pompous and enigmatic style?

Pss. CXI. and CXII. These are sister Pss. as is shown by their structure. Each contains nine verses. Each verse has two lines, each line beginning with a letter of the alphabet in due succession. We have thus eighteen lines, so that we get eighteen letters of the

acrostic in all. To get twenty-one lines in each, corresponding to the number of letters in the alphabet, the author or authors added at the end of each Ps. a verse with three lines, which is precisely the number wanted. The Hallelujah at the beginning of each is a later liturgical addition which destroys the acrostic. Ps. 111 is chiefly occupied with the greatness and goodness of Yahweh. Ps. 112 finds its theme chiefly in the corresponding truth, viz. the happiness of the godly.

CXI. 2. Sought out: "to be sought out" would be better.—**4. to be remembered:** *i.e.* in the ceremonial worship.—**5. prey** (*mg.*) instead of "meat" is due to the difficulty of the acrostic.—**9.** Yahweh gave His people deliverance from Egypt and the covenant or Law.—**10.** not **the beginning,** but "the best."—**CXII. 9. righteousness:** the salvation which man receives (*cf.* Ps. 245). In 1113 righteousness is that which God does.

CXIII. God on High Cares for the Lowly.—7. The dunghill is like Job's, waste and refuse heaped up outside the village and still the refuge of lepers and diseased persons of one kind or another.

CXIV. The marvels on the way from Egypt to Zion, the future sanctuary of Yahweh, and to Canaan as Israel's possession. A Passover hymn.

CXV. The Blindness of Idolatry and the Virtue of Utter Trust in Yahweh.—2*f.* An invisible god was unintelligible to the average heathen; he believed that the god was specially present in the idol, his energy being focussed there. On the other hand, the heathen did not, as the Psalmist assumes, identify idol and god.—**17,** like Ps. 805, expressed the common Jewish belief that all connexion between God and man ends with the life that now is. After death God remembers us no more.

CXVI. A Song of Comfort in Affliction.—There is nothing to justify the division into two Pss. (*a*) 1–9, (*b*) 10–19 (LXX); the same theme in its double aspect is continued throughout.

2*b*. Read, "and I will call on the name of Yahweh." —**3.** *Cf.* Ps. 184f.—**6. simple:** in a good sense: contrast Pr. 14, etc.—**10***a*. Read, "I believed: therefore have I spoken" (LXX, *cf.* 2 Cor. 413).—**11.** Translate (*cf.* LXX), "I said in my alarm (*mg.*), all men are a deceit." They do not tell lies, but there is no trusting them: they lack the power of help.—**13. The cup of salvation,"** *i.e.* the cup poured out in thanksgiving for deliverance vouchsafed. No such rite is mentioned in the OT, but on the pillar of Yehavmilk, king of Gebal, the king is represented as pouring out wine before the goddess (after victory).—**15.** The sense is that Yahweh will not easily suffer His saints (see on Ps. 4) to perish; the cost of their death is too great. In other words the godly need Yahweh's help: He needs their service.

CXVII. All nations are invited to worship Yahweh, who has revealed His power and faithfulness to Israel. The Ps. is Messianic in the general sense that it contemplates the union of all nations in the sole worship of the one and only God. On account of its brevity, but with no solid reason, many MSS combine this with the preceding or following Ps.

CXVIII. A Hymn for Festal Procession to Zion.—The old tradition that different parts were appropriated to different voices is right in substance, though the statement of the Targum that in 23–29 single parts should be assigned to the Temple builders, to the sons of Jesse, the tribe of Judah, Samuel, David, is fantastic enough. The Talmud (quoted by Stärk) takes a more reasonable view. According to it 1–19 was sung by the pilgrims not yet arrived; 20–27 by the priests and scribes who welcomed them; 28 by the pilgrims; 30 by the whole procession. It is at all events clear that 19 must have been sung before the entrance to the Temple, 27*b* at the altar, and that "the day which Yahweh has made" is the day on which a victory was commemorated. It is another question how far we can distinguish the different singers and the parts they take. 1–4 may, on plausible grounds, be attributed to different voices. We may also find in the change from singular to plural an indication of change in the singers, but it is impossible to recover the original arrangement in detail.

1–4. General introduction. The LXX rightly place the "Hallelujah" at the beginning of this Ps., not at the end of Ps. 117.

5–18. Distress and deliverance.—**13.** Read with LXX, "Hard was I pushed that I might fall," *i.e.* pushed till I was on the point of falling.—**17***f.* The singer, possibly a solo singer, looks back on all the peril and pain of the campaign and is grateful for his deliverance.

19–24. The demand to enter the Temple. The exaltation of the victor.—**20.** Render "The righteous" [and only they] "may enter into it."—**22.** What formerly appeared worthless has proved itself strong and glorious.—**24.** The day of Yahweh's victory may be that of victory over Nicanor in 161 B.C. (1 Mac. 74ff., p. 607).

25–29. Prayer for continued help. Here it is the priests who chant the welcome.—27*b* defies interpretation. RV is contrary to Jewish ritual. So is the explanation which takes the verb in a pregnant sense, "Bind the victim [and lead it] to the horns of the altar," for the priest presented the blood at the altar but the animal was not brought there. Another explanation is attractive. "Wreathe ye the dance with thick bows even reaching to the horns of the altar." But this primitive use, or supposed primitive use, of the word translated "sacrifice" is not supported by usage, and is most unlikely in a Ps. admittedly late.

CXIX. Praise of the Law.—This is the longest and most artificial Ps. in the whole collection. It is divided into twenty-two strophes, each beginning with one of the twenty-two letters of the Heb. alphabet in regular order. Again each strophe contains eight verses, and each verse begins with the same letter which introduces the strophe. The number of strophes then is determined by the number of the Heb. letters. But what of the eight verses in each strophe? The Psalmist had derived from a kindred Ps., viz. Ps. 19, the eight synonyms for the conception "Word of God" and impresses these terms on his readers by introducing them all into each stanza of his work. So Cheyne, in his *Book of Psalms* (1904), following D. H. Müller. It is right, however, to bear in mind that this theory involves considerable, though by no means extravagant or arbitrary, changes in the received text both of Ps. 19 and Ps. 119. There is no progress of thought and such progress would scarcely have been possible under the iron rule which the author imposed upon himself.

23. Omit **against me.** The meaning is that princes take counsel with their chief men, whereas the Psalmist finds his counsellors in the precepts of the law.—**26. my ways:** *i.e.* perhaps "my circumstances": with this the rest of 26 agrees, viz. "God sent an answer according to my needs."—29*b*. *i.e.* "Be gracious unto me (in giving) thy law."—**30.** Read, "Thy judgements have I desired."—**32.** "enlarge my heart," *i.e.* fill it with joy and courage, which make observance of the Law easy (*cf.* Is. 605).—37*b*. *i.e.* Give me the life

and strength I need to keep thy laws and resist temptation.—**38***b*. The LXX omits the relative and thus gains a simple construction, "to promote thy fear," "fear of Yahweh" being a Heb. synonym for religion generally.—**69.** Lit. "have plastered falsehood over me," so that my real character cannot be recognised.—**78.** Lit. "have perverted me," *i.e.* deprived me of my "legal rights."—**83.** The wineskins, when not in use, were apparently hung up on the roof, and since in ancient houses there were no chimneys, the skins were exposed to the smoke from the hearth which dried and blackened them.—**87.** Expunge, "upon the earth." Where else could they be consumed?—**96.** Perfection in all other cases has its limits, but the Law is so wide and ample, that no man can exhaust its manifold excellence.—**109.** "My soul" (*i.e.* "life") "is continually in my hand," exposed to constant peril (*cf.* Jg. 12₃, Job 13₁₄*).—**127. Therefore** has no meaning here. The Psalmist did not love the Law because others set it at nought, though he may well have loved it more on that account. Read, "Above all I love thy commandments, above gold, yea above fine gold."—**130.** "The opening of thy words," *i.e.* the interpretation of them.—**164.** There is no reason why we should not take the number here in its strict and literal sense. The later Jews observed the times of daily prayer: so Dan. 6₁₀ (*cf.* Ps. 55₁₇, where, however, the words "evening," "morning," "noonday" may be used loosely for "all the day long.")

CXX. Prayer Against Calumniators.—Here begin the Psalms of Ascents, *i.e.* Pss. intended to be sung by the pilgrims at the three great feasts on their way up to Jerusalem, which stood on a height. Pss. 120–134 all bear this title (see also Ps. 84₅). The title "Psalms of Ascents" may have been originally given to the collection and then written over each Ps. individually.

1–4. "What shall he (*i.e.* Yahweh) give unto thee?" The punishment is in accordance with the guilt. In Jer. 9₇ the deceitful tongue is compared to a deadly arrow. It is therefore fitting that Yahweh should send sharp arrows against those who slander the righteous. The author adds burning broom, which emits intense heat. But the collocation of arrows and burning charcoal is awkward.

5–7. The Psalmist compelled to dwell among foes. The men of Kedar were an Arab tribe, deriving their name "black" from their swarthy complexion or, more probably, from the black tents in which they lived. The men of Meshech, on the other hand, lived between the Caspian and the Black Sea. The names Kedar and Meshech are mentioned, not because the Jews of the Dispersion found a home among them, but because they are types of wild and half-civilised men. Compare our name of Tartar or Turk. It is not they who attack the Jews, they would have found other weapons than calumny, but men who are Jews themselves and yet hate their godly fellow-countrymen with savage fury. It is remarkable that in this, the first song of ascents, there is no reference to pilgrimage. Most likely 5–7 led to its use by the pilgrims.

CXXI. Yahweh's Care for His People.—8. going out *i.e.* to the feast at Zion, and **coming in** to thy home far away, perhaps in heathen lands.

CXXII. The Glory of the Temple.—3. The Psalmist refers probably to the ideal Jerusalem. Every true Jew was in sentiment a loyal burgher of Jerusalem. Jerusalem was like Mecca to the Mohammedan or Rome to the Roman Catholic; therefore the tribes went up to it (*cf.* Ps. 87).—**5. are:** read, "were" (*mg.*). The poet recalls the ancient glories of David's time.

CXXIII. Waiting for God.—4. The contempt of the proud may have been caused by their own wealth, and by the poverty of the godly (see on Ps. 4). "Poor" and "godly" are almost synonymous. The Heb. Bible often uses one and the same word for "poor," "afflicted," "humble."

CXXIV. A Song of Deliverance from Foreign Foes.

CXXV. Yahweh's Protective Care of Israel.—Yahweh will not allow heathen to rule over Israel, because this would tempt Jews to please their masters by adopting heathen usages.

CXXVI. Comfort in Tears.—An apparently easy and really very difficult Ps. According to the usual interpretation which is adopted in RV we have in 1–3 a picture of the joy felt when Cyrus permitted the Jews to settle in their own land. The time is that of 2 Is. and the reference to the restoration under Cyrus seems to be inevitable. But in 4–6 it is startling to find the poet praying for a restoration which had already taken place as if it were still in the future. To express this meaning in each place, he has the same phrase "turning the captivity," on which see Ps. 14₇ and note. We get something like a consistent explanation by the following changes, not in the text, but the translation. (1) "If Yahweh had turned": "We should have been like," etc. (2) "Our mouth would have been filled." "Then they would."—**3.** "Yahweh would have done." After this the Psalmist naturally prays for change in Israel's state. He compares the change to that made by the torrents of fertilising rain in the Negeb (p. 32) or dry region in the S. of Palestine, or to the contrast between painful ploughing and the joy of the harvest home. In 6 translate with a slight emendation, "trailing his seed."

CXXVII. A. This Ps. is, as is now generally admitted, composed of two independent Pss. In 127 A, *i.e.* in 1f. the Psalmist's theme is *the vanity* of toil without Yahweh's blessing. The house was taken to mean the Temple: hence in the received text, but not in the LXX, the Ps. is ascribed to Solomon. At the end of 2 render, "So," *i.e.* as fully as others get by their toil—"he giveth to his beloved in sleep." But the text is almost certainly corrupt.

B. 3–5. Sons a Gift Bestowed by Yahweh.—4. children of youth, *i.e.* begotten in the vigorous youth of the fathers, are a stalwart bodyguard round their parent. They are compared to arrows in a warrior's hand and quiver. But the Ps. points to a time of peace rather than of war. It is not in the battlefield but in "the gate," where legal cases are decided, that a man with many sons finds redress, corrupt as Oriental courts have usually been. His numerous progeny prevent his being put to "shame," *i.e.* disappointed (Job 5₄*).

CXXVIII. The Blessing of a Pious Home.—2*a*. *i.e.* without being robbed by the oppressor. This shows how low peasant life in Israel has sunk.—**3.** Observe the seclusion of women.—**olive plants** are a type of fruitfulness. As the parent tree decays, new plants sprout from the roots. They are also an image of beauty and freshness.

CXXIX. Persecuted but not Cast Down.—1–4. Israel's tyrants compared to ploughmen who have extended their ploughing far, but Yahweh in His righteousness cut the cord which fastened the ox to the plough and then, of course, the ploughing ceased.

5–8. The enemies of Zion are to be like grass which springs up casually on the flat roof, but before it reaches its full height (?) is withered. Nobody would think of formal benediction on a crop which was not worth the carrying.

CXXX. Waiting for God.—1. depths refers primarily

to God's exaltation in heaven, man's position far below on earth.—**4.** The fear of Yahweh was to pious Jews the sum of religion. If God withdrew His kindness and pardon, no man could stand. On the other hand, forgiveness encourages a sinner to "fear God and keep His commandments." The LXX reads, "for thy name's sake."

CXXXI. Rest in God.—The Psalmist accepts the place God gives him: he does not concern himself with "great matters," *i.e.* with high positions or the like. But an explanation recently suggested is also possible. The "great matters" may be the questions raised by Greek philosophy. Instead of occupying himself with these the Psalmist rests on Yahweh like a weaned child on his mother. *Cf.* Ec. 3 21, "Search not out that which is too wonderful for thee."

CXXXII. David's Zeal and its Reward.—1–5. David's oath to find a worthy abode for the Ark in which Yahweh dwelt.—*1b.* **affliction:** rather "pains," *i.e.* the pains he took to find a dwelling for Yahweh. He had (1 Ch. 21) made elaborate provision for the material of the Temple buildings and had desired himself to erect them. The oath mentioned here is an addition to the sacred legend.

6–8. The finding and translation of the Ark.—**6.** The exegesis is the merest guesswork. **Ephrathah** may mean Bethlehem (see Mi. 5 2, Ru. 4 11); **the field of the wood** may mean Kiriath-jearim (="city of woods"), where the Ark abode twenty years (1 S. 7 2).) Here the general sense would seem to be that David heard of the Ark in his native town and found it not at Shiloh where it used to be, but at Kiriath-jearim. Or, since Ephrathah is said in 1 Ch. 2 50 to have been an ancestor of Kiriath-jearim, we may understand the verse to mean, "We found the Ark in the district of Ephrathah and in the town of Kiriath-jearim."

11f. Yahweh's oath in return for David's piety. David's sons and sons' sons in endless succession are to sit on his throne, if they are faithful to Yahweh.

13–18. The prosperity of Zion, the beloved of Yahweh.

15. provision: read, "Zion."—**17. A lamp** is the figure of prosperity. David (2 S. 21 7) embodies the prosperity of Israel, and is therefore said to be its lamp or light (*cf.* also Job 29 3).—**18. flourish:** rather "shine."

CXXXIII. Fraternal Love.—The general sense is clear, but it presents difficulties due to the intrusion of glosses. The "unity" spoken of here is the special good-will which becomes those who join in Temple worship. It is compared to precious oil with which Aaron was consecrated (Lev. 8 30), and which was used in such abundance that it streamed from his beard to the collar of his vestment. Next this fraternal unity is compared with the life-giving dew (p. 29) which falls abundantly on Hermon in the north, its freshness being also felt far south on Mount Zion. [See also OTJC², p. 212.—A. S. P.]

CXXXIV. Exhortation to the Nightly Service of Yahweh.—**1f.** may be addressed by a band of pilgrims to Levites who were about to begin their nocturnal service. To them in response comes the priestly blessing of 3.—**2.** Primitive men worshipped towards the place where their God dwelt. We have a survival of this custom here in the exhortation to lift up the hands to the Sanctuary.—**3.** read, "bless you."

CXXXV. The Almighty Power of Yahweh and His Favour to Israel.—This Ps. is largely borrowed. Thus 7 is from Jer. 10 13, 10–12 from 136 7ff., 14 from Dt. 32 36, 15–20 from Ps. 115. Particular verses were probably assigned to different soloists, or again to separate choirs. Thus in 5 the transition from plural to singular ("Yea, I know") may be explained, if we suppose that it is the leader of the choir who begins to speak here. It is likely enough that in 19f. different choirs or the choir proper and the people speak. But all this is uncertain, and becomes much more uncertain when the division is carried out more minutely.

1–4. Prologue. An invitation to praise Yahweh for His choice of Israel.—**3. name:** of Yahweh (see Ps. 3 11).

The main piece.—**5–18.** Yahweh's greatness in nature and in the wonderful way which He led the people out of Egypt and into Canaan. The God who did all this is contrasted with the idols which are only senseless blocks. Their worshippers become as blind as themselves.

14b. Translate "will show mercy on his servants."

19–21. Epilogue renewing the invitation to praise Yahweh.

21. Read, "in Zion."

CXXXVI. A long Hymn of Praise for Yahweh's Power and His Care of His People from Egypt till the Conquest of Canaan.—1–9 based on Gen. 1. Yahweh the Maker of all.

6. For the waters below the earth, see on Ps. 24 2.

10–22. Yahweh's vengeance on Pharaoh and the kings who opposed Israel's entrance into the promised land. His mercy to Israel in later days.

23–26. Gratitude for recent deliverance.

24 sounds strange in a Ps. which exults in the slaughter of the heathen—but it is easier to admit an inconsistency than to limit "all flesh" to all Jews.

CXXXVII. The Bitter Memory of Babylon.—The vivid picture of the exiles in their home-sickness, the mockery of their foreign masters, their love for Zion, the mention of Edom, and the savage thirst for vengeance, all go far to justify the supposition that the Ps. was written not very long after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586.

1–3. The day's work being over, the Jews sit by one of the many canals between the Tigris and Euphrates. Fain would they play and sing but they cannot, and they hang their harps on the poplar-trees (*Populus euphratica*). In vain their oppressors ask them for a song of Zion. They cannot sing Yahweh's songs in a land which is not Yahweh's. They cannot forget they are Jews: sooner may their right hand wither (5 emended) than they cease to set their joy in Jerusalem above all other joy.

7–10. The singer denounces the Edomites to Yahweh for their joy in the overthrow of Jerusalem (see Ezek. 25 12ff., Ob. 10ff.) and ends in furious tirade against Babylon "the destroyer" (so read in 8).

CXXXVIII. 1–3. The Psalmist praises Yahweh, in spite of the false gods and their worshippers, for His grace and fidelity to himself in trouble.

2c. Omit "thy word" (so LXX), and read simply, "Thou hast magnified thy name above all."—*3b.* The text is very doubtful. Read perhaps (*cf.* LXX), "Thou makest thy strength great in my soul."

4–6. Even the kings of the earth shall sing Yahweh's ways, those ways by which He withdraws from the proud and reserves His intimacy for the lowly.

7f. Whatever danger may come, Yahweh will protect His worshippers.

CXXXIX. God is Everywhere: He Knows Everything—Oh that He would Destroy the Wicked.—This Ps. is among the most spiritual productions of the OT. It deals with the mystery of Divine providence, a theme frequently discussed after the Exile, when the national life had died out and each individual was brought face

to face with the difficulties which surrounded him and with the thought of his ultimate fate. Other nations, of course, have engaged in similar speculation, but in very different tone and spirit. Here, as elsewhere, the Hebrew poet manifests intense belief in the personality of God, in His righteousness, in His care for the men He has made. He speaks in the first person singular, because he is giving expression to his own faith and in part to his own experience. Again, he uses no abstract terms such as omnipresence, omniscience, and the like: indeed in Biblical Heb. no such words are to be found. There is no indication of date, except the reason given above, for placing the Ps. after the Exile, but the strong Aramaic colouring of the vocabulary and the high probability that in 13–16 we have a reminiscence of Job 10₉–₁₁, point to a late origin. Certainly the greater originality seems to be with the passage in Job.

1–12. God's intimate knowledge of the Psalmist and His constant proximity to him. He is familiar with all his ways and observes his most ordinary movements and actions. He knows the thought which is still unformed and the word which is still unuttered. The Psalmist finds such knowledge inconceivable. Further, God is in heaven and no less truly in Sheol, the latter assertion marking a significant advance in religious ideas, for the old notion (Ps. 11₅₁₇) was that all memory of God ceased in Sheol. Were the poet to be borne on the wings of the morning (here personified, *cf.* Job 39*) and fly to the western ocean, God would still be with him. To God darkness and light are alike.

4. Translate, "Before there is a word on my tongue, thou, O Yahweh, knowest it (the unuttered word) altogether," *i.e.* exactly.—**11***b*. Follow *mg.*

13–16. Man's wonderful creation.

13. reins: here all the interior organs.—**15.** Read, "as in the lowest parts of the earth."—**16** is corrupt and proposed emendations are very doubtful. Read perhaps, "Thine eyes saw my days. They were all being written in thy book; they were formed while as yet there was none of them for me." The days of the Psalmist's life were preordained by God and visible to Him, long before they had actual existence. For the Book of Life, see Ps. 56₈, 69₂₈.

17f. Yahweh's inscrutable providence. The thoughtful care which God takes of the Psalmist is a heavy burden. The common interpretation, "How precious," is unsuitable to the context, and the rendering just given, though Aramaic and not Heb., is quite permissible in a Ps. like this, which is partly Aramaic in its vocabulary. Moreover God's care extends to all men, or at least to all Israelites. Great then is the sum (lit. "sums") of them, *i.e.* the aggregate of God's care for countless souls. The Psalmist is lost in contemplation of this mystery, and next morning when he wakes he is possessed by the same thought.

19–24. "Oh that God would but destroy the wicked!" The Psalmist has no theory on the existence of evil. His solution is a practical one. He will ever hate the wicked utterly. He begs Yahweh to see if there is anything in him which is sinful and must therefore result in affliction, and prays God to lead him in the "way everlasting." It is impossible to say whether the poet was thinking of a life beyond death or only of a happy life prolonged to old age.

CXL. The Prayer of a Man hard Beset by Treacherous Foes.—It seems clear that the foes of whom the author complains are Jews, not foreign assailants. Slander and violence are their weapons, and the war which they stir up is party strife, not actual battle. Note further that the Psalmist characterises his enemies (5) as "the proud"—a very natural term for the poor and pious Pharisee to use of the rich and aristocratic Sadducee. We have no certain indication of the date at which the Ps. was written. We can only say that it is natural to regard it as a Pharisee Ps. and to compare Pss. 56–59, 82, 94.

1–5. The Ps. begins with a double introduction, or rather with two variants of the same introduction, 1–3 and 4f. Note that the words 'Preserve me from the violent man" occur in each introduction.

6–11. Prayer for victory and imprecations upon his foes.

8*b***–10.** The text is quite uncertain. We may emend and translate thus: "Grant not, O Yahweh, the desires of the wicked man: His plot do not thou promote. Let not them that encompass me about lift up their head: let the iniquity of their lips overwhelm them: may he rain upon them coals of fire: may he cast them into floods so that they rise not." Of course such conjectures can do no more than give the general sense.

12f. The poet is confident that the cause of the godly, who are as a rule poor and needy, will prevail.

CXLI. For Loyalty to God and His Saints.—1f. The Psalmist begs Yahweh to hear his prayer. He utters this prayer in his house, and in true prophetic spirit hopes that it will be as acceptable as the incense or the evening sacrifice offered by the priest in the Temple. For similar instances of the same spiritual view, see Pss. 40, 51, 69₃₁. Observe that the Decalogue prescribes no ritual observance except the rest on the Sabbath.

3–7. A petition to be saved from rash words. He prefers to the dainties of the wicked the rebukes of the righteous. The words here condemned may refer to disloyal speech occasioned by the prosperity of the wicked, always a puzzle to pious Jews.

4. To be occupied in: rather "to take part in," "to join in doing."—**5***b***–7.** The general sense given above is correct (*cf.* Pr. 27₆) and the RV of 5 may be right. At the close emend, "And my prayer shall testify against their wickedness": but the meaning obtained is far from satisfactory.—**6.** Many attempts have been made to restore the text. "They are delivered into the hands of their judges" (men, or angel of death, or Yahweh Himself may be the agents or executors) "and they will hear (*i.e.* learn) that Yahweh's word is true," is one of many conjectural emendations and interpretations.—**7** is still more difficult. "As when one breaks and splits a rock (see 6, where nothing can be made of the word 'rock') in the land, so are their bones scattered at (or for) the mouth of Sheol." If this version be at all correct, the scattered bones of the enemy are compared with the splinters of a rock. The simile is forced and unnatural. Besides, Sheol was not, as a rule, the receptacle of dead bodies but of departed souls.

8–10. A prayer for deliverance and the ruin of his foes. The Psalmist's confidence.

CXLII. The Psalmist prays for help to God who knows his distress. His enemies are stronger than he, and there is none to help him, save God. The righteous will welcome his deliverance from the snares around him as a triumph of their own. In 4 follow *mg.* In 7 the "prison" need not be taken in a literal sense. For "compass me about," render "shall triumph because of me." The ascription of the Ps. in the title to David in the "cave" or rather "fortress" of Adullam has no support in the Ps. itself. There is no means of fixing the date even approximately.

CXLIII. There is no internal argument to justify the LXX title, "A Ps. of [or by] David when his son persecuted him." On the contrary, it contains reminiscences of other and those late Pss., and 3*b* is borrowed from Lam. 3$_6$, for clearly the author of the latter passage is more vigorous and original than the author of the Ps. The theme is an ordinary one. The Psalmist prays for deliverance from his foes, who have brought him to death's door, and imprecates vengeance upon them.

But we should notice one or two points important for religious history. The "righteousness of God" here and in other writers later than Deuteronomy is equivalent to faithfulness, and especially the fidelity with which God delivers and guides His people (*cf.* Ps. 5$_8$, 31$_1$, 71$_2$, 89$_{16}$, 119$_{40}$). Next, in contrast to the self-complacency which finds frequent expression in the Pss., the Psalmist confesses that no man is just before God (*cf.* Job 4$_{17}$). Finally, the Psalmist prays that God's good spirit may lead him in the straight path (so read for "land," which is meaningless here). God is to teach to His suppliant what His will is, and instruct him how to do it. For this spiritual conception of piety compare "thy holy spirit" in Ps. 51$_{11}$. In 8 read, "Satisfy me with thy loving-kindness."

CXLIV. Ascribed by LXX and also by T. "to David against Goliath," but without any shadow of reason.—**1–11** is really a mosaic chiefly taken from Ps. 18, but also from 8, 33, 104. It is a song of anticipated triumph. The Psalmist is in conflict with foreign enemies ("strangers" (7) can only mean foreigners). God teaches his fingers to fight, for it is the fingers which grasp the bow and subdue "peoples" (not "my people") under him. He prays that a display in storm and lightning may discomfit his foes. They can be bound by no treaty, for the right hand (8), which is raised in taking an oath, is false and treacherous. But the Psalmist's triumph is secure. "David" (10) is an erroneous gloss on "his servant."

12–15 is a Ps., or more probably the fragment of a Ps., describing the blessed lot of Yahweh's people. Observe that the blessing is wholly material. "When" (12) has in Heb. no intelligible meaning, and may have belonged to the original continuation of 1–11. The daughters of the Jews in 12 are compared, according to one interpretation with "corner pillars carved after the fashion of a palace." But there is no authority for the rendering "pillars," and it is unlikely that the Psalmist knew anything of Caryatides.

CXLV. The Nature of Yahweh.—This Ps., which borrows from very late sources (13, *e.g.* is translated verbally from the Aramaic of Dan. 4$_3$), is a useful summary of the Divine attributes, as a pious Jew conceived them. For God is mighty and glorious, kindly and compassionate. At the same time, He will destroy the wicked. The Ps. is alphabetical, each verse beginning with a letter of the Heb. alphabet in due succession. By some accident the letter Nun is omitted, but the lost verse can be supplied from the LXX. It stood after 13 and ran, "Faithful is Yahweh in his words and holy in all his works."

5. Render after LXX, "Of the glorious majesty of thine honour shall they speak, Of thy wonders shall they discourse."—**9***a*. Read, "Good is Yahweh to all who wait for him" (LXX).

CXLVI. This Ps., like the remaining Pss. to the end of the Psalter, begins and closes with the word Hallelujah (Praise Yah). These Pss. may originally have formed a collection by themselves. The theme of the Ps. is much the same as that of 105. It is vain to trust man and a blessed thing to trust in God, who made the heaven and the earth, who protects those who love Him and relieves the desolate and oppressed.

CXLVII. The LXX, perhaps rightly, divides the Ps. into two, 1–11 and 12–20.

1–11. An invitation to praise Yahweh for His almighty power and His kindness to Israel. Observe how the two thoughts are intertwined. After 8*c* the LXX has, "and herbage for the service of men." In 10 "the legs of a man" is curious. Swift running is a characteristic of the Homeric heroes, but the emendation, "armour of a man," is tempting.

12–20. The thought of 1–11 recurs, here addressed to Jerusalem and specially to Zion. In 17 ice is said to be sent forth in small fragments. Perhaps the Psalmist was thinking of hail.

CXLVIII. An Invitation to Bless Yahweh.—It is addressed, 1–6 to the heavens and all that therein is, 7–12 to the earth: 13f. gives the reason for which above all Yahweh is to be praised, viz. for bringing Israel so near to Himself.

4. ye heavens of heavens: to be taken literally as the heavens above the visible sky (*cf.* 2 Cor. 12$_2$).—**6.** Read *mg.*—**14.** Translate with an alteration in the pointing, "He will raise up (LXX) a horn for his people; praise for all his saints, for the children of Israel," etc. The "horn" may refer to the Messianic King.

CXLIX. A Song of Triumph and Messianic Expectation.—Obviously this Ps. depicts a stage in the Maccabean war. It is addressed to "the assembly of the saints," the Hasidim of Ps. 43. The heroes whom the Ps. celebrates are "meek" (4) towards God, but they fight fiercely. "The praises of God are in their mouth and a two-edged sword in their hands"—an admirable description of the Maccabean times, but unsuitable to any other period in Jewish history known to us. Maccabean also, though not exclusively Maccabean, is the confident belief that Israel will rule over all the world: it is the same belief which finds impressive utterance in the Book of Daniel, though there the victory is given immediately by God, here it is to be won by the sword of the saints. The Ps. falls into two divisions. In 1–5 we hear the music and song, we see the dance after victory won. Such is the joy of the saints in Yahweh "their King." Even when the exhausting day is over and pious souls lie down to rest, the triumphal song is still on their lips. In 6–9 the vista of future conquest opens out before us. Israel is to punish and crush other nations. God has long ago set down in His book the vengeance which is to overtake the heathen: now He will carry it out. The Jewish notion of "meekness" is very different from that which Christians hold, or at least profess to hold.

CL. Each book ends with a doxology. Here we have a much longer doxology, which closes Book V and the whole Psalter also. The praise of God begins from His sanctuary, *i.e.* probably from His sanctuary in heaven, not from the Temple on Zion.

THE PROVERBS

By Professor S. H. HOOKE

Two types of Wisdom-literature may be distinguished in the OT. The earlier probably arose out of the popular wisdom of experience, couched in folk-stories and parables and polished into epigrammatic form by the reflection and literary skill of a professional class of wise men. This type is represented by the collections of maxims constituting our book, by certain parts of Ec., by some of the Pss., and by scattered parables and riddles embodied in the historical parts of the OT—*e.g.* the *māshāl* of Jotham in Jg. 9₈–₂₁, and Samson's riddle. The later type, as seen in Job and the greater part of Ec., and in one or two Pss.—*e.g.* Ps. 73—represents the direction taken by the speculative thought of the Hebrew people, the discussion of the moral and religious problems raised by God's government of the universe. For a fuller discussion see the article " Hebrew Wisdom."

(a) General Character.—The Book of Proverbs offers hardly any points of contact with this speculative activity, except in 8 and 30₁–₄. It assumes the current orthodoxy, the existence of God, man's responsibility, the blessing of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked. Its general attitude is a sane, unspeculative optimism. The passion of the Pss., the vision of the prophets, the doubts and despair of Ec. and Job, are all absent. Its negative characteristics are interesting. None of the national features of Hebrew history appear. Israel is not mentioned, the Law and the cultus are not referred to, events in the political or religious history are not celebrated. Temple, priest, and prophet find no place either for praise or blame. Idolatry is not once mentioned, and, except for the national name of the Deity, Yahweh, it would be hard to assign this book to any special Semitic people.

(b) Authorship and Literary Analysis.—The title in 1₁ apparently assigns the authorship of the whole book to Solomon, but the existence of various smaller collections with separate titles shows that this title is either due to a late editor at a date when Solomon was regarded as the fount of all Heb. wisdom—as all Heb. psalmody was ascribed to David—or that it refers only to the first collection. The book comprises the following collections :

(i) The Praise of Wisdom (1–9), assigned to Solomon. In this section 6₁–₁₉ and 9₇–₁₂ are misplaced.

(ii) 10₁–22₁₆, entitled Proverbs of Solomon, probably the original nucleus of the whole book.

(iii) 22₁₇–24₂₂ and 24₂₃–₃₄. Two short collections, both ascribed to " the Wise," the professional sages.

(iv) The Hezekian collection (25–29), with a title describing the contents as proverbs of Solomon collected by the men of Hezekiah.

(v) The appendix, containing several short collections—viz. the words of Agur (30₁–₉, or possibly only 30₁–₄); miscellaneous proverbs, chiefly numerical (30₁₀–₃₃); the words of king Lemuel (31₁–₉); an acrostic poem describing the virtuous woman (31 ₁₀–₃₁).

Hence the literary analysis shows that Pr., like its great companion the Psalter, must have reached its present form through several stages of growth. The correctness of the titles is determined by the dates assigned to the collections.

(c) Date.—The date of the book as it stands must be considered apart from the date of the separate collections. The problem is almost entirely one of internal evidence, hence no certain result can be reached.

(i) The earliest collection is probably that contained in 10₁–22₁₆, entitled Proverbs of Solomon. Early tradition (1 K. 4₂₉–₃₄), which there is no reason for rejecting, regarded Solomon as the father of Heb. wisdom. Other Oriental peoples possess collections of fables and apothegms going back beyond his time, and the folk-story is one of the oldest forms of popular literature. Tradition also associated Edom with the source of wisdom (Jer. 49₇, Ob. 8), and Ezekiel speaks of the wisdom of Tyre (28₃). Egypt, too, prided itself on the wisdom of its counsellors (Is. 19₁₁). But whether 10₁–22₁₆ actually preserves any authentic sayings of Solomon is very doubtful. The general point of view—social, political, and religious—suits the Persian period better, and there are possible traces of Greek influence. Hence, while proverbs of an older date may certainly be preserved in this collection, yet the absence of strong national characteristics, the religious and ethical outlook, and other considerations, suggest a date between 400 and 300 B.C.

(ii) The Hezekian Collection (25–29) contains features which suggest that, while it may preserve an older form of some of the proverbs common to it and 10₁–22₁₆, yet it is as a whole somewhat later. To about the same date also may be assigned 22₁₇–24₂₂ and 24₂₃–₃₄. The question of the existence of a class of literary wise men, such as these collections presuppose, in the time of the pre-exilic prophets is a difficult one. It is not easy to suppose that the wise men, against whom the polemic of such passages as Is. 5₂₁, 29₁₄, Jer. 8₉, is directed, are the pious sages of Pr. who instruct their people in the fear of God. Also the existence of a second and more pious set of wise men allied with the prophets is an hypothesis which finds no support in the writings of the prophets themselves.

(iii) The Praise of Wisdom (1–9) presents a totally different literary character. It is clearly a unity and not a collection of aphorisms. It is a series of moral addresses on the value of wisdom, reaching their climax in the magnificent portrayal of Wisdom as the companion of Yahweh before creation. The traces of Greek influence in the social environment, and possibly in the philosophical attitude towards wisdom in 8, point to a date in the Greek period, possibly about

300–250 B.C. Probably the author was also the editor of the collections already mentioned, to which he prefixed his own short treatise as both introduction and supplement.

(iv) Lastly, to the collection thus edited were added at some later date the fragments which constitute the appendix (30f.). They all bear the marks of late date, especially the religious standpoint of Agur's prophecy and the acrostic arrangement of 31 10–31.

(d) **Literary Characteristics.**—The English translation may conceal from the general reader the real nature of the style. The book is poetic in form, like the Pss. and Job, its immediate companions. Parallelism (p. 23), the characteristic feature of Heb. poetry, is found throughout, mainly in antithetic form, the thought in the first line of the couplet being balanced by a contrasted thought in the second. Next to the antithetic, synonymous parallelism is more frequent, the thought in the first clause being repeated in a varied form in the second. On the whole the Heb. vocabulary and syntax of Pr. are those of the classical period, although a number of rare words occur, and Aramaisms are not uncommon. Questions of metre and strophical arrangement are too uncertain and intricate to be discussed in the space available. See pp. 372f.

The special difficulty lies in the number of aphorisms whose text is obviously corrupt. Often the best service to the ordinary reader is to save him from a false or fanciful exegesis by pointing out the true state of a passage whose meaning is uncertain. Within our limits the evidence for emendation or variant readings cannot be discussed, but only necessary emendations have been offered, and where no manipulation of the text will yield any satisfactory sense this has been plainly stated. The reader is also informed where RVm is to be preferred to RV.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Perowne (CB), **Martin** (Cent.B); (*b*) **Toy** (ICC); (*c*) Nowack (KEH), Wildeboer (KHC), **Frankenberg** (HK); (*d*) Horton (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* Cheyne, *Job and Solomon;* Malan, *Original Notes on the Book of Proverbs;* Montefiore, *Notes upon the Date and Religious Value of the Book of Proverbs* (Jewish Quarterly Review, 1889-90); Elmslie, *Studies in Life from Jewish Proverbs.*

I.–IX. First Section. The Praise of Wisdom.—I. 1. Title, either of the whole book, or of this particular collection.

The word for **proverb**, *māshāl*, has a wide significance in Heb. (see BDB). Probably it originally expressed a comparison or allusion, drawn from history or nature, and employed to convey a taunt or satire, hence the rendering "taunt-song." For different meanings *cf.* Nu. 21 27, Dt. 28 37, Job 13 12, Is. 14 4, Ezek. 12 23. Ezekiel's use should be specially noted.

2–6. Introduction specifying the purpose of the book. There need be no grammatical connexion between the title and the infinitives in 2–6.

3. Construction obscure. Possibly render "the discipline that causes one to understand (what is) righteousness, judgment, and equity."—**4. simple:** from root meaning "to be open," "spacious." Those who are lacking in reticence and self-restraint.—**subtilty:** shrewdness, used of the serpent in Gen. 3 1.—**5. sound counsels:** lit. "rope-pulling," hence "direction," a nautical term, "steersmanship" (*cf.* 24 6, Job 37 12).—**6. figure:** lit. "satire" (*cf.* Hab. 2 6f.*), from root "to scorn."—**dark sayings:** read "riddles" (*cf.* Jg. 14 12, 1 K. 10 1, Ezek. 17 2).

7–20. First Discourse warning the young man against the allurements of those who are in haste to get gain by oppression and spoliation. Apparently there was a persecuted party, the innocent and the perfect (11f.), and a party of godless oppressors who entice the young man by the promise of gain. It is less likely that the speakers were a band of highway robbers (*cf.* Pss. 10 8f., 11 2).

7. The introductory motto of the whole collection (*cf.* 9 10, Job 28 28, Ps. 111 10, Ecclus. 1 14).—**foolish:** the precise shades of meaning in the various synonyms for "fool" in Heb. are not easy to define (p. 344). *Pethī* (4*) means "open," "simple," not necessarily with an evil significance; *'evil* (7) is one who is crass, stupid (lit. "be fat," "thick"); *k'sīl* is the braggart fool (22), (*cf.* the mythological significance of Orion); *nābāl*, less frequent in Pr. (only 17 7–21, 30 22), the man lacking in moral sensibility (*cf.* Ps. 14 1, 1 S. 25 25); *sakal*, not in Pr. (*cf.* Ec. 2 19).—**17.** Obscure. May mean (*a*) the net of the allurements of the wicked is spread in vain when the victim is forewarned, or (*b*) the net of retribution is spread in vain in the sight of the wicked, they will not be warned.—**spread:** a forced rendering; Heb. means "to winnow," "scatter."—**19. ways:** read "fate" (LXX).

20–33. Second Discourse.—Wisdom personified warns the simple of the law of retribution, that they cannot escape the consequences of their own actions. The future judgment has little place in the ordinary Hebrew conception of the Day of Yahweh. The tendency to personify the Divine attributes is a late development due to the increasing sense of God's transcendence. *Cf.* the growth of the conception of Metatron, and the Memra (pp. 401, 746) of the Targums.

II. 1–22. Third Discourse.—The wise man praises Wisdom, describing the blessings of obedience to her. The deeper religious element in wisdom appears, the fundamental conception of Hebrew prophecy, that the knowledge of God is the supreme good.

1–11. If the young man hearkens to wisdom, prizes it above all other gain, he will acquire the true knowledge of God. Yahweh alone gives wisdom, and He gives it only to the upright.

5. The phrase "knowledge of God" occurs in the OT only here and in Hos. Also Elohim only occurs elsewhere in Pr. in 2 17, 3 4, 25 2, 30 9.—**7. sound wisdom:** *cf.* Job. 5 12. The root possibly means "to assist," "support," hence "effectual wisdom," implying success in life.—**8. his saints:** rather "his pious ones." The term *ḥasidim* (Ps. 43*) occurs only here in Pr.

12–19. He who possesses true wisdom in the knowledge of God will be preserved from the perverse and self-opinionated man and from "the strange woman." These may be personifications, like Wisdom, representing some form of foreign philosophy or heretical teaching, so the later Jewish commentators explain. But probably the reference is to literal vice. The strange woman is the professional prostitute, possibly a foreigner and connected with foreign idolatrous cults (*cf.* Josephus, *Ant.*, xii. 4–6; Ecclus. 9 3–9, 23 16–26).

17. friend of her youth: "husband" rather than "God." For the phrase *cf.* Jer. 3 2–5.—**18.** LXX reads "she has set her house by death," RV presupposes a change in the accents, MT is rendered in RVm, the Targums and Peshitta suggest "her house is a pit of deep gloom."—**the dead:** the *rephaim*, the inhabitants of Sheol, beyond God's jurisdiction. For history of term see Charles' *Eschatology* (*cf.* Gen. 14 5*, Job 26 5*, Is. 14 9).

20–22. Blessing of the upright who hearken to wisdom, and punishment of the wicked. The result of conduct is expressed in the material form of older

Jewish hopes. A long life in the land of Israel was the ideal of good, but the phrases "to possess," "inherit," or "dwell in the land" remained as the expression of blessing when its local and temporary sense had been forgotten (*cf.* Mt. 5). Ps. 37 represents this point of view very fully.

III. 1–10. Fourth Discourse.—The sage exhorts the young man to heed his oral instruction (*torah*), and to trust in Yahweh, fear Him, and honour Him in the prescribed manner of firstfruits. It is interesting to find *torah* used in its earlier prophetic sense of oral instruction, without reference to its later sense of the whole body of legislation represented by the Pentateuch. The torah of the wise man represents not his own individual authority, but the accumulated wisdom of experience. The torah of the prophet, although delivered in the name of Yahweh, represents ultimately the accumulated moral consciousness of the nation; while the torah of the priest—in its later form at least—represents the traditional and inherited ritual, the prescribed method of the cultus. Hence the primary idea of torah is the same in all three forms. (See pp. 121, 620, Dt. 15*, and for a fuller discussion, "Law" in HDB.) The traditional view of the moral government of the universe, challenged so passionately in Job, is here accepted as axiomatic; the reward of fearing Yahweh is material prosperity and long life, there is no outlook into the future.

8. navel: read "flesh" or "body" (LXX and Peshitta).

11f. A comment, possibly by a later hand, on the meaning of misfortune. It represents the beginning of the problem discussed so fully in Job, and it offers the same solution as Eliphaz (Job. 5 17f.) and Elihu, a solution rejected by Job as inadequate. Chastisement could not be regarded as a proof of God's love until the belief in a future life with God, where its results should appear, had been established. Indeed, the pressure of the moral problem helped largely to establish the belief in ethical and individual immortality. (See art. on "Immortality" in DAC; *cf.* also Ecclus. 2 1–6, Pss. of Solomon 13 8f.)

12. as a father: LXX (Heb. 12 6) reads "scourges," probably representing the presumably correct reading "afflicts," as in Job. 5 18.

13–18. Couplets in praise of wisdom, possibly a continuation of 1–10, but probably a separate fragment of a poem in praise of wisdom. It and 19f. are closely related to the hymn in praise of wisdom in 8, and may represent an excerpt from an earlier recension of it.

15. Repeated in a slightly modified form in 8 11.

19f. A comment on the place of Wisdom in creation, expanded in 8 23–31*. See 13–18*.

21–26. Another fragment on the blessings of wisdom addressed by the sage to the young man. The connexion is clearly broken, "them" (21a) having no antecedent, since 21–26 is not a continuation of 19f. If, however, the order of 21a and 21b be inverted, the sense may be restored.—**depart:** Heb. difficult. LXX reads "slip away," perhaps the source of "slip away" in Heb. 2 1.

29–35. Detached exhortations and maxims totally differing in style from the rest of 1–9, and more closely resembling the maxims of 10 1–22 16. The connecting thread is the conception of kindliness to one's neighbour as a fundamental part of morality which underlies much of the Code of the Covenant and the parallel portions of D and H.

27. for them to whom it is due: a forced rendering; Heb. is lit. "from its owners." LXX has "from the needy," Peshitta omits. Read perhaps "from thy neighbours."—**power:** lit. "God" (*'el*), illustrating the primitive conception attaching to the word (*cf.* Gen. 31 29, Dt. 28 32).—**32. secret:** Heb. implies intimate association (*cf.* Pss. 25 14, 55 14).—**34.** Neither RV nor RVm is satisfactory. Read "with the scorners he shews himself scornful" (Ps. 18 26). LXX is quoted in Jas. 4 6, 1 P. 5 5.—**35b. promotion** is the Heb. verb "to exalt" or "to remove" (as Is. 57 14). "Shame exalts fools," *i.e.* "makes them notorious," is possible but forced. An attractive emendation is "fools change their glory into shame" (*cf.* Hos. 4 7). 14 18 may give the original text, "fools await shame."

IV. 1–9, 10–19, 20–27. Three hortatory discourses exactly similar to those in 2 and 3. The subject is the praise of Wisdom, and the description of the blessings she confers.

3f. One of the few passages referring to Heb. educational methods (pp. 109f.). Instruction is oral, given by the father or the mother (1 8). Books are not mentioned, and it is difficult to infer the nature of the teaching, whether it consisted of instruction in the Law, or merely the advice of experience given to youth. The date may be about the third century B.C.—**7.** Heb. yields no good sense, "the beginning of wisdom is, get wisdom." LXX probably correctly omits the verse.—**9. crown of beauty:** lit. "glorious crown" (*cf.* Is. 28 1, Job. 19 9). The figure is from the custom of wearing wreaths on festal occasions, hardly, as Is. 28 1 shows, a sign of Greek or Roman influence.

10–18. A discourse describing the way of life and the way of death (*cf.* "The Two Ways," the earlier Jewish portion of the Didache).

12a. *cf.* Job. 18 7*a*, the idea being the cramping and hindering of one's steps by a narrow and rocky path.—**13b.** *cf.* Dt. 32 47. Note the gradual deepening of the sense of "life," beginning with prolonging of days, as in Dt. 32 47, and gaining in spiritual content until it comes to mean the knowledge of God and communion with Him (Jn. 17 3; *cf.* "the life which is *life* indeed," 1 Tim. 6 19).—**14–17.** Probably the same class as that described in 1 10–19, belonging to city life rather than to an agricultural or nomad state of society.—**18. unto the perfect day:** lit. "until the day is established," which may mean either the full morning light or the noon-day. The reference may be to the good old age of a righteous life, its radiant culmination, or, less probably, to the Day of the Lord, which will be light for the righteous (*cf.* Is. 30 26, 34 8).

20–27. A third discourse exhorting the young man to heed the instruction of the sage and adhere to the path of uprightness.

23. heart: in Heb. the seat not of the emotions but of the intellect (*cf.* Hos. 7 11, where "without heart" means "without intelligence"). The seat of the emotions in the OT is represented by the bowels, the will and moral perceptions by the reins (*cf.* Jer. 4 19, Ps. 16 7).—**issues:** lit. "goings forth" (*cf.* Ps. 68 20).—**it:** *i.e.* the obedience recommended in 23*a*, life, whether material or spiritual, is the result of obedience (*cf.* Dt. 32 47).

V. 1–23. The first discourse against sexual vice, and exhortation to purity and conjugal fidelity (*cf.* 6 24–35, 7, 9 13–18). A comparison of the later codes (*e.g.* Lev. 18, 20, H) with the earlier, shows the increasing stress laid on sexual purity, and increasing prevalence of adultery.

3–6. Description of the strange woman (2 16*).—**4. wormwood** (Am. 5 7, Jer. 9 15): a bitter and poisonous herb, probably a species of *Artemisia*. In Rev. 8 10f. it has become an eschatological abstraction. For the

thought of bitterness and poison in the present connexion *cf.* the water of jealousy (Nu. 5).—**6.** Corrupt. Read "She does not tread the way of life, her paths waver."

7–14. The evil results of relations with the strange woman. These fall into three divisions—loss of wealth and position (9f.), physical deterioration (11), legal penalties (14, *cf.* 633*). Adultery is treated as more serious and dangerous than intercourse with a harlot. H (Lev. 2010), Ezek. 2345–47, and D (Dt. 2222) sentence both parties to death. The story of David and Bathsheba implies the death penalty. In later practice the punishment appears to have been less severe (*cf.* Ecclus. 2318–26). Jn. 85 implies that the older regulation was still in force, although it might be relaxed. (Probably the ordeal for the suspected wife (Nu. 511–29*) was older still.) (See Gray, *Numbers*, ICC.)

7a. Read "son."—**9. the cruel:** the text, if correct, refers apparently to the outraged husband, but "to foreigners" (Targ.) suits the parallelism better. The reference would then be general to the circle of foreign courtesans and panders.—**14.** Render "I had almost fallen into all evil," *i.e.* legal penalties inflicted by the local synagogue.

15–20. Exhortation to conjugal fidelity. For the metaphor of the well and the cistern *cf.* Ca. 412,15, and for that of the roe *cf.* Ca. 45. Some find a parallel to 15a in Ec. 121, reading "remember thy well in the days of thy youth."

21–23. Closing remarks on the retributive nature of the Divine moral government.

21. maketh level: the same word as in 6a; read *mg.* here. The primary meaning is "weigh" (*cf.* the noun in Is. 4012, "scales").—**22. the wicked** (LXX omits): probably a gloss, as the passage is a general statement of the principle of retribution, a man suffers for his own sin.

VI. 1–19. A section totally dissimilar from the rest of this division of Pr. It consists of four short subsections—1–5 against suretyship, 6–11 against sloth, 12–15 against talebearing, 16–19 against seven sins. Then the subject of sexual vice is continued from 5. 1–19 obviously breaks the connexion, and was probably inserted after the compilation of 1–9.

1–5. The Dangers of Suretyship.—Early Semitic legislation does not deal directly with suretyship, although directions relating to pledges and release from debt are given. In Neh. 5 we have a case of mortgage and its hardship. The practice of giving personal security probably grew up in post-exilic times. See also 1115, 1718, 2016, 2226f., 2713; Ecclus. 813, 2914–20.

1. stricken hands: *cf.* Job. 173, Ezek. 1718, Ezr. 1019.—**3.** The context favours RVm.—**importune:** the Heb. means "to rage against," "be arrogant" (*cf.* Rahab in Is. 307). The endangered surety should take strong measures to force his friend either to meet his liabilities or to set him free from his bond.

6–11. The Dangers of Sloth.—*Cf.* 3024 and 2430–34. The latter is evidently derived from the same source as this passage, and requires 69 to make the connexion clear between 32 and 33. The ant figures in most of the ancient proverbial lore as the type of provident thrift and industry. The LXX adds, probably incorrectly, some clauses concerning the bee.

11. robber: lit. "rover," almost equivalent to "tramp."—**armed man:** lit. "man with a shield."

12–15. Description and Retribution of the Talebearer.—The earliest codes reflect the prevalence of this social crime (*cf.* Ex. 231, Lev. 1916).

12. worthless person: lit. "man of Belial," more commonly in Heb. "son of Belial" (Dt. 1313*). The usually accepted derivation (see BDB) regards "Belial" as a compound signifying "without worth." But all the uses of the word do not agree with this derivation (*cf.* Ps. 184), and especially its use as a proper name (2 Cor. 615, Asc. Is. 323). It may be the name of some Bab. deity (*cf.* EBi).—**13.** Malan cites the apposite parallel from the Institutes of Manu: "Beware of having nimble hands and moveable feet, a winking eye, of being crooked in thy ways, of having a voluble tongue, and of being clever at doing mischief to others."—**15b.** A verbal parallel occurs in 291.

16–19. Seven Things Hateful to God.—Possibly the insertion of this short passage here was suggested by the recurrence in it (19b) of the unusual phrase in 14b, "scattereth strifes." It reflects throughout a literary acquaintance with OT, and is therefore probably late. All the characteristics mentioned occur in other parts of OT (*cf.* Is. 211, Ps. 3118, Is. 593,7, Gen. 65, etc.).

20–35. Warning against the Adulteress.—Here the subject of ch. 5 is resumed, exhortation to sexual purity (see 57–14*).

22f. The change to the sing. ("it") in 22 points to some disarrangement, and the close connexion between 20 and 23 suggests that 23 should follow 21, and that before 22 a clause introducing wisdom as the subject has been lost.—**25.** *Cf.* Job 311, Mt. 528.—**26.** The text is obscure and probably corrupt (*cf.* ICC), AV and RV incorrect. The main problem is whether the harlot is synonymous or contrasted with the adulteress. The latter is more probable; the harlot only hunts for a piece of bread—*i.e.* for a livelihood—the adulteress seeks to ruin her victim. The man is throughout the foolish victim, and the adulteress is the temptress.

30–35. A contrast between the fate of a thief and that of the adulterer. The point is not clear. MT means that a thief who steals to satisfy his desire does not lose social prestige, nevertheless he must pay the penalty in a fine. Many regard this as unsatisfactory, and 30a may be a question (so some MSS.), "do they not despise, etc.?"—*i.e.* the thief only loses the respect of his fellows, but escapes further punishment by payment of a fine, while the adulterer loses caste and cannot escape the penalty of the law by private arrangement with the jealous husband. But can a thief, who steals to satisfy his hunger, pay sevenfold for his offence?

31. sevenfold: for the law of restitution in cases of theft and fraud *cf.* Ex. 221, five- or fourfold; 224,7, double; Lev. 65, restoration of the principal plus one-fifth. Lk. 198 and 2 S. 126 show that the fourfold measure was apparently the prevalent one. Sevenfold is probably rhetorical rather than legal.

VII. 1–27. The longest and most elaborate description of the adulteress, the fate of her victim, and the value of wisdom as a safeguard.

1–5. General advice to the young man to observe the commandments and the torah of the sage, that he may be preserved from the adulteress.

3b. *cf.* 2 Cor. 33, and for the opposite thought Jer. 171.—**4. kinswoman:** lit. "one well known," "familiar friend," only in Ruth 21, 32 besides.

6–23. A vivid and dramatic representation of the capture of a young and foolish man by an adulteress.

6–9. The sage, looking through his lattice in the evening, sees a young man approach the corner where the adulteress lives. The LXX makes her look out of her window in search of prey, a more vivid reading than that of MT, and not necessarily incompatible with the next picture, in 10, of her eager rush to meet him.

10–12. Description of the adulteress, her restlessness and boisterous heartiness of manner. The harlot or temple prostitute could probably be easily distinguished by her style of dress and manner, even if she did not wear a distinctive garment, or veil, as in Gen. 38¹⁵ (*cf.* Ca. 5⁷).

13–20. Description of the adulteress's greeting and allurements.

13b. *i.e.* "with brazen face" (*cf. mg.*).—**14.** Read *mg.* The shelāmim, peace- or thank-offerings (p. 98, Lev. 3*, 7¹¹–³⁴*), were probably common to the other Semitic cults; they are mentioned in the Marseilles temple tariff, *c.* fourth century B.C. Hence the woman need not be an Israelite. Vows (p. 105, Lev. 7¹⁶f.*, Nu. 30) of course are frequently mentioned in the N. Semitic inscriptions.—**15. carpets of tapestry:** render "coverlets" (31²²).—**striped cloths:** perhaps correct. Some kind of covering is intended.—**20. full moon:** only here and Ps. 81³. The husband's absence will extend from the beginning of the month (9 may indicate the absence of the moon) until the mid-month feast of full moon (p. 101).

22c. The text is plainly corrupt (*mg.*). Toy's emendation, "like a calf to the stall," yields a good sense.

24–27. The fatal results of yielding to her wiles. The nature of the disaster is not explained, but early death seems to be implied, either by judicial penalty, by the vengeance of the husband, or by the physical decay resulting from excess.

27. chambers of death: may be a poetical synonym for Sheol, but if the section be late, it may imply divisions in the underworld (*cf.* "the treasuries" in 2 Esdr. 7³², where the same Gr. word is used as in the LXX of this verse).

VIII. Wisdom Speaks in her own Person.—This chapter forms at once the nucleus and the climax of this section of the book. The series of addresses on practical wisdom is fitly closed by a profounder presentation of wisdom as the moving principle in the ways of God. It reinforces the practical maxims of 1–7 with the fundamental principle that the wise man is in harmony with God. Its date probably fixes the date of the whole section (see Introduction, and for a fuller discussion especially Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, pp. 156f.). The relation of the conception of Wisdom personified to the Stoic Logos and to Greek philosophy in general cannot be discussed here. (See *Wisdom Literature* in HDB, and especially the excellent introduction by Holmes to the Book of Wisdom in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*.) The two main lines of development of this conception in Heb. thought are: (*a*) the growth of the conception of the Angel of Yahweh, developing into the later Jewish theologoumenon of Metatron, the mediator; (*b*) the tendency to personify the Word of Yahweh active in creation and in the moral government of the world, developing into the quasi-personal Memra of the Targums, and the Philonian Logos.

1–21. The Place of Wisdom in the Government of the World.

1–3. Proem. Wisdom is not secluded in the chamber of the sage, but cries aloud in the crowded concourse of the mart and highway.—**4f.** The class of persons addressed—those who are in need of wisdom, the simple and the fools.—**6–9.** The nature of the instruction offered. Its essential characteristic is truth and righteousness, God's own character as seen in His ways (*cf.* Dt. 32⁴). There is nothing twisted or crooked in it.—**6. excellent things:** *i.e.* princely things. The word is unusual, and found only here in this sense. —**10f.** Preciousness of the instruction. In 11 the personification breaks down for a moment, and the author speaks of wisdom in the third person, quoting 3¹⁵.

12–16. The right government of the world is due to Wisdom.

12. have . . . dwelling: the Heb. is strange; we should perhaps read "create" or "possess" (Targ., Syr.).

17–21. The rewards of those who receive the instruction of Wisdom. Those who seek Wisdom not only find her, but gain with her material prosperity and honour, although she is to be prized for her own sake and not for her rewards.

18. durable riches: lit. "ancient riches" (*mg.*). The same idea with the same Heb. word occurs in Is. 23¹⁸ (RVm "stately").—The LXX has a curious and interesting addition to 21: "If I have declared to you the things of the present, I will bear in mind to recount the things of the past." It marks the separation of the two sections of the chapter, and is apparently an exegetical gloss, intended to contrast the present government of the world by Wisdom with its creation in the past.

22–31. The Place of Wisdom in the Creation and Ordering of the Universe.—Wisdom is not conceived as eternally coexistent with God, but as formed before Creation to be the instrument of creation. *Cf.* the Rabbinical doctrine that the Law was created before the world, and the Philonian conception of the Logos as first immanent, and then for creation and in the act of creation emanating from God in a quasi-personal form of existence. In Ecclus. the conception of Wisdom found here is identified with the Torah. The whole passage should be compared with Job 28, For the Christian application to Christ see Col. 1¹⁵*.

22f. Wisdom the first of God's works.—**22a.** Render "the Lord formed me as the first (or chief) of His ways."—**24–26.** Wisdom formed before the world. As in all the OT cosmologies the primeval state of the world is conceived of as a watery chaos. See *Cosmogony* in HDB.—**25. settled:** lit. "sunk," according to the Semitic idea that the mountains had their bases in the subterranean ocean (*cf.* Job 26¹¹*, Ps. 18⁷, Jon. 2⁶.)—**26.** The Heb. is almost unintelligible and probably corrupt. No satisfactory emendation has been offered.

27–29. Wisdom present at the Creation. The Bab. conception of the heavenly ocean above separated from the ocean below by a solid vault is reflected here. In the Bab. mythology the vault is represented by the divided body of the Chaos dragon Tiamat, slain by Marduk (Gen. 1⁶f.*).—**27. circle:** rather "vault" (*cf.* Job. 22¹⁴).—**29.** For the idea of a boundary fixed for the ocean by God *cf.* Gen. 1⁹f.; Job. 26¹⁰, 38⁸–¹¹; Ps. 104⁶–⁹; Jer. 5²².—**30f.** Wisdom the companion of God.—**30. a master workman:** requires a slight alteration of MT; so also AV, "one brought up." AV seems to suit the context better, although the LXX and the Vulg. seem to support RV. For the corresponding term in the active sense *cf.* Nu. 11¹². In Wisd. 7²² we find Wisdom described as "the artificer of all things" (see Holmes' note).—RVm "had delight continually" suits the context better, and is a justifiable rendering.—**rejoicing:** better "sporting" (*mg.*).—**32–36.** Closing exhortation of Wisdom to the sons of men.—**36.** Render "he that misseth me (*mg.*) doth violence to himself." "To sin" in Heb. as in Gr. has the force of "to miss the mark." Life's aim is awry. To miss intentionally that which is the spring of life is moral suicide.

IX. The Invitations of Wisdom and Folly Contrasted. —This section closes with a couple of graphic pictures

of Wisdom and Folly personified, each bidding for the attention of the passers-by with offers of hospitality. The two pictures, each consisting of six stanzas, are now separated by six stanzas of unconnected proverbs (7–12).

1–6. Wisdom's Invitation.—The parable of the Great Supper in Mt. 22 and Lk. 14 may perhaps be modelled on this passage. Wisdom's house, with its seven pillars, her preparations for the feast, and her message of invitation are described. The appointments imply a city life and setting to the scene, but whether Jewish or Greek is not determined by the details. The pillars, viands, and messengers naturally offer themselves to allegorical interpretations, and commentators from Rashi to Hitzig have revelled in the opportunity (see ICC and other commentaries).

7–12. Disconnected aphorisms, apparently inserted by a later scribe, either to separate the two pictures of Wisdom and Folly, or (so Toy) because this was a convenient place for the preservation of this small collection, though the convenience is not entirely apparent.

7–9. The results of instruction given to the scoffer and to the wise man respectively. It is wasted on the scoffer, but bears fruit and increase in the wise.—**10–12.** The beginning of wisdom, its benefits, and the responsibility it brings.

13–18. The Companion Picture of Folly and her Invitation.

13. The Heb. is obscure and uncertain. Literally it can only be rendered "the woman of folly is boisterous, simplicity, and knows not what." Toy reads "Folly is loud and seductive, she knows no shame." Obviously the stanza forms a contrast to the quiet forethought of Wisdom in 1. Folly offers to the fool those delights, described in detail in 7, which lead to the inevitable fate so repeatedly pointed out.—**15. right:** there is no implication of moral rectitude, but simply a reference to those who are passing by along the highroad.—**18. dead:** read "shades" (*cf.* 218*). For the juxtaposition of Rephaim and Sheol, *cf.* Is. 149.

LXX has several additional stanzas in this chapter, after 12 amplifying the idea of responsibility and the consequences of neglect of wisdom, and after 18 giving an exhortation to avoid folly's invitation. Both are probably from the pen of a scribe, and illustrate well the possibility and the motive of similar additions in Job and Ec.

X.–XXII. 16. Second Section. The Proverbs of Solomon.—For the character and date see Introduction. The general plan of this Commentary requires that the paragraph and not the verse be taken as the unit of exegesis. But in this part of Pr., and, indeed, almost throughout the rest of the book, there are no paragraphs and very little indication of unity of purpose underlying the collection of aphorisms. Hence, as the scale of the Commentary precludes verse by verse annotation, the notes will be devoted chiefly to the elucidation of difficulties and obscurities, giving the renderings to be preferred, and the most probable emendations where emendation appears necessary.

2 (*cf.* Ps. 37). **righteousness:** the growth of the conception of righteousness is an important subject. As in the Pss., there is a specific class "the righteous" opposed to "the wicked." The righteous are generally synonymous with the poor and afflicted remnant, sometimes equivalent to the Hasidim of the Greek period. In general the tendency of the conception of righteousness is towards a specific moral character, rather than towards the fulfilment of legal duties. This is important in view of the implied contrast in the Synoptic Gospels between the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, and such a righteousness as our Lord taught to be the condition of entrance into the kingdom of God (*cf.* Mt. 520).—**5.** Proverbs on agriculture abound in this section, but afford no indication of date. They suggest, however, the popular source of many of the proverbs, the fruit of practical experience rather than of philosophic reflection.—**6b** is repeated in 11, where it is evidently in place; here it yields no satisfactory contrast, and has probably come in by mistake for the real contrasting clause, which is lost. For verbal parallel *cf.* Hab. 217.—**8b** is repeated in 10*, where it destroys the antithesis. It yields no satisfactory antithesis here. Possibly the contrast is that the wise man listens in silence and is saved, while the fool is too busy talking to heed the warning which would save him from a fall.—**9. shall be known:** some contrast to "walks securely" is required. Read "shall suffer."—**10b** has come in by mistake from 8. The LXX may preserve the original antithesis, "he who reproves openly makes peace" (*cf.* 275f.). If so, the "winking" in 10 may not mean "stirring up strife" as in 613, but rather conniving at wrongdoing in contrast to faithful reproof.—**11. a fountain of life:** 1314, 1427, 1622 (*cf.* Ps. 369).—**12. love covereth:** 1 P. 48, Jas. 520, give an independent version, possibly based on an Aram. original, and it may be ultimately a saying of our Lord's.—**13b** occurs in 263 in a much more obvious connexion.—**14. lay up knowledge:** this quite destroys the antithesis. Read "conceal their knowledge." The contrast between wise reticence and foolish licence in speech is the subject of many proverbs (*cf.* 19, 1113, etc.; Ecclus. 918, 205–7).—**present destruction:** better, "imminent ruin."—**15.** The power of wealth against the defencelessness of poverty is illustrated both in the legal codes and the history (*cf.* Is. 58, Neh. 55).—**16. labour:** read "wages." The contrast is between the reward of righteousness and wickedness.—**18.** The form apparently deserts the usual antithesis and presents a synthetic parallelism. LXX reads "righteous lips cover hatred," perhaps the original text.—**19–21.** Proverbs relating to the use of speech.—**22b** may be rendered as RV, or with many commentators "labour adds not to it" (*cf. mg.*), an excellent sense, but hardly in harmony with the outlook of Pr.—**23b.** Both the Heb. and the general sense are against the common rendering. Read "but for a man of understanding it is a matter of worth."—**24f.** (*cf.* 27–30) states the retributive theory of the moral government of the world, which is so passionately challenged in Job as contrary to experience.—**26.** One of the many aphorisms about the sluggard, it seems to interrupt the connexion between 24f. and 27–30. Possibly it belonged originally, as its form suggests, to 25f.—**30. dwell in the land:** it was through the Exile that "to dwell in the land," Yahweh's land, came to be the expression of the highest hope of the pious Jew, and became a part of the Messianic hope. *Cf.* Hos. 93 for an early expression, and Is. 3317 for a development of the idea. It is reflected in Mt. 55.—**31f.** Connected in subject with 19–21. The two groups—19–21, 31f., and 24f., 27–30—may originally have formed separate collections.

XI. The orthodox view of strictly retributive justice found in 1024f., 27–30 is represented by a further group (2–8, 18–21, and 31). Proverbs concerning speech are also frequent (9, 12f.). There are, moreover, several new points—*e.g.* the value of wisdom to the community (14); the popularity of the prosperity of

the righteous (10), possibly referring to the popular story of Mordecai and Haman; the value of discretion in a woman (16 and 22); liberality, especially in the handling of the corn supply, evidently reflecting a city point of view (24–26); also a proverb dealing with commercial ethics (1), reflected in D and H (Dt. 2515, Ezek. 4510, Lev. 1936).

7. Lit. "When a wicked man dies hope perishes, and the expectation of vigour perishes." There is no satisfactory antithesis in **7b**, and **7a** is metrically irregular. The LXX preserves an antithesis, "When the righteous man dies his hope does not perish, but the boasting of the wicked perishes." The original is perhaps preserved here. Toy's objection that Pr. does not deal with a future life (1432*) depends on the date of individual aphorisms, and a collection of early proverbs might easily contain isolated aphorisms of a much later period.—**8. in his stead:** this has occasioned difficulty; it does not mean that the wicked suffers instead of the righteous, but that ultimately Divine justice assigns his proper place to each. It asserts the principle of 1024f.*—**16.** An antithesis between women and men is found only here in Pr. The contrast is not apposite, and the two lines may (so LXX) be the first and last lines respectively of two pairs of contrasts, one between women and the other between men.—**18.** Render "wages of deceit," *i.e.* illusory gain.—**19a** is very uncertain. (*a*) The AV should be more exactly "so righteousness tendeth, etc.," and "he that pursueth, etc.," connecting the verse with the previous one. (*b*) RV "he that is steadfast" is without philological justification. (*c*) The LXX reads "son," which yields a good sense.—**21.** Read *mg.*—**22. jewel:** read "nose-ring" (Gen. 2422), the regular ornament of women in the East.—**24.** Read *mg.*—**30.** Difficult. Lit. "the fruit of the righteous is a tree of life, and a wise man takes souls" (*i.e.* persons). Both AV and RV give impossible translations of 30b. A slight change, suggested by LXX, gives a good sense and satisfactory antithesis: "the fruit of righteousness is a tree of life, but violence destroys (men's) lives."—**31.** There is probably some connexion between 1 P. 418 and this verse. Possibly we should substitute "recompensed" for "punished," following the line of exegesis suggested in 1 P. The Heb. verb means "to repay," "give what is due." The righteous do not escape the consequences of their faults, how much less will the sinner!

XII. Here we have a number of proverbs handling the favourite subject of retribution (2f., 7, 14, 21, 28). Several deal with speech (6, 13, 16–19, 22f.). Other subjects treated of are the virtuous woman, humanity to animals, and the sluggard. No new feature appears.

8. of a perverse heart: Toy happily translates "a wrong-headed man."—**9** is interesting as pointing to the growth of social distinctions among the Hebrews. The picture of later Jewish life that we gather from the Rabbinical literature shows an aristocracy of intellect rather than of wealth.—**honoureth himself:** the Heb. implies rather "plays the great man."—**10.** Reflected in D (*cf.* Dt. 514, 254).—**12.** Very difficult. The RV renders the Heb. as well as it can be rendered, but yields no satisfactory meaning. The LXX, slightly changing the word for "net" and transferring it to the end of the verse, gives the only satisfactory solution: "the wicked desire evil things, but the roots of the pious are firm."—**16. concealeth shame:** the idea conveyed in the context is that the prudent man takes no notice of an insult; Toy "ignores an affront."—**25. Heaviness:** read "anxiety" (*cf. mg.*).—**26a** is untranslateable. RV is not admissible. The LXX is perhaps best: "the righteous takes thought for his neighbour." Many read "the righteous searches out his pasture."—**27** offers no clear antithesis, and the text is corrupt.—**27a** appears to be a hunting metaphor, but the word translated "roast" (so the Rabbis) is quite unknown. Modern scholars derive from Arabic, and render "rouse" or "start."—**27b.** Read "there is valuable wealth for the diligent man."—**28b.** MT cannot be translated. EV contains about as many mistakes as could be packed into so short a sentence. The LXX shows that the second clause contains, not a synthesis as it is now, but an antithesis. The original probably read "but the way of the wicked (leads) to death."

XIII. This chapter has little that is fresh and no new groups of proverbs. We have a well-known reference to the weariness of waiting for a hope that comes not (12 and 19a). There is a new proverb relating to the faithfulness of messengers, perhaps with reference to diplomatic missions.

5. is loathsome: render "behaves vilely."—**7.** Both AV and RV obscure the point of the aphorism, which contrasts two equally obnoxious social shams. Translate, "There are poor people who pretend to be rich, and there are rich people who feign they are poor."—**8.** The last words appear to have come in by dittography from 1. The real point of the contrast intended appears in 1015—the social disadvantage of poverty—and the last words should express a similar thought.—**9. rejoiceth** is hardly appropriate; read with a slight emendation "ariseth" (*cf.* Ps. 1124). LXX reads "is for ever." The earlier meaning of "light" and "lamp" is the preservation of the family name and honour (*cf.* the promise to David to give him a lamp in Jerusalem, 1 K. 1136, Ps. 13217). Later it acquires a more ethical meaning, "the path of the just is as a shining light."—**10.** The text is very uncertain. The first three letters of MT are probably repeated by scribal error from 9. Omitting them we read "presumption causes strife." But the proverb is probably a corrupt form of 112, as comparison with it suggests.—**11.** The Heb. reads lit. "Wealth from nothingness grows less, but he who gathers by hand increases." Some change is clearly needed. The LXX gives a better sense and a suitable contrast, "wealth got in haste" (*cf.* 2021, 2822). The force of "by hand" (*cf. mg.*) is "gradually," not "by labour" as the RV.—**13a** is the converse of 1620a.—**the word:** the moral law, the law of Yahweh.—**15b** gives no intelligible sense, and cannot be related to 15a. Lit. it reads "the way of the treacherous is enduring"; RV "rugged" has no justification. LXX reads, with slight change, "is in destruction." But the two clauses are still unrelated, and probably belong to different couplets (*cf.* Ecclus. 4110).—**17.** The contrast is apparently between the mischief caused by a bad or incompetent messenger and the prosperous issue of affairs conducted by a reliable envoy or ambassador. The word used for ambassador or envoy suggests rather a political sense, and the LXX has the interesting though probably erroneous rendering "a rash king gets into trouble, but a wise ambassador will deliver him." Read "A false (or untrustworthy) messenger causes (his sender) to fall into trouble" (*cf.* 2513).—**19.** Another case of two unrelated lines. For 19a *cf.* 12, and for 19b *cf.* 2937.—**23.** The Heb. gives no satisfactory sense or intelligible contrast. It reads lit. "The fallow ground (as Hos. 1012, Jer. 43) of the poor is abundance of food, and there is that is swept away by injustice." The VSS show similar confusion. No satisfactory emendation has been proposed.

XIV. In this, as in each of the preceding chapters in this section, aphorisms on the moral government of the world come first in number. There are rather more in this chapter of a political and social character, while a group that might be called psychological appears for the first time (*e.g.* 10, 13, and in part 30). The contrast between wisdom and folly, simplicity and prudence, also yields a fairly numerous group.

1. MT cannot be translated. 1a is probably the quotation of 9 1a, and 1b is added as an aphoristic and antithetic comment. Read "Wisdom hath builded her house, but folly tears it down with her hands."—**3. rod:** lit. "shoot" (*mg.*) or "twig," as in Is. 11 1, the only other place where the word occurs. Hence, if the text is sound, the fool's mouth is represented as sending forth a branch of folly. But this leaves the antithesis without point. We expect some word conveying the harmfulness of the fool's speech to himself.—**4a** yields no intelligible contrast; a slight emendation, "where there are no oxen there is no corn," gives it.—**7.** The straightforward rendering of the Heb. is, "If thou go from the presence of a fool thou hast not known lips of knowledge"—*i.e.* time spent in a fool's company is time wasted. But the text is very uncertain. LXX may preserve the original, "All things are contrary to a fool, but wise lips are instruments of perfection," evidently following 20 15 for 7b.—**9.** Another very difficult verse. The lit. translation, as far as one can be given, is "Guilt (or a guilt offering) mocks fools, but among (lit. between) the upright there is good pleasure." It is hard to extract any sense from this. LXX, evidently with a widely different text in 9a, has "the houses of transgressors need purification, but the houses of the righteous are acceptable (*i.e.* to God)." The word "mocks" is the trouble. A slight emendation would give "fools go astray by guilt," which yields a possible sense.—**13.** *Cf.*

"Our sincerest laughter with some pain is fraught,
Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thoughts."

14. Instead of the difficult "from himself," read the necessary "from his deeds," the same verb being supplied as in 14a.—**17b.** Omit, with LXX, one Heb. letter, and read, to the improvement of sense and antithesis, "but a man of thought endures." The Heb. for "a quick-tempered man" is lit. "one who is short of nostrils"; a patient man is "long of nostrils"—*i.e.* his anger does not soon become apparent, by a snort!—**18. are covered:** the verb (Job 36 2) is Aram. Render "the prudent wait for knowledge."—**21. is happy:** rather "is blessed by God," as in Ps. 1 1, "blessed is the man."—**24b** is tautologous and yields no antithesis. Read "The crown of the wise is their wisdom, the chaplet of fools is their folly" (LXX).—**32. in his death:** read, transposing two letters, "in his integrity" (so LXX).—**35. causeth shame:** properly "disappoints"—*i.e.* in a political sense, one who is a political or diplomatic failure.

XV. This chapter makes no new departure. Proverbs concerning the moral government of the world again occupy the chief place. One (11) is noteworthy as showing an extended conception of the sphere of God's government. Earlier Heb. religion regarded Sheol as outside the kingdom of God; there the dead do not praise or remember Him. We have also some more psychological proverbs dealing with the value of cheerfulness.

2. uttereth aright: paraphrase rather than translation, lit. "makes good." Read "drops" (**as Dt. 32 2, Job. 29 22**), a more natural contrast to "pours out" in 2b.—**3.** The conception of God's omniscience and omnipotence begins to appear clearly in the later Wisdom-literature (*cf.* Job. 24 21, 2 Ch. 16 9). The earliest occurrence is in Jer. 32 19.—**7. disperse:** elsewhere only in a bad sense. A change of one letter gives "preserve," which suits the context better.—**doeth not so** is poor sense, as the mind cannot be said to scatter or disperse knowledge. RVm, though possible, gives no contrast. Read "does not understand."—**11.** See above. "Abaddon" occurs in OT, principally in Wisdom-literature (*cf.* 27 20; Job 26 6, 28 22, 31 12; also in Ps. 88 11). In each case it denotes a region of the underworld, and is apparently a synonym for Sheol. In Rev. 9 11* Abaddon has become the name of the angel who rules the abyss, and is identified by the writer with Apollyon. The same conception is found in Rabbinical literature. Völter, in his commentary on Rev., identifies Abaddon with Ahriman, suggesting that the change from the conception of Abaddon as a place to that of an angel is due to Persian influence, the source of much of later Jewish angelology.—**17. dinner:** elsewhere only in 2 K. 25 30 = Jer. 52 34. It means primarily a portion for a journey, hence here a slender, frugal meal. A "stalled ox" is a fatted ox, one kept in the stall and fed.—**19a.** Read "is hedged with thorns."—**19b.** We expect the contrast of "diligent" with "sluggard," hence emend "upright" to "active" or "diligent" (LXX).—**an highway:** *cf.* Is. 57 14. The road is prepared for a great person in the East by casting up stones and earth to form a raised way.—**25.** The ease with which boundaries can be altered in the East is reflected in early legislation (Dt. 19 14, 27 17).—**26b** is clearly in disorder, as the VSS show. Transpose the first two words in the Heb. and understand "to him," reading "the words of the pure are a pleasure to him."—**30. the light of the eyes:** may be taken (*a*) lit. as the light of the sun (*cf.* Ec. 11 7) and regarded as a comparison with 30b or (*b*) symbolically as good news which is reflected in the lighting up of the face.

XVI. The special feature is a group of aphorisms (10–15) relating to kings. The sentiments seem rather to reflect the picture of the ideal king than to indicate any particular period. The metaphors employed and the character depicted suggest a parallel with the ideal king of Ps. 72.

4. The lit. rendering of 4a is "Yahweh has made every work for its answer"—*i.e.* the nexus of cause and effect seen in the moral government of the world is His work, a kind of prearranged harmony. The supreme instance is the case of the wicked, their answer is the day of evil. We have an assertion of the righteousness of Yahweh's government rather than of their predestination to judgment. There is no doubt, however, of the existence of the belief in predestination to blessing and judgment in later Jewish theology. This determinism is the fundamental feature in the eschatology of the Apocalyptists.—**5.** 11 20*.—**6.** An excellent illustration is found in Dan. 4 27 (*cf.* also Ezek. 18 21,27). Render 6b "And by the fear of Yahweh there is escape from calamity."—**8.** *cf.* 15 16.

10–15. This group relating to kings does not preserve the antithetic form characteristic of this section.—**10. A divine sentence:** lit. "divination." For the precise meaning see Driver on Dt. 18 10f.—**11a. just:** qualifies "scales" only. Possibly, in view of the subject-matter of the group, "the Lord's" originally read "the king's," and was afterwards, through mis-

apprehension, changed to the present reading. The authorization of normal weights and balances is then ascribed to the king. This may be illustrated from a lion weight found at Abydos (*c.* vi.–v. cent. B.C.), with the inscription "correct according to the commissioners of money."—**15b.** *cf.* 2 S. 23 3f.; Pss. 65 10, 72 6.—**the latter rain:** not the heavy autumn and winter rain (Heb. "the pourer"), which breaks up the dry clods, but the gentler spring rain which fertilizes the crops.—**20.** *cf.* 13 13.—**21. learning:** Toy's rendering, here and in 23, "persuasiveness" or "power of persuasion," is too free. The word may have both a passive and an active (*cf.* Dt. 32 2) meaning. The sense requires the latter: agreeable speech increases a man's capacity of imparting knowledge.—**25** = 14 12. Like the doublets in the Synoptic Gospels, this and other doublets in the same section suggest that the editor is using more than one source, and that the proverb occurs in both his sources—*i.e.* he is handling groups or collections rather than selecting isolated aphorisms and arranging them.—**26.** Read *mg.*—**27–30.** A group on slander (*cf.* 6 12–14 *).—**28. chief friends:** *cf.* 2 17, Ps. 55 13. The word means "prince" in Gen. 36 15, Zech. 9 7, and the rendering "alienates the prince" is possible. But "separates friends" is probably the best rendering.—**31b.** RVm is unwarranted. The meaning is that length of days is the reward of righteousness (*cf.* Ps. 91 16 and the Deuteronomic expression "that thou mayst prolong thy days."—**33.** In primitive Heb. religion the casting of the sacred lot (p. 100) seems to have been the priest's prerogative (see H. P. Smith on 1 S. 14 41f. in ICC and art. *Lots* in HDB), but later the practice of obtaining decisions in important matters became a practice of common life (*cf.* Jon. 1 7, Ac. 1 26).

XVII. Fresh points are the rise of the able and clever slave to a place in the family (2), the practice of bribes (8, 23), the value of adversity as a test of friendship (17); also the subject of suretyship, dealt with in 6 1–5, is resumed (18).

1. For the connexion between sacrifices (*mg.*) and feasting *cf.* 6 14. For "sacrifice" used to denote private slaying *cf.* Dt. 12 15, Is. 34 6.—**7. Excellent:** the usual meaning is "abundance," and possibly the sense is that copious speech only betrays a fool. A slight change gives "upright," with a somewhat better antithesis.—**prince:** *cf.* 26 and Is. 32 5 for the sense of moral nobility, which better suits this passage, and render "the noble," or as Toy, "the man of rectitude."—**8.** The most intelligible rendering is "a bribe is counted a means of procuring favour (lit. a stone of favour) by its owner (*i.e.* the briber) in all that he undertakes he succeeds." The expression "stone of favour" is without parallel in Heb. Frankenberg suggests that it may mean "a lucky stone"—*i.e.* a magic stone or amulet.—**9b.** 16 28*.—**11a.** The lit. rendering is probably "surely rebellion seeketh evil" (*cf. mg.*). The abstract for the concrete is not supported by Heb. usage, and a slight change gives "a rebellious man." The reference is probably not religious but political, but *cf.* Ps. 78 49.—**12a.** *cf.* 2 S. 17 8, Hos. 13 8.—**16.** There may be a reference to the Gr. custom of paying fees to sophists and philosophers, since it does not appear that the Jewish Rabbis took payment for their instruction.—**17.** RVm is more exact than RV. The sense remains on the whole the same, although it no longer implies a higher degree of affection in the brother.—**18.** *cf.* 6 1–5*; see also 11 15, 20 16, 22 26, 27 13.—**19. transgression** may have the social sense that it has in Ex. 22 9, trespass against a neighbour's property, in which case the unusual phrase "raiseth high his gate" may refer to encroachments upon a neighbour's property.—**21.** The word for "fool" in 21b occurs besides only in Pr. in 17 7, 30 22. It always connotes moral insensibility in the OT (*cf.* Ps. 14 1).—**22. medicine:** the word occurs only here and is thus translated by inference from Hos. 5 13. Read, with a slight change, "body." The sense is the same.—**bones** is another synonym for "body." Render "A weary heart makes a sound body, but a crushed spirit withers the body."—**23. out of the bosom:** lit. "out of the lap"—*i.e.* out of the fold in the outer garment which serves the Oriental as a pocket (*cf.* 16 33, Is. 40 11).—**26. punish:** properly "fine" (*mg.*), *cf.* Am. 2 8. But in Pr. the word seems to have the wider meaning "punish." The old technical sense has been lost.—**for their uprightness** is an impossible rendering. Either render "to smite the noble is against justice," or read "much less to smite the noble."

XVIII. 1. MT yields no satisfactory sense. The LXX reads "The man who wishes to separate from his friends seeks pretexts, but is always liable to reproach." Frankenberg renders "the alienated friend seeks an occasion (emending the word for 'desire'), seeks by all means to stir up strife."—**4.** RV translates correctly, but the sense is strange. Read, perhaps, "The words of the wise are deep waters, a flowing brook, a fountain of life," but this is conjecture rather than emendation.—**5.** *cf.* 17 26, which may have originally followed this verse.—**6–8.** A group on rash and slanderous speech.—**8.** Repeated in 26 22.—**dainty morsels** (AV "wounds") has occasioned much difficulty. The RV translation rests on an Arabic form meaning "to swallow eagerly." The sense refers to the pleasure with which slanderers' gossip is received.—**10** expresses a point of view not common in Pr., but frequent in Pss. (*cf.* Is. 26 8), the attitude of the pious toward the character of God as represented by His Name. There is no suggestion here of the magical value subsequently attached by the Jews to the "ineffable Name."—**11.** *cf.* 10 15.—**16–18.** Three reflections on the ways of litigation—the value of a bribe, the necessity of hearing both sides, and the use of the lot to decide doubtful cases.—**19.** MT is unintelligible (note italics in RV). No satisfactory emendation has been proposed.—**20f.** Two aphorisms on the nemesis which overtakes rash speech. "Curses are like young chickens, they always come home to roost."—**22.** *cf.* the expansion of the idea in Ecclus. 26 1–3.—**23.** *cf.* Ecclus. 13 3.—**24.** Lit. "a man of friends is to be broken, and there is a lover that cleaveth closer than a brother." There is no satisfactory parallelism; the rendering is also very doubtful. With a slight change *24a* reads, "There are friends whose object is society," implying a contrast between social acquaintances and the friendship tested by adversity. LXX omits.

XIX. A shrewd turn of sarcasm in 3 suggests the attitude of practical wisdom towards that questioning of the moral government of the world which we find in Job.

1. fool: read "rich," as in 28 6.—**2a.** Both RV and RVm are unsound grammatically. The lit. rendering shows that the clause is defective, "Also without knowledge of the soul . . . is not good." Some verb expressing action is required.—**2b. sinneth:** read *mg.* The idea is "more haste less speed."—**7c** is defective and untranslateable. RVm approaches the lit. rendering, which is "he who pursues words, they are not." It is clearly part of a lost couplet.—**8. wisdom:** lit. "heart" (*mg.*), *cf.* Ps. 90 12.—**12.** The reference to the royal anger (*cf.* 20 2) suits such conspicuous wrath as

is depicted in Esther in the Persian period better than the earlier period of the Jewish monarchy.—**13b.** *cf.* 27^{15}.—**15. deep sleep:** the word is generally used for the sleep of a trance (Gen. 2^{21} *), or supernatural sleep. The faculties are benumbed through disuse.—**16b.** RVm gives the lit. sense; RV is a paraphrase. Read "the word" for "his ways" (*cf.* 13^{13}).—**19.** Many explanations and emendations have been proposed, but none are satisfactory. Frankenberg's may be nearest to the original sense, "A man who is fined is very angry, but if he shew contempt (of court) he has to pay more."—**22.** The want of connexion between the clauses and the words the RV has had to supply, show the hopeless state of the text. The only possible way of establishing a connexion is by the interpretation that a poor man who desires to show kindness but cannot, is better than a rich man who pretends that he is unable to do so. But this forces too much into the text. The LXX has "Almsgiving is fruit to a man, and a righteous poor man is better than a rich liar." The connexion lies in the later identification of righteousness with almsgiving.

XX. We have still further traces in 9, 24 of the sceptical spirit and "the obstinate questionings of self" characteristic of the later Greek period of Jewish thought.

6a. RV is strained and the Heb. is difficult. Read (*cf.* Syr. and Lat.) "Many a man is called kind."—**8. winnoweth** (*mg.*) is more literal than RV, and conveys better the idea of personal scrutiny (*cf.* the ideal king in Ps. 72 and Is. 11).—**9.** For the growing sense of personal sin as distinct from national responsibility and guilt *cf.* Job 14^{4}, 15^{14}; Ps. 51^{5}.—**10f.** The LXX places 10 after 22; this makes it possible that "even" in 11 is a continuation of 9. The repetition of "pure" supports this.—**12.** *cf.* Ex. 4^{11}.—**14. It is naught:** lit. "bad, bad," the buyer's depreciation of the object he is bargaining for.—**15.** Probably the three forms of precious possessions mentioned are all to be taken in apposition to "lips of wisdom."—**17b.** *cf.* Lam. 3^{16}.—**20. blackest darkness:** lit. "the pupil (of the eye) of darkness," so in 7^{9}. For the thought *cf.* 30^{17}. The reference is probably not to the legal penalty of the early codes (Ex. 21^{17}).—**22.** *cf.* 24^{29}. The Jewish quietist attitude of non-resistance reflected in our Lord's saying in Mt. 5^{39}, grew up in the Hasid movement (Ps. 43*) in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.—**24.** *cf.* Jer. 10^{23}. The passage seems rather to reflect the growing sense of the antinomy between the belief in predestination and freewill.—**25.** Very doubtful; **rashly to say** and **to make inquiry** are both uncertain. The former may be supported from Job 6^{3}. The LXX probably conveys the general sense: "It is a snare for a man hastily to consecrate any of his property, for after vowing comes repentance" (*cf.* Dt. 23$^{21-23}$, Ec. 5$^{4-6}$).—**26.** *cf.* 8 and Is. 28^{27}f., where the processes of threshing are described.—**27** stands alone in the OT in its expression of the Divine element in man as conscience.

XXI. 1. watercourses: not the natural brooks and wadys of Palestine, but the artificial irrigation canals of Egypt or Babylonia, which could be diverted in any direction at will.—**4.** Apparently two unconnected lines belonging to different couplets. A connexion can be established only by forced exegesis. The Heb. is lit. "lofty of look and arrogant of heart, the tillage of the wicked is sin." RV "lamp" for "tillage" depends on a different pointing, but does not improve the sense.—**6.** Lit. "The getting of treasures by a lying tongue (is) a driven breath, seekers of death." RV clearly inserts more than the text warrants to make sense of 6b. Read "a snare of death" (LXX).—**8. him that is laden with guilt:** a rendering of an unknown Heb. form based on a doubtful etymology. A slight emendation gives "the insolent."—**9. a wide house:** text is emended. MT reads "house of a companion"—a difficult phrase, which may mean a house where there is company, in contrast to the quiet isolation of 9a.—**11.** *cf.* 19^{25}.—**12.** Lit. "A righteous one (*i.e.* God, *cf.* Job 34^{17}) considers the house of the wicked, he overturns the wicked (pl.) to calamity." RV is inadmissible; read *mg.*—**15a.** RV destroys the point; render "the execution of justice is a joy to the righteous."—**16. the dead:** 21^{8}*.—**18.** An expansion of the thought which finds a more restrained expression in 11^{8} *, a strange inversion of "just for unjust" in 1 P. 3^{18}. Toy's weakening of the thought, crude as it seems, is hardly justifiable. *Cf.* also 4 Mac. 6^{28}f. Ps. 29^{5}f. exemplifies the line of thought that could yield such an aphorism. The presence within Jewish theology of two such opposite conceptions of vicarious suffering illustrates the extent of the divergence of the national and the individual eschatology.—**21.** *cf.* Rom. 2^{7}.—**26a.** RV is inadmissible. Lit. "all day long he desires desire," which gives neither sense nor antithesis. LXX, "the wicked desires all the day," yields both.—**27.** Both RV and RVm are possible, but RVm seems to give a better sense. The sacrifice of the wicked is doubly hateful to God when brought with the superstitious purpose of escaping thereby from the consequences of sin.—**28b** yields no intelligible sense. RV is not admissible, and RVm gives an unjustifiable turn to the Heb. The Heb. is "the man who hears will speak for ever." It is possibly another example of two disconnected stanzas.

XXII. 6. in the way he should go puts more into the Heb. than it contains. It is lit. "train up a child in proportion to his way"—*i.e.* train him suitably. The moral implication is absent. The stress is on the effect of training.—**11.** RV hides disorder of MT. Read, probably, "The king loves the pure in heart, grace of lips is his good pleasure."—**12a** is difficult. RV will not pass. The lit. Heb. is "the eyes of Yahweh guard knowledge." The abstract "knowledge" in Heb. cannot mean its possessors; the eyes of Yahweh are nowhere said to guard anybody, and no Hebrew would say that the eyes of Yahweh guard knowledge in the sense of possessing it, nor does it give any connexion with 12b. Possibly we should read "the eyes of Yahweh are upon those who keep knowledge."—**14.** The parallel in 23^{27} suggests that "adulteress" is the original reading for "strange woman."

Section III. The Sayings of the Wise.—This section falls into two divisions: (*a*) 22^{17}–24^{22}, (*b*) 24^{23}–34. The first division abandons the couplet of the previous collection, and is characterized by the quatrain form. The first half of the quatrain generally consists of a prohibition, the second of a reason for it, based upon practical experience.

First Division, XXII. 17–XXIV. 22.

XXII. 17–21. This collection of sayings of the wise (17) is prefaced by a short introduction exhorting the pupil, as in 1–9, to study them. The author is apparently addressing a pupil or envoy, and states that he has written down these sayings that his pupil may trust in the Lord and may take back words of truth to them that sent him.—**20. excellent things:** very doubtful rendering, resting on the Heb. *mg.* The Heb. text has a word which usually forms part of the compound adverb "formerly." On the whole, though Toy rejects it, "formerly" is the best that can be done

with a word that is probably irretrievably corrupt.—**24.** *cf.* Ecclus. 815f.—**26. strike hands:** *i.e.* those who pledge themselves, giving their hand in token of their engagement (*cf.* Is. 26).—**27.** *cf.* 2016.—**28.** The second half of the quatrain has probably fallen out by scribal error (*cf.* 2310 and Dt. 1914).—**29. diligent:** read *mg.* (*cf.* Ezr. 76).—**mean:** read *mg.*

XXIII. 1–3. It is possible to take these three verses together as a warning against treachery lurking in the dainties of a royal table. In that case, in 1 we should render "consider diligently what (*mg.*) is set before thee," and in 2 continue, "For thou wilt put" (*mg.*). But possibly the general interpretation represented by RV is more suitable, and 3 has come in by error from 6, where it more naturally belongs.—**4f. The uncertainty of riches.** The general sense is clear, but the text is in disorder, as RVm shows.—**6–8.** Against eating with a grudging host. This was apparently a double quatrain in its original form, but has suffered in transmission like many of the quatrains in this section. The last line is restored from 3b. The Heb. of 7a is very doubtful and evidently defective. Toy conjectures "as he deals with himself (that is, grudgingly), so he deals with thee." 8b probably belongs to the next quatrain.—**9.** The uselessness of teaching a fool. Here also the quatrain may be restored by supplying 4b for the second line, and 8b for the fourth line. It will then run: "Speak not in the hearing of a fool, cease from thy wisdom, for he will despise the wisdom of thy sayings, and thou wilt lose thy pleasant words."—**10f.** Against removing the landmark of the poor. Possibly in 10 we should read the landmark of the widow.—**11. redeemer:** *cf.* Ru. 220*, 43f.; Lev. 2525f. The conception passes over to God (*cf.* Job 1925).—**17f.** A quatrain on the fear of the Lord. 17b is defective in Heb., and is unjustifiable. A slight change gives the imperative "fear thou Yahweh," etc.—**18a** also appears to be in disorder. The Heb. words rendered "for surely" always indicate a strong adversative. Either one word must be dropped, giving "for there is an end," or a verb must be inserted with the LXX, "but if thou keep her (wisdom) there is," etc. Although Toy does not admit it, "end" may refer to a future life, since some aphorisms of Pr. may represent the Pharisaic individualistic eschatology, with its hope of a future life in the Messianic kingdom, as well as the purely national eschatology of the earlier type.—**19–21.** A six-line strophe containing two positive commands to exercise prudence, two prohibitions against drunkenness and gluttony, and two statements of the effects of these vices.—**drowsiness** (21b): the general benumbing of the faculties following on excess.—**22–26.** A series of exhortations to wisdom and attention to parental advice. This section interrupts the series of aphorisms and seems rather to form an introduction to a collection similar to those introducing the discourses in 2–6.—**27f.** The subject of the harlot is resumed.—**28b.** Possibly we should read "and she multiplies treacheries against men," gaining a better parallelism.—**29–35.** A short poem of five quatrains depicting vividly the effects of drunkenness.—**29a.** Lit. "Who has Oh! who has Alas!"—**29c. redness:** or "dulness" (*cf.* Gen. 4912 *).—**30b.** "Those who go to test mixed wine" (*cf. mg.*) are connoisseurs.—**31c.** Lit. "it goes straight"—*i.e.* probably, "it goes down smoothly," as RV. The clause destroys the quatrain, and may have been a marginal note from Ca. 79.—**34. upon the top of a mast** is a conjecture. LXX "as a pilot in a heavy sea" may represent the original text.

XXIV. 7a. Lit. "Wisdom is corals to the fool." RV involves a change in the text, which gives perhaps the best sense that can be made of an obviously corrupt stanza.—**9. thought:** the word means "plan" or "device," and is used in both a good and a bad sense in Pr. Here the meaning is that sin is the kind of plan which folly engages in, "sin is folly's plan."—**10.** An incomplete aphorism. As it stands its probable meaning is, "If thou art slack, thy strength will be narrow (*i.e.* restricted) in the day of trouble."—**11f.** The Heb. is not unambiguous and shows some disorder, but probably the two verses deal with the same subject, and form one aphorism exhorting to the deliverance of those doomed to die. It would appear, therefore, to be addressed to some one in power or official position, and to relate to some time of political oppression such as the Maccabean period.—**13f.** In praise of Wisdom. An incomplete quatrain with a line added from 2318, obviously out of place here.—**20. reward** is lit. "end" (*cf.* 2318, *mg.*), perhaps participation in the future Messianic kingdom.—**20b.** *cf.* 139, 2020.—**21f.** This quatrain may be interpreted in two ways, according to the sense put on the pronouns in 22. (*a*) Fear God and the king, and do not meddle (lit. mix thyself) with revolutionaries, for their calamity is sudden, etc. (*b*) Fear God and the king, and do not disobey either of them, for the calamity they inflict is sudden, etc.

Second Division, XXIV. 23–34.

This section constitutes the second division of the Sayings of the Wise, as 23a indicates. It contains a short collection of sayings varying in form and character, resembling in the main those of 2217–2422. The greater part (30–34) is a vivid description of the effects of slothfulness, which may be compared with the passage on the drunkard in 2329–35. Possibly both belonged to a collection containing, after the manner of Theophrastus, similar characterizations of different vices. For 33f. *cf.* 610f.

Section IV., XXV.–XXIX.—The title of this section adds to the tradition of a Solomonic collection of proverbs the further tradition of literary activity in the time of Hezekiah. The same general considerations hold good of this section as of 10–24. (See Introduction.) It also shows signs of compilation, and falls into two divisions: (*a*) 252–2722, and (*b*) 28f., separated by a discourse in 2723–27.

First Division.—In general character this division shows a resemblance to the Sayings of the Wise, containing a number of quatrains and synthetic couplets, and but few antithetic couplets.

2–7b. A series of three quatrains relating to kings.—**4b.** Very obscure. Refining silver does not produce a vessel, and the parallelism with 5b is unsatisfactory. LXX "it will be wholly purified" probably represents the original text.—**6f.** *cf.* Lk. 148–11.—**7c** destroys the quatrain form and is obviously weak where it stands. The majority of the VSS attach it to 8a.—**7c–10.** A couple of quatrains on hasty speech. 7c and 8a form the first half of a quatrain. Render "What thine eyes have seen, bring not forth hastily to the multitude." 8b cannot, as RV and RVm show, be rendered without supplying more than the Heb. allows. Read "For what will thou do in the end thereof?"—**11f.** Apparently a quatrain on wise speech, but both text and translation are extremely doubtful (see Toy and Lagarde, and BDB under the separate words). The most probable restoration is "Like graven work of gold and carved work of silver is a word fitly spoken. Like an earring of gold and an ornament of silver is a wise reproof to an ear that hears."—**fitly** (lit. "on its wheels") is an inference from 1523.—**13–20.**

Synthetic couplets on various subjects.—**13.** The reference is not to a fall of snow in harvest, which would be disastrous rather than refreshing (*cf.* 1 S. 12$_{17}$), but to the cold draught of water from a snow-fed mountain stream.—**13c: his gifts falsely:** lit. "a gift of falsehood" (*mg.*)—*i.e.* a gift which is not given. A man who boasts of his intention to give but never gives is like clouds without rain, the bitterest disappointment of the agriculturist.—**19. Confidence in an unfaithful man:** in Heb. "the hope (*i.e.* ground or object of hope) of a treacherous man." RV gives the wrong turn to the verse: it is the ground of hope upon which the false man relies in trouble that fails him. "False" or "treacherous" may have a religious significance here, the man who is false to Yahweh.—**20.** Very corrupt. 20*a* yields no satisfactory sense, and is also clearly a doublet of 19*b*. Originally 20 was probably a couplet of which 20*b* was the first clause. 20*b* is also obscure; "nitre," or more correctly "natron," is common soda (*cf.* Jer. 2$_{22}$). Vinegar would destroy its value for washing purposes. But the parallelism of this idea with 20*c* is difficult to detect. The LXX has either a double form of this couplet, or represents an original Heb. quatrain on the subject. It reads "vinegar is bad for a sore," which gives a nearer approach to parallelism.—**21f.** A quatrain on kindness to enemies (*cf.* Rom. 12$_{20}$).—**23–28.** Synthetic couplets on various subjects.—**24.** Repetition of 21$_9$.—**26.** The couplet may refer to the moral ruin of a righteous man, or to his loss of prosperity through the plots of the wicked. The Heb. favours the latter interpretation.—**27.** Lit. "To eat much honey is not good, the searchings out of their glory is glory." This makes no sense. Probably 27*a* and 27*b* belong to different aphorisms, or 27*b* may be a corrupt gloss on 2*b*. The only plausible emendation of 27*b* is "the investigation of difficult things is glory." This gives good sense, but not a good parallelism.

XXVI. 1–12. The Book of Fools.—A section containing a series of synthetic couplets dealing with folly (except 2). The text is unusually corrupt and defective.

1. For the opposite use of snow in harvest *cf.* 25$_{13}$ *.—**2.** Directed against the superstitious belief in the magical value of a curse. The simile refers to the aimless wandering of a bird, and is not to be compared with the flying roll of curses in Zech. 5$_{1-4}$.—**4f.** An antithetic quatrain enjoining the right method of answering a fool—not to descend to the fool's level, yet to make him conscious of his folly.—**6. damage:** inaccurate. The word means "violence," and the phrase "drinketh violence" usually means to practise or delight in violence, which is not the sense required here.—**8a** is very uncertain. RV is much less probable than RVm, to give honour to a fool is as absurd as to fasten a stone firmly in a sling.—**9.** Another couplet on the fool's inability to use the māshāl.—**9a** is very improbable, although supported in exegesis by a reference to the drunkard's insensibility to pain in 23$_{35}$. It is better to interpret "thorn" as "thorn bush" (*cf.* 2 K. 14$_9$). Then we have the figure of a drunkard armed with a thorn-spiked bough as the comparison for a fool's use of the māshāl.—**10.** The text is too corrupt for restoration. RV and RVm are each about as satisfactory as any of the numerous attempts at restoration.—**11a** occurs in 2 P. 2$_{22}$ as part of a saying which is quoted by the author as a "true proverb." The quotation, however, is not from the LXX, and seems to be from some popular Aramaic proverb based upon this couplet.

13–16. The Book of Sluggards.—**13.** *cf.* 22$_{13}$.—**15.** *cf.* 19$_{24}$*.—**16. render a reason:** rather "return a sensible answer" (*cf. mg.*). Apparently aimed at the sluggard's dislike of any intellectual effort.

17–28. A collection dealing with rash, slanderous, or false speech.—**17. by the ears:** LXX has the more vivid and appropriate "by the tail."—**21. coals:** sense uncertain. Toy renders "charcoal." Perhaps we should read "bellows."—**22.** *cf.* 18.—**23.** RV inverts the order of the clauses. "Fervent" is lit. "burning," which has not in Heb. a metaphorical sense. Read "smooth" (LXX).—**28. hateth . . . wounded:** extremely doubtful. Read "multiplieth crushing"—*i.e.* causes destruction to many.

XXVII. 1–22. A collection of aphorisms on various subjects.

3. *cf.* Ecclus. 22$_{14}$f. The comparison suggests that "vexation" is out of place. It is the fool that is a bore, not his anger.—**4a.** Lit. "ruthlessness of wrath, torrent of anger," or "wrath is ruthlessness, anger a torrent."—**6. profuse:** a doubtful translation of an obscure Heb. word, although Mt. 26$_{49}$ (viz. the force of κατὰ in κατεφίλησεν) is quoted in support. AV "deceitful" depends upon an emendation following the Lat.—**8.** Cheyne finds a reference to the Exile. Toy allows only a general reference to home-sickness.—**9b.** The Heb. is untranslatable. It may be a scribal corruption of 7*b*. The LXX reads "but the soul is rent by misfortunes," which yields a better sense than Toy grants, if 9*a* be taken as a description of the pleasures of prosperity.—**10.** Three unconnected lines. It is impossible to restore the original form.—**12.** *cf.* 22$_3$.—**13.** *cf.* 20$_{16}$.—**14.** Probably an ironical reference to fulsome public flattery as more injurious than beneficial to its object.—**15.** *cf.* 19$_{13}$.—**16.** Corrupt. RV connects it with the preceding couplet. The force of 16*b* is that the woman of 15 is as difficult to restrain as slippery oil. This is the traditional Jewish exegesis. The LXX disconnects it from 15, and renders "The north wind is a bitter wind, but by its name is called well-omened."—**19a.** The lit. rendering, "As water face to face," gives no sense. LXX has "As faces do not resemble faces, so do not the minds of men." Probably we should read, "As face to face, so mind to mind"—*i.e.* possibly an Oriental equivalent of "quot homines tot sententiæ."—**20.** *cf.* 15$_{11}$.

23–27. A short poem of five couplets dealing with the value of cattle to the farmer; *cf.* a somewhat similar fragment of agricultural wisdom in Is. 28$_{23-29}$.—**25.** *cf.* Am. 7$_{1}$f. The stages indicated are: (*a*) the regular hay harvest (in Amos appropriated for taxation), (*b*) the after growth, (*c*) the produce of the mountain pastures, which was also stored by the careful farmer.

Second Division, XXVIII f.—In general character this division resembles Section II., consisting chiefly of antithetic couplets.

XXVIII. 2b. The text is uncertain, and various renderings are possible. The translation "state" is very doubtful. If MT be retained, connect the word for "state" with the preceding, and translate "by men of understanding who know what is right it is prolonged." LXX reads "Through the sin of the ungodly disputes arise, but a prudent man quenches them," possibly the original text.—**3. A needy man:** so MT, but the thought is not in keeping with the conception of the poor in Pr. or in the OT. We should probably read "a wicked man who," etc. (LXX), or possibly "a rich man who," etc. The simile seems to be that of a heavy unseasonable rain which floods and

destroys the crops.—**12.** *cf.* 10f.—**hide themselves:** lit. (*cf. mg.*) " are sought out " (*cf.* 28).—**13.** The ethical conditions of forgiveness are noteworthy, and reflect the standpoint of the prophetic teaching (*cf.* Hos. 142–4, Is. 116–18, Ps. 325, Mt. 2131f.).—**16. The prince:** perhaps a gloss due to a mistaken connexion with 15.—**17.** Corrupt. Lit. " A man oppressed by the blood of any person will flee to pit, do not lay hold of him," which yields no sense. LXX has " he that is surety for a man charged with murder shall be a fugitive without safety." There is possibly some reference to the ancient law of the blood feud.—**18. at once:** impossible. The change of one letter gives " into the pit."—**19.** *cf.* 1211.

XXIX. 2. *cf.* 1110f., 2812–28.—**4. he that exacteth gifts:** lit. " a man of presents."—**9b.** Who is the subject ? If it is the wise man, the meaning is that, however he treats his opponent, seriously or lightly, he cannot end the matter. If it is the fool, the thought will be that he shows no decorum of manner. The proverb seems directed against a wise man's going to law with a fool.—**11.** Lit. " A fool sends forth all his spirit, and a wise man stills it backward." This is obscure. The general sense is that the fool cannot restrain any of his emotions, while the wise man does so.—**13.** A variant of the theme of 222.—**lighteneth the eyes**—*i.e.* preserves alive—*cf.* Ps. 133.—**18.** The rendering " cast off restraint " rests on Ex. 3225. The root may mean " to loose," and is used of the flowing locks of the warriors (Jg. 52 ; *cf.* ICC). If RV is correct, the proverb seems to contrast the intermittent prophetic vision with the Torah as means of guidance. When the vision fails, the Torah still remains. *Cf.* the attitude expressed in Is. 5010.—**21b.** Uncertain. The word rendered " become a son " does not occur elsewhere, and seems to be an error. LXX has " he who lives in luxury from childhood shall be a servant, and in the end will come to grief for himself." Probably the proverb is connected with 20, and refers to the unwisdom of too lenient a discipline for slaves.—**24b** must be explained by Lev. 51, where " to hear the voice of swearing " is the technical expression for to put a person on oath. The man is put on his oath, and does not reveal what he knows. Hence he runs the risk of Divine (or human) judgment for perjury.

Section V. The Appendix.—The section contains (*a*) a series of short collections of sayings (30) ; (*b*) a short collection of aphorisms for kings (3111–9) ; and (*c*) an acrostic description of the Virtuous Woman (3110–31). Both the nature of these collections and their position in the book suggest that they are later than the other collections, and were added in the last stage of the editing. (See Introduction.)

First Division, containing the sayings of Agur, a series of tetradic proverbs, and a six-stanza aphorism on anger.

XXX. The Sayings of Agur.—It is uncertain whether the title embraces the whole chapter or 1–9, or 1–4 only.—**1.** The title is extremely obscure, and has been much discussed. The VSS show a wide divergence in their interpretation. It is perhaps simplest to accept the title as referring to some sage of repute among the Wisdom circles in the Greek period.—**1b** has been interpreted in many ways, the proper names being taken as significant words. The most interesting is that which represents the sage as saying (*cf. mg.*), " I have wearied myself, O God, I have wearied myself and have not succeeded." This offers a striking connexion with 2–4. But it is too hypothetical to be adopted, and, as in *1a*, it seems best to retain the proper names, either as those of fellow-sages or pupils.—**2–4.** A passage reflecting the attitude of the author of Job and Ps. 73 towards the problem of God's real nature and His government of the world. The sage declares his ignorance ; like Socrates, he has discovered the knowledge of his ignorance, and feels that this marks him off from those who think they know. For " brutish " *cf.* Ps. 7322, with its passionate confession of failure to understand God. Our passage is, of course, only a fragment, and is therefore difficult to compare with Job or Ps. 73, but we do not find in it the passion and yearning for God which underlies the apparent scepticism of the author of Job or of Ps. 73.—**4** seems to imply an acquaintance with Job 38, and helps to fix the date of the passage and of the collection. " What is his name," etc., cannot refer to God. It is a sarcastic inquiry after the name of the man, or of his son, who has ascended up to heaven and returned with a knowledge of its secrets. *Cf.* the early Christian use of the idea in Jn. 313, Eph. 49f.—**5f.** It is not clear whether these two quotations form part of Agur's oracle. They are from Ps. 1830 (*cf.* Ps. 126 also) and Dt. 1232 respectively. It is difficult to define the reference. The Sadducees regarded the Pharisees as innovators in doctrine, especially in their eschatological beliefs (*cf.* Exp., Oct. 1914, pp. 305f.).

7–33. Except 10, 17, 32f., this is a collection of numerical aphorisms, a literary form which appears quite early in Heb. literature (*cf.* Am. 13–26).—**7–9.** A prayer for two things, sincerity and a modest competency.—**11–14.** Four evil " generations "—despisers of parents, self-righteous, proud, and extortionate.—**15f.** Four insatiable things.—**15a** is apparently a fragment of a lost proverb. MT is unintelligible, and no satisfactory emendation can be offered. The remainder gives the regular form of tetrad. The four things are : Sheol, the barren womb (LXX has " the love of woman "), the earth never satisfied with water, and fire. Malan compares the Indian proverb from the Hitopadesa : " Fire is not sated with wood, nor the ocean with the streams, nor death with all the living, nor women with men."—**17.** Possibly a fragment of a lost tetrad, or a gloss on 11, just as 20 is obviously a gloss on 19*d*.—**to obey:** purely conjectural, and based on a cognate Ass. form. LXX " old age " is probably the true text.—**18–20.** Four inexplicable things. This tetrad, like the two in 24–31, is derived from observation of nature. For the ship and the eagle *cf.* Wisd. 510f.—**21–23.** Four intolerable things. Ironic observations on the vicissitudes of life.—**23. odious:** hardly the sense of the word in this connexion. It might almost be rendered in English idiom " an old maid," a woman unsought in marriage.—**24–28.** Four little wise things.—**25.** *cf.* 66.—**26. conies** is erroneous. Render, as in Lev. 115 (*mg.*), " the rock-badger." It is the hyrax, a small rock-dwelling animal, mentioned in Ps. 10418, Lev. 115, and Dt. 147.—**27.** *cf.* the description of the locust armies in Jl. 2.—**28.** Read *mg.*—**29–31.** Four majestic things.—**31.** Corrupt. The original cannot be recovered. RV " greyhound " is one of many guesses at the Heb. expression " compressed as to the loins " (*cf. mg.*). The LXX, with most VSS, reads " cock." It gives a fuller form for the last three, which is probably exegetical paraphrase rather than faithful representation of the original. The fourth clause also is very uncertain.—**32f.** An aphorism, apparently in six-line form, against haste in speech or action. The text is obscure and uncertain.

XXXI. 1–9. Second Division. Sayings of Lemuel.—A manual of directions for kings. **1.** The title

is uncertain. RV is not grammatically correct. Read *mg.*—**Massa** (*mg.*), rendered "oracle" in 30, and here by RV, is the regular word for the oracles of the earlier prophets, but is strange in this connexion. There is a Mas'a mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser IV along with Teima in N. Arabia. This was one of the traditional seats of wisdom, like Edom, and possibly the name was adopted in view of this. But "of Massa," both here and in 30$_1$, is conjectural (*cf.* Gen. 10$_{30}$, 25$_{14}$, and 1 Ch. 1$_{30}$, also article in HDB).—**3.** RV is incorrect; read *mg.*—**8. such as are left desolate:** too free a paraphrase. Heb. is "all the sons of change" (*cf. mg.*), "change" being unwarrantably interpreted as those who suffer a change of fortune. A slight emendation gives the sense "those who suffer"

Third Division. The Virtuous Woman.

10–31. This, the last division of the appendix, is in form an acrostic poem, each verse commencing with a letter of the Heb. alphabet in order. There are several more or less perfect specimens of such literary exercises in the OT—*e.g.* Pss. 111f., Lam. 1–4, and especially Ps. 119. Though some of the acrostics may, as their imperfect state suggests, have been early—*e.g.* Nah. 1$_{2-9}$—yet in general they belong to the latest period of OT literature.

The ideal mistress of the house is represented as a shrewd manager and business woman, trusted by her husband, praised by her children, obeyed by her servants, caring for the poor, and admired by the people. The only religious note is in 30b. LXX "a woman of intelligence" is probably original. No doubt a scribe, such as the pious interpolator of Ec., missing the religious note, supplied the epithet. Neither is there any mention of such an intellectual partnership as we find in the case of some of the more famous wives of Rabbinical times—*e.g.* Beruria, the wife of R. Meir.

21. clothed in scarlet is not apposite in view of the cold referred to in 21a. A transposition of 21b and 22a corrects this difficulty and makes excellent sense. In 22a read "coverlets" for "carpets of tapestry," and *cf.* 7$_{16}$.

ECCLESIASTES

By Principal A. J. GRIEVE

Name and Place in OT.—Ecclesiastes is one of the five *Megilloth* (p. 418) or "Rolls" (which were read on special occasions in the synagogue services), its appointed day being the Feast of Tabernacles. It belongs to the third collection in the Hebrew Bible (the Writings), and stands much nearer the end of the Hebrew than of our English OT. It is indeed one of the latest books in it, only just managing, like Esther and the Song of Songs, to secure inclusion when the rabbis at the Synod of Jamnia *c.* A.D. 100 determined the limits of their sacred canon (pp. 38f.).[1] Its Hebrew name is Qoheleth, the nearest English equivalent of which seems to be "professor," or "lecturer"; more fully "one who speaks in an assembly (of those who seek wisdom)." The title "Ecclesiastes" is the attempt of the Greek version, followed by Jerome, to interpret the somewhat unusual Hebrew form.

Contents and Characteristics.[2]—The professor's theme is a gloomy one, "The Illusion of Life," and he illustrates it both from assumed and actual experience. For the individual and the race alike, existence is a meaningless, barren cycle in which effort is unavailing. If there be a Divine purpose in it, it has been deliberately withheld from men (3^{11}, 8^{17}, 11^{5}). It is futile to say, as the ancients did, that piety is rewarded with success; pitfalls here and the unrelieved gloom of Sheol yonder await the good man and the evil alike. There is no *summum bonum*; our author has sought it everywhere in vain, and his philosophy reduces itself to something less than a guiding principle, a mere *modus vivendi*. "Carpe diem" is the best he can suggest. "Have as good a time as you can" (2^{24}), but don't overdo it—"medio tutissimus ibis" (the middle course is safest), excess brings retribution. Qoheleth's God is not Yahweh, a name he never uses, but Elohim or the Elohim, the impersonal deity manifested in the irresistible operations of Nature. He lacks the sense of personal intimacy with God that marks so many of the Psalms, as he lacks the "naïve audacity" of Job, but he has a belief, and it is not a pantheistic one. It is well described as "a species of natural religion which has fatalism and altruism among its ingredients" (M'Neile). There has been much discussion as to whether he was influenced by Greek thought, *e.g.* whether 3$^{1-9}$ is dependent on Heraclitus. Margoliouth finds the influence of Aristotle strong (Exp., Nov. 1911); Tyler, Plumptre, and P. Haupt argue for a Stoic strain; others find Epicureanism pervasive. The safest verdict appears to be that there is no direct connexion between his work and these doctrines, though Qoheleth need not have utterly escaped Greek ideas and methods. There is nothing that a post-exilic Jew could not have written, and we may bear in mind that Stoicism itself was a product of Semitic thought, for Zeno was of Phœnician descent. The view that Buddhist influence is traceable has little to commend it. We are justified in seeing in Qoheleth, not exactly a Sadducee, but a herald of Sadduceeism, a representative of the temper and outlook out of which that unlovely school developed. In like manner the Pharisees find an exponent in the author of the Psalms of Solomon, and the Essenes in the Book of Enoch. Qoheleth has no Messianic expectations, no eschatology worth the name, no hope of a resurrection, no bright apocalyptic vision of a golden age, or a new earth. Such religion as he has is grey and chilly, and if he is not an utter pessimist, the roots of meliorism, to say nothing of optimism, in him, are well concealed.

Date and Authorship.—We know more of the writer's views than of his life, but we may say that the man who thus delivered himself was a Jew, no longer young, for he looks back on the pleasures of youth and early manhood. He lived in or near Jerusalem, was probably rich and of high station or good family. Haupt thinks he was a physician (*cf.* 12$^{3-7}$). He paints a sad picture of contemporary political and social conditions (10$^{4-7,16-20}$), and though we cannot from 4$^{13-16}$, 8^{10}, or 9$^{13-15}$ draw any satisfying evidence as to his exact date, we shall not be far wrong in supposing that he lived about 200 B.C., when Palestine had passed from Persian rule to the even more oppressive and corrupt domination of the Greeks. This decision is confirmed (*a*) by linguistic evidence. His Hebrew is very late, approximating to that of the Mishna. It contains many Aramaisms and a few Persian words, though few or no traces of Greek influence; (*b*) by the fact that it was known to Jesus ben Sira the author of Ecclesiasticus, who wrote *c.* 180 B.C. This rules out the suggestion, based on 10^{7}, that he wrote in the time of Herod the Great. Luther indeed thought that Ben Sira had written it; he saw it could not be the work of Solomon even in a disenchanted old age. The Hebrew Wisdom literature attached itself to the name of Solomon, as the Legal literature did to that of Moses, and the Psalms to David. It is not, however, impossible that by describing himself as "king" in Jerusalem the (1^{12}) author means simply that he was head of a school, and that 1^{1}, like 12$^{9f.}$, is an editorial addition. As the book most akin to it, Job, discusses a perplexing moral problem in the person of a hero of antiquity, so here Solomon is taken as the type of a wise man who had thoroughly explored all human experience. At any rate the dis-

[1] The school of Hillel favoured it, that of Shammai did not. The Book of Wisdom 2$^{1-9}$ (1st cent. B.C.) distinctly condemns it. It is not quoted, probably not even alluded to in NT, nor does Philo mention it. But Hermas (*c.* A.D. 140), Justin Martyr, Clem. Alex., Tertullian, and Origen all use it. The Greek version (LXX) was probably made by Aquila of Pontus, *c.* A.D. 125-130; he afterwards made a second translation from a text revised by his master R. Aqiba.

[2] Attempts have been made, at heavy cost to the text, to prove that Ecclesiastes was written in metre. But prose it was and prose it remains; not first-class prose either, but marked by monotony and repetition, and often by carelessness in composition. Yet here and there, *e.g.* 1–12, 11^{1}–12^{8}, the book rises to almost poetical elevation.

guise is transparent, for (1$_{16}$, 2$_{9}$) many generations had preceded the writer in Jerusalem (whereas Solomon's father David was the first Hebrew to occupy that city), and it is not a king but a subject who speaks in 3$_{16}$, 4$_{1}$, 5$_{8}$, 10$_{20}$—one who knows what it is to live in a tributary province where corruption, injustice, and espionage are rampant.

Unity.—What makes Ecclesiastes particularly interesting, however, is not the gloomy verdict of the author, but the occurrence here and there of rays of sunlight and faith. In the first place his sententious utterances and the Solomonic assumption seem to have attracted the notice of one of the "wise" men of the time, who proceeded to sprinkle Qoheleth's discourse with sundry proverbs. These are to be found at 4$_{5}$, 9–12, 6$_{7,9}$, 7$_{1a,4–12,19}$, 8$_{1}$, 9$_{17}$f., 10$_{1–3,8–14a,15,18}$f., 12$_{11}$f. In the second place a pious man, one of the Ḥasidim, pained by the nature of Qoheleth's conclusions and fearing for its effect on the average reader, especially if it came from an important personage, conceived it his mission to inject some sound orthodox observations on the fear of God and the Divine judgment. These are to be found in 2$_{26}$, 3$_{14b,17}$, 5$_{1–7}$, 7$_{18b,26b,29}$, 8$_{2b,3a,5,6a,11–13}$, 11$_{9b}$, 12$_{1a,13}$f. This is the best explanation of the varied voices in which the book speaks—better on the one hand than supposing it a discussion of a circle of students, as in Job, or a dialogue between a refined sensualist and a sensual worldling, or between a teacher and his pupil, or the varying moods (higher and lower, pessimistic and optimistic, Stoic and Epicurean) of the same man; better, on the other hand, than the theory of eight or nine different hands. A theory of interpolation is necessary to meet the difficulties of the book, but it need not be carried to excess.

Value.—Ecclesiastes has the qualities of its defects. Not without the Divine Providence has this book been included in the Canon of Scripture. It shows better than any other the need for the Incarnation, it forms a most effective background for the Good News that life is earnest and real, that man may find happiness in work and play, in study and recreation, in the comradeship of his fellows and the joys of home life, and above all that God is not a remote abstraction, but the intimate friend and comrade of His children, that the kingdom of righteousness and peace and joy in a spirit of holiness has come, and that life and immortality have been brought to light.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Plumptre (CB), **Martin** (Cent.B), Genung, Tyler, Streane, Marshall, P. Haupt; (*b*) **Barton** (ICC), Ginsburg; (*c*) *Hengstenberg, Hitzig-Nowack (KEH), Volck (KHS), *Zöckler, Grätz, *Delitzsch, Siegfried (HK), Wildeboer (KHC), Podechard; (*d*) Bradley, *Lectures on Ecclesiastes;* Cox (Ex.B); W. P. Paterson, *A Sage among the Prophets* (Exp. T., Dec. 1914); Taylor, *Dirge of Coheleth* in Ec. 12; Moffatt, *Literary Illustrations;* Maclaren, *Expositions of Holy Scripture. Other Literature:* Articles on the book and on Wisdom in HDB, HSDB, EB, EBi, and other dictionaries; Discussions in Introductions to OT and Wisdom Books; Peake, *Problem of Suffering in the OT*, pp. 125–136; M'Neile, *Introduction to Ecclesiastes;* Margoliouth, *Place of Ecclesiastes in Semitic Literature;* Wright, *Book of Koheleth in Relation to Modern Criticism;* Sanders, *The Sages* (Messages of the Bible); Renan, *L'Ecclésiaste;* Forbush, *Ecclesiastes in the Metre of Omar;* **Cheyne**, *Job and Solomon, Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, pp. 183–208; Ewald, *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, pt. ii.; Dillon, *Sceptics of OT.;* D. R. Scott, *Pessimism and Love.*

I. 1. See Introduction.

I. 2–11 may be called an introduction to the book; it also presents the writer's conclusions. He has surveyed life from many angles and decided that all human effort is fruitless and unavailing, or as he puts it, vanity. This is his key-word (the Hebrew means "vapour," "breath," and so "nothingness"): it occurs forty times.—**Vanity of vanities** is the Heb. way of saying "utmost vanity." Man toils "under the sun," *i.e.* upon the earth, but reaps no gain; like players on a stage the ever-changing generations come and go, while the earth, man's scene of toil, abides. As with man so with nature; sun, winds (north and south, *cf.* Ca. 4$_{16}$), streams, all pursue a dreary round of endless repetition and accomplish nothing, *e.g.* the sea is never filled. The whole creation groans and travails but makes no ascent, and its futile activities so react on man that his faculties, *e.g.* seeing and hearing, enter on equally profitless and unsatisfying orbits. Everything moves in monotonous and steady cycles, there is no novelty in life (*cf.* 3$_{15}$), but men do not perceive the repetition because each generation is ignorant of the experiences of preceding generations—"there is no remembrance" (*cf.* 9$_{5}$).

5. hasteth: lit. "panteth." The idea is that of the chariot of the sun drawn by panting steeds. 2 K. 23$_{11}$ shows that the Hebrews as well as Greeks and Romans had this notion.

I. 12–II. 26. Qoheleth's Investigations.—Assuming the character of Solomon the writer tells of his search for happiness under many forms. The pursuit of wisdom (12–18), absorption in pleasure (2$_{1–11}$), the study of human nature (12–17), the acquisition of wealth (18–23), alike fail to yield satisfaction. After all his experience the only verdict he can reach is that there is "nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink" and enjoy life as well as he can while he has it (24–26).

I. 12 and **16.** See Introduction.—**13.** *Cf.* 7$_{25}$, 8$_{16}$, and for God as a hard taskmaster 3$_{10}$.—**seek and search:** get to the bottom of the problem and survey it on all sides.—**14. striving after wind:** see *mg.*, a strong phrase for aimless and futile desire.—**15.** Life is incurably twisted and imperfect.—**17.** Qoheleth would discover truth by the study of contraries. For "madness and folly," however, LXX by a slight change of the Hebrew reads "comparisons" (or parables) and "science." But increased knowledge only means increased perplexity (18).

II. 1–11. The Epicurean mood is just as ineffective. Like Omar, he "divorces barren reason" and takes "the daughter of the vine for spouse." Merriment, and the pleasures of the table (all by way of deliberate experiment, laying hold of folly with a spirit guided by wisdom; 3, *cf.* 9), the happy and healthy delights of a country gentleman's life when the king (like Edward VII at Sandringham) is a simple squire, are tried in turn. There is a last attempt here to keep up the part of Solomon, though the phrase "all that were before me over Jerusalem" (there was only David), as in 1$_{16}$, gives the disguise away. Nor were less innocent pleasures left unexplored; see *mg.* for the difficulty of the word rendered "concubines," though this probably comes nearest to the meaning; there is a cognate Assyrian root which means "to love." Thus gratifying every taste, Qoheleth for a while seemed to have found satisfaction (10), but when mere absorption gave place to reflection he found that there was nothing substantial or abiding in all his labours and all his pleasures. 12*b*, "What can a man do . . . already been done" (*i.e.* by the

king) may perhaps have stood immediately after 11. Apparently the meaning is that where a Solomon has failed, though equipped with wisdom and wealth, no ordinary man has any chance.

II. 12–17. Qoheleth turns to the study of human nature in its wisdom and its folly. Though "all is vanity" yet wisdom is better than folly; it is better to face the outlook, dreary though it be, with intelligence, than to be stupid and dense. The wise man can at least see where he is going; the fool is in a fog, and blind; the eyes of his understanding are darkened. Yet there is no final advantage to the wise, the same death overtakes both wise and foolish, so that unusual wisdom is really a useless endowment. Wise man and fool are alike buried in oblivion (*cf.* 111). **So I hated life,** yet he continued in it. "A pessimist who is able to vent his feelings in literary expression does not commit suicide" (Barton).

II. 18–23. Even if one has amassed wealth there is the bitterness of not knowing who will inherit it or how the heir will use it. Everything has to be left behind to an uncertain fate, for there is no guarantee of character as there is of property. The latter can be entailed, not so the former. Well may a man begin to despair as he sees that for which he has toiled with sagacity and shrewd insight passing into the hands of one who has not laboured and so does not properly appreciate. The thought of 21 is different from that of 19. For another discussion of the "vanity" of riches see 610–17.

II. 24–26. The best thing for a man is to get what pleasure he can out of life. And after all this is the Divine scheme of life, the ordinance of God. No one can eat or be happy apart from Him (see *mg.*). 26 (except the detached sentence at the close which declares that even the conclusion reached in 24 is vanity), contradicts Qoheleth's central contention, and must be regarded as the comment of a pious annotator. That the good man prospers while the sinner suffers, and even has to hand over his gains to the good man, is teaching found in many parts of OT, but certainly not in Ec. It did not square with the facts of life, as Qoheleth and the author of Job saw; but while the latter made a brave attempt to grapple with the problem the former was content to state it and dwell in the gloom which he could not dissipate.

III. 1–15. From one point of view this section may be entitled *In Praise of Opportunism*, from another *Human Helplessness*. Every action in which man can engage has its allotted season, but who can be sure that he has found this season? God's plan can be known only in part, hence man's efforts to succeed are always liable to fail; nothing remains but to enjoy the present.

1. purpose: read "business" or "affair." In the Heb. the antitheses that follow are in parallel columns like a Greek *sustoichia* or Table of Contrasts.—**2.** Untimely birth and untimely death are both abhorrent; human entrances and exits have their parallel in the agricultural operations of sowing and reaping. There is no need to compare Jer. 110, Zeph. 24, though the Heb. word is the same.—**3** finds particular application in time of war.—**4** reminds us of Jesus' parable of the children in the market-place and the contrast between Himself and John the Baptist.—5*a*. The best comment is 2 K. 319–25 and Is. 52; others make it synonymous with 3*b*. To take the "casting" as referring to the custom of throwing stones into a grave at a burial leaves the "gathering" unexplained.—5*b* has to do with the marital (or an illicit) relationship (*cf.* 1 Cor. 729–31).—**6.** The first clause refers to the acquisition (and loss), the second to the protection (and rejection) of property.—**7. rend** may betoken sorrow and mourning or perhaps schism (1 K. 1130; *cf.* Mt. 1034f.); **sew** would then mean the return of joy or of unity (*cf.* Is. 5812); silence and speech may also have to do with sorrow and joy.—**9.** As often in this book, the positive question is a negative assertion. Man has to go the round of all these activities and experiences, yet he wins nothing from them.—With **11** *cf.* Gen. 131; the word rendered "beautiful" will bear the translation "fitting" or "appropriate."—**he hath set the world in their heart:** for "world" *mg.* reads "eternity"; the Heb. word is that which is usually translated "for ever." If we adopt this we must understand it of the soul's yearning after a larger, fuller, and clearer life than is possible on earth—a yearning which does not amount to a belief in subsequent existence but only adds to the burden of present experience. But by reading the word with other vowels, *'elem* for *'olam*, we get the more intelligible meaning of something hidden or concealed, and may render it "ignorance." God, jealous lest man should rival Him, has set ignorance in his heart (*cf.* Gen. 216f., 35). Another slight change makes the word mean "wisdom," but this is unlikely.—**12.** *Cf.* 224; **to do good:** to enjoy life (*cf. mg.*).—**13** depends on the "I know" of 12. "God's one good gift to man is the bit of healthy animal life which comes with the years of vigour" (Barton).—**14.** If this is Qoheleth's it means that there is no escape for man from the scheme of things, he wins no gain from the course of life, nothing except Epicurean enjoyment with the dread of God as a shadow in the background. But it may be from the hand of a pious annotator who make God's unchanging purpose the ground of man's trust in Him.—**15.** Man is bound to the wheel of life; events pursue each other and repeat themselves (*cf.* 19), and he is but a puppet in the hands of the master showman.

III. 16–22. Man no Better than the Beasts.—16. Both in the administration of the law and the observances of religion, wickedness is prevalent; "righteousness" is here equivalent to "piety."—**17** is the insertion of the orthodox glossator; Qoheleth does not regard God as vindicating the godly.—**18** links on to 16; the corruption already alluded to is God's way of showing that man, despite his vaunt of intelligence, is really on a level with the beasts. They share the same breath, and when it leaves them, the same end, death. Note *mg.*, reminding us of Solon's saying quoted by Herodotus, "Man is altogether a chance." In Ps. 4912–20 it is only the unworthy man that perishes like the beasts; here all men. The **one place** (20) is not Sheol, but the earth whence all spring and whither all return.—**21,** like 9, throws a negative into the form of an interrogative. Qoheleth combats the idea that man's breath goes back to "God who gave it" (though in changed mood he allows this in 127). No one can prove that it takes a direction different from that of the breath of beasts. No man knows what will happen after he is gone, so the best thing to do is to have a good time now.

IV. A Gloomy Survey.—The chapter falls into four parts, which treat respectively of oppression (1–3), rivalry (4–6), isolation amounting to self-torture (7–12), and a paragraph on a young king's popularity (13–16).

1. Man's inhumanity to man awakens Qoheleth's compassion; **they had no comforter** must refer in both cases to the oppressed; the words are repeated for the sake of emphasis.—**2f.** No man can be accounted happy till he is dead (*cf.* 71, contrast 94); indeed better than life and even death is not to be born

(*cf.* 63 and Job 311–16, also Sophocles, *Œd. Col.* 1225, "Non-existence is better than highest fame").—**4.** Note *mg.* Competition is as inhuman as tyranny, it is only another form of oppression. But (5) laziness is no virtue, the idle man starves. The verse is perhaps a current próverb; it might mean the idler somehow manages to get a living without the worry of the toiler. The best thing is to follow the golden mean (6). The words for **handful** are different—the first denotes the open palm, the second the grip. Another woe is avarice (7f.); the life of the lonely miser is a sore travail.—**9–12,** proverbial sayings on the advantages of comradeship. The setting is that of a journey with its perils from bad roads, chilly nights, and brigands. And if two are better than one, three are better still. The section is often taken as a parable of friendship; Charles Wesley built up a hymn on it, "Two are better far than one, For counsel or for fight." The allegorists make the three-fold cord a reference to the Trinity or to the union of Faith, Hope, and Love.

13–16. There have been as many interpretations of the personage here referred to as of the number of the Beast in the Apocalypse. The most obvious illustration is that of Joseph and Pharaoh, the one that best fits the date of the book Ptolemy V, who at the age of five succeeded his aged father, Ptolemy IV in 205. Others see a reference to Antiochus Epiphanes and Alexander Balas, who was of humble origin and popular with the Jews (*cf.* pp. 416, 608), but this is perhaps too late. No certainty is attainable.—**15. the second** is perhaps a gloss; in any case it can only mean a second youth.—The moral is driven home in **16**: the popular favourite of to-day is forgotten, and perhaps execrated, to-morrow. It was so with the young Ptolemy (Epiphanes), whose advisers were a bad lot, so that when Antiochus III (perhaps "the second" of 15) annexed Palestine to Syria (p. 62) in 198 the Jews welcomed the change.

V. 1–7. Reality in Religion.—This section deals with worship and vows. Those who go to the house of God (whether Temple or synagogue is not clear) must go reverently and thoughtfully. "Keep thy foot" recalls the Oriental practice of removing one's shoes in sacred places (Ex. 35). The great requirement in religion is not the ritual sacrifice but the spirit of discipleship and obedience (1 S. 1522 and the prophets *passim*). Read, with a slight change, "for they know nothing except how to do evil."—**2** may refer to prayer (*cf.* Mt. 67) or to vows (*cf.* 4). The remoteness of God was a feature of late Jewish thought; the gap had to be filled by angels (*cf.* 6) and by abstractions like the Wisdom, the Word, the Glory, and the Spirit of God.—**3** is a gloss which breaks the line of thought. It seems to mean that as a worried mind leads to dreams, so the fool's much speaking leads to nothing substantial; or "a multitude of business" may refer to the confused complexity of a dream.—With **4f.** *cf.* Dt. 2321ff. The Talmudic tract *Nedarim* shows that evasions of hasty vows were frequent in late Judaism. The classic example of a rash vow in OT is Jephthah (Jg. 11). Read, "there is no delight in fools"; it is fools who make hasty vows. Such vows lead one's whole being into sin, the lips involve the entire body (6). "Angel" may be a synonym for God (*cf.* LXX), or for the priest (Mal. 27) or other Temple official who recorded vows. On vows see p. 105. In **7** read *mg.*, or, with slight change, "in a multitude of dreams and words are many vanities." It is an interpolation like 3, and perhaps originally a marginal variant of it.

V. 8–20. Concerning Despotism and Wealth.—8f. The oppression and injustice that one sees (in an Oriental satrapy) are not to be wondered at when we remember the graded hierarchy of officials who are all eager simply to enrich themselves. There is no reference to God; read, "One high official is watching over another, and there are higher ones (perhaps the king) over them." Yet on the whole a king, especially if he take an interest in agriculture, is an advantage to a country. So we may interpret the extremely difficult verse 9 (*cf. mg.*).—**10ff.** The avaricious man is always poor; though his wealth increases he lacks satisfaction, enlarged income means enlarged expense, any gain that he has is outward and therefore unreal. And with wealth comes worry and sleeplessness, from which the humble toiler is free. Not only so, but disaster may overtake the wealth won at the cost of health and comfort; some unlucky adventure, *e.g.* a ship-wreck or a marauding raid, may render him and the son for whom he has been saving, penniless.—With **15** *cf.* Job 121, 1 Tim. 67. All the rich man's toil has yielded nothing more than wind (*cf.* Pr. 1129, Is. 2618). —**17** may refer to the days succeeding the calamity or to the inner meaning of the days preceding it.—**18–20.** It is far better to enjoy life as one goes along (*cf.* 224,97), getting the best out of each day, than to be miserly. After all, it is God that "giveth us all things richly to enjoy" (1 Tim. 617), and if God thus "occupies a man with the joy of his heart" (so read 20*b*), he will not brood over the swiftness of his passing days.

VI. Further Reflections on Wealth and Fate.—Parallel with the bitter experience of the avaricious man who loses his wealth is that of the rich and successful man whose cherished desires are unfulfilled. Having no keen satisfaction himself he yet hopes to see his son enjoy his acquisitions, but he is childless, or if he has the blessings of a large family (a "hundred" is just a round number) and a long life—both highly prized by the Jews—the children may disappoint him by their conduct and so fill his soul with sorrow instead of satisfying it with good, and he may even yet undergo the supreme dishonour of lacking interment. *Cf.* Jezebel (2 K. 935) and Jehoiakim (Jer. 2219), and many other references both in biblical and classical literature, especially the Greek legend of Antigone. The corpse of Artaxerxes Ochus (p. 79) in the fourth century B.C. is said to have been devoured by cats; he was one of the hundred children of Artaxerxes Mnemon, whose old age was saddened by his sons' evil courses. These cases were probably known to our writer. Better than such an end would it be never to have had a beginning. The premature babe, still-born, comes into a lifeless existence ("vanity"); "its name is covered with darkness," *i.e.* it has no name (*cf.* Job 3, Ps. 588), and it has no consciousness of joy or sorrow, no sensation of pleasure or pain. A man may live to be twice as old as Methuselah, yet "enjoy no good" (contrast 518) ever toiling for unreached satisfaction (in 7 "mouth" and "appetite" are figurative); his goal is the same as that of the abortion, which has the good fortune to reach it both sooner and more easily.—With **8***a* *cf.* 214–16.—**8***b*. "What advantage has a poor man, who has got on in life by knowing how to walk prudently and successfully, before his fellow men?" (M'Neile). Better is the enjoyment of one's possessions ("the light of the eyes") than desire for the unattainable; *cf.* 518f.—**10–12** speaks of the helplessness of man. The first clause of 10 may be taken as in text or *mg.* or as "that which is"; "the name was given long ago" perhaps simply means "is in existence." There is a play on the word man = Adam (*mg.*). He has no chance against the President

of the Immortals.—**11. things:** better "words," a reference to the "contention" of 10, or perhaps to the discussions of different sects as to how far man is the child of circumstances or fate. All are to no purpose. No one really knows what is the *summum bonum*, life is but an unsubstantial shadow (*cf.* 813, 1 Ch. 2915, Job 89, Jas. 414). These verses find apt illustration in Fitzgerald's *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (xxvii.–xxx, and lvi.; 1st edition, 1859).

VII. 1–22. Proverbs and Reflections.—After asking, "What is good for man in life?" (612), Qoheleth gives us advice as to what a man may do by way of mitigating his worries. First of all it is advisable for him to cultivate seriousness rather than levity (1–7). The curious remark that "a (good) name is better than precious ointment" (*cf.* Ca. 13*) is in the Heb. a play on the words *shem* and *shemen*; ointment is highly esteemed in the East.—1*b* reminds us of the Thracian tribe mentioned by Herodotus (v. 4) who at the birth of a child bewailed its entry on life's trials, and celebrated death as a joyful release (*cf.* also 64–6).—**2.** Jewish mournings lasted a week or even a month, and would teach the visitor to number his days and get a heart of wisdom (Ps. 9012).—**3. the heart is made glad:** better, "it is well with the heart," "to suffer is to learn," "pain is gain."—**4.** Like draws to like.—**5. the rebuke of the wise** (*cf.* Pr. 131) . . . **songs of fools:** licentious and vulgar tavern songs (*cf.* Am. 65, Eph. 54).—In **6** there is another play on words (*sirim*=thorns, *sir*=pot), which we may reproduce in English by nettles and kettles, or stubble and bubble. Thorns as fuel produce more noise than heat. The words "this also is vanity" may be omitted as a gloss.—**7. Surely** is an attempt to get over the real meaning of the Heb. word, which means "for." To give sense we must suppose that some sentence like that in Pr. 168 has dropped out, or perhaps the whole verse is an insertion. The despotic use of power ("extortion") unbalances even a wise man, and bribes ruin the moral nature.—**8. thing** perhaps = "word" (*cf.* 611); the verse is then a caution against uncontrolled speech as **9** is a caution against its source, hasty anger.—**10.** The aged and the pessimist are alike unwisely prone to praise the "good old times" at the expense of the present and the future.—**11f.** is a gloss; *mg.* is preferable. It is good to have wisdom if one has nothing else, but if one has something else so much the better; "them that see the sun" means the living. Wisdom has this advantage over money, that it is not only a defence (lit. "shade") but a quickener and stimulus of life.—**13** connects with 10.—With 13*b* *cf.* 115.—**14.** God has so balanced and mingled prosperity and adversity that man cannot foretell the future. Plumptre quotes a striking parallel to 13f. from the Stoic hymn of Cleanthes to Zeus (18):

> "Things discordant find accord in Thee,
> And in one whole Thou blendest ill with good,
> So that one law works on for evermore."

—Qoheleth now goes on to advocate the golden mean.—**15** controverts the old idea that righteousness and wickedness mean respectively a long and short life.—**16** is aimed at the extreme pietism of the Hasidim (Ps. 43*), the early Pharisees whose strict legalism was a menace to the tranquillity of the nation (2 Mac. 146); like an excess of "wisdom" it meant self-inflation and collapse. Yet there is greater danger in extreme wickedness and folly (17); debauchery means death. Lay firm hold of both these cautions, *medio tutissimus ibis;* he that fears God "shall be quit in regard to both" (Barton). Both **18***b* and **19** seem to have been inserted by later and different hands.—**ten rulers** reminds us of the Athenian archons (and the Venetian Council of Ten), but is simply a round number. The usual number of elders who act as a council in an Oriental village is five. Wisdom is the individual's borough or city council.—**20.** *Cf.* 1 K. 846; for "surely" read "because," and so connect with 21. There is so much folly spoken that it is waste of time to listen to every conversation; besides, listeners hear no good of themselves (21f.).

VII. 23–29. In Dispraise of Women.—All the foregoing maxims have been tested, yet Qoheleth has not attained wisdom (23); the true inwardness of things, the ultimate reality, is beyond his efforts (24; *cf.* Job 2812–28, also Ec. 1f.). Yet he has learned that "wickedness is folly and folly is madness," and has made the further discovery of something more bitter than death, a seductive woman (*cf.* Pr. 5, 7). His investigation has been painstaking and thorough (27), and with heart as well as head (28), and his conclusion is that while perfect men are very scarce, perfect women are still scarcer. Whether Qoheleth has suffered some bitter personal experience or has in mind the intrigues of the harem in Persian and Greek life we cannot say. He (or more likely a glossator) however, acquits God of responsibility for human wrong-doing; it is man's inventive faculty that has too often taken the wrong course.

VIII. 1–9. Maxims on Wisdom and Government.—**1.** Wisdom (like prayer and self-sacrifice; *cf.* Lk. 929) transfigures the countenance, it takes the "hardness" or coarseness out of the face.—**2.** Honour the king, remembering his Divine appointment and the oath taken at his coronation; do not rashly leave his service or rebel against him. Or we may (so LXX) connect 2*b* with 3, "but where an oath of God is in question be not hasty" (*i.e.* in obeying the king); "go out of his presence, persist not in an evil thing, for," etc. Otherwise we must interpret "persist not in an evil thing" as "enter not into opposition to him." If 5, 6*a* is Qoheleth's own counsel it refers to the king's commandment and is a maxim of prudence; the wise man will keep his head and his feet even when such commandments are grievous. It may, however, be a pious commentator's reference to the commandment of God. 6*b* connects more closely with 4.—**7f.** One never knows what a despot will do next, and a wise man grows weary with uncertainty. Human helplessness is seen everywhere: a man has no more control over the day of his death than over the wind (*mg.*), nor can he escape from wickedness once he has given himself to it any more than the mercenary can obtain furlough when the war for which he is engaged is proceeding. The Persian law was stricter than the Mosaic (Dt. 205–8).—**9** suggests that these observations of tyranny were taken from life, though this gives us no clue to the date. Follow *mg.* in the first reference; the second, which brings in the thought of retribution on the tyrant, is an open question.

VIII. 10–15. The One End of Righteousness and Unrighteousness.—The good are soon forgotten, the wicked enjoy honour and long life; the best thing a man can do is to enjoy life while he has it.—**10** is difficult, MT is probably corrupt. RV is a fair attempt; others would emend so as to read, "I saw the wicked buried, carried even from the sanctuary, and they used to go about and be praised in the city because they had done so" (*i.e.* used their power to hurt others; *cf.* 9). This excludes all mention of the righteous and their shameful exclusion from the holy place,

which in any case cannot be interpreted as consecrated burial ground.—**12f.** is plainly the insertion of an orthodox annotator; 12 is a concession, 13 is the general rule as to the wicked man's long life. 12*b* seems to hint at some compensation, possibly future, for the short-lived good man.—**14f.** shows us the typical mood of Qoheleth; *cf.* especially 312f.,22, 518, 97–10.

VIII. 16–IX. 16. Life's Riddle Baffles the Wisest Quest.—The parenthesis in 16*b* describes the ceaseless effort of the keen student of life, or perhaps the fate of the toiler who is too tired to sleep; with 17 *cf.* 724, Job 116–9, and from the Christian standpoint Rom. 1133, Eph. 38 ("unsearchable riches"). By heart (91) is meant the whole inner nature, intellectual and emotional; God is the supreme arbiter of human destiny. Whether He regards us with love or hatred we cannot tell; life is so tangled that the Divine attitude is inscrutable. Follow LXX, in adding the first word of 2 with a slight change to 1 and read, "All before them is vanity. To all alike, there is one event."—**2. to the good:** see *mg.* "He that sweareth," the man who abides by his oath; "he that feareth an oath," the man who is afraid to take or carry out a vow. This interpretation is in line with the other comparisons, the good precedes the evil example; but perhaps we should take "sweareth" of profanity and "feareth an oath" of loyal obedience to a vow.—**3. an evil in all:** a supreme evil.—**full of evil:** full of dissatisfaction. Life is all unrest and madness, and after that—"to the dead."—**4. a dog** is a poor creature in the East, while the lion stands for kingly power.—**5.** Even to know that one must die is superior to being dead. Death ends all, it extinguishes all the passions and emotions, takes a man from the only sphere of activity there is, and even blots out the remembrance of him (*cf.* 10*b*). This being so, enjoy yourself while you can; God has so arranged the world that this is the only thing you can do, so it must be acceptable to Him.—**7–9** has a remarkably close parallel in a fragment of the Gilgamesh epic; "Since the gods created man, Death they ordained for man, Life in their hands they hold; Thou O Gilgamesh fill thy belly, Day and night be thou joyful," etc.—**9** is less a eulogium of quiet home life than advice to a man to enjoy any woman who appeals to him; there is no contradiction to 726–28.

The advice in 10*a* must be taken as referring to any form of enjoyment; it finds its transfiguration in Jn. 94.—**the grave:** Sheol, described in Is. 149–11*, Ezek. 3218–32. In 11 Qoheleth takes up the idea again that life's prizes are not bestowed for merit or ability; men are the creatures of time and chance, misfortune attends them till their time is up. Even that hour is unknown, they are trapped unexpectedly like the bird and the fish. The closest historical parallel to the incident pictured in 13–16 is the siege of Abel-beth-maacah (2 S. 2015–22); Qoheleth would not scruple to change the "wise woman" into a man. Other suggestions are the siege of Dor in 218 B.C. (1 Mac. 15) or that of Bethsura (1 Mac. 631, 2 Mac. 139). The point of the story is that the wise as well as the righteous are soon forgotten.

IX. 17–X. 15. Experience Crystallised in Proverbs.—917–103 forms a series of proverbs perhaps due to the sage who worked over the original book. In 17 follow *mg.*; the contrast is between the quiet but sure voice of the wise and the noisy pretentious clatter of an arch-fool. With 18, *cf.* 13–16.—**sinner:** better, blunderer. Evil is wrought by want of thought as well as by want of heart. 10*a* is obvious, 1*b* less so; it is simplest to say that "as dead flies corrupt the perfumer's ointment so little follies in a man outweigh and thus spoil his better qualities and name." A wise man's heart (intelligence plus conscience plus will) leads him in the right direction, that of a fool has a sinister bent (2); when he walks out he thinks all the people he meets are fools (3 *mg.*). In 4 Qoheleth resumes his observations on princes; the counsel is similar to that of 82–5. The courtier will do best by bending to the storm, his safety is in complaisance. Yet the ruler is by no means always right (5), especially when like Edward II or, nearer Qoheleth's time, Ptolemy Philopator (p. 62), he advances the unworthy to positions of trust and honour at the expense of the nobles and aristocracy, here called "the rich" (6f.). The mention of horses is an indication of late date; in earlier Israel kings rode on asses or mules. *Cf.* also Pr. 1910.—**8** and **9** are isolated proverbs though they illustrate caution as an element of wisdom. "He who breaks through a fence" or a wall, is perhaps a robber, perhaps simply a wanton destroyer, perhaps even a reformer who is stung by a jealous opponent. For serpents in walls, *cf.* Am. 519. The quarryman and woodcutter must be careful; 9*a* is probably not to be taken of "removing a neighbour's landmark" (*mg.*).—**10f.** The advantage of wisdom is to give success; it teaches the woodcutter to sharpen his blunt axe instead of wearying himself with brute force; it teaches the snake-charmer to exercise his skill before the snake bites (disregard *mg.*). Wisdom is foresight and wins favour, the ineffectual man is a fool and suffers (12). His course may even be a progress from stupidity to criminal (perhaps "pitiful") madness (13); he is a perpetual babbler (14*a*) whose verbosity is the measure of his ignorance (14*b*). But perhaps 14*b* is a fragment of Qoheleth (*cf.* 612, 714) strayed from its context into this collection of proverbs.—**15** is obscure, but probably means that he who asks a fool the way to a city is likely to be weary before he gets there, or perhaps that the simpleton who doesn't know the way to town is likely to have a deservedly tiresome life.

X. 16–20. Reflections on Government.—These verses are in the strain of 4–7.—**16. whose king is a child:** *e.g.* like Ptolemy Epiphanes, who became king of Egypt (205 B.C.) at the age of five. Such a one is often in the hands of unworthy regents. The word may be also translated "servant" (contrast 17) or even "young man"; hence some see a reference to Herod the Great, who was of ignoble birth, or to Alexander Balas (1 Mac. 1047). Feasting in the morning is a sure sign of decadence (*cf.* Is. 511, Ac. 215).—**17.** It is just possible that Qoheleth is eulogising Antiochus III, whose accession in 198 B.C. was well received by the Jews (p. 62).—**18** is the writer's way of saying that when the rulers of a state do not attend to business the structure of government falls to pieces. Feasting means revelry instead of serious attention to state affairs—those who indulge in it have only to spend money, perhaps from the public funds (19).—**20** recalls 4f.; the courtiers must be cautious, walls have ears. Kings and lords get to hear things in mysterious ways.

XI. 1–XII. 8. Closing Counsels.—It is well to do and to get all one can, in the way of industry and pleasure, before old age draws on. 1 and 2 are best taken as referring either to merchandise or generosity, though "bread" has also been interpreted as seed sown on irrigated land (*cf.* 4 and 6) or even as human semen, and 2 and 6 forced into line. The trader's venture is to be divided between several ships, for it is unsafe to put all one's eggs in one basket; similarly

it is well to make friends with as many folk as possible as insurance against a day of disaster (*cf.* Lk. 16$_9$). Man is the child of circumstances, he can no more control his fate than the weather (3); for **tree** perhaps read "stick," and see a reference to divination by throwing a wand into the air and determining one's action by the direction in which it comes to rest (*cf.* Hos. 4$_{12}$). The wise farmer (4) knows that his varied operations must be performed at the proper time whatever the weather threatens; he who waits the more convenient season and ideal conditions gets nothing done. Rain in harvest-time was rare in Palestine but not impossible (1 S. 12$_{17}$, Pr. 26$_1$). Man, knowing not the way of the wind (Jn. 3$_8$) nor the mystery of embryology (Ps. 139$_{13-16}$), cannot hope to understand the operations of Providence in these matters and in all else; **all** perhaps = "both" (5). All he can do (6) is to peg away at his work from morn till eve, perhaps from youth till age, bearing gains and losses philosophically. Light and life are good, but even while we enjoy them comes the thought of their brevity, and the certainty of Sheol, the underworld of shadows, a future that is unsubstantial reality, vanity, and emptiness indeed. So (9) make the most of youth, gratify your desires, *carpe diem*, *gaudeamus dum iuvenes sumus* (*cf.* 9$_{7-10}$, 1 Cor. 15$_{32}$). Whether we regard 11$_7$ to 12$_7$ as due to a reviser or not, we must almost certainly see an interpolation in 9*b*, **but know thou . . .** Put away (10) brooding and melancholy and asceticism ("evil"), the heyday of life is soon over ("vanity"), so make the most of it, for the dull days are hastening on (12$_{1b}$).—12$_{1a}$ is also an interpolation, unless with a slight emendation of the Heb. we read, "remember thy well," or cistern, *i.e.* thy wife (Pr. 5$_{18}$). Yet the injunction in its familiar form is one that we rightly prize; fellowship with God in the early years of life is the safeguard both of youth and age.—12$_{1b}$ "or ever," etc., thus connects with 11$_{10}$; age is drawing on with its lack of zest and of *joie de vivre*. The allegory of senility in 2–6 is not to be forced into any single line of interpretation, whether anatomical or atmospherical (the approach of night or a storm or winter). "The metaphors change and intermingle in accord with the richness of an Oriental imagination" (Barton). "Make the most of youth," says Qoheleth, "while the sun is not darkened . . ." (2); life as it advances loses its brightness and that increasingly—sun, moon, stars all fail, and after rain there is no season of clear shining but only the return of the clouds.—Arms ("keepers"), and legs ("strong men") grow weak and weary; teeth ("grinders," lit. "grinding women") and eyes (the "women that look through the windows") are alike faint (3). This verse suggests the inmates of a house—two sets of men, and two of women, menial and gentle. "Because they are few," better, "though they are few." The lips ("doors" Ps. 141$_3$), or perhaps the less honourable parts of the body, are closed, the feeble gums make a poor attempt at mastication; sleep is short, for the old man wakes with the early twitter of the birds (possibly "he shall approach to the voice of the bird," *i.e.* "his voice becomes a childish treble"); singers, or perhaps their musical notes ("daughters of song") are all alike low to him in his deafness; *cf.* 2 S. 19$_{35}$ (4). A hill terrifies him and indeed any journey, for his breath is scant and his limbs stiff; his whitened hair is like the almond blossom (possibly "the almond is rejected," *i.e.* "appetite fails even when coaxed"). The smallest thing (Is. 40$_{22}$) is a burden, though perhaps the reference of the "grasshopper" is to the bent and halting gait of old age, or even to sexual intercourse, an interpretation which gains some support from the use of the "caper-berry" as an aphrodisiac. The explanation which connects the word for caper-berry with a root meaning "poor," and renders "the chrysalis (grasshopper) lies inert till the soul emerges" (for "fails" read "bursts," *mg.*) is rather far-fetched. The "long home" is, of course the grave. For mourners *cf.* Jer. 9$_{17}$f., Mk. 5$_{38}$ (5). Enjoy youth, for the time comes when the golden lamp bowl (Zech. 4$_{2}$f.) falls with a crash because the silver cord that suspends it is snapped, or in homelier metaphor, the pitcher is smashed at the well, or the water-wheel is broken. There is no need to bring in skull, spinal column, or heart; the picture is clearly one of death, especially sudden death. The light goes out, the water is spilt; the long comradeship of body and soul is dissolved.—With **7** *cf.* Gen. 2$_7$; the contrast with Ec. 3$_{19}$f. only illustrates the variety of Qoheleth's human moods. His reflections end as they began; 12$_8$ is identical with 1$_2$.

XII. 9–14. Epilogue.—**9–12** is an editor's praise of Qoheleth, who is identified with Solomon, the sage compiler of proverbial wisdom, who wrote "words of truth" in a pleasing and elegant ("acceptable") style; "uprightly" may also refer to correctness of form.—**11***a* reminds us of the stimulus of a good teacher; Socrates called himself the gadfly of Athens, and the words of Pericles were said to have a sting in them.—**11***b* may be rendered "Like nails driven home are collections of sayings made by one master"; the only difficulty is that "Shepherd" in OT usually refers to God. As to what lies beyond these (*cf. mg.*) there is need of warning; one can easily miss the true way in one's reading, perhaps a reference to heathen libraries, and a good deal of Jewish literature which the writer regarded as unedifying.—**study:** *cf.* 1$_8$; the word seems to mean close application.—**13***f.* The last words of the pious annotator of 3$_{17}$, 11$_{9b}$, etc. What man should really devote and apply himself to is the fear of God and the keeping of His commandments. "Whole" belongs to "man," and should be translated "every"; for the literal expression, "this is every man," *cf.* Ps. 109$_4$, "I am prayer"; Ps. 110$_3$, "Thy people are free-will offerings."—**14.** Render, "For God shall bring every work into the judgment concerning every secret thing," etc.

THE SONG OF SONGS

By Professor W. G. JORDAN

Its Place in the Canon.—We cannot be certain as to the precise date when this book was admitted into the Sacred Collection, but we have reliable evidence that down to a late period there were doubts as to its canonicity. The OT Canon consists of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings; Canticles belongs to the third division. Towards the end of the first century A.D., Rabbi Akiba, who defended its canonicity, declared it to be the most sacred book in the Kethubim (Writings), and at the time of the conclusion of the Mishna, at the beginning of the third century, its position was secure (pp. 38f.). The books of the Canon were all supposed to be both ancient and religious, therefore the two ideas that enabled "The Song of Songs" to gain a place in it were the ascription to Solomon as its author, and the belief that it represented, in symbolic language, the relation of Yahweh to His people. This latter belief, no doubt, led to its use, as one of the festival rolls, on the eighth day of the Passover. (The other four rolls (*Megilloth*, Ps. 408) were Ruth at Pentecost, Lamentations on the ninth day of Ab (the day on which Jerusalem was destroyed), Ecclesiastes at the Feast of Tabernacles, and Esther at the Feast of Purim.) As at the beginning there were doubts of its suitability for its present position, so it seems probable that, except in the centuries when criticism was quite dead, the impression concerning its real nature was never completely lost. Unless an artificial system of interpretation is used, which puts ideas into the text instead of drawing them out, the book has no theological significance; it never mentions the name of Yahweh, it is not concerned with religious problems, it contains no word of prayer or praise.

Its Age and Authorship.—Seeing that the Solomonic authorship is no longer tenable, and is to be explained on the same principle that led to the ascription of the Law to Moses, and the Pss. to David, we have to confess that we can know nothing concerning the author; the view that we take as to the structure of the book will decide whether we regard him as a *real* author or merely as a collector and editor. The place where the book was written or the songs collected is also in dispute. The names of places contain references to both N. and S. Palestine, and the linguistic style is not a sure proof of northern origin, though it certainly points to a post-exilic date. This date is confirmed by the constant use of the Aramaic form of the relative pronoun and the presence of several foreign words (1$_{14}$, 4$_{13}$, 3$_{9}$, 4$_{13}$f.). Some of the songs may have existed earlier, but the book, as we now have it, probably belongs to the late post-exilic Jewish community, some two or three centuries B.C.

The Structure and Interpretation of the Book.—In the brief space at our command, we cannot, either in the introduction or the notes, touch questions of metrical criticism, or enter into elaborate discussions concerning conjectural rearrangements of particular sections. It is clear that in this region there are difficulties which are not solved by any general theory, and that particular proposals, while interesting to the special student, are quite tentative and uncertain. All that we can do is to attempt to answer in the simplest fashion the question: What, on the whole, is the view of the structure and significance of the book which is most in accord with an unprejudiced reading of the text and our present knowledge of Hebrew life and literature? (*a*) The allegorical view that "the song" sets forth the relation of Yahweh to His people, of Christ to His Church or to the individual soul, does not now call for lengthy discussion. Still less are we concerned for a scheme that finds a place for the Virgin Mary. This view played its part when it helped to preserve for us this specimen of Hebrew literature; it had a long reign, but can survive only among those who are quite free from any historical method. Those who held the theory were, in their day, "learned men," and it is quite interesting to meet this statement, which sounds quite modern, in an exposition written more than a century ago. "M. Bossuet has an ingenious conjecture, though it seems to be without a solid foundation, that whereas the nuptial feast with the Hebrews was kept seven days, this song is to be distributed into seven parts, a part to be sung on each day during the celebration" (Gill, p. 26). Of course it was always known that, however they were to be interpreted, these were nuptial songs, but "the king's week" (p. 419) has played a great part in recent discussion. The use of marriage as a symbol of the relation between Yahweh and the nation or Christ and the Church is well known (Hos. 2, Jer. 3, Is. 49$_{14-21}$, 52$_{1-5}$, Eph. 5$_{32}$, 2 Cor. 11$_{2}$), but in those cases there is no uncertainty as to the nature of the allusions. We believe in true mysticism, and are not concerned to deny that wine may be, in certain cases, an Oriental symbol of religious excitement, but that does not lead us to regard this book as a conscious allegory of Divine and human relationships. When we remember the struggle of the Hebrew religion against sensual worship, we cannot imagine a prophet or religious poet using this sensuous imagery in detail to express such relation. Beautiful illustrations as Mt. 9$_{15}$, Jer. 3$_{14}$, Rev. 21$_{2}$ are not in the same category (see Harper on the Allegorical Interpretation, and Martin on its influence on Christian poetry and hymnology).

(*b*) More than a century ago great literary critics as Herder and Goethe *felt* that the book was a string of pearls or collection of beautiful love-lyrics, but during the past century the dramatic theory, in some form, has received the support of many distinguished scholars. (1) Solomon falls in love with a pretty shepherd maiden and has her taken to his harem, where he pays earnest court to her, and discovers that all his efforts are vain since she remains loyal to her

shepherd lover. The theme of the book is, therefore, the victory of a true and pure love over temptation. (2) It is a dramatic pastoral which sings of Solomon's love for a shepherd maid. He takes her to be his wife, and by that means is converted from sensual passion to pure love. (3) A marriage drama or melodrama celebrating true betrothed love. The scheme is based on the Syrian marriage ceremonies, the King (Solomon) being the bridegroom in the first half of the book, when he disappears, having learned in a mysterious manner that she cannot belong to him, the same scheme goes forward (5$_2$) with the new and proper bridegroom, the climax being the production of the "proofs of virginity" the morning after the wedding (HDB). These are specimens of the forms that the dramatic theory may take. These theories show an effort to maintain the unity of the book, while it is questionable whether there is any other unity than that of subject; unity of narrative or dramatic movement cannot be proved. There is no fully-developed drama in ancient Hebrew literature; the intellectual and social conditions required to produce it were lacking. Of course, stories and dialogues (as in Job) have dramatic elements found in all living literature, but that does not give a drama in the strict sense. If a Hebrew scholar had really set himself the task of producing a drama, even of simple kind, he would probably have produced something more elaborate than a book that can be read in half an hour, and whose longest scene (7$_{12-84}$) could be read in two minutes. Why should the names of the persons speaking have been lost any more than in the book of Job? It is not the variety of opinion in points of detail (for we might have that difficulty in the interpretation of an acknowledged drama) which weighs most heavily against the dramatic theory, but the fact that so much has to be supplied to the text by the imagination of the expositor to work any such theory at all.

(*c*) We are left with the view that the book is a collection of love-lyrics, many of which, according to the customs of the day, were sung or recited in connexion with the marriage ceremonies (*cf.* Ps. 45). This view has been strengthened by the comparison with other Oriental poems, and specially by Wetstein's reports (1873) concerning the marriage ceremonies in Syria and the poems still in use on such occasions. The significance of this contribution was noted by B. Stade (1888), and its application to our book worked out by K. Budde (1894). It appears that the wedding festival lasts a week, that among the peasants the threshing-floor was decorated as a throne, and that on it the bride and groom received homage and were addressed as King and Queen. Further, that poems are sung and specially songs describing the charms of the married pair; the name of this descriptive song is *wasf* (5$_9$, 7$_{1ff.}$). It is admitted by all that many of these customs are probably ancient, and that they throw light upon the literary forms and poetic imagery of the book. It is scarcely likely that all the poems here given were woven together in connexion with one particular marriage; it is rather a collection, perhaps by the poet himself, of different types. Connecting links and other slight additions may have been added by later scribes. This view, while it does not give us the power to settle all textual and exegetical difficulties, shows us why such difficulties exist, as songs are naturally more flexible and vague than any other form of literature. The book glorifies the love of man and woman, and associates this with the sweetness of spring. This "king's week," among peasants seems to have been "a purple patch" in a life that, on the whole, was pretty drab. We also have a large literature of "love-songs," but in our religious teaching we lay more stress on quiet loyalty than a delirious honeymoon. We do not find here a polemic in favour of monogamy or the clear suggestion, not to say, explicit statement, of any social theory. But we cannot help feeling that the presence of such romantic poetry shows that even under the coarse forms of Oriental life "love" comes to signify a high human relationship. It would be strange if the Church that gave monotheism to the world did not move towards a nobler view of family life (Tit. 1$_6$). Though the book is not a social essay or problem but a number of lyrics in thoroughly Oriental style, its theme—the purity, sweetness, and glory of love—is an everlasting one. It needs to-day, as much as ever, to be brought into relation with the highest Christian ideas of chastity, self-sacrifice, and mutual helpfulness.

Literature.—For an extensive bibliography the student is referred to the commentaries. The Exposition by John Gill (Edinburgh, 1805) is a good specimen of the length to which the allegorical interpretation was carried about a century ago. Harper (CB) makes a vigorous defence of the dramatic theory, while Martin (Cent.B) gives a clear statement and strong support to the historical or lyrical view. See also Adeney (Ex.B), Margoliouth in Temple Bible, and articles in Bible Dictionaries; D. R. Scott, *Pessimism and Love*. In German, the works of the following scholars are easily accessible: Budde (KHC and in Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift*), Siegfried (HK), Stärk (SAT).

I. 1. Superscription by the collector or a later editor describing the whole book as the noblest or the most beautiful of Solomon's songs (1 K. 4$_{32}$).

I. 2–4. A brief song by the bride or one of the wedding guests expressive of the bride's love for the bridegroom, and suggesting by the symbols of perfume and wine the power of his attraction. **2.** The exchange of person is puzzling, and it is proposed to change *thy* to *his*, or the reverse, but MT is supported by LXX, and there may have been much freedom in dramatic songs of this type, helped out by gestures.—**love**, etc., *i.e. caresses* (LXX has "breasts") *are pleasanter than wine* (1$_4$, 4$_{10}$).—**3.** In the original the words for **name** and **ointment** are similar in sound (*cf.* Ec. 7$_1$*); in such word-play the ancients took delight. The "name" is not a mere label, it has a close connexion with the person (Gen. 32$_{29}$*); even as the fine ointment or perfume that he uses, he spreads abroad an air of pleasantness. Perhaps for **poured forth**, *costly* should be read.—**virgins**, the young women, companions of the bride.—**4.** It has been suggested that the second clause of this verse should be placed at the beginning of the following verse; it suits very well there, and is difficult to explain here.—**make mention of thy love:** better "*celebrate* thy caresses"; but some scholars suggest a verb of similar sound meaning "to intoxicate with."

I. 5f. The Bride Rejoices in her Beauty.—She has lived an open-air life and been exposed to the sun, so that she has not the white, delicate complexion of the city-dweller, but the ruddy appearance (1 S. 16$_{12}$) of the peasant woman. Her brothers, her natural guardians, have been severe with her, for what reason we cannot tell; they have set her to this work of keeping the family vineyard, but her own vineyard they could not compel her to keep, her heart has been given to another. Love conquers disadvantages and spurns unreasonable restraints.—**Kedar**, name of a nomad tribe (Is. 21$_{16f.}$*, Ps. 120$_5$*), used here because of its resemblance to a word meaning *black*. It is

possible to take "the curtains of Solomon" to refer to the other member of the statement, the *beauty* not the *blackness*; there is then no need to change Solomon to Salma (another nomad tribe).—**daughters of Jerusalem**, if original, may refer to the bridal companions who represent "court ladies."

I. 7f. An Inquiry and Reply.—There is difficulty in fixing the connexion of this small piece, the first specimen of dialogue that we meet. It has the motive of seeking and finding (2sff., 31). The woman addressing her lover, or the bride speaking to the bridegroom, wishes to know where he and his flock spend the hour of rest at noon-tide (2 S. 45), so that she may visit it and enjoy his company (Gen. 3716). She is advised by her lover, or the chorus of girls, to go forth with her kids, following the track of the flocks, till she comes to the shepherds' tents (*cf.* Gen. 3817, Jg. 151). The one difficult phrase in the passage is "as one that is veiled" (AV "that turneth aside"). This suggests, why should she incur suspicion or run into danger as a woman of loose character? (Gen. 3815). But on the whole, it is better to translate, with the versions (*mg.*), "*as a wandering woman*," *i.e.* a female tramp.

I. 9–17. A Mutually Responsive Song of Love and Admiration.—(1) The comparison of the richly-ornamented horses of Pharaoh's chariots. Parallels from ancient literature may be found in the commentaries. The Arabs had fine breeds of horses which they esteemed very highly, and such horses were splendidly adorned when driven in the chariots of the princes. The rich and even excessive adornment of the bride appealed to the Orientals as much as the simple beauty of the maiden. Hence the reference to *plaits of hair, circlets of gold with silver points* is appropriate both to a woman's headdress and the trappings of a gaily-decorated steed (Gen. 2453, 3412). (2) The bride returns the compliment. Her perfumes and her own charms exert their full power when stimulated by the gracious presence of her king. He is compared to a bundle or bag of myrrh which Oriental women place between their breasts at night, and which has a protecting and refreshing influence, as well as to the Paradise flower (henna-flower), the dye from which is used to give a delicate tinge to the hands and feet. These flowers are said to be found only in Palestine at En-gedi. (3) The bridegroom declares again the beauty of his love (lit. *friend*, in the OT peculiar to this book and Jg. 1137). He says that her eyes are doves, meaning that they have the softness and innocence of doves' eyes. There is no general agreement about the exact reference of 16f. whether it is a picture of a fine mansion, or a poetic description of life among the trees of the forest; "the green bed" is the difficulty, which some take literally, and others figuratively, or according to the custom mentioned in Pr. 717.

II. 1–7. Mutual Praise and Praise of Love.—The bride sets herself forth as the Rose (*meadow saffron* or *crocus*) of Sharon (or *the plain*) and the Lily (*scarlet anemone*?) of the valley. To this the lover replies that other young women are in comparison to her the thorns among which those lilies often grow. This is not a cynical attack on womankind, but shows the idealising power of love for *the* one. The appropriate reply is that he also stands out from among men as the apple (or quince) tree among trees, a tree which gives grateful shade and a pleasant aromatic fruit; it is joy to be in his company as it was a delight to sit under the shadow of such a tree. This thought is now expanded as the young woman dwells upon the delights of love. For **banqueting house** the literal rendering of *mg.*, "*house of wine*" is to be preferred: as it is not likely that the phrase is a proper name, it is probably a symbol for the chamber of love. The **banner** means not a *flag* to be followed, but a sign for gathering. It is possible that there may be an allusion to the custom of the ancient wine-seller, who hoisted a flag to show that he had wine in stock. The excitement and ecstasy induces weariness and faintness, so she desires to be restored and strengthened by **raisins** (2 S. 619) or *raisin cakes* (Jer. 718), and **apples** with their stimulating aroma and suggestions of love. The passage closes with the refrain which occurs again in 35 and 84, in a similar context. On the whole, though the abstract word *love* is used for the concrete lover, it seems most probable that the charge is not to disturb the enjoyment of love rather than *not to waken the desire for it*. In this connexion it is natural that the conjuration should not bring in the name of Israel's God, but rather, as here, the names of animals that were used as symbols of modest gracefulness and by tradition associated with the ancient worship of the goddess of love.

II. 8–17 contains one of the most beautiful poems in the whole book; it breathes the air of the fresh spring-time, when, according to our own poet, "a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love"; here it is a young woman's fancy that hears the steps of the beloved hastening over the mountains, drawn by the sweet attractiveness of love. (1) The beloved comes (8f.). (2) His speech (10–14). (3) The bride calls for his companionship (16f.). Note the vividness, the dramatic force, of the opening words, "Hark my beloved—There he comes—Hastening over the mountains, leaping over the hills," etc. The first clause of 9 is probably a gloss introduced from 17, where the words have a more suitable connexion; the LXX has here also "on the mountains of Bether" (baithel). He gazed *from* the outside of the window, *i.e.* he looks in through the window, etc. **10a** may be an explanatory gloss, it is clear in any case that the lover now speaks. The word for **winter** (found only here in OT) and that for **rain** both refer to the same season, the time of heavy, cold, winter rain. The spring comes with a sudden rush and reveals itself in magnificent colours. **12b** should probably be translated, "*the time of pruning has come*," the time when rich foliage needs careful attention. The turtle dove is mentioned because its migration is a sign of spring (Jer. 87). "In our land" is probably a prosaic addition. The winter figs begin to swell and take on new colour. Translate the next words with RV: **And the vines are in blossom, They give forth their fragrance.** In endearing tones she is, in her character of a dove, summoned from her refuge behind the lattice, which is rhetorically described as *the hiding-places of the rock and the secrecy of the steep place*. It is difficult to form any connexion for 15. It is mostly taken as a fragment of a sarcastic song which warns the maidens that love makes havoc with their charms, the cares of wedlock soon rub some of the glitter from these fine pictures. The passage closes with a glowing description of the meeting of the lovers in the evening time, when the day becomes *cool* and there are no shadows because the daylight has gone. The meaning of **Bether** is uncertain; *cleft-riven mountains, separating mountains, mountains of spices* or *of cypresses* (Lebanon) are specimens of the various conjectures.

III. 1–5. A Dream of Love.—The adjuration 5 (*cf.* 27) may have been added to adapt the passionate poem to the wedding week, in which there was much noisy revelling. For another song with similar motive

cf. 52ff. The bride tells a dream which came to her, night after night, and was a reflection of the love that moved her spirit in its waking hours. It is the story of the oft-repeated and at last successful search for him who was the object of her love, till they were happy in her mother's home. *The city* may be any town or village; the **broad ways** are the open spaces in contrast to the narrow lanes.—**watchmen** (*cf.* Ps. 1271, Is. 2111).

III. 6–11. The Coming of the King.—These verses are generally taken to describe the procession of the king with his attendants coming to the wedding. On the dramatic theory it is Solomon coming to the north where "the Shulammite" (see on 613) is supposed to be; but on the view upon which this exposition is based, we regard it as "the peasant king" coming to claim his bride. The same form of address is applied to the Shulammite in 610, 85, and by LXX and Vulg. here. The pronoun may, however, be translated "What" and referred to "**the litter**" in 7. It has been suggested that the king is not present or that he takes his seat on "the palanquin" later, but we should scarcely have all this splendour and protection (8) with the central personage missing. At the present time, bridegrooms in that region masquerade as kings, receiving the homage of their friends, but we do not look for a precise description in an imaginary picture of this kind. The speaker may be a watchman, or a chorus of male voices, representing spectators. The **smoke** is that of torches or incense or the dust raised by the cavalcade. Befitting the person and the occasion, the richest perfumes are used (Pr. 717, Ps. 459). The companions of the bridegroom (Jg. 1411) are here a bodyguard fit for a king; they were mighty men (Gen. 109). The word for **palanquin** (9), which occurs only here, is probably a foreign word. The name Solomon is used as the name of the most splendid king, or is a later addition.—**paved with love** (10) cannot be explained; a plausible conjecture is *inlaid with ebony.*—**the crown** is not that of royalty but the bridegroom's crown, the use of which is said to have been abolished by the Romans.

IV. 1–7. Descriptive Poem (*Wasf*) **Setting forth the Beauty of the Bride** (*cf.* 510–15, 64–7, and see the Introduction).—On the allegorical view, Christ here commends the beauty of His Church; the eyes are the ministers of the Gospel, or the eyes of the understanding; ministers of the Gospel are to be like doves in sincerity and simplicity, and the eyes of doves are clear and sharp-sighted; that the eyes are within her locks shows the mingling of light and dark in the knowledge of ministers, and also their modesty (J. Gill). The dramatic theory places this poem in the mouth of Solomon, who, in pressing his suit upon "the Shulammite," praises her beauty. It is now admitted that such poems, with certain conventional forms, were used in connexion with ancient marriage ceremonies, and also imitated in love songs. It is in such poems that the difference between Eastern and Western taste, both as to the general idea and particular figures, strikes us most. It is well also to remember that the admiration for "the human form divine," which elsewhere has found manifestation in painting and sculpture, is here limited in its expression to words.

1. (*cf.* 115) **behind thy veil** is better than *within thy locks* (AV); the beautiful eyes shine through the thin veil, making a striking impression. The ringlets of black hair falling down over the shoulders are likened to a flock of black goats on the mountain side.—**2.** Note the word-play in Heb. between *every one* and *barren.* The comparison seems to be meant to bring out the glistening whiteness and perfect *evenness* of the teeth, as is suggested by *mg., which are all of them in pairs.*—**3.** It is a picture of high colours and striking contrasts. The word rendered **mouth** is found only here in this sense; it is connected with the root "to speak," and so AV *may* be correct.—**Thy temples,** etc.: to us the figure is obscure; it is evidently based on a contrast of colours revealed by the rift in the fruit.—**4. armoury** (*talpiyyōth*) has caused considerable discussion; *fatal things,* poetic for *weapons* (BDB), but this is not certain. There are various suggestions, *a fortress, a place of distant vision, trophies, Talfiath* (a village), etc., all equally uncertain.—**shields:** the word may mean armour or equipment.—**5. Which feed,** etc. may be a conventional phrase that has crept in here (*cf.* 216,63).—**6.** Part of this verse may also have come from 217, as it breaks the connexion and is difficult to explain.—**7** closes the song with a declaration that no further details are needed as the beloved is perfect in her form and charms.—**8.** The dramatic theory puts these words into the mouth of the present lover beseeching the Shulammite to come from Lebanon where she is detained; more likely it is a gloss by a reader or a fragment of a song on "the wooing of a mountain maiden." Instead of **look** we should probably read *depart.*

IV. 9–12. The Resistless Charm of the Beautiful Bride.—In the Oriental manner this enchantment is expressed in the sensuous terms of wine, honey, and delicious odours.—**sister** is found in old Egyptian love-songs for the bride.—**ravish,** steal away the heart, probably expresses the meaning of the rare Heb. form, which some translate *hearten, encourage.* The word *glance* seems to be implied after eyes.—**one chain of thy neck:** probably a mistake for something that we cannot now conjecture; it can now only be explained as a reference to her brilliant jewellery.—**love,** *i.e. caresses* (*cf.* 12).—**10** may refer to sweet kisses or gentle speech (Pr, 53); on Lebanon see Hos. 137.—**12.** For **spring** in the second clause read **garden** (*gan* for *gal*); her chastity and loyalty are praised.

IV. 13–V. 1.—The Bride as a Garden.—The charms of the bride are now described under the figure of the fruits of the garden.—**16** gives the gracious invitation of the bride to the lover, who in such enthusiastic terms has praised her beauty.—**V. 1** declares his ready acceptance and his call to friends to enjoy similar delights,

V. 2–7. Another Dream-Poem.—It is not certain where the division should be made here, but it is possible to treat these verses as a separate poem and regard 8f. as the introduction to the *wasf* on the bridegroom (510–63). The originality of 7 has been questioned as an expansion of 33, but it may well be part of a troubled dream. The description is very vivid and beautiful. The voice of the beloved heard at an untimely hour, his plaintive appeal, the delay, natural under the circumstances, the disappointment and adventurous search, the rough usage by the watchmen which brings the crisis; and lo it was a dream with all the excitement of reality.

2. Note the piling up of epithets: **undefiled,** lit, as *mg., perfect,* "my paragon."—**dew,** the heavy "night-mist" of Palestine.—**3. coat** or *tunic,* the single undergarment, longer in the case of women than men, worn next the skin; at night it was taken off and the *somelah* (Ex. 2216) thrown over the body.—**washed,** etc. *cf.* Lk. 744.—**4. hole:** probably in the lattice for peeping out rather than one in the door for unfastening the lock.—**bowels** (*mg.* and AV) is more literal; in OT psychology the heart is the seat of thought and the

bowels of intense feeling (Jer. 4 19).—**spake:** in this passage there is a bare possibility that the word may mean *turned away*, or should the line stand before 5*a* ?—**7.** She received the rough treatment due to a suspicious character (2 S. 18 24, Is, 62 6, Ps. 127 1).

V. 8–VI. 3. Descriptive Poem (*Wasf*): **The Strength and Beauty of the Bridegroom.**—On this view, 8f. is taken as an introduction to the praises of "the beloved," and whether there is any real connexion with "the dream poem" is uncertain.—**8. sick:** from the disappointment and delays of love.—**9.** Or, *What kind of a beloved is thy beloved ?*—**10.** dazzling **white** (Lam. 4 7) **and ruddy** (1 S. 16 12).—**chiefest:** the most conspicuous or distinguished.—**11. bushy:** the word occurs only here; probably *curly* or *wavy*.—**12.** Perhaps this should read: "His eyes are like a pair of doves sitting by the water courses; Which are as if bathed in milk and sitting by full streams."—**13. spices:** better *balsam shrubs* (6 2).—**banks of sweet herbs:** *towers of perfume* (*mg.*) is the literal rendering, but to follow the versions requires only a slight change in the pronunciation, viz. *producing sweet odours* (*cf.* Ps. 133 2).—**lilies:** scarlet flowers (see 2 1).—**14.** His fingers are *cylinders of gold set with topaz* (*mg.*); "his body was as beautiful as a piece of ivory work studded with sapphires."—**15.** He is strong, handsome, and attractive in speech.—**16b, c.** surely a full answer to the question of 9.—**VI. 1–3.** These verses form a conclusion to the descriptive poem; if we cannot take them as referring to an absent shepherd lover, then we must regard the symbols of the enjoyment of love as having the same meaning here as in other parts of the book. The bride can answer questions about this wonderful lover by saying simply that they possess each other, and are sufficient for each other's happiness (4 12–16, 5 13).

VI. 4–7. The Bride's Powerful Beauty.—There is much uncertainty as to the best way of dividing this chapter, and especially as to the position of 10; this would go well before 7 1; a place at the beginning of this song has also been suggested for it. This small piece consists largely of quotations from or reminiscences of other poems (*cf.* 4 1, 2 3).—**4.** The originality of these two names has been questioned. **Tirzah** is the name of a famous and beautiful city of the N. Kingdom, whose precise site is not settled (p. 30): in 1 K. 14 16 we are told from the time of Jeroboam I to Omri it was a royal residence; the name means *pleasure* or *beauty*. If it is original, the use of this old name may have come from the desire of the writer to avoid the (at this period) hated name of Samaria. On the beauty of Jerusalem, see Lam. 2 15, Ps. 48 3.—**Terrible** or awe-inspiring as *bannered* (*hosts*); she is dignified, standing on guard, as inaccessible as a well-arranged army. The chief weapon of the virgin is her **eyes,** which she uses with terrible effect to terrify or confuse. For the remainder of the passage, see 4 1–4.

VI. 8f. The Simple Home Nobler than the Royal Harem.—The reference is probably to Solomon's domestic establishment as pictured in the historical books (1 K. 11 3); some critics change the word translated **there are** into *to Solomon*, i.e. *Solomon had*.—**concubines:** subordinate wives. The origin of the Hebrew word is unknown.—**virgins:** more correctly *maidens* (*mg.*), *i.e.* servants and attendants. The bridegroom would rather have his one beloved than all these ladies of the court. "For thy sweet love remembered such wealth brings, That then I scorn to change my state with kings." It is added to enhance her value that she is an only daughter.—*Pure* (*mg.*) instead of **choice one** seems to be more expressive; it would, however, have to be taken not in a moral sense (Ps. 73 1) but of the physical features (*clear* in 10). That another word was used emphasizing the fact that she was the only one borne by her mother is mere conjecture. By a bold effort of imagination she is pictured as the object of admiration even to those who are accustomed to the richest splendour and most dazzling beauty.

VI. 10–12. It is very difficult to explain, as they now stand, the relation of these verses to the context and each other. It is possible that 10 is misplaced, and that it may have stood as an introduction to another song. The interpretation also of 11f. is unusually difficult.—**10.** See 4.—**morning,** i.e. *dawn*. The poetic (Heb.) words for *sun* and *moon* are found together also in Is. 24 23, 30 26, 11 12.—**11f.** The translation of the RV is the best that can be done with the existing text, and the proposed emendations have no secure basis. On the dramatic view the bride is rehearsing all that happened on "the fatal day" when she was carried off to the court; but that her **soul** or *desire* set her among the royal chariots is surely a strange way of saying that "when she was engaged in inspecting and enjoying the gardens, suddenly before she knew, her longing to see the plants brought her among the chariots of her noble people, etc." Then when she would have fled from them the ladies of the court cried "Return, return, etc."; and she asks why they would gaze upon the Shulammite, etc. But our view of particular passages must be influenced by our theory as to the structure of the whole book (see Intro.). On any view this passage has great difficulties, 12 being a hard riddle. The other suggestion is that when the lady was enjoying the beauties of nature her lover comes suddenly and sets her in the wedding car, which, however, was not a modern motor-car.

VI. 13–VIII. 4. The Dancing Bride and the Rapture of Love.—This section also is probably composed of different lyrics, though it is difficult to separate them; we have first the description of the loved one or bride in the act of dancing, then the comparison of her figure to a date palm, and finally a song of love and spring, concluding with the repetition of 2 6f. In 7 1–6 it is possible that we have a descriptive poem setting forth the charms of the bride and sung by a chorus of women at the wedding dance.

VI. 13. A very similar word would give *turn* (instead of **return**) *i.e.* in the dance.—**Shulammite:** on the dramatic theory "the maiden of Shunem who is the heroine of the story." More likely a traditional name for a very beautiful woman, based on the narrative of 1 K. 1 3*. Shunem (now Solam or Sulam), a village a little N. of Jezreel.—**dance of Mahanaim:** another riddle with several possible answers: (*a*) Mahanaim (Gen. 32 2) was a sacred place famous for its dances (*cf.* Jg. 21 21); (*b*) adopt *mg., of two companies*, explaining company of a country dance or bridal sword-dance; circling dance of the armed company (LXX). The feet were enclosed in jewelled sandals and the dancer moved with glittering graceful *steps* (*mg.*).—**VII. 1. prince's daughter** is not taken literally on either theory; it is supposed to rest on a reminiscence of 2 K. 4 8.—*The curved lines of thy thighs* (*cf. mg.*). The swaying movement of the dance brings out the beauty of the figure and suppleness of the limbs. The Orientals delighted in these sensuous descriptions, as may be seen from the quotations in the commentaries. It is exceedingly difficult, in many cases impossible, to settle the precise point involved in these comparisons of various parts of the body to different natural objects, such as the decorated body of the dancer and the heap of brown

wheat adorned with scarlet flowers.—**3.** See 45.—**4.** We can understand **eyes** that are like pools, on which the light is reflected, but undue prominence of the nose to us seems to border on the grotesque.—**Bath-rabbim** (daughter of many) is uncertain, whether another name for Heshbon, or of a village near by. She holds her head proudly, and her dark hair has an almost purple hue.—**5. hair**: the Heb. word is very rare; in Is. 38^{12} it seems to be used of the threads of the loom. The word rendered **tresses** (AV *galleries*) means elsewhere water-troughs (Gen. 30^{38}, 41; Ex. 2^{16}); how it comes to mean **tresses** is not clear; the idea of *flowing* is supposed to make the connexion.—**6.** May be an interpolation or an interlude. *How supremely beautiful and gracious is love among all the delights of life*, or "How beautiful art thou, how gracious, my loved one, in the delights of love."—**7. stature** from verb *to rise*, because graceful height is the feature made prominent (*cf.* Tamar, "palm," as name of a woman). Perhaps the words *of grapes* should be dropped as the reference may be to *dates* (*cf.* 11^{4}).—**9.** The lover decides on bold action and asks for favourable reception.—*Nose* (*mg.*) same word as in 5; here, however, **breath** (RV) is probably a correct interpretation.—**9b** is difficult to translate. Neither AV nor RV is satisfactory. By conjecture and comparison with VSS a plausible translation is secured: "That goes down pleasantly for my palate, gliding over my lips and teeth."—**10.** A repetition from 3^{16}, 6^{3}, or a formal opening of a new song. On the dramatic view "uttered with an almost triumphant gesture of rejection towards Solomon."—**11–13.** Cordial invitation of the bride to the lover to enjoy, at the same time, the beauties of nature in the glory of spring, and the delight of friendly companionship.—**in the villages** may mean *among the henna-flowers* (4^{13}).—**mandrakes** or *love-plants*: perhaps the reference here is rather to the pleasant taste, peculiar smell, and stimulating qualities than to the magical virtues ascribed to it (Gen. 30^{14}*).—The transition to thrifty housekeeping in the reference to fruits *new and old* stored up *over* the door is rather prosaic; if we could eliminate *new and old*, the statement would harmonise better with the spirit of the song, but even then *stored up* would be troublesome. Some interpret the fruit symbolically of maidenly charms (*cf.* 4^{12}ff.), and take **new and old** to mean *all kinds* (Mt. 13^{52}).

VIII. 1–4. It is difficult to say whether this is a continuation of the foregoing or a separate piece; 3f. is a repetition from 2^{6}f., 3^{5}, probably by an editor. She expresses a longing for closest intimacy. If he were a near relative she could lavish tenderness without shame or fear of rebuke.—**2.** Probably the first two lines should be, *I would lead thee into my mother's house, and into the chamber of her that bare me* (*cf.* LXX and 3^{4}).

VIII. 5–7. The Power of Love.—The verses from 5 to the end of the book are difficult to weave into a connected whole, and perhaps we have here a series of lyrical fragments. It is possible to draw an imaginary picture, and assign the parts to the villagers, peasants, the Shulammite quoting from her brothers and speaking in her own person, but the result is not convincing. The song consists of introductory question, the reminder by the lover of the time and place when he first called forth love (2^{3,10}, 7^{8}) and the beloved's noble hymn of love.—**5. thee** is masculine in Heb., but as *mother* in the book is always mentioned in connexion with the woman it should probably be feminine.—**6. seal** (see Gen. 38^{18}, Jer. 22^{24}, Hag. 2^{23}).—**jealousy**: or *the zeal*, the ardour and passion of love, is resistless, its flames are the flames of Yahweh, *i.e. the lightning*.

VIII. 8–12. The Song of the Little Sister.—Whether part of the story or as a fragment of a song, 8–10 introduces the brothers of a young woman speaking, as her guardians, and telling of their anxiety about her when she was still too young to marry, and the precautions they would take for her welfare. They would reward her modesty with adornments that might serve as part of her marriage dowry, and they would give strong protection in the case of any signs of weakness. The bride replies that she, in her maturity has the strength of chastity and the attraction of beauty.—**10. one that found peace**: a peculiar expression; we would rather expect "that bringeth peace" or prosperity. But it seems far-fetched to make it mean one to whom the oppressor (Solomon) gave peace because he could not conquer her.—**11–13.** There is probably a change of person here; the bridegroom boasts that his new-found possession is prized more than Solomon's famous highly-cultivated vineyard with all its rich revenues. He desires to share in the joy of her companions who listen to the sweet music of her voice.—**11.** Repeated from 2^{17}; it is difficult to form a connexion here. It may be that an editor has given to both parties a farewell cry at the end of the collection of songs (13f.).

THE PROPHETIC LITERATURE

By THE EDITOR

This article is restricted to the literary criticism of the prophetic books. On the nature of prophecy see pp. 426–430, on its literary character see pp. 24f., on its history and the teaching of the prophets see pp. 69–78, 85–93, and the commentaries on the individual prophets.

The earliest of our canonical prophets is Amos. We do not know whether any of the earlier prophets wrote down their oracles. If so, with the doubtful exception of Is. 15f. probably none of these survive, Joel, which used to be regarded as the oldest, being now regarded as one of the latest. From the finished style of his book and its mastery of form and vocabulary we may assume that a long development lay behind Amos, but this may have been oral. Certainly we have no hint that his great predecessors, Elijah and Elisha, committed any of their prophecies to writing. We do not know why the canonical prophets supplemented oral by written utterances. Amos was silenced by the priest at Bethel, who accused him of treason and bade him begone back to Judah. He may have resorted to writing because speech was forbidden him. His example might then be followed without his reasons. Isaiah seems to have committed some of his prophecies to writing owing to the failure of his preaching and the incredulity of the people. The written word entrusted to his disciples will be vindicated by history, and the genuineness of his inspiration can then be attested by appeal to the documents.

Hebrew prophecy is poetical in form. The parallelism (p. 32) which is the most characteristic feature of Heb. poetry is a frequent though not invariable feature in it, and rhythm can often be traced in it even if we hesitate to speak of metre. In the later period prophecy became less the written precipitate of the spoken word and more of a literary composition. It was designed for the reader rather than for the hearer. Behind not a little of it there was probably no spoken word at all.

Daniel being apocalypse rather than prophecy, the canonical prophets would seem to be fifteen—three major and twelve minor. Really the writers were much more numerous. Several of the books are composite. They contain the work of two or more writers. Prophecies originally anonymous were attached to the oracles of well-known writers, all the more easily if they immediately followed the work of another writer without any indication that a new work was beginning. Community of subject may be responsible for enlarging the works of a prophet by kindred oracles from unknown authors. The Book of Isaiah is the most conspicuous example. The popular expression, "two Isaiahs," a caricature of the critical view. It implies that Is. 1–39 was the work of one prophet, Is. 40–66 of another. Even when the last twenty-seven chapters were regarded as a unity there was little justification for the phrase. True, we have the work of two great prophets—Isaiah, and the great unknown prophet of the Exile, called for convenience the Second Isaiah—but it was clear that in Is. 1–39 there were certain sections which were non-Isaianic, and that these could not all be assigned to the Second Isaiah. These obviously non-Isaianic sections were 13₁–14₂₃, 21₁–10, 24–27, 34f. To these would now be added, by fairly common consent, 11₁₀–16, 12, 33 the historical chapters 36–39 being generally regarded as also a good deal later than Isaiah's time. But considerable additions would now be made by several scholars to this list. Similarly with the Book of Jeremiah. This contains extensive biographical sections, probably from Baruch the secretary, in addition to the prophet's authentic oracles; but the latter have been extensively glossed by later supplementers, and some entirely non-Jeremianic sections have been inserted in it. In this case the text for long remained in a fluid state, as is clear from the notable variations between the MT and the LXX. It is probable that the Book of Habakkuk includes an older oracle from the close of the seventh century, together with a prophecy from the middle of the Exile and a post-exilic Psalm. Zech. 9–14 is from another author or authors and another period than Zech. 1–8. It is held by some scholars that Joel is the work of two writers, and probably not all of the Book of Micah belongs to Isaiah's contemporary.

We touch a related point when we ask how far pre-exilic prophecies have been systematically revised to meet the needs and satisfy the aspirations of the post-exilic community. The crucial difference between prophecy before and prophecy after the destruction of Jerusalem is that the former was in the main, though by no means exclusively, prophecy of judgment, the latter in the main prophecy of comfort and restoration. We must not press this to an extreme, but it has an important bearing upon criticism. The sceptical inference has been drawn that well-nigh all prophecies of the happy future belong to the post-exilic period. It must, of course, be recognised that prophecies of the return from exile were never out of date, because such return as took place was very partial, and the conditions of the community in Judah were very wretched. It was only natural that earlier writings of judgment should have their severity ameliorated to cheer a people sorely tried and desperately in need of encouragement. Glowing descriptions of the latter-day glory might naturally be appended at the close of individual prophecies or of whole books. It is a grave fault in method to reject on principle the pre-exilic origin of such passages. That is not criticism but prejudice. Material grounds must be present, such as stylistic differences, discontinuity with the context, inconsistency with the standpoint of the writer, or some similar cause. If, for example, the closing verses of Amos are regarded as a post-exilic insertion, this is justified by their incompatibility with the

tenor of the prophet's teaching. The case is entirely different with the last chapter of Hosea, whose fundamental doctrine of Yahweh's love makes such a message of comfort entirely fitting as a close of his book. And similarly other cases must be settled on their merits, not by preconceptions as to what a pre-exilic prophet can or cannot have said. Another feature of more recent criticism has been the tendency to relegate large sections of the prophetic literature not simply to the post-exilic period in general, but to a very late date in that period. Duhm's Commentary on Isaiah, published in 1892, led the way. The generally-accepted opinion had been that the Canon of the Prophets was closed about 200 B.C. Duhm, however, assigned not a little to the Maccabean period. Marti developed this position in a still more thorough-going fashion, and more recently Kennett, who also holds most of Is. 40–66 to be Maccabean. The history of the Canon is not so clear that a Maccabean date should be regarded as impossible, however cogent the internal evidence. The present writer is not convinced, however, that a case has been made out for the origin of any part of Isaiah in the Maccabean period. Nor yet does he believe that there is any need to descend so late for any section of Jeremiah. If any part of the Prophetic Canon is of Maccabean origin, Zech. 9–14 might most plausibly be assigned to that period. At present, however, there is a reaction represented especially by Gunkel, Gressmann, and Sellin not only against excessively late dating, but against the denial to their reputed authors of so large a proportion of the writings which pass under their names.

Literature (for this and the following article).—In addition to commentaries, articles in Dictionaries (esp. *Prophecy and Prophets* in HDB), works on OTI and OTT and the History of Israel, the following: W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel;* A. B. Davidson, *OT Prophecy;* Kuenen, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel;* Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten;* Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets;* Batten, *The Hebrew Prophet;* Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel;* Giesebrecht, *Die Berufsbegabung der alttest. Propheten;* Hölscher, *Die Profeten;* Sellin, *Der alttest. Prophetismus;* Findlay, *The Books of the Prophets;* Buttenwieser, *The Prophets of Israel;* Knudson, *The Beacon Lights of Prophecy;* Joyce, *The Inspiration of Prophecy;* Edghill, *An Enquiry into the Evidential Value of Prophecy;* Jordan, *Prophetic Ideas and Ideals;* Gordon, *The Prophets of the OT.*

OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY

By Dr. G. C. JOYCE

In Biblical study, as in all living sciences, there must be continuous progress. New problems arise, the investigation of which requires the use of new instruments of research. Amongst recent modes of study the "comparative method" has of late acquired a considerable measure of popularity. It claims to mark an advance upon the preceding "historical method." To the latter belongs the merit of basing its conclusions upon definite data, for which historical evidence could be produced. But on behalf of the former it is urged that the general laws determining the development of religion come into view only when a broad survey is taken over a wide field embracing many nations at many different levels of civilisation. To make this survey is the task allotted to "Comparative Religion."

The problem of OT prophecy invites study along both these lines of approach. It is intimately connected with questions of great historical interest. There are documents to be investigated, arranged in chronological order, and interpreted in accordance with the spirit of the time when they were written. At the same time, the most diligent and ingenious historical study will of necessity leave many questions unsolved and even untouched. A comparison must needs be instituted between prophecy as we know it in Israel and parallel phenomena (if any such exist) presented by other religions. In this way it may prove possible to unravel more of that mysterious secret of prophecy which has rendered it so great a force in furthering the religious progress of the world. The two methods, the historical and the comparative, will need to be kept in close alliance. A mutual dependence binds them together, the one advancing securely only when supported by the other.

The material for the study of prophecy, lying ready to hand in the OT, is of high value. It is contemporary; it is various; it is, in a sense, abundant. Whatever doubts may be raised about particular passages, there can be no reasonable question that the bulk of the prophetic writings preserved in the Jewish Canon are genuine products of the prophetic age, and were composed between the eighth and the fifth centuries B.C. The words bear the stamp of originality. They throb with the live emotions of hope and fear, of elation and despondency, excited by the sudden changes and chances to which, during that eventful period, the national life was exposed. In them we find no carefully consistent political or historical theory, elaborated from reflection upon the records of the past, but a vivid and continually changing response of the heart of the prophet to events transacted before his eyes or reported in his hearing. The reader of these writings is brought into immediate touch with definite personalities exhibiting marked and distinctive traits of character. In being all alike vehicles of a Divine revelation to God's people, the prophets form a class by themselves. But there was no common mould or pattern obliterating their idiosyncrasies. Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, speak out each his own message in terms peculiar to himself. Individual character manifests itself unmistakably, notwithstanding the similar tenor of the warnings uttered and the hopes encouraged. Undoubtedly the prophetic books of the OT, as they exist to-day, represent no more than a small surviving remnant of a far larger literature. Much has gone beyond recall. And yet how remarkable a providence it is that has preserved for the use of the world the writings of a distant past, composed in a corner of Western Asia by the subjects of a petty kingdom overshadowed by far more powerful and far more highly civilised neighbours! That in the course of centuries these writings should suffer a certain measure of dislocation and corruption was inevitable. There are not a few passages where the critic must needs exercise his ingenuity in attempting to solve the riddle of a text obviously damaged in transcription. But when all necessary deductions have been made, it remains true that the features of OT prophecy stand out with surprising clearness and definiteness. They arrest attention and challenge explanation.

The beginning of the age of the literary prophets falls in the eighth century B.C. Yet the institution of the prophetic order (if it may be so called) dates from an earlier period. It was a twin birth with the monarchy. And even further back, in the dim period of the wanderings through the desert, and in the troubled times of the judges, the national history was controlled by great personalities to whom the name prophet is not inappropriate. This, at least, was the view favoured by the later prophets themselves (Jer. 7^{25}). But it is in the striking figure of Samuel that we find the immediate ancestor of the true prophetic line. Of his influence in launching the new monarchy tradition speaks with unmistakable clearness. Though the matter is differently presented in the older and later documents combined in 1 S., both narratives bear testimony to his responsibility for a political development big with possibilities for the future. His successor, Nathan, was a worthy follower in his footsteps, not flinching from the duty of administering rebuke, and ready to brave the consequences of the royal displeasure. Henceforward and repeatedly prophecy intervened to determine the channel in which the national history should run. A prophet instigated the disruption of the two kingdoms. Elijah, the most impressive figure in all the OT, thundered against the policy of assimilating the religion of Israel to that of Phœnicia. The revolution which placed the dynasty of Jehu on the throne owed its original impulse to Elisha's suggestion. The prophet gained his end. The house of Ahab was deposed. The popular inclination towards the worship of Baal was checked. But the close alliance thus initiated between Elisha's disciples and the royal house seems to have exerted an injurious influence on the prophetic order. It is significant that not long afterwards

Amos, the first of the prophets whose writings are extant, is careful to dissociate himself from the professional caste (Am. 7¹⁴). While they prophesied smooth things, he predicted the appalling national disaster, which, in fact, was not long delayed.

In the southern kingdom prophecy achieved its moment of triumphant popularity when Isaiah's policy of resistance to the Assyrian was brilliantly vindicated by the city's escape at the last moment from apparently inevitable destruction. But it was a short-lived triumph. The violent reaction under Manasseh showed how little real hold the principles of the prophetic religion had gained on the mind of the people at large. A little later the earnest effort of the Deuteronomic Reformation, supported enthusiastically by king and prophet, had not sufficient vitality to survive the disaster at Megiddo. Jeremiah knew the anguish of speaking to deaf ears, and of vainly endeavouring to restrain a headstrong people from treading the way to ruin. Thus the successive crises of history serve to exhibit the figure of the prophet in a conspicuous light. But instructively as these dramatic moments reveal the principles of prophetic action, yet it is equally important to remember how, during long, uneventful years, the prophets were quietly and inconspicuously at work contributing their share to the shaping of the national religion. It was a religion with several aspects. Some students of the OT go so far as to say that there were practically three religions existing side by side. In the first place, there was the religion of the peasantry, a faith simple and naïve, but grievously unstable, and all too easily inclined towards nature-worship, with the attendant evils of a debased idolatry and moral degradation. In the second place, the organised religion of the priests gave strength and solidity to tradition, and in a measure not otherwise attainable secured the transmission of truth from generation to generation. Religious knowledge, once gained, was enshrined in appropriate formulæ, and gradually became common property. Thirdly, the religion of the prophets possessed a quality of its own. It protested not only against the impure corruptions of the peasant religion, but also against the stiffness and formalism of the priests. The prophet was, in the true sense of the word, an innovator. He was the man of spiritual vision to whom came revelations of new truth, and of the obligation to apply old principles in novel ways. In the writings of the prophets, chronologically arranged, it is possible to trace a progress of thought, a deepening conviction of the Divine holiness and majesty, a more comprehensive outlook over the world and its problems. To imagine, as some writers have done, a radical and essential opposition between the priest as an obscurantist and the prophet as light-bringer is to misread history. Priest and prophet were alike necessary factors, discharging complementary functions, the one preserving, the other initiating. That the initiator should have repeatedly incurred opposition and even persecution at the hands of the preserver is sufficiently intelligible. New truth is usually frowned upon. The prophet must needs pay for the privilege of being before his time. In all the history of religion there are few more interesting chapters than that which traces the growth of man's knowledge of God, together with the gradual elevation of the moral ideal, as the heavenly flame was passed from hand to hand in the order of the prophets.

Careful historical study of the OT was in itself sufficient to show that the old definition of prophecy as history written before the event was misleading and inaccurate. The prophet was, in the first instance, a messenger to his own generation, a preacher of righteousness, a missionary of repentance, an advocate of reform. All this is admittedly true; and yet there is need of caution lest a reaction against the crude conception of prophecy as prediction should obscure the truth that the prophet did, as a matter of fact, add force to his exhortations by pointing to the future. He was neither a mere foreteller of isolated events nor a mere moral preacher; he was inspired with a vision of the coming Kingdom of God. The form assumed by that vision in the heart of the prophet was necessarily determined by the idiosyncrasy of his own genius, by the circumstances of the time at which he wrote, and by the spiritual intelligence of his hearers. When the Davidic monarchy was newly established, and the twelve tribes were for a time united and prosperous, the hope of a Divinely ordered kingdom seemed close at hand. It was conceived as an earthly kingdom, and closely associated with the house of the founder of the dynasty (2 S. 7ff.). But these bright expectations were disappointed. The disruption of the two kingdoms, the increasing social disorder within, and the obvious imminence of invasion from without, were circumstances that could not be ignored by the prophets. Under the enlightenment of the Spirit of God they were aware of the sinfulness of their nation, and recognised the inevitable necessity of a discipline of punishment. Nothing could be more significant than the contrast between the unqualified brightness of the outlook of Nathan and the heavy gloom of the predictions of Amos. This pioneer of prophecy in its new and severer form strove his hardest to open the eyes of his people to the nature of the coming catastrophe. "Wherefore would ye have the day of the Lord? It is darkness and not light" (Am. 5¹⁸). How could a deliverance be expected by those who had been unfaithful to their God? Hosea, the prophetic successor of Amos, though speaking of judgment and condemnation, yet dwelt on the invincible strength of the love of God for His people. Isaiah saw in the miraculous preservation of the city a confirmation of his faith that God would not bring the sinful nation utterly to an end. A remnant should be left, and be the recipients of the Divine bounty in the future. National distresses interpreted by the Divinely inspired insight of the prophets led on continuously to new conceptions of the Kingdom of God. To Jeremiah came the revelation, at once desolating and reassuring, that even the destruction of the beloved city and its Temple could not permanently thwart the accomplishment of the Divine plan. A new covenant should replace the old, and a new kingdom arise, of which the inspiring principle should be the knowledge of God. Still wider and more glorious became the outlook of the unknown prophet of the Exile (Is. 40ff.). The God of Israel shall be recognised as God of all the earth, and everywhere shall His name be honoured. This is the prophet's hope; this is his vision of the future.

The interpretation of prophecy has thus passed through various stages. It was for long regarded by Christian apologists as a convenient collection of proofs. It was next explained by students of Biblical history as essentially a protest of moral indignation against national vices. It has now come to be recognised as intelligible only when referred to a vision of coming disaster and coming deliverance. But as to the source of that vision there is much difference of opinion. It is at the present moment one of the most keenly debated questions connected with the OT

Until recently it was assumed that the outlook of the prophets, their prevision of gloom and glory, and of a predestined ruler, was peculiar to Israel. Their unquestioning belief in the personal power of God, their conviction of His choice of Israel for His people, their profound sense of the national unrighteousness, were supposed to provide an adequate explanation of their reading of the future. What else (so it seemed) could a prophet expect but that God would judge His people, punishing the wicked, and after purification granting to the remnant peace and prosperity under a ruler appointed by Himself? That there is truth in this psychological account of the matter is evident. But is it the whole truth? The suggestion has been made that there were other factors at work, and that these ideas about the future may have been less exclusively the monopoly of the prophets of Israel than has been hitherto supposed. It is a suggestion to be considered in the light of the contribution which Comparative Religion can make to the study of prophecy.

Biblical archæology is a comparatively recent science, yet it has already amassed a surprising amount of information as to the character of the civilisation of the ancient East. No scholar in the early nineteenth century would have deemed it credible that detailed knowledge of life in Babylonia and Egypt contemporary with and even anterior to the days of the OT should ever be placed at the disposal of the student. Yet this has actually come about. The spade of the archæologist, together with the ingenious decipherment of ancient scripts, has succeeded in unlocking many of the secrets of the past. The OT is no longer an isolated document, a sole authority, a unique record. Not only are there contemporary inscriptions from Nineveh, Babylon, and Egypt by which its historical statements can be checked, but—what is of even greater importance—its pictures of life and manners and modes of thought in Israel can be set side by side with our knowledge of similar matters throughout the ancient East.

No sooner was the comparison instituted than the close resemblance between the religion of ancient Israel and the general type of contemporary religion in the East became vividly apparent. In all external matters the points of likeness are numerous and important. Sacred places, sacred wells, sacred trees, sacred stones are a common feature of Eastern religions, the religion of Israel included. It was certainly so in patriarchal times. Nor did the Mosaic revelation obliterate these resemblances. Externally and to a superficial observer it may well have seemed that, even in the times of the monarchy, the religion of Israel was distinguishable only in certain minor points from the religions of the neighbouring tribes. The OT books themselves bear witness to the readiness with which foreign rites were introduced and welcomed. No doubt the outward similarities rendered the process easy of accomplishment.

Granted that the same kinds of holy objects were venerated by Israel and by the neighbouring nations, an important question remains to be asked. Were there in the adjoining countries "holy men" similar to the "holy men" of Israel, the "men of God"? Till lately it was generally assumed that the prophets of Israel stood apart, and that none like them were to be found elsewhere. Recently, however, an opposite opinion has been put forward, and a certain amount of evidence produced in its support. It is certain that other Semitic tribes had seers whom they believed to be God's messengers. Thus the following sentence appears in an inscription of a king of Hamath, dating from *c.* 800 B.C., the very age when the prophets of Israel were beginning to write: "The Lord of Heaven sent to me an oracle through the seers. And the Lord of Heaven said to me, Fear not, for I have made thee king." In Israel the seer had been the spiritual progenitor of the prophet. The truth is brought out with great clearness in one section of the composite narrative of 1 S. To Samuel the seer men go for help in practical matters, such as the discovery of lost property, and are prepared to pay a fee for his services (1 S. 9ff.). It is exactly the kind of figure which presents itself over and over again in ethnic religions. It is the man whose abnormal or supernormal psychic powers, notably the power of clairvoyance, give him an immense ascendancy over his fellows. In Israel the seer was transformed into the prophet. Samuel the clairvoyant becomes Samuel the upholder of the religion of Yahweh, the champion of national righteousness, the vehicle for the revelation of the Divine will. Can it be shown that any similar transformation took place outside Israel?

More than fifty years ago a monograph was written comparing the Greek seer with the Hebrew prophet. And certainly the Greek seer is in nearly every respect identical with the seer of the ancient East. But that nothing in the least resembling Hebrew prophecy arose from Greek divination and Greek oracles is historically certain. Among the Greeks the development of the seer was in the downward direction. Instead of rising in response to his opportunities, he yielded unreservedly to the temptations incident to his profession. He prostituted his powers in order to acquire wealth and influence. Degradation was the inevitable result. The seer who in the Homeric poems holds at least a dignified position becomes in process of time a sorry figure, little better than a detected cheat and charlatan, able to impose only on the least educated and most credulous ranks of society. Far more creditable on the whole was the record of the oracle of Delphi. It is only fair to recognise that the famous centre of Greek religion helped in many respects to maintain a standard of public righteousness. It did something more than issue riddling forecasts of a doubtful future. It used its religious influence to point out a line of right conduct, which it declared to be the will of heaven. But though this much can be said in favour of Delphi, it never succeeded in giving birth to anything like prophecy, and finally sank into decay and dishonour.

But whereas fifty years ago the only field of comparison open to scholars was provided by Greek and Latin literature, the case is now entirely altered. To-day it is possible not only to wonder aimlessly but to expect an answer to the question whether any figure like that of the Hebrew prophet ever appeared in Mesopotamia or Egypt. In spite of the declaration of some scholars, who seem to regard all Israelitish religion and culture as a plagiarism from the greater states, it still remains true that no satisfactory evidence is forthcoming to prove the point. An obscure reference in an Assyrian text to a man who offers intercession for an Assyrian king, and claims reward accordingly, affords little reason for supposing him to have been like one of the Hebrew prophets. In some measure both Egypt and Babylon recognise the moral law to be the will of their gods. Assyrian kings claimed to be the protector of the widow and the orphan. But though facts such as these reveal the essential bond between religion and ethics, they in no wise prove the existence of an order of men whose vocation it was to be spokesmen for the God of the weak and

the oppressed, and in His name to denounce oppression even in defiance of the king's majesty.

But while the prophets, so far as the evidence goes, are seen to belong to Israel and to Israel only, it is nevertheless true that in their pictures of the future they appear to be making use of materials widely diffused throughout the East. Great interest, for example, attaches to the interpretation of an Egyptian papyrus, supposed to date from the period of the Hyksos (pp. 52, 54) or even earlier. In this writing some scholars have thought that they discovered an expectation of the future resembling the Messianic hope of Israel. It is said that the seer predicts a time of misery to be followed by an era of salvation under the government of a Divinely appointed ruler. The intricacy of the problem may be illustrated from the fact that the very papyrus on which such important inferences were based has recently been subjected to a further investigation, and in consequence has been retranslated in such a way as to remove most of the supposed parallelisms with Hebrew prophecy [*cf.* A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig, 1909)]. However, though this particular piece of evidence may have proved untrustworthy, yet there remains sufficient reason for recognising the existence of a general expectation of some great world catastrophe to be followed by some great restoration. Thus, though it is impossible as yet to speak with certainty, it is probable that the Hebrew prophets were not the originators of an eschatology of doom, but availed themselves of a conception already current and gave it a deep ethical significance. If this be the true account of the matter, the inspiration under which they uttered their warnings and their encouragements will be accounted no less worthy of honour. Precisely as the revelation to the patriarchs and to Moses lay in the transformation and purification of ideas already prevalent in the ancient Semitic religion rather than in the origination of a completely new faith, so it may have been with the prophets and their visions of the future. Moreover, the hopes to which Hebrew prophecy gave currency were fulfilled. The promised Ruler and Saviour came, as they foretold, out of the house of David. And it was no matter of chance that the expectation of the Messiah had thus been fostered; its existence in Palestine when Christ came provided material upon which He worked. In the activity of the prophets the operation of the Spirit of God makes itself manifest, preparing long beforehand the conditions requisite for the revelation that should come in the fullness of time.

Nor is it only the silence of the ancient records which leads to the conclusion that in Israel alone were prophets to be found speaking in the name of a God of righteousness. In the matter of divination there is a significant difference between the religious atmosphere of Israel and of Babylon. In every early religion divination plays a large part. To members of the tribe it is of essential importance that at critical moments the will of their God should be declared. So it was in early Israel. There, as in other nations, specific means were used for discovering the will of Yahweh. For example, the Urim and Thummim (pp. 100f.) were evidently some form of sacred lot, by which fateful decisions could be reached. In Israel, however, there was a gradual, if often interrupted, advance to higher levels of religious belief. The employment of such crude and mechanical means of discovering the Divine purpose fell more and more into the background. The prophet rendered them unnecessary. He came forward claiming to possess the power of entering into the meaning of the Divine intention. As prophecy rose from height to height of religious insight, even the dream and the ecstatic vision played a less essential part. Man in the fullness of his self-conscious powers was admitted to intercourse with his Maker. In Babylon, on the contrary, religion followed a different line of development. There divination gained a complete ascendency. The interpretation of omens came to be regarded as a fine art. Every possible form of magic was practised. Chaldæan soothsayers were famous throughout the Eastern world. The contrast with Israel is patent. Prophecy can develop only where personality counts for much. In Babylon, so far as the evidence enables a judgment to be formed, it counted for nothing. That which found favour there was not the rugged, outstanding character of the man of God, but the smooth and supple skill of the professional reader of omens. The exaggerated prevalence of divination implies the presence of conditions that must have stifled prophecy.

The truth is that prophecy is the flower of a faith in the living God. Where such faith is absent, it is idle to look for a prophet. If, therefore, it be asked why, notwithstanding her highly-developed civilisation, her complex life, and her elaborate learning, Babylon failed where Israel succeeded, the answer is not difficult to find. It was because the idea of God at Babylon was fundamentally different from that which obtained in Israel. There is no doubt that monotheistic conceptions gained some hold at Babylon. Marduk was placed in a position of isolated superiority above his divine competitors. But the most high God of Babylon was essentially other than the Most Highest of Israel. Babylon's God was a personification of natural phenomena. He was identified with the light in which he manifested himself. The conception of his nature in the mind of his worshippers was loose and fluid, easily amalgamating itself with that of other gods in their pantheon. It was far otherwise with Yahweh, as conceived by the prophets. He manifested Himself in the thunderstorm (Ps. 18), but He was not the storm. He sat in royalty above it. Neither could He be identified with other gods. Although in the early days of the monarchy the title Baal (Lord) was without scruple accorded to the God of Israel, yet Elijah had learnt that between the God of Israel and the god of Phœnicia there was an irreconcilable opposition. Yahweh was before all things the personal God, who made Himself known in great historical acts, as when with a mighty hand and stretched-out arm He had delivered His people from their bondage in Egypt. And of this personal Divine Being the characteristic quality was holiness. Not that the use of the words "Holy God" was peculiar to Israel. It was almost a technical expression of Semitic religion. The Phœnicians used it constantly. But in Israel we can trace the transformation of the meaning of the term under the influence of prophetic teaching. What at first signified little more than a supernatural aloofness, involving danger to the worshipper who, like Uzzah (2 S. 67), pressed too close, came to connote the highest ethical qualities—purity, truth, and mercy. The God in whose nature these virtues found their perfect expression demanded them also from His worshippers. "Ye shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. 19$_2$). Metaphysical terms are conspicuously absent from the vocabulary of Israel. The prophets did not discuss the Divine transcendence and the Divine holiness in the language of abstract philosophy. Nevertheless they were thrilled with the consciousness of them. Their whole religion was governed by the conception of the Holy One who was raised to an infinite

height above the world, and would yet condescend to make known His designs to His servants the prophets.

This conception of the Divine nature was the root from which all prophecy derived its life. How, then, had it come into the heart of the prophet? In that question lies the ultimate problem not of the OT only, but of all revealed religion. What the prophets themselves thought about the matter is made clear in their writings. To them their belief in God was neither a product of their own reflections nor an inference drawn from a study of the phenomena of the world. Again and again they asserted their conviction that the voice of God had spoken to them. He had shown them His glory. They knew Him because He had revealed Himself to them. Of the overpowering strength of this confidence in the reality of their own inspiration there can be no question. It nerved them for the struggle of their lives. It held them to their task. It made them ready to face obloquy, persecution, and death in discharge of their duty. To doubt their sincerity would be absurd. But the inquiry must be pushed further back. What is the justification for thinking that they were right? What reason is there for believing that they had indeed been in touch with the living God, and were the ministers of His revelation?

The claim to speak as God's messengers was originally made by the prophets on the strength of experiences similar to those of seer and soothsayer. In all early societies the abnormal mental states of vision and ecstasy are as profoundly impressive to the onlookers as they are to the man who experiences them. Both he and they are convinced that these mysteries are conclusive evidence of intercourse with the spiritual world. In the opinion of his hearers no less than in his own the ecstatic is no longer himself; he has become the agent of a spiritual power, and even the mouthpiece of his God. Comparative religion has produced plentiful evidence showing how universally prevalent has been this interpretation of the mental phenomena in question. Nor is there any reason for demurring to the statement that psychologically Hebrew prophecy sprang from this origin. Even to the last prophecy was organically connected with the psychic capacity to see and hear things for which no material cause could be assigned. It was a peculiarity to which the prophet in the first instance owed his influence. But now the general attitude towards these attendant circumstances of early inspiration has been completely reversed. The unstable psychic temperament, with its tendency to fall into trances, instead of arousing respect as of old, is the object of suspicion. The fact that any claimant to inspiration was subject to trances and other mental disturbances would in many quarters to-day raise doubts as to his sanity, and would certainly weaken the force of his testimony. Possibly, however, the present strong aversion to anything but the normal process of everyday thought may be less justifiable than it assumes itself to be. The study of the abnormal psychology of genius is still in its initial stages. But even so it seems to indicate that something similar to ecstasy or trance has played no small part in the achievements of the supreme writers and artists of the world. It is the fashion to refer anything of the kind to the supposed action of the subliminal consciousness. Great truths and great conceptions, having been elaborated in the lower and hidden strata of the mental life, suddenly emerge into consciousness. The process is certainly abnormal. Considering its results, it would be ridiculous to call it morbid. And the distinction between the abnormal and the morbid needs to be kept steadily in view when the psychology of prophetic inspiration is being investigated. Undoubtedly the prophets were abnormal. They were men of genius. They were visionaries. Each of the greater prophets is careful to recount a vivid psychical experience through which he felt himself called to play the part of God's messenger. That these were the only occasions on which such experiences befell them is in itself unlikely; and the testimony of their writings, though not free from ambiguity, suggests at least some recurrences of the prophetic trance.

The evidence for the truth of prophetic revelation is to be looked for not in any particular circumstance, such as trance or vision, which attended its original reception by the prophet, but in its subsequent verification through the spiritual experience of mankind. The theology of Isaiah is guaranteed not by the fact that he fell into a trance in the Temple, but by the mighty influence which his teaching about God has exercised over the hearts of succeeding generations, and by the response which it continues to elicit. Moreover, it is evident that in the gradual development of the religion of Israel the prophets themselves came to attach less importance to vision. From their own spiritual experience they learned how Divine truth is recognised in daily intercourse with the Spirit of God. It may well be that on certain occasions new truths were flashed into minds rapt in trance or ecstasy, but it was neither the only nor necessarily the highest method whereby God revealed Himself to His prophets.

Whether the inspiration came suddenly or came gradually, it certainly did not extinguish the individual personality of the prophet. It did not reduce him to a mere passive instrument like the lyre in the hands of the player. A later age of Judaism, when the current of spiritual life was running low, set up this crude mechanical theory of inspiration. It was an *a priori* fabrication, representing what its authors imagined ought to have been God's way of speaking to mankind. It cannot be supported by evidence from the prophetic writings themselves. Nothing can be truer than that the prophets felt themselves to be the transmitters of messages which they had received. At the same time, nothing can be clearer than that these same prophets were endowed with an intensely individual life beyond the ordinary measure. Their inspiration accentuated their individuality. It produced a fullness of personal life. The same prophetic inspiration served also to promote a fullness of corporate life. It invigorated and defined the life of the people of God. Frequently the prophet was forced by the inspiration within him to place himself in direct opposition to the majority of his fellow-countrymen. By his own generation he was accounted an alien and even a traitor. Yet it was he who realised the true unity and continuity of the national life, and the magnificence of the task with which Israel was entrusted. He felt that he was helping to work out a great Divine plan. And he was not mistaken. The significance of OT prophecy will be altogether missed, unless it be recognised that the various prophets were all contributors to one work. Prophecy is a unity. A great connecting purpose runs through it, binding it all together. It is also part of a still greater and more august unity. It is an essential element in the Divine scheme of the redemption of the world through Christ. His work rested upon theirs. His revelation of the Father was the consummation and the vindication of their revelation of the God of Israel. "God who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son" (Heb. 1 1).

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

By Professor H. T. ANDREWS

Some of the greatest discoveries of modern biblical criticism have been made in the field of what is known as Apocalyptic. No one can read the NT without being impressed by the unique character of the Book of Revelation. It seems to stand alone. There is nothing else which bears any resemblance to it at all, not only in the NT, but in the literature of the world. The nearest approach to it is the Book of Daniel in the OT. We know now, however, that Jewish literature in the two centuries before and the century after Christ affords us many parallels to the Book of Revelation. Other Apocalypses have been discovered of a similar type, and it is now proved beyond all question that the Book of Revelation is the climax of a very important literary and theological movement in Judaism. We shall try to show (1) the character and significance of the movement, (2) the origin of the movement, (3) its literary and theological development, (4) its influence upon Christianity.

The Meaning of the Term.—The term Apocalypse means an "unveiling or "disclosure," and a book that bears the name claims to reveal and make plain things which are ordinarily hidden from human eyes. An Apocalypse, therefore, displays very little interest in the present world—it is essentially an unveiling of the future, and it strives to open a window through which it is possible to look into the realities of the unseen world. The nearest approach to Apocalyptic in other literature is to be found in the vision of the realm of the Dead in Homer's Iliad and Virgil's Æneid, and in the visions of Purgatory and Heaven in the poems of Dante.

The Relation between Apocalyptic and Prophecy.—Prophecy was the forerunner of Apocalyptic. The Apocalyptists were the successors of the prophets. There is much in common between the two. Both prophet and Apocalyptist claim to be inspired by God and to be the vehicle of His revelation to man. Both attempt to make known to the people the Divine will and purpose in history. But there are remarkable differences between them. In the first place the prophet was primarily a preacher. He spoke to men directly. It is often a mere accident that his words have been preserved in a book. There were prophets in Israel whose messages have been entirely lost. The Apocalyptist, on the other hand, was primarily a writer. He spoke to the world through his book. His own personality is quite irrelevant. We know nothing about the man behind the writing. The prophet flung himself into the thick of the fray: he intervened in the crises of his nation's history, and tried to shape his country's destiny in accordance with what he conceived to be the will of God. The Apocalyptist sat apart, veiling his identity under a pseudonym, dreaming his dreams and seeing his visions in solitude. Then, again, the prophet's message was concerned with the plane of this world. He spoke to his own age. When he promised deliverance to his people, he looked for that deliverance to happen in his own time. The Apocalyptist despairs altogether of the present age and the present world. His eyes are directed to the end of things, to the final Divine intervention which is to bring down the curtain on the drama of history and usher in the "New Jerusalem which cometh down from heaven." The prophet rarely looks beyond the horizon of his own generation. He is engrossed in the social and religious problems that confront his contemporaries. The Apocalyptist has no patience with the futile schemes and plans of his own time. To his mind there is no hope for the world along the usual lines. God must break into history afresh and set up His kingdom with His own hand. Nothing but a supernatural intervention—a catastrophic "day of the Lord"—can save the world.

Moreover, the historical horizon of the Apocalyptist was far wider than that of the prophet. The prophet was concerned with the position of Israel among the nations of the world in his own time. Egypt, Babylon, Moab, Ammon, and the other powers which happened to dominate the situation in his day, form the subject of his utterances, and the ultimate triumph of Israel is always the shining hope which he holds before the eyes of his people. A period of five hundred years elapsed between the age of the great prophets and the age of the Apocalyptists. In the interval much had happened. Israel had fallen under the sway of Babylon, Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Rome in rapid succession. New factors had arisen, which made the hopes of the prophets vain, and induced the spirit of pessimism and despair. The Apocalyptist, therefore, had far more historical experience behind him than the prophet, and, unfortunately, the greater the experience the more dismal appeared the prospect of Israel from a political and worldly point of view.

The Problem of Apocalyptic.—Palestine, it must be remembered, was the Belgium of the ancient world, and formed the buffer-state between the empires which were contending for the mastery of the world. In the conflicts between Babylon and Egypt in earlier times, and Syria and Egypt in later times, Palestine always suffered devastation and ruin. Time after time its lands were ravaged, its cities destroyed, and its people slain or deported. The problem which the statesmen of Israel had to face was: "How can the country be kept free from foreign foes?" "How can Israel avoid being embroiled in these struggles of empires for supremacy?" Sometimes a policy of neutrality was adopted; sometimes Israel sought safety by making an alliance with what seemed to be the strongest power. But neither the policy of neutrality nor the policy of alliances served to keep

the soil of Israel sacrosanct. Statesmanship had to confess itself bankrupt. It seemed as if the "little nation" of Israel were destined to be the prey of every great empire that emerged upon the field of history. But the problem not only baffled statesmanship, it was a challenge also to faith. The earlier prophets adopted a confident tone. They maintained that Yahweh would prove the saviour of His people and deliver the nation from its adversaries, and sometimes their promises were marvellously fulfilled. The respite, however, was always brief, and it was never long before a new international crisis arose. Gradually the splendid optimism of the earlier prophets changed to pessimism, but it took centuries before despair really settled upon the spirit of the nation. Apocalyptic is the literature of this despair. The Apocalyptist recognises that there is no hope for Israel along the ordinary lines of history. Palestine can never become a world-empire and the centre of universal dominion—at least, not by political methods. Five hundred years of failure have made that lesson obvious. But how could the failure of Israel be reconciled with faith in God? Were the promises of the prophets futile and abortive? That was the main problem which faced the religious leaders of Israel in the later centuries. The answer which they found to it was not the abandonment of faith but its intensification. What could not be realised by the ordinary methods of national development would be achieved by a miraculous intervention. God would break into history. There would be a final cataclysm, followed by the destruction of Israel's enemies and the establishment of God's kingdom upon earth.

The Origin and Development of Apocalyptic.—Apocalyptic proper begins with the Book of Enoch and the Book of Daniel, but neither the method nor the idea was altogether new. Germs of both are to be found in the prophets themselves. Most of the prophets spoke of "a day of the Lord." "Behold the day of the Lord cometh with wrath and fierce anger to lay the land desolate," says the unknown writer of Is. 13. The second chapter of Joel is a splendid illustration of Apocalyptic. It foretells the advent of "the day," and describes it as "a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness." "I will show wonders in the heaven and in the earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoke. The earth shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come." The same conception forms the main theme of the prophecy of Zephaniah: "Wait ye upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I rise up to the prey; for my determination is to gather the nations . . . to pour upon them mine indignation . . . for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousy." Then, too, we have in Is. 65 the vision of the new heavens and the new earth which God is to create in place of the old. But though the idea of "the day of the Lord" is found commonly in the prophets, it is often a "day of the Lord" against Israel's foes or the unrighteous in Israel itself; and, moreover, the agent in the infliction of the punishment is generally some human force—*e.g.* "the northern army" of Joel. In prophecy, as a rule, God acts indirectly through human agencies; in Apocalyptic He acts directly by a personal intervention.

We may say, therefore, that Apocalyptic arose out of prophecy by developing and universalising the conception of the day of the Lord. Its chief interest lay in the questions and problems connected with this idea. The prophets had left the picture vague and indefinite; the Apocalyptists attempted to fill in the details and give concrete form and body to the vision. What would happen when the "great day" came? What would be its antecedents? What would be the character of "the judgment" and the punishment meted out to the guilty? What would be the nature of the new kingdom that was to be set up? Would it be composed of Israelites only, or would Gentiles be admitted to it? Would it be permanent or only temporary, and, if the latter, what would be its duration? Would the pious dead have any lot in it, and, if so, what would be the nature of their resurrection? Would the wicked also be raised for punishment? What was the nature of the unseen world and heaven and hell? These and many other difficult questions naturally arose, and it was the task of Apocalyptic to attempt to find the answers. The main interest of Apocalyptic, therefore, was always in the problems of eschatology. It looked beyond the narrow horizon of history into the "great beyond." It attempted to explore the "dim hinterland" of existence and find some token of its nature and character. It abandoned the present world as hopeless, but it found its comfort and consolation in a vision—such as no Israelite had ever had before—of a new heaven and a new earth.

Some Characteristics of Apocalyptic.—The first important characteristic of Apocalyptic is the fact that the writings are always pseudonymous. The authors never write in their own names, but always adopt the name of one of Israel's heroes in the past—*e.g.* Enoch, Daniel, the Patriarchs, Baruch, Moses, Isaiah, etc. Many motives have been suggested for this pseudonymity. Some have found the reason in the fact that the Apocalyptists were devoid of literary ambition, and thought only of the message which they were anxious to convey to the people. Others have argued that they concealed their identity in order to avoid the risk of martyrdom. The real motive, however, is probably that which has recently been suggested by Dr. Charles. At the time when Apocalyptic flourished, the Law had been established in Israel as a complete embodiment of the Divine revelation. "Thus theoretically and practically no room was left for new light, or any fresh disclosure of God's will." From the third century B.C. onward (that is, after the formation of the Canon of the OT in its earliest forms) writers were compelled by "the tyranny of the Law and the petrified orthodoxies of the time" to resort to pseudonymity. Their only chance of securing a hearing for their teaching was to attribute it to some consecrated name in the pre-legal period. New hymns were therefore ascribed to David, and books like Canticles and Ecclesiastes to Solomon. Pseudonymity was a literary device to obtain an audience—an act of homage paid by the present to the past.

Another well-marked characteristic is the use of symbol and figure. Apocalyptic created a style and a vocabulary of its own. Its writers gave full play to their imagination. Jewish poetry is for the most part simple and restrained. Jewish Apocalyptic revels in phantasies and allows the imagination to run riot. One of the earliest illustrations of this method is to be found in the elaborate vision of the wheels in the first chapter of Ezekiel. Daniel's visions of the great image with head of gold and feet of iron and clay (2), and of the four beasts (7), and of the ram and the he-goat (8), are further examples of this mode of writing. We may be quite sure that allusions which are obscure to us to-day owing to our ignorance of the details of the situation were clear as crystal when the books were

first written. There gradually grew up an apocalyptic tradition. The method became stereotyped. The same figures and symbols reappear in writer after writer. The Book of Revelation in the NT cannot be understood at all apart from the other literature of Apocalyptic. Nearly every picture which the writer draws has a history behind it, and we need to know the history before we can appreciate the picture. To take an illustration. In the Book of Revelation the duration of the rule of Antichrist is described as "forty and two months" (11_2, 13_5), or 1260 days (11_3). How did the writer get this figure? We have only to turn to the Book of Daniel to find the answer to this question. The 42 months or 1260 days of Revelation represent the three and a half years of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes (from the spring of 168 B.C. to the autumn of 165 B.C.). The actual duration of the persecution under Antiochus became the traditional duration of the reign of Antichrist. Thus we see that the facts and events of the Maccabean struggle became the type and prophecy of the final conflict with Antichrist at the end of time. The figure of Antichrist is very largely the figure of Antiochus "writ large" and thrown upon the screen of the future. The scenery and panorama of the apocalyptic dream were slowly evolved. There is a history behind every figure and nearly every phrase. The same ideas constantly recur, modified, of course, to suit the needs of the time. The originality of the Book of Revelation lies not so much in the symbols and the imagery (which are mostly old), but in the adaptation of apocalyptic tradition to the circumstances of the Christian Church of the first century.

Apocalyptic Literature.—Apocalyptic literature begins with the Book of Daniel, which was written shortly after the sacrilege of Antiochus upon the Jewish Temple (about 165 B.C.). Judaism was stirred to its very depths by the ruthless attempt of Antiochus to thrust Greek customs and usages and worship upon the people of God (p. 607). The **Book of Daniel** was composed to comfort the nation in the hour of its distress, and to urge upon it the duty of resistance even to death. It holds out the promise of Divine intervention. God will set up His throne of judgment; the enemies of Israel will be overthrown; a kingdom of saints will be established, to which all nations shall be in subjection; sin will be abolished and a reign of everlasting righteousness inaugurated; the righteous dead of Israel will rise to an eternal life of glory; the wicked will be punished with contumely and shame. Next in importance to Daniel is the **Book of Enoch**, the earliest parts of which probably date from the same period. As it has come down to us, the book is a composite document—a library rather than a volume—and contains at any rate five different Apocalypses, ranging in date from about 170 B.C. to 64 B.C. It deals with such problems as the origin of sin, the judgment of the wicked, and the ultimate lot of the righteous, which is depicted as a long, untroubled life in an ideal Paradise on earth. The part known as "the Similitudes" is famous for its conception of the Messiah, whom it portrays as the "Son of Man" sitting beside the "Head of Days" (the Almighty) on "the throne of glory" for the judgment of the world. A third Apocalypse, known as the **Book of the Secrets of Enoch**, which is quite distinct from the other book ascribed to Enoch, is chiefly remarkable for its description of the "seven heavens." Each of these heavens has its particular class of occupants. The second heaven, for instance, is the abode of the fallen angels; the third is the seat of Paradise; the seventh contains the throne of God. The book belongs to the first half of the first century of the Christian era.

The overthrow of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 raised a terrible problem for the Jewish mind: How could God have permitted such a frightful disaster to fall upon His people? This problem was discussed in two well-known Apocalypses—the **Apocalypse of Baruch** and the **Fourth Book of Ezra.** The former lays stress on the certainty of Divine retribution upon sin. "Behold the days come, and the books will be opened in which are written the sins of all who have sinned and the treasuries in which the righteousness of all those who have been righteous is gathered." A belief in a bodily resurrection is strongly affirmed. "The earth will assuredly restore the dead . . . making no change in their form, but as it has received, so will it restore them." It is in this Apocalypse that the current conception of original sin is challenged and the statement made that "every man is the Adam of his own soul." The **Fourth Book of Ezra** is a Jewish Apocalypse in a Christian frame, since the opening and closing chapters are Christian additions—a fact which shows that the book was highly valued in early Christian circles. It contains seven visions, all of which are intended to throw light upon the problem. It cannot be said, however, that the book discovers a real solution of the difficulty, though it does suggest some lines of thought in which comfort can be found. (1) We must remember our human limitations, and that it is impossible for us to understand the dealings of an inscrutable Providence. (2) We must trust the boundless love of God. "Lovest thou the people better than He that made them?" (3) This world is not the end of things. The future life will redress the balance. (4) The day of redemption is drawing near when the Messiah will come and restore the kingdom.

Among the other writings which belong to this class of literature may be mentioned (*a*) The **Assumption of Moses**, written in the reign of Herod the Great, which gives a rapid sketch of Jewish history up to the time of writing, and foretells the advent of perilous times, and the rise of a new Antiochus, from whose persecutions, however, the people will be delivered. (*b*) The **Book of Jubilees**, or "little Genesis," which rewrites the narrative of Genesis from the point of view of late Judaism, leaving out stories which offended the religious sense of the time, and inserting allusions to later Jewish laws and festivals. The book is generally dated between 135 and 115 B.C. (*c*) The **Ascension of Isaiah**, in which there is a large admixture of Christian elements, contains an account of the ascension of Isaiah through the seven heavens, and the descent of the Messiah to the world by means of a Virgin Birth. The book is composite, but the three sections into which it is divided seem to belong to the first century A.D. (*d*) The **Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs** contains twelve ethical tracts, purporting to give the last utterances of the twelve sons of Jacob. This book too has been worked over by a Christian hand; in fact, some scholars have assumed that it was a Christian production. According to Dr. Charles the bulk of the book dates from 109–107 B.C. The Testaments are a very valuable storehouse of information with regard to the ethical teaching of the time.

Among Christian Apocalypses the chief place must be assigned to the **Book of Revelation**, which marks the climax of the apocalyptic movement. It was written to comfort and inspire the Christian Church in a time of persecution which threatened to reproduce all the horrors of the *régime* of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The writer has undoubtedly incorporated in his book much old apocalyptic material, but the outlook and the teaching are his own. His originality consists in the fact that he has infused the Christian spirit and the Christian doctrine into the apocalyptic hope. Many of the old ideas are reproduced, but they are transformed and glorified by the radiance of the Christian faith. Another Apocalypse which had great vogue in early Christian circles is the **Apocalypse of Peter**, some pages of which have recently been discovered. The fragment is made up of two visions: (*a*) the vision of the saints in Paradise, (*b*) the vision of Inferno. Paradise is described as a land "blooming with unfading flowers, and full of spices and fair flowering plants." The picture of Inferno is very lurid. It depicts the various forms of punishment meted out to different classes of offenders. The Apocalypse of Peter seems to have exerted a great influence on mediæval theology, and was undoubtedly the indirect source from which Dante's picture of Inferno was derived.

The Place of Apocalyptic in Jewish Thought.—It is often argued, especially by Jewish scholars, that the modern world tends to overestimate the influence of apocalyptic literature on Jewish thought. "Apocalyptic," it maintains, "represents a backwater and not the main stream of Jewish thought. It emanated from certain narrow circles, was altogether esoteric, and made no permanent mark on the Jewish faith." It is quite true, of course, that Judaism never absorbed the apocalyptic ideals, and perhaps the chief explanation of this is the fact that with the exception of the Book of Daniel, the Jewish Apocalypses were written too late to secure a place in the OT Canon; and when the Canon, especially the Law, was established as the form of Jewish orthodoxy, Judaism became more or less stereotyped and impervious to the newer forms of theology. There is one fact, however, which proves conclusively that, whatever the later attitude of Judaism to Apocalyptic may have been, in the centuries immediately preceding and following the birth of Christ it exercised an overwhelming influence—viz. the vast circulation which these different Apocalypses must have had throughout the length and breadth of Judaism, as witnessed by the large number of versions or translations into different languages which were made in very early times. The **Apocalypse of Baruch**, for instance, seems to have existed in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac; the **Book of Enoch** in Aramaic, Ethiopic, Latin; the **Book of Jubilees** in Hebrew, Greek, Ethiopic, Latin, and Syriac; the **Testaments of the Patriarchs** in Hebrew, Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic. These translations would not have been made unless the books had obtained a very wide vogue. If translation into different languages is any gauge of the popularity of a book, the Jewish Apocalypses must have been among the most popular books of the time.

The Contribution of Apocalyptic to Theology.—As we have already seen, the circumstances which created Apocalyptic naturally coloured its theological outlook. The contributions which it made to the thought of the time are in the main eschatological, though the eschatology in its turn reacted on the more fundamental conceptions of religion—*e.g.* the doctrine of God. We may summarise the chief theological influences of these writings as follows:

(1) Apocalyptic accentuated dualism in religious thought. The general impression which we gain from studying the literature is well summed up in the words of one of the writers: "The Lord God made not one world but two." There are two opposed universes—the universe of righteousness under the rule of God, the universe of sin under the lordship of Satan.

(2) It tended to widen the gulf between God and the world. As C. A. Scott says: "The tendency from the time of Isaiah onwards had been towards a conception of God as removed and ever further removed from contact with the things of earth and from immediate intercourse with men. This becomes very marked in Apocalyptic literature, and one of its indications is the development in this period of a doctrine of angels, an order of created but superhuman beings who were regarded as mediators of intercourse between God and man." The frequent allusion, for instance, to hierarchies of angels in the NT is very largely due to the influence of Apocalyptic.

(3) It developed the doctrine of the future life. The germ of the belief in immortality is found in the OT, but the development of the doctrine into a definite article of faith was the work of Apocalyptic. The first unmistakable reference is found in the Book of Daniel: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (12$_2$). There are varying and divergent conceptions of the future life in the different Apocalypses. Sometimes the resurrection takes place on the plane of earth in a kind of millennial Paradise, sometimes on the plane of heaven. Sometimes a bodily resurrection is assumed, sometimes a spiritual. In some writings the resurrection is universal, and includes the wicked as well as the righteous; in others there is only a resurrection of the good.

(4) It gave definite shape and form to the belief in heaven and hell. In the OT the picture of the unseen world is dim and shadowy. Apocalyptic filled in the details and made it a real place with special localities for different classes of spirits. The description of the "seven heavens" in the **Book of the Secrets of Enoch** and the **Ascension of Isaiah**, and of the "three heavens" in the **Testaments of the Patriarchs**, coloured the thought of the NT, and passed from the NT into the poetry of Dante and Milton.

(5) It attempted to find a solution for the problem of the origin of evil. The introduction of sin into the world is generally attributed to the fall of Adam. "The first Adam transgressed," says the author of **4 Ezra**, "and was overcome, and so be all they that are born of him." There can be little doubt that the doctrine of original sin, which is not found in the OT, was really the creation of the Apocalyptists. There were some protests, of course. The Apocalypse of Baruch, as we have seen, challenged the doctrine, and maintained that "every man is the Adam of his own soul." There was an alternative suggestion, too, which is found in several Apocalypses, that sin was introduced into the world through the angels, who transgressed with the daughters of men. The basis of this theory is the narrative in Gen. 6$_{1-4}$*.

(6) Apocalyptic developed the belief in the advent of a Messiah. The wonderful description of the "Son of Man" in the **Book of Enoch** has already been mentioned. We have seen, too, how the **Ascension of Isaiah**, probably under Christian influences, describes the descent of "the Beloved" (a technical title for the Messiah) from the seventh heaven. The **Apocalypse of Baruch** foretells the destruction of the Roman Empire through the advent of the Messiah. The **Psalms of Solomon** portray the advent of the "Son of David" and the "Lord Christ" to save his people from the tyranny of the Roman Empire, and

4 Ezra speaks of the coming of a Messiah who will reign for four hundred years and set up the kingdom of heaven upon earth. The conception, however, is not uniform. Sometimes, as in the **Book of Enoch**, the Messiah is a transcendent Divine being; in other writings—the **Psalms of Solomon**, for instance—he is merely an earthly ruler of supreme dignity and power.

(7) The conception of "the kingdom of God," which in the teaching of the prophets was mainly political and ethical, became in the hands of the Apocalyptists entirely eschatological. "The kingdom" is to be set up by Divine intervention at the end of time, and its advent is always closely connected with the Day of Judgment.

(8) Apocalyptic created the conception of the final judgment. As Prof. Burkitt has recently said: "The doctrine of a future general assize held no place in the Græco-Roman world apart from the belief of Jews and Christians. Possibly the belief may have been fostered by the influence of Zoroastrianism, but it is difficult in that case to explain why the doctrine is not found in Mithraism, which came far more under the spell of Zoroastrianism than did Judaism." "The doctrine of the last judgment required a very special set of circumstances for its development," and those circumstances are found in the history of Judaism in the centuries before and after the commencement of the Christian era.

The Permanent Value of Apocalyptic.—We may commence by quoting the excellent statement of Prof. Burkitt. The Jewish Apocalypses "are the most characteristic survival of what I will venture to call, with all its narrowness and incoherence, the heroic age of Jewish history, the age in which the nation attempted to realise in action the part of the peculiar people of God. It ended in catastrophe, but the nation left two successors, the Christian Church and the rabbinical schools, each of which carried on some of the old national aims. And of the two it was the Christian Church that was most faithful to the ideas enshrined in the Apocalypses." The exterior forms and the weird figures and symbols of Apocalyptic were abandoned, of course, except in the Book of Revelation, but the spiritual substance of apocalyptic faith was incorporated in the doctrine of Christianity. Let us briefly note what are the elements of abiding value in Apocalyptic.

(1) The first and fundamental article in the faith of the Apocalyptists is that history is teleological. There is a great Divine purpose being worked out in the world-movements of the time. Things do not happen by accident, and history will not end in chaos. There is always the "great far-off divine event towards which the whole creation moves"—the final *dénouement* of the drama.

(2) But there are two ways of writing a Utopia. There is the Greek way, which is also the English way, that sees Utopia realised in the slow and steady improvement of human society; and there is the Jewish way, which says that Utopia can only be realised by a great act of Divine intervention. Both views are right and both are wrong. The Greek way is wrong because it ignores the action of God; the Jewish way is wrong because it thinks that God can work only through a cataclysm. The true view lies in the union of the Greek and Jewish conceptions. Utopia is the realisation of the perfect will of God worked out in history.

(3) Apocalyptic lifted man's vision from the world that is seen to the world that is unseen. "It called into being a new world to redress the balance of the old." Pushed to extremes, of course, Apocalyptic issues in the form of "other-worldliness," which was so strongly and so justly reprobated by George Eliot. But, stated sanely, the doctrine of the Apocalyptists seems essential to a vital faith. The conception of the "seven heavens" may have been a fantastic dream, but a dream is sometimes better than nothing at all. In the stern times in which the Apocalypses were written, the faith of men could not have been kept alive by a vague and dim phantom-heaven. The Apocalyptists created, largely out of their imagination of course, a heaven that seemed real to them, and the picture of that heaven made men heroes in the fight for faith.

Such are some of the ideas—and they were undoubtedly created and developed by Apocalyptic—which possess abiding value for Christianity.

Literature.—The Oxford *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (1913), edited by Dr. Charles, contains a translation of all the Jewish documents with introductions and notes. This book has now superseded the German collection which was edited by Kautzsch. Separate editions of most of the Apocalypses—*e.g.* the *Book of Enoch*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Book of Jubilees*, and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (with fuller and more detailed introductions and notes)—have been published by Charles. Other sources of information are the articles in the Bible dictionaries, especially HDB and EBi; H. T. Andrews, *The Apocryphal Books* (Cent. B. Handbooks); Porter, *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers*; Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*; Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*; Ryle and James, *The Psalms of Solomon*; Box, *The Fourth Book of Ezra*; Oesterley, *Introduction to the Apocrypha*.

ISAIAH I-XXXIX

By THE EDITOR

Of Isaiah's personal life we know but little, and that of slight importance. Born presumably in the second quarter of the eighth century, probably in Jerusalem, he received his call in the year of Uzziah's death (*c.* 740 B.C.). Unlike Amos, he did not refuse to be called a prophet, and was indeed so pre-eminently a prophet that his wife could be called the prophetess (8$_3$). In 735 he had a son, Shear-jashub, old enough to accompany him to the famous interview with Ahaz; and soon after that interview a second son was born, bearing, like his elder brother, a significant name, Maher-shalal-hash-baz. He lived through the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and much, if not the whole, of Hezekiah's. Whether he survived into the reign of Manasseh is uncertain. We know only that he was still active at the time of Sennacherib's invasion (701). The late tradition that he was sawn asunder by order of Manasseh, in the persecution that accompanied the reaction against the prophetic teaching, may be true (Heb. 11$_{37}$), but the silence of Kings is strong negative evidence against it. His work was doubtless carried on after his death by the disciples (8$_{16}$*) whom he had gathered about him, and who kept alive the higher prophetic faith, preparing the way for Deuteronomy, for the Reformation under Josiah, and the teaching of Jeremiah.

A great deal in our present book belongs to later writers than Isaiah. The book obviously falls into three divisions: (*a*) 1–35, (*b*) 36–39, (*c*) 40–66. The last of these is itself a compilation: it includes no Isaianic matter, and the earliest sections in it are a century and a half later than Isaiah's time. The second is an extract from 2 K., but it contains an oracle attributed to Isaiah. But even 1–35 contains much that is not Isaiah's. Indubitably this is so with 13$_1$–14$_{23}$, 24–27, 34f., and almost universal consent would add 21$_{1-10}$. But this by no means exhausts the list. We should probably include 11$_{10-16}$, 12, 15f., 21$_{11-17}$, 23, 33, to which in the judgment of several scholars 22$_{1-4}$, 42$_{1-6}$, 19 should be added. And even the authentic prophecies have probably in some instances been expanded by later insertions. Some scholars insist that the two great Messianic passages, 9$_{2-7}$, 11$_{1-9}$, are much later than Isaiah's time.

Enough, however, of certainly authentic matter remains to make the prophet's significance clear to us and enable us to measure his contribution to religion. The account of the vision (6) in which he was consecrated to his vocation is here of fundamental importance. Overwhelmed with the majesty of Yahweh, crushed by the sense of his own uncleanness, as it stands revealed against the background of God's holiness, he realises that he must confess also his people's uncleanness, since his solidarity with them made it his own. Such sinfulness merits no milder penalty than death. Yet Judah may repent as he has repented, be cleansed as he has been cleansed; but since the prophetic message will harden rather than persuade them, he is assured that irretrievable judgment will overtake the great mass of the nation. The vision indeed suggests complete extermination; but the fact that early in his ministry Isaiah embodied in the name of his son Shear-jashub his faith that a remnant would turn to God, makes it probable that from the first this doctrine formed part of his message. It was suggested by his own experience, by Yahweh's choice of Israel, which surely would not be stultified, and by the assurance the vision conveyed to him that Yahweh of a truth dwelt in the Temple at Jerusalem. His forecast of the future was thus one of mingled gloom and hope; only a remnant would turn and live, but still a remnant. Yet the sense that his ministry was destined to failure did not lead him to relax his efforts. The uncleanness of his people was expressed in various ways, partly in idolatry and in vice, especially, however, in the oppression of the poor and defenceless and in the maladministration of justice. Reform might avert disaster, otherwise ruin was inevitable. Assyria would be the rod of Yahweh's anger. When Ahaz, panic-stricken at the invasion of Syria and Ephraim, which was intended to force Judah into a coalition against Assyria, was meditating an appeal for help to Tiglath-pileser, the king of Assyria, Isaiah warned him against a step which would free him from a temporary embarrassment at the price of accepting the Assyrian king as his suzerain. He bade him trust in God and despise his foes, "two tails of smoking firebrands," a source of annoyance, but impotent for serious mischief (7$_4$). The heavy tribute to Assyria would have to be wrung largely from the needy; social misery would be aggravated, reform indefinitely postponed. And why pay Assyria for doing the work her own interest would compel her to do for herself? The faith of the mother, who would name her son Immanuel, thus uttering her conviction that God was with His people, would shame the policy of the unbelieving king. But when the fatal step had been taken and Judah's independence had been bartered for Assyria's help, Isaiah counselled his countrymen against futile attempts at revolt. For no pause could be set to Assyria's advance by any human power. Assyria was indeed to be broken and cast aside, but only by Yahweh, and not till she had achieved His purpose. Meanwhile he commends his motto, "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." For when Assyria's work is done, her haughtiness and braggart arrogance will be punished. Then, when she is destroyed and Judah is free, the era of blessedness will begin. There will be a stable government and a righteous administration under the Messianic king, who passes through victory to an abiding peace. Agriculture will flourish, the land will be very fruitful, prosperity will abound. Judah's reliance will be placed on no earthly power, but on Yahweh alone.

No Hebrew prophet has a style more majestic than that of Isaiah. The loftiness of thought and feeling finds a fit expression in his lofty eloquence. In the noble splendour of his verse he is surpassed by no poet of his race. No attentive reader can fail to observe the felicities of his rhythm, the choiceness of his diction, the concise power of his descriptions, the volcanic force of his denunciation, the serene beauty with which he suffuses his pictures of Israel's future blessedness. Nor can he miss the range and aptness of his metaphors. No adequate estimate of the later writers in 1–39 can be attempted in our space, but although the gift of expression is naturally at very different levels, some passages are of high literary quality.

Literature.—*Commentaries*: (*a*) **Skinner** (CB), **Whitehouse** (Cent.B), **Wade** (West.C), Cheyne (SBOT Eng.), McFadyen; (*b*) **Gray** (ICC), Cheyne (*Prophecies of Isaiah*); (*c*) Gesenius, Hitzig, *Delitzsch, Dillmann[5] (6th ed., revised by Kittel), **Duhm** (HK), **Marti** (KHC), Condamin, Schmidt (SAT); (*d*) **G. A. Smith** (Ex.B.). *Other Literature:* Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*; Driver, *Isaiah: his Life and Times*; Glazebrook, *Studies in the Book of Isaiah*; Kennett, *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah*; Mitchell, *Isaiah: A Study of Chapters I–XII*. On the text: Cheyne (SBOT Heb.); Box, *The Book of Isaiah* (an annotated translation from an emended text, with introductions). For special literature on Is. 40–66 see p. 461.

I. 1–31. Israel's Sin, Its Sore Punishment, False and True Divine Service.—The chapter is not a unity. The main part of it (2–17) represents perhaps two addresses (2–9, 10–17), but they connect well, and probably belong to the same date. The description of Judah's condition suits the invasion of Sennacherib (701 B.C.) better than that of Syria and Ephraim (735–4 B.C.). The state of the people is wretched in the extreme, the land is ravaged, the cities burned, Jerusalem alone uncaptured. This agrees with the events of 701, when Sennacherib took all the fenced cities of Judah save Jerusalem, and shut up Hezekiah in his capital "like a bird in his cage." On the other sections, see below.

1. Title by a later editor, originally prefixed to chs. 1–12.

2–9. Let heaven and earth hear with amazement Yahweh's complaint. He has reared His people with the kindliest care, and *they* (pathetic emphasis) have repaid Him with unfilial ingratitude. Ox and ass find their way to their owner's house, but Israel displays no such intelligence (Jer. 8*7). With fourfold term of reproach the prophet expostulates with them for their mad folly. Do you wish to be smitten still more severely, to go on revolting more and more? The whole body politic is all wounds from head to foot; its wounds have not been pressed to remove the matter, nor bandaged, nor softened and soothed with oil (Lk. 10*34). Their country is devastated, their cities burned, so much they have learnt from the refugees; from the walls they can see for themselves the Assyrians encamped on their fields and devouring the produce. Zion alone remains, frail and lonely, and, but for Yahweh's goodness, their fate had resembled that of Sodom and Gomorrah.

4. seed: not descendants, but brood (Mt. 3*7). They are themselves the evildoers. Omit last clause with LXX.—**5.** Most render "On what" instead of "Why," *i.e.* on what part of the body, none being left untouched by the rod. This suits the next verse; but chastisement does not select the untouched spots, or avoid striking what it has struck before.—**the whole head:** better than *mg.* Isaiah is thinking of the State, not of individuals.—**as overthrown by strangers:** for this feeble repetition read "as the overthrow of Sodom." Elsewhere "overthrow" always refers to the destruction of the Cities of the Plain (Gen. 19*).—**8. daughter of Zion:** Zion is not the mother, but herself the daughter; cities were often personified as women.—**booth:** the watchman's slight shelter; the special point of the illustration is Zion's isolation, but her frailty also is suggested.—**a besieged city:** pointless; perhaps "a watch-tower" on some lonely elevation.

10–17. This connects admirably with 9. By a fine transition Isaiah intimates that it is no merit in the rulers which has averted Sodom's fate. Let these lawless and shameless administrators listen to the teaching (*mg.*) of their outraged God. What end, He asks, do their sacrifices serve? He loathes them, has not demanded them, bids the worshippers trample His courts no more to send up the reek of their oblations, hates their new moons (p. 101) and sacred seasons, and will not listen to their prayers. For on their palms, uplifted in the customary attitude of prayer, beneath the blood of sacrifice, He sees a darker stain, the blood of their fellows. Yet they may cleanse themselves from guilt of the past by amendment for the future, especially by restraint of the oppressor (*mg.*) and succour of the defenceless. The desperate outlook had probably led to multiplied sacrifices; to those who were thronging the Temple to offer them Isaiah seems to have uttered these scathing words (*cf.* Am. 5*21–25; Mi. 6*6–8; Hos. 6*6; Jer. 6*20, 7*21–23). The prophets do not attack sacrifice in itself so much as sacrifice divorced from morality; yet their tone suggests that they attached very little intrinsic value to the sacrificial ritual.

10. law: a most unfortunate rendering, as the Pentateuchal Law is not intended, since it demands many sacrifices. Torah means "instruction" (p. 121, Dt. 15*, Pr. 31*); here, like "the word of the Lord" it is equivalent to the utterance which follows.—**11.** Burnt-offerings (Lev. 1*) were totally consumed on the altar, the fat of peace offerings (Lev. 3*) was burnt, the blood of all sacrifices was sacred to God. He rejects it all.—**12f.** Perhaps we should render: "When ye come to see my face, who hath required this at your hand? No more shall ye trample my courts to bring vain oblations, reek of sacrifice is abomination to me; new moon and sabbath, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with, fasting (LXX) and festal assembly." Fasting is, among many peoples, a preliminary to the taking of sacred food.

18–20. Perhaps an independent oracle, or even two (18 and 19f.); the date is quite uncertain. According to the usual view Yahweh challenges Israel to a lawsuit, that His righteousness may be vindicated and its guilt clearly seen. But it is not certain that a legal process is implied. Nor is 18 clear. It may be a gracious invitation (so RV), it may be sarcastic (let them be white as snow!), or an indignant question. The last is grammatically uncertain, but it gives the best sense: If your sins are as scarlet, how should they be reckoned white as snow? if they are red like crimson, how should they be as wool? No distinction is intended between scarlet and crimson.—**19f.** is a characteristic expression of the earlier view that righteousness and prosperity were inseparably associated.

20. devoured with the sword: better, "ye shall eat the sword." an effective contrast to 19; but

Cheyne's emendation, "on husks (*harubim*) shall ye feed," is tempting. The husks are the carob-pods on which the Prodigal fed the swine (Lk. 1516).

21–26. A complete poem, of uncertain date, in elegiac rhythm. How has the city once loyal to Yahweh become faithless to her husband! Her silver has become dross, her wine adulterated. Her princes rebel against Yahweh; the thieves bribe them to secure acquittal, but the widow and orphan cannot even get their case before the courts. So Yahweh will take vengeance and purify the city in the furnace of trial, smelting out all the lead alloy (*mg.*). Then He will restore righteous judges as in David's time, when Jerusalem became an Israelite city, and give her a new name expressive of her true nature.

22. mixed: generally supposed to mean "circumcised," *i.e.* diluted, or flat, if "with water" is omitted. Perhaps we should read "thy wine is a thick juice" (*mohal*).—**25. throughly:** "as with alkali" (*cf. mg.*), but read "in the furnace" (*bakkur*).

27f. An insertion. It is colourless and generalising, and has several points of contact with later writings; it implies the division of the people into sharply distinguished classes. Judgment and righteousness appear to mean Yahweh's acts of deliverance, as in the later sections of the book; Isaiah never seems to use the word "redeem" (see 2922).

29–31. A fragment on tree-worship, possibly late, but probably Isaiah's. It is an immemorial form of idolatry (p. 100), and persists to the present time. The prophet warns his hearers that they will be disappointed in the divine denizens of terebinths (*mg.*) and springs in the sacred gardens (*cf.* 653, 6617). They will themselves fail like the terebinth, whose divine life fails with the fading leaf in autumn or the spring, no longer bubbling with divine energy, but scorched up by the heat. The parched terebinths and gardens are so inflammable that a spark sets them ablaze. Thus ripe for ruin are the strong; they are like tow, and their own work will be the spark that destroys them.

II. 1–4. Zion the World's Religious Centre, and the Reign of Universal Peace.—The title in 1 is a later addition, unrelated to the important oracle 2–4. This oracle, with verbal differences, occurs in Mi. 41–3*. It is probably post-exilic. The very high significance attached to Zion is strange in the eighth century; the idea of its physical exaltation is akin to Apocalyptic rather than prophecy. Moreover, Jer. 2618 suggests that Micah predicted irretrievable doom for Zion. Duhm thinks that, like 92–7, 111–8, it belongs to Isaiah's old age; he calls them his swan-songs. This would accord with the wide outlook and large charity of this poem: yet the late date is more probable.

In the latter days, *i.e.* the beginning of the Messianic times, the Temple hill will be physically exalted above all other mountains, and all nations will stream to Zion to learn Yahweh's ways. Jerusalem is the source of religious knowledge, it is there that Yahweh makes known His will. It is noteworthy that this instruction (*mg.*) is not imparted by messengers sent out to the heathen, but by Yahweh Himself in Zion. He acts not only as teacher, but as arbitrator. The nations accept His decisions as final, and therefore do not need to settle their disputes by war, so turn their weapons into implements of husbandry. (For the reverse of this see Jl. 310.)

II. 5–22. The Day of Yahweh.—A poem dating from Isaiah's earliest period, dealing first with the sin, then with the judgment, of Israel. The text has been badly preserved. Probably the refrain which we find in various forms in 10, 19, 21, stood at the beginning of the poem, before 6 (5 being an editorial link). Another refrain occurs in 11, 17, and a variant of it in 9 and in 515. Probably each part began and ended with the same refrains. The first part may have consisted of 19, 6–8, 11; the second part of 10, 12–18. In that case 20 is a later addition. 22 is absent from the LXX, and is the reflection of a reader.

Yahweh has forsaken Israel, for its wealth and idolatry. The people may well cower in the caves of the rocks and the holes of the earth, for the Day of Yahweh (*cf.* Am. 518–20) is at hand. It comes in storm and earthquake, which works wild havoc on land and sea, smiting low all that is exalted, the works of nature and man alike, that Yahweh alone may be high and lifted up, as the prophet had seen Him in his vision (61). Thus the pride of man is abased before God, when the fortresses and ships in which he trusted are brought to nought. The path of destruction is from Lebanon with its cedars and Bashan with its oaks, southward and westward to Israel's towers and fortifications, and then westward still to the Mediterranean, where it strikes the Phœnician ships, or perhaps southward to Elath, the port on the Gulf of Akabah, now Judah's, but shortly to be captured from her in the war with Syria and Ephraim (2 K. 1422, 166).

6. Perhaps we should read **filled** "with sorcery" or "sorcerers" (but see Gray's note).—**7.** The prophets were hostile to wealth because it dulled the spiritual sensibilities and caused men to forget God; to horses, because they were used for war and men trusted in them rather than in God.—**16. ships of Tarshish:** probably Tartessus in Spain, at the mouth of the Guadalquivir (Ps. 487*). The ships may have been such as were used for the Tarshish trade, not necessarily such as actually went there.—**pleasant imagery:** sense uncertain; read perhaps "costly barks" (*ṣephinōth* for *ṣekiyyōth*).

III. 1–12. Judah to be Punished with Anarchy.—The date is uncertain. That it was early in the reign of Ahaz is a dubious inference from 12. The pillars of society will be removed, and control will thus be thrown into the hands of young, inexperienced upstarts. Social distinctions will be swept away, age and rank no longer secure respect. Tired of the anarchy, the people will offer the headship of their district to one whom they imagine equal to it, apparently because he belongs to the old order and has hereditary instincts for administration. But he will refuse, disclaiming the qualification. This impending ruin is due to Judah's rebellious provocation of Yahweh, its respect of persons (*mg.*), Sodom-like shamelessness in its sin. Blessed is the righteous, woe to the wicked; each shall reap what he has sown. The people is governed by oppressors and usurers, its leaders mislead it.

1. the whole . . . water: a gloss; stay and staff are the pillars of society.—**6.** Render, "When a man shall take hold of his brother *saying*, In thy father's (reading 2nd person) house is a mantle (? robe of office), come be thou our ruler."—**10f.** Perhaps a gloss; the Heb. is elliptical, the thought generalising, the standpoint that of the later individualism, which sharply differentiated the pious and wicked and asserted a corresponding difference in their fate.—**Say ye of:** read "Blessed is" (*'ashre* for *'imru*).—**12.** Render, "tormentors are their oppressors, and usurers (*nōshim*) rule over them."—**destroy:** confuse.

III. 13–15. Yahweh Judges the Rulers.—Probably an independent oracle, presumably, though not cer-

tainly, uttered early in Isaiah's career. Yahweh has taken up the cause of the wronged, and calls elders and princes to account. They are the keepers of the vineyard (5₁–7), but they have abused their position to their own profit; they crush Yahweh's people, and grind between the millstones the faces of the poor.

13. Isaiah would hardly speak of a judgment of the nations. Read "his people" (LXX).

III. 16–IV. 1. The Luxurious Ladies of Jerusalem and their Doom.—As Amos attacked the women of Samaria for their luxury, made possible through the oppression of the poor (Am. 4₁), so Isaiah assails the luxury and haughtiness of the women. These West-end ladies, disdainful and affected, walking with short mincing steps, ogling the men with wanton glances, tinkling with their step-chains and making a clanging sound as they struck their ankle-rings together, will be smitten with leprous scab in their scalps, and be stripped bare of their finery. They will then offer a hideous contrast to their present magnificence—for perfume the stench of scabs, the rope of captivity for the girdle, baldness of mourning (22₁₂) for their elaborate coiffure, sackcloth for costly apparel, branding that will ruin their beauty. The ravages of war will be so terrible that the women will outnumber the men by seven to one. Their pride will be so abased that seven will entreat one man to marry them, while they offer to maintain themselves, that the disgrace of being unwedded may be removed. The list of articles of dress, jewelry, and toilet is perhaps not Isaiah's. It is not in his manner to give long prosaic lists of this kind; he mentions enough to bring the picture vividly before the reader's eye without wearying him with details. If omitted, 17 and 24 are brought into connexion.

16. Zion: in the narrower sense, the quarter of Jerusalem where the palace stood.—**mincing:** the ankle-chains (20) which connected the anklets (18) forced them to take short steps (Nu. 31₅₀). They exaggerated their feminine characteristics.—**18–23.** For the unprofitable details the larger commentaries must be consulted. The rendering "perfume boxes" (20) is that generally accepted; BDB says the meaning is evident from the context. The literal meaning is "houses of soul." Since souls are sometimes placed for safe-keeping in an amulet, J. G. Frazer takes the trinkets mentioned here to have been soul boxes, "safes in which the souls of the owners are kept for greater security" (*Balder the Beautiful*, ii, 155; *Anthropological Essays Presented to E. B. Tylor*, pp. 148ff.). —**25f.** The curious transition from the women of Jerusalem to Jerusalem itself under the figure of a woman suggests that this may be a later insertion, unless some lines have fallen out.

IV. 2–6. Zion's Happy Estate.—Probably post-exilic on grounds of style, ideas, and imagery. In the blessed future the land will be glorious with vegetation and fruit for the holy remnant, that will escape the sifting judgment with which Yahweh will cleanse Jerusalem from its impurity and bloodshed. Then over the whole city and its assemblies He will create, as in the wilderness, cloud by day and flame by night, and a shelter from heat and storm.

2. branch of the Lord: that which Yahweh causes to spring from the ground. There is no reference to the Messiah, as is clear from the unambiguous parallel "the fruit of the land." Predictions of Canaan's fertility are frequent in such prophecies.—**3. written unto life** (*mg.*): their names are in the Book of Life: when the great judgment falls on Israel they will survive it and live on into the Messianic era, while others die. The reference is not to the life after death, but to life in the regenerate community on earth.—**5f.** difficult; RV gives the general sense, but read in 6 "And he will be" (LXX).

V. 1–7. The Parable of the Thankless Vineyard.—Isaiah probably at a vintage festival, when Judæans from the country (3), as well as the inhabitants of Jerusalem, are present, comes forward as a minstrel. He sings this song of his friend's vineyard in light popular measure, making it attractive with beautiful plays upon words. He skilfully heightens the interest of his hearers, and by concealing the true nature of the vineyard he wins from them a mental self-condemnation. Then he throws off the mask and points the moral in a sentence made unforgettable by a pair of splendid assonances. The date is quite uncertain, but it may belong to the same period as 2₆–4₁.

The minstrel sings of his Beloved. He had chosen for his vineyard the most suitable situation. It was on a hill for the sake of the sunny exposure, and as the soil was very fertile, it had the best position that nature could offer. He lavished also every care on its culture. He dug it up, for ploughing was impossible on the steep hillside, and cleared the ground of stones. Then he planted the soil thus prepared with choice vines. In anticipation of an abundant vintage he built a tower, not a mere watchman's hut (18), and hewed a vat (*mg.*) out of the solid limestone, into which the juice might run from the wine-press. He also planted a hedge and built a wall (5) round the vineyard. But when he came to gather the grapes he found only wild grapes. The poet now speaks in the person of his friend, and invites the judgment of the hearers on his own conduct and that of the vineyard. The people are silent: only one answer is possible to the question, Where does the blame lie? But they wait to see what fate is reserved for such ingratitude. The rhythm becomes heavier to reflect the darkening mood of the speaker as the doom is pronounced. The hedge is removed, the wall broken, and the wild beasts and cattle, no longer kept at bay, press in and ravage the vineyard. And the owner abandons it, untilled, unpruned, to thorns and brambles: nay more, he promotes its ruin by bidding the clouds pour no rain upon it. Does the poet then disclose in these words the identity of the owner, since it is Yahweh alone who can command the clouds to withhold their rain? Not necessarily, for David could in his elegy lay a similar ban on the mountains of Gilboa (2 S. 1₂₁). Only in the closing verse is the well-kept secret revealed, that Yahweh is the Beloved and Judah His thankless vineyard. It comes with a crash that reminds us of Nathan's "Thou art the man!" And it is expressed in words which his hearers cannot forget. The assonances cannot be tolerably reproduced in English: "He looked for *mishpaṭ* and behold *mispaḥ*, for *tsᵉdaqah* and behold *tsᵉʿaqah*." The meaning of the word rendered "oppression" is uncertain; it is generally translated "bloodshed." The "cry" is the cry of the oppressed.

1. The text is uncertain, but has not been satisfactorily emended.

V. 8–24. A Series of Denunciations on Various Offenders.—This section contains a collection of "Woes," originally independent and even now not woven into a single symmetrical address. Whether they come from different periods of Isaiah's ministry is not so clear; no confidence can be felt in the attempts to date them. The text has not been very well preserved.

8–10. Woe to the grasping land-holders who drive the old possessors from their ancestral homesteads that they may have large estates all to themselves. Soon there will be a loneliness they will not desire, the solitude of desolation, and their lands will yield a harvest far less than the seed. With their land the dispossessed would lose their civil rights, to which the Hebrews hung tenaciously, as we see from the story of Naboth (1 K. 21).

9. Read, "therefore the Lord of hosts hath sworn in mine ears."—**10. acres:** literally "yokes," a yoke being "as much as two strong oxen could plough from morn till night."—**a bath:** a liquid measure equivalent to an ephah of dry measure, about nine gallons of wine, a very small vintage from so large a vineyard. Since an ephah was the tenth part of a homer (Ezek. 45¹¹), the harvest amounts to only a tenth of the seed.

11–17. In this section 15f. is probably a marginal quotation of 2¹¹ made from memory. 14 foretells utter destruction, a prophecy of humiliation is out of place; the woe is on revellers, these verses are a denunciation of pride. 14,17 also do not properly follow 13, which has announced the penalty; they seem to be the conclusion of another woe; in which a city had been denounced to which the pronoun "her," incorrectly rendered "their," must refer. 11–13 is a Woe on the drunkards and revellers, who practise the disgraceful habit (Ec. 10¹⁶f., Ac. 2¹⁵) of drinking in the morning, and leave God out of their calculations. Blind to the signs of His working, they perish by captivity and famine. 14,17 describe how the city, presumably Jerusalem, is swallowed by Sheol, the insatiable underworld (Pr. 30¹⁶, Hab. 2⁵), depicted as a monster distending its mouth to devour her. Then the lambs pasture on its site, and the ruined mansions are the camping ground of nomads.

13. Read, "Their honourable men are exhausted (*mezeh*) with famine."—**17.** We need a parallel to "lambs" in the second clause; read either, "and the waste places shall fatlings eat": or "and the waste places shall kids (*gedaim*) eat." In the first clause we should perhaps read "feed in their desert place."

18–24. Woe to the scoffing free-thinkers who believe the Day of Yahweh will never come, and challenge God to do His worst. As beasts are yoked to a cart, so they yoke themselves to sin with strong cords of flippant frivolity, and drag with sin the punishment which comes in its train. Woe to the sophists who pervert the radical moral distinctions. Woe to those who are wise in their own eyes, *i.e.* the smart, self-satisfied politicians, who flout the counsel given by Yahweh through His prophet. Woe to the drunkards, heroes not for the fray but the debauch, with the strong head of the hard drinker. Not content with ordinary wine, they mix spices with it to enhance its flavour and increase its strength. Woe to those who take bribes to acquit the guilty and condemn the innocent. They shall be like stubble consumed by the flame and a plant with rotting root and blossom turned to dust. 23 does not follow naturally on 22.

V. 25–30. The Last Stroke.—It is generally agreed that this belongs to 9⁸–10⁴, each strophe of which closes with the same refrain as 25. Unhappily, except for this closing verse, the strophe of which 25 is the conclusion has been lost, unless indeed 25, apart from the refrain, is an addition. There is no refrain at the end of 26ff., so this will form the close of the poem. After each stroke of Yahweh's wrath a fresh judgment has been announced; now the final stroke is predicted in a magnificent picture of the irresistible attack of a foe from the ends of the earth. Yahweh's last blow is struck, and His arm is no longer stretched out to smite. As in Amos the foe is not named, and thus the impression is heightened, but Assyria is intended. It is Ephraim's God who lifts the standard to summon the enemy and hisses (7¹⁸) for them. They come unresting, unwearied, in perfect military array, the hoofs of the horses hard like flint, their chariots swift as the whirlwind. The foe utters, as he advances, a loud roar like that of the lioness or young lion as they seek their prey, then the low growl as he pounces on it and carries it away.

26. nations: read "nation" (LXX).—**28.** The ancients did not shoe their horses, so their hoofs needed to be hard as flint to go over the hilly and rocky country of Palestine.—**30.** The text is corrupt, the meaning uncertain, the probability that the verse is a late insertion considerable, the problem too complicated to be discussed.

VI. The Call of Isaiah.—This chapter contains Isaiah's own account of his call to the prophetic office. Presumably it was written down some time after the event, but the interval need not have been long, nor have we any real reason for assuming that the account has been coloured by his later experience of failure. The view that he had already for some time been a prophet, and that this vision opens a new stage in his ministry, would deserve consideration only if the order of the prophecies was chronological. But this is demonstrably not the case. The chapter is of the highest importance, since it gives the true point of view for understanding the prophet. The revelation recorded in it governed his teaching throughout his career.

Isaiah, standing at the threshold of the Temple, falls into an ecstasy. He sees Yahweh seated on a lofty throne, while the skirts of His robe flow out from the innermost shrine and fill the Temple. The reticence of the description is very striking; we may compare it with the laboured elaboration of Ezekiel. He sees the seraphim in attendance. They cover their face that they may not see the face of God, and the lower part of their body they reverently conceal from His gaze. With the two remaining wings they are poised in the air, ready to fulfil His will with the utmost speed. They celebrate in antiphonal chant the holiness and glory of Yahweh. The description gains its effect, not by details as to Yahweh's appearance, but by showing how it affected the seraphim and Isaiah. Such is God's majesty that the former may not look upon Him, and incessantly magnify His holiness; while the latter is penetrated with a sense of his own uncleanness which makes the vision of God like a sentence of death. The threshold of the Temple rocks beneath Isaiah's feet in response to the song of the seraphim, while the house is filled with smoke, perhaps the resentment of Yahweh reacting at the intrusion of an unclean man into His presence. Such anger Isaiah knows to be only what he deserves. He realises his uncleanness and that of his people, which by his solidarity with them he feels to be his own. For one so unclean to see the Holy God was to incur danger of death. He bewails in particular the uncleanness of his lips, because he is in the Temple where men should worship, and in contrast to the seraphim he feels that his lips are not pure enough to praise God. There is no reference to his prophetic vocation, for he has not yet received his call. The seraphim if they were guardians of the Temple threshold, had it as part of their charge to deny or permit approach to God. Isaiah had intruded into the Divine presence while yet unclean. But he had shown himself humble

and contrite, so the seraph does not drive him out, but purifies and fits him to draw nigh. He takes a hot stone from the altar and touches his lips, setting him free to praise God. That it is from the altar indicates alike the atonement for sin and consecration to Divine service. Now that the man is purified, Yahweh, who has hitherto been silent, may speak; yet He does not speak to him, but to the heavenly assembly (1 K. 22 19f.), still so that Isaiah may overhear. Conscious now of moral fitness, Isaiah gladly offers himself in response to the appeal he detects in Yahweh's words. He offers himself, not knowing what his mission is to be. Yahweh bids him go, but warns him of the result. Since the prophet's message hardens those whom it does not persuade, he is here said to do what his preaching will in most cases bring about. The word tests men, and forces them to take up a position on one side or the other. The earlier prophets had seen judgment in the withholding of the word, Isaiah and his successors saw it in the abundance of revelation, and this thought is emphasized in the NT. In reply to his question, how long this process is to continue, he is told that it will be till the land is stripped of its inhabitants and becomes utterly desolate. Even if a tenth be left in it, that shall be consumed, as when the tree is cut down and the stump remains, that also is dug up and burnt. It is most striking that Isaiah began his work with the certainty of failure.

1. The date is *c.* 740 B.C. Isaiah looks back on it as lying in the past.—**2. the seraphim:** the fiery flying serpents in the wilderness narrative and in 30 6 (*cf.* 14 29) bear the same name. The brazen serpent (2 K. 18 4) was presumably in the Temple at this time. Serpents were frequently regarded as the protectors of temples, especially of the threshold, and in this respect they correspond to the cherubim, who, like the griffins, are guardians of treasures (Gen. 3 24*, Ps. 18 10*). But other indications connect the cherubim with natural phenomena, and if they are the thunder clouds, the seraphim will be the forked serpent-like lightning. Here they are winged and have hands and feet (though feet may simply mean the lower part of the body). Presumably, therefore, they have lost their serpent form, and appear in human shape or perhaps part human and part animal. Their duty is to sing God's praise, and probably to guard the entrance to His presence.—**4. smoke:** probably a symbol of anger. If incense was on the altar, it might as a symbol of praise be kindled by the praises of the fiery seraphim.—**7. purged:** lit. covered, so that God does not see, and therefore does not punish it.—**13. so the holy seed is the stock thereof:** absent in the LXX, and "holy seed" seems to some a late phrase. If the clause is omitted, the prophecy is one of complete destruction; if retained, the tree is cut down but the stump is still left, *i.e.* the righteous remnant which contains the promise of the future, for from it a new Israel will shoot. The authenticity of the words is very dubious, but the doctrine of the remnant was held by Isaiah so early that he probably felt it to be implied, if not expressed, in his vision.

VII. 1–16. Isaiah Gives Ahaz the Encouraging Sign of Immanuel when he is Dismayed by the Alliance of Syria and Ephraim against him.—For the historical circumstances see pp. 59, 70f. Apart from 1, which is derived from 2 K. 16 5 and is out of chronological order, this section seems to have been written by an editor on the basis of Isaiah's autobiography (contrast the 1st person of the preceding chapter with the 3rd of this). The alarm, described in the picturesque metaphor of 2, specially affected "the house of David," since its position was menaced by the project of the allies to abolish the Davidic dynasty and install a creature of their own. The news which caused such dismay was that Syria had alighted on Ephraim (2, *cf. mg.*), *i.e.* it was on the march, and was already within striking distance of Jerusalem. Apparently the enemy was prevented from making an assault by news that Assyria was on the way to Philistia. While Ahaz attends to the water supply, in view of the siege, Isaiah is sent with a message of encouragement. His foes are but two fag-ends of firebrands, they only smoulder; their smoke may annoy, but they have lost all power for mischief, exhausted by strife with each other and Assyria and by civil war. Their project will fail, for Rezin is head of Syria and Pekah head of Ephraim. These are their Divinely appointed spheres, they have no control over Judah. But its security depends on its faith. Unbelief will bring ruin, *i.e.* at the hands of Assyria. The king seems to have expressed his doubt of the policy recommended, so Isaiah offers him a sign, deep in Sheol (*mg.*) or in the sky. He places the whole realm of the universe at his disposal for the purpose, and therefore confidently offers a miraculous sign. Ahaz has faith, he believes that the miracle can be wrought. But he has not the right kind of faith, he does not obediently trust in God for deliverance. Hence he refuses the sign, just because he does not doubt that it will be given, for then he will have to abandon his own cherished plan. He hypocritically declines under the pretext that he will not tempt God, as if it could be tempting Him to accept what He freely offered. Angered by his refusal, the prophet still does not change his attitude. Yahweh will Himself give a sign that the attack of the confederates will not succeed. Some now expectant mother will shortly bring forth a son to whom she will give the name Immanuel, thus by her faith that God is with His people shaming the king's unbelief. The child will be fed on curds and honey as soon as he has become old enough to distinguish between wholesome and harmful food (*cf.* 8 4 for a similar time limit). Before he has reached this age Syria and Ephraim will be devastated.

3. Shear-jashub: the name means "a remnant shall return" (*mg.*). This is not a prophecy of disaster to the army of Judah, meaning that only a remnant is to come back from the war, but it embodies one of Isaiah's most important doctrines, that a remnant of the people should turn to God. It is a name both of judgment and promise—only a remnant, but still a remnant. Since this son was old enough to accompany his father, he must have received the name some years before. The scene is that of the Rabshakeh's speech to the people of Jerusalem (36 2). Its identification is uncertain.—**6. Tabeel:** an Aramaic name. Possibly as Pekah is designated Remaliah's son, the son of Tabeel may be Rezin.—8,9*a*. The meaning may perhaps be, "The head of Syria is after only Rezin, and the head of Samaria is but the upstart son of Remaliah, while Yahweh is the head of Jerusalem."—8*b* is clearly a gloss, irrelevant to the situation, and indeed inconsistent with Isaiah's purpose, which was to assert almost immediate relief. It refers probably to events connected with the planting of foreign colonists in Samaria by Esarhaddon or Asshurbanipal (Ezr. 4 2,10).—**14–16.** Space will not permit of any thorough discussion; for a fuller treatment the editor may refer to his article "Immanuel" in DCG. He is now inclined to give 15 a favourable interpretation, and treat it as part of the original prophecy. The following points may be emphasized:

(*a*) The character of the sign is not altered by the king's unbelief; it is significant of deliverance, not of disaster (*cf.* 8¹–⁴). (*b*) A sign may be miraculous, or it may not. Here it is probably not miraculous. For (*c*) the rendering "virgin" is unjustifiable; for this *bethulah* would have been used; the word employed here, *'almah*, means a young woman of marriageable age, without any suggestion that she is not married. (*d*) The sign is to be fulfilled in the near future, since it is given for a pressing emergency. It has therefore no reference to the birth of Jesus more than seven hundred years later. (*e*) Isaiah has no particular woman in view. Any young woman who shortly gives birth to a son may call him Immanuel, and by this expression of faith that God is with His people will rebuke the king's unbelief. (*f*) Her faith will be vindicated by the desolation of the enemy's land. (*g*) The sign accordingly consists not in the birth of the child, nor in his character, position, or destiny, nor yet in his conception by a virgin. He has in himself no significance. The sign consists in the name he bears, and in that name as expressive of his mother's faith (*cf.* 8¹⁸). (*h*) The name Immanuel means "God is with us," not "God with us"; there is no reference in it to an Incarnation of God. (*i*) If 15 implies the desolation of the land, it is out of harmony with the rest of the passage, and must be struck out. But the prediction that curds and honey will be Immanuel's diet may quite well be interpreted as implying plenty rather than privation.

17–25. The Devastation of Judah.—Probably an independent prophecy rather than a continuation of 2–16; it strikes a very different note. It may belong to the same date, but may quite well be later. Disaster unparalleled since the revolt of the ten tribes (note the Southern point of view) is coming on Judah, an Assyrian invasion. Yahweh will whistle for the enemy, who will penetrate the most inaccessible retreats of the land, and humiliate and spoil the people. The population that will remain will be so scanty that very few cattle will yield an abundance of milk. The land will not be cultivated; the vineyards, where the most valuable vines grew, those worth a shekel apiece, will be overrun with briers. The thorn thickets will be the lurking-place of wild beasts, and cannot therefore be safely approached without weapons.

18. The text apparently means that the swarming tribes of Egypt, numerous but not formidable, and the compact, fierce, and well-marshalled Assyrians, would meet for battle in Judah. If we read simply, "the Lord shall hiss for the fly and the bee," omitting the descriptions as glosses, Assyria only is intended.—**hired:** possibly a reference to the purchase by Ahaz of Assyria's help. Shaving is a mark of degradation.—**25.** The text may be corrupt; the meaning is very uncertain.

VIII. 1–4. The Sign of Maher-shalal-hash-baz.—The date of the incidents is some time before the fall of Damascus in 732 B.C. The writing of the tablet may be as early as 735 B.C., the birth of the child as 734. The prophet is bidden take a large tablet, since it is to be used as a public placard, and write on it in common characters that all may read, "For Maher-shalal-hash-baz." He is to take responsible witnesses, that when the prediction is fulfilled they may be able to assure the people that by this enigmatic inscription Isaiah foretold the speedy downfall of Syria and Ephraim. He is bidden call his son, born some time later, by the name on the placard, for before he utters a child's first words, Damascus and Samaria will be despoiled by the Assyrians.

1. pen of a man: *mg.*, "in common characters," is perhaps correct. The name means "Swift is the spoil, speedy the prey," *i.e.* the spoliation of Damascus and Samaria will speedily take place.—**2.** Read "and take" (LXX).

VIII. 5–18. More Extracts on the Crisis from Isaiah's Autobiography.—It is not clear how many bits of the autobiography are included here, but the section for the most part probably deals with the coalition of Syria and Ephraim.

5–10. Date of the earlier part about 735. The latter part (from "and the stretching") is apparently a late addition. Judah despises the trickling waters of Shiloah, *i.e.* Yahweh's gentle working; her desire for measures less tame and more heroic shall be satisfied by the waters of the Euphrates, which shall burst their bounds and flood into Judah, reaching to the neck and threatening the existence of the nation. The reference is to the Assyrian armies (*cf.* 28⁹–¹¹). Then with an abrupt transition and a change in metaphor we read of the sheltering wings protecting Judah, and of the futility of the coalition formed by the nations of far countries against her. The situation does not suit Isaiah's time; it has its parallels rather in the later Apocalyptic.

6. rejoice in: Judah did not rejoice in Rezin and Pekah, but was in terror of them. Possibly we should read "despond because of" (*umasos mippene*).—The waters of Shiloah flowed in a channel with a slight fall from the Virgin's Fountain, a spring with an intermittent flow, so that the waters went softly.—**8.** Read at the end "the land, for God is with us." We thus get a refrain which recurs at the end of 10.—**9. Make an uproar:** read "Know" with LXX (*de'u*), which gives a good parallel to "give ear." The text has apparently been expanded by mistaken repetition.

11–15. Beyond the fact that this is earlier than the fall of Samaria (*cf.* 14), nothing certain can be said about its date, but probably it belongs to the same period as the earlier part of the chapter. Isaiah had felt the pressure of the Divine hand upon Him, casting Him into the prophetic ecstasy (*cf.* Jer. 15¹⁷; Ezek. 1³*, 3¹⁴,²², 8¹, 37¹). In it he had been cautioned against acquiescence in the popular way; he and his associates (note the plural "ye") had been forbidden to adopt the popular catchwords, and call the coalition of Syria and Ephraim "a conspiracy"; it is no serious peril to the State (*cf.* 7⁴); rather let them call Yahweh the conspirator. Well may He be their dread who will overthrow both the houses of Israel! Do the people boast of Yahweh as the Stone of Israel (Gen. 49²⁴), as their strong Rock? They will find Him a stone against which they will stumble, a rock on which they will be wrecked; not only so, but a snare luring them to ruin. As the bird is attracted to it and rests upon it, and by this very act of trust springs the trap upon itself, so Judah's false confidence will seal her doom.

12f. Very difficult. 12 and 13 should correspond; we should assimilate one to the other, probably (as above) 13 to 12, rather than 12 to 13, by reading "a holy thing" for "conspiracy" in 12, a truism needing no special revelation. We should also omit the words "for a sanctuary but" in 14 as incorrect repetition of the word rendered "snare."

16–18. Isaiah seems in these words to announce the close for a time of his ministry. His protest had been unavailing; Yahweh had hidden His face from His disobedient people. He entrusts his testimony as to the failure of the allies and his teaching (*mg.*) on faith in God to his disciples. That faith, vainly re-

quired from king and people, he will still exhibit, and, while he has to wait in silence, he and his children are a perpetual message—they by the names they bear (7₃, 8₃f.), he by his name, his personality, and his work.

16f. Render, "I will bind up the testimony, seal the teaching." The mention of his disciples suggests that he had formed a religious brotherhood, held together by his prophetic teaching. This was epoch-making. It secured the preservation of his own prophecies, and perhaps those of others. It created a religious organisation to carry out the programme of the prophets, which, when it could no longer work openly, as in the time of Manasseh, could work underground and issue in the Deuteronomic reformation. Recognising that his labours among the people at large had been a failure, he gathered the nucleus of the remnant to which was entrusted the future of spiritual religion.—**18.** Notice that nothing miraculous is necessarily implied in "signs" and "wonders."

VIII. 19–IX. 1. Some Fragmentary Utterances.—These fragments are of uncertain date and authorship, corrupt in text and obscure in sense. The first, 19f., is a warning against necromancers. Probably the words of those who advocate consulting them continue to the end of 19. We should render 19*b*, "should not a people seek unto their elohim? on behalf of the living should they not seek unto the dead?" The elohim are the spirits of the dead, so described in 1 S. 28₁₃. Possibly 20 gives the reply which is to be made. They must bring the sorcerers to the test of the teaching and testimony (16); if they do not conform to this, no morning will dawn after their night of distress. But the translation and sense are quite uncertain. The revival of necromancy was due to the circumstances of the time. When the small states were falling before the irresistible power of a great empire, the national deities seemed powerless in face of the new foe. In such a collapse of faith some would resort for help to other powers, especially occult powers such as the spirits of the dead. In a well-ordered State of antiquity such practices were sternly repressed as inimical to the welfare of the State which had a religion of its own. But when this religion received these severe blows, old superstitions which had maintained an underground life came once more to the surface.

In 21f. we have the picture of a man (the pronouns are singular) driven by distress and famine to desperate straits. He goes "through it," *i.e.* the land, which was no doubt mentioned in the context from which this was taken, vainly seeking relief. In his agony he curses God (*mg.*) because He will not, and the king because he cannot, help (Rev. 16₉,₁₁,₂₁)—a blasphemy punishable with death (1 K. 21₉–₁₃). He looks up to heaven, then down to earth, but wherever he looks there is nought but trouble. 9*b* is a connecting link with what follows. The first sentence is obscure. The next affirms that the parts which bore the brunt of invasion will in the latter time be made glorious. For "the way of the sea" *cf.* p. 29.

IX. 2–7. Israel's Deliverer.—This famous passage on the Messianic King is now by several regarded as late. The question is too large to be discussed, but it seems more difficult to explain its origin in the post-exilic period than under the monarchy. This was present as a starting-point, and Isaiah would not expect it to be eliminated. The bursting of the enemy's yoke and the establishment of a righteous rule were quite in line with his aspirations. In the later period other themes would have been added, such as the bringing back of the dispersed exiles. The passage does not describe a state of things which has already come into existence. The tenses are "prophetic"; they are written while the people still dwell in the land of deep darkness (*mg.*). But the poet's vision has already seen the glorious dawn. Yahweh has multiplied their exultation; it is like the joy of harvest home or division of the spoil after victory. He has broken the oppressor's yoke and snapped the rod with which he smote his victim's shoulder, as when Gideon overthrew Midian (Jg. 6–8). The boot (*mg.*) worn in the battle tumult, the garments stained with the wounds of war, will be consumed. For a child has been born who shall wear the royal dignity on his shoulder. He bears a fourfold name, expressive of his marvellous wisdom, his prowess in war, his overwhelming victory, his reign in untroubled peace. He will sit on the throne of David, ruling a wide domain in peace and righteousness. Dark the prospect may be, yet the zeal of Yahweh will secure the accomplishment of this prophecy.

3. Read, "Thou hast multiplied the exultation (*haggīlah* for *haggoy lō*), thou hast increased the joy."—**6.** EV wrongly throws the emphasis on "unto us" rather than on "child" and "son." Render, "For a child is born unto us, a son is given unto us."—The names are four (*mg.*), not five.—**Mighty God:** perhaps better "God of a hero," referring to his exceptionally heroic character.—**Everlasting Father:** one who will always be a Father to his people. But we may also render "Father of booty." We thus get a progress in thought; the Messiah is a mighty hero, who takes great spoil from his enemies, and reigns hereafter in unbroken peace.

IX. 8–X. 4. Yahweh Smites Ephraim with Stroke after Stroke.—It is generally agreed that 5₂₅–₂₉ formed the closing strophe of this poem (p. 440). The date is probably before the coalition of Syria and Ephraim (9₁₁f.), *i.e.* between 740 and 735. It is one of Isaiah's earliest prophecies. It is very uncertain whether the whole is a prediction of the future, or whether, with the exception of the conclusion, it describes calamities that have already overtaken the people. On the whole the former view is preferable. It is that adopted in RV, the tenses being taken as prophetic perfects, the alternative view being given in the margin.

IX. 8–12. Yahweh has sent crashing into Israel His word with its power of self-fulfilment, which will soon teach the boastful Ephraimites another lesson. For they believe that the state of things temporarily overthrown by disaster was mean and fragile in comparison with the splendour and stability they will soon attain. So Yahweh will incite the Syrians and Philistines against them. Yet His anger is not turned away, His hand is still stretched out to smite.

10. To the present day houses in Palestine are generally built of sun-dried bricks and beams of sycomore, since they are the cheapest material. Hewn stone and cedar would be reserved for the rich (p. 109).—**11. adversaries of Rezin:** since the Syrians are Israel's enemies, and Rezin was king of Syria, we must correct the text, reading probably "his adversaries."

IX. 13–17. Since this will have no salutary effect, Yahweh will in one day destroy both small and great. He will not spare the sturdiest or the most helpless; the whole nation is evil. Nor yet does this exhaust His wrath.

14. palm-branch and rush: the lofty and the low.—**15f. An insertion.** 15 contains an incorrect explana-

tion of 14; for 16 *cf.* 312.—**17. rejoice over:** "spare" (*yiphsah* for *yismaḥ*) would give a better parallel.

IX. 18–21. Wickedness is like a fire, which first lays hold on the briers, and, gaining strength, sets alight the whole dense forest. The land will be visited by Yahweh's wrath, the people will be like cannibals, the land rent by a ruthless civil war. Yet His hand is still stretched out.

19. burnt up: of quite uncertain meaning.—**as the fuel of fire:** we should probably read "like cannibals."—**20. his own arm:** read, "his neighbour" (*rēʿō* for *zerōʿō*); *cf.* Jer. 199.

X. 1–4. This section differs in several ways from the rest of the poem, and may be derived from another context. It is probably Isaianic. It attacks unjust judges, who deprive the poor and defenceless of justice, that they may defraud them. What will they do when the storm of vengeance sweeps on them from afar? To whom can they turn?

3. glory: wealth.—**4.** Very difficult; the text must be corrupt. A re-division of the consonants gives "Beltis crouches, Osiris is broken" (Lagarde). This may be correct, but we have no evidence for the worship of these deities in Palestine at this time. The meaning would be, "You can flee to no one, for your false gods will be buried under heaps of slain." Gray reads, "To avoid crouching under the prisoners."

X. 5–34. Assyria's Boastfulness and Its Punishment.—This prophecy, so far as it is Isaiah's, must be later than the capture of Carchemish in 717 and before Sennacherib's invasion in 701. Narrower limits cannot be fixed. Non-Isaianic material appears to be present in it.

5–19. Assyria is Yahweh's rod to smite any nation that has aroused His anger, but, inspired by lust of blood, plans to exterminate many peoples, and boastfully thinks to destroy Jerusalem with her divine nonentities, less powerful than those of cities she has seized. So, when she has served His purpose, He will punish her boastfulness in ascribing her conquests to her own wisdom and might. She has abolished the boundaries of subject peoples, merging them in her empire; plundered their treasures and abased their rulers, robbing the nations as a man takes the eggs from a nest abandoned by the panic-stricken birds, none venturing a protest. What folly for God's tool to vaunt itself against Him who wields it! God will punish with wasting disease, and with fire like the conflagration of a mighty forest, which spares so few trees that a child can count them.

5. Read, "and the staff of mine indignation."—**8.** Assyrian governors were in some cases subject kings, or they ruled over territories larger than those governed by the kings of the small Syrian states.—**9. Calno.** (Am. 62*) perhaps Kullani, near Arpad, captured about 738 B.C. **Carchemish** (now Jerabis) was on the right bank of the Euphrates, the capital of the Hittites, 50 miles N.E. of Kullani, captured in 717. **Hamath** (2 K. 1425*, Am. 62*) was on the Orontes, a little more than 100 miles N. of Damascus, reconquered by Sargon in 720. **Arpad** was near Aleppo, about 100 miles N. of Hamath; it was captured in 740. **Damascus,** the capital of Syria, was captured in 732 by Tiglath-pileser; **Samaria** by Sargon in 722.—**10–12.** Perhaps an insertion.—**idols:** lit. nonentities.—**12. fruit of the stout heart:** the arrogant boasting in which his audacity has found expression.—**13.** Text at the close uncertain. **16–19.** The metaphors are confused and the style falls off. Possibly the verses are late, embodying borrowed Isaianic phraseology; more probably they have an Isaianic basis, but have suffered in transmission.—**16. his fat ones:** better, "his fat limbs." The figure is that of a body smitten by a wasting sickness.—**18.** The clause "as when a sick man pineth away" (*mg.*) would be more in place after 16*a*.

20–23. Then the remnant of Israel will no longer seek support in an earthly power, which, instead of helping, only smote it, but in Yahweh. For Israel, however numerous, will suffer Yahweh's righteous judgment of extermination, so that only a remnant shall be left.

24–27. A prophecy of encouragement now begins. God's people in Zion must not fear the Assyrian, though he smite it as Egypt did before the Exodus. For very soon Yahweh's indignation will be passed, and His anger will be accomplished in the destruction of the oppressor, which shall be like Gideon's overthrow of Midian (Jg. 725) and the lifting of the rod over the Red Sea, which opened the waters for the Hebrews and closed them over the Egyptians. Then Israel's shoulder shall be freed from the oppressor's burden and the yoke removed from its neck.

27. and the yoke . . . anointing: if MT is right, we should render as *mg.* But the meaning that Israel shall grow so fat, *i.e.* prosperous, that the yoke is burst from its neck, is unlikely. The clause should probably be connected with 28 and the text emended. We should perhaps read, "He hath come up from Pene-Rimmon, he is come to Aiath." Pene-Rimmon is about 10 miles N. of Jerusalem.

28–34. The march of the Assyrians on Jerusalem is depicted. The host of the enemy moves on till Jerusalem seems to be within its grasp, then suddenly God intervenes and cuts it down. Probably the Assyrian army did not advance on Jerusalem by this route. We are reading imaginative poetry. The central point is that the enemy will threaten Jerusalem with apparently irresistible power, but God will intervene in the city's extremity and annihilate the foe. It would do the prophet an injustice to press the details of this brilliant picture with prosaic literalness.

28f. Aiath is probably Ai, 9 miles N. of Jerusalem. **Migron** may be identical with a place now known as Makrun. **Michmash** was about 2½ miles S.E. of Ai. The pass is referred to in 1 S. 142. The enemy leaves the heavy baggage at Michmash, since he has to descend into the deep Wady es-Suwênit and then climb up the opposite side to Geba.—**29. Geba** is about 5 miles N. of Jerusalem, **Ramah** lies 2 miles to the W. of Geba, **Gibeah** is probably between it and Jerusalem.—**30f.** The places are unidentified, with the exception of **Anathoth,** which lay between Geba and Jerusalem, and was Jeremiah's native city.—**30*b*.** Read *mg.*—**32.** The Assyrian is represented as in sight of the city. Nob has not been identified (1 S. 121*).—**33f.** Just when the Assyrian army catches sight of the city and it seems to be helpless in its grasp, Yahweh intervenes and cuts it down, as a forest is felled by the axe. Lebanon is a figurative expression for the Assyrians on account of its forest of cedars.

XI. 1–9. The Messiah's Divine Equipment.—If the reference to the hewn stump of David's house implies the overthrow of the monarchy, the passage presumably is not Isaiah's. This inference, perhaps, is not necessary; and if 92–7 is his, the same judgment should probably be passed on 111–9. The Messiah is to spring from the family of Jesse, *i.e.* he will be a second David. This family is described as the hewn stump of a tree. It is in a fallen condition, shorn of all its royal glory. Yet it has the sap of life

in it, and from it this new shoot springs. To equip him for his work the spirit of Yahweh rests upon him—not seven spirits, but one spirit with six modes of manifestation, intellectual, practical, and religious. Equipped with the Divine spirit of discernment, the Messiah will not need to depend on the sight of his eyes (*i.e.* mere appearances) or the hearing of his ears (*i.e.* the testimony of witnesses). He will be infallibly guided in his decisions. He will judge with righteousness, smite the violent (so read for "smite the earth"), and slay the wicked. Righteousness and faithfulness will be his equipment for action or conflict. Natural enemies will be at peace, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Yahweh.

3*a*. Read, "and he will cause the fear of Yahweh to rest upon him." The clause is probably a variant of the first clause of 2.—**5.** The girdle binds the clothes together and prepares for marching or fighting.—**6f.** Parallelism suggests that two enemies, not three, should be mentioned in the third clause, and that there should be a verb. Read, perhaps, "and the calf and the young lion shall feed." Instead of "shall feed" in 7 read "shall become friends." There is a redundant clause in 6f.; either the parallel line has fallen out, or the redundant line is not original. Perhaps the last clause of 7 has been inserted from 65$_{25}$, or it might have stood originally after the first clause of 6. In the latter case, the last clause of 6 seems to be an insertion.—**9.** Probably the reference is no longer to the wild beasts, for 9*b* attributes it to the diffusion of the knowledge of Yahweh. Peace among men in Yahweh's holy mountain, *i.e.* Canaan, is intended.

XI. 10–16. The Return of Israel and Judah from the Dispersion, and Victorious Alliance against their Ancient Foes.—This is probably post-exilic. The ideas are characteristic of that period—Israel's spiritual primacy, the latter-day glory of Jerusalem, the flocking of the heathen to it as disciples. 11f.,15f. are more natural in a later writer, for the Israelites would hardly be so widely dispersed in Isaiah's time. 10 appears to be an editorial addition combining elements from 2$_{2-4}$ and from 4$_{2-6}$. The root seems to be a shoot springing from the root. The Messiah dwells in a splendid abode, and the nations resort to him as an organ of Divine revelation. The remnant will a second time be gathered from its wide dispersion. A signal is lifted up to the nations that they may bring the Israelites back; the old enmity of Ephraim and Judah will disappear, and together they will pounce on the shoulder-shaped land of the Philistines as an eagle on its prey. They will spoil the Arabs, smite Edom and Moab, and subdue the Ammonites. Yahweh will dry up (*mg.*) the tongue of the Red Sea (*i.e.* the Gulf of Suez), scorch the Euphrates and split it into seven streams, so that men pass over it dry-shod. Thus the remnant will return from Assyria, as Israel crossed the Red Sea at the Exodus.

11. the second time: a first return from exile had already taken place. This was, in fact, so incomplete that several post-exilic prophecies predict a full return from the Dispersion. The two great powers, Assyria and Egypt, are mentioned first, then their dependencies. By Assyria one of the empires which succeeded Assyria is meant, Persia or Syria.—**Pathros:** Upper Egypt.—**Cush:** Ethiopia.—**Elam:** Jer. 49$_{34-39}$*.—**Shinar:** Babylonia.—**Hamath:** 10$_{9}$*.—**islands of the sea:** the coast lands of the Mediterranean.

XII. Songs of Thanksgiving.—This is a late appendix to the preceding. It is imitative throughout and copies late passages. 11$_{16}$ compares Israel's return from the Dispersion with the deliverance of the Hebrews at the Exodus. As a song of praise (Ex. 15) celebrates the destruction of the Egyptians at the Red Sea, so two brief songs (1–3,4–6) are inserted here, which have close points of contact with Ex. 15 and some Pss., especially Ps. 105, also with parts of Is. 24–27. The speaker in the first song is apparently the redeemed Israel. He utters thanksgiving for the passing of Yahweh's anger into comfort (401f.), expresses his trust in Him as his salvation. The joy with which they draw water from the wells of deliverance (3) is conveyed in a metaphor far more expressive, where water is so scarce, than among ourselves. The second psalm is an exultant celebration among the nations of the wonderful achievements He has wrought for Israel.

XIII. 1–XIV. 23. The Utter Ruin of Babylon and Triumphal Ode over her Monarch's Death.—Historical conditions are here presupposed entirely different from those of Isaiah's time. The subject of 13 is the overthrow of Babylon by the Medes a century and a half after his age. Since the downfall is said to lie in the near future, the prophecy must have been written very near the close of the Exile. The description of Babylon is also not true to the situation of Isaiah's day. The great oppressing empire, whose downfall he predicted, was Assyria. Babylon was subject to it, though it revolted from time to time, and it was united in friendly relations with Judah by hate for the common oppressor. In our prophecy Babylon is no longer a subject state, but "the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldeans' pride," proud and arrogant, haughty and terrible. The ode in 14$_{4b-21}$ probably belongs to the same date. It is a song of triumph over the fall of an unnamed oppressor. The writer pictures with undisguised exultation the taunts that will be aimed at the fallen tyrant in Sheol. Although the king is not named, the close connexion with the preceding prophecy makes it likely that the king of Babylon is meant. 14$_{1-4a}$ is apparently an editorial link between 13 and the ode that follows. If so, the reference to the restoration is to the return from the Dispersion rather than simply from Babylon. Prophecies of the return were not necessarily composed before the return under Cyrus, for neither that nor the subsequent return led by Ezra embraced more than a comparatively small remnant of the Jewish population out of Palestine. Long afterwards the hope of restoration was still cherished.

XIII. A standard is to be set on the bare mountain, that it may be seen far and wide. The warriors are summoned to enter the gates of the Babylonians, here called "the nobles," other nations being the common people in comparison with these world rulers. The warriors are summoned to execute Yahweh's anger. They proudly exult in prospect of victory. They are called consecrated because war was regarded as a holy enterprise, and those who took part in it as specially dedicated to the Divine service, which imposed upon them several restrictions, or, as they are technically called, taboos. Yahweh was Himself supposed to go with His armies to battle. Campaigns were inaugurated with sacrifice (pp.99,114). The prophet hears the Medes mustering in their mountains to pour down on the plains of Babylonia. Though they howl, for Yahweh's day is at hand, men shall be powerless and dismayed in pain and perplexity. The day comes, cruel and angry, to desolate the land and extirpate sinners. The sun, moon, and stars will be darkened; the wicked will be punished and the haughty be brought low; a man will be rarer than gold; the heavens will tremble, the

earth leap from her place. Then the traders or visitors who have come from all quarters to Babylon will rush home in headlong flight. The atrocities which were the usual accomplishments of the capture of a city, especially by savage warriors like the Medes, will be perpetrated at Babylon's fall. For they will not be bought off, they will be pitiless even to the most helpless, and Babylon, now at last mentioned by name, the capital of many subject kingdoms, will be like Sodom and Gomorrah, desolate for ever, unvisited even by the nomad or the shepherd, the home of wild beasts and uncanny monsters. And this judgment is near at hand.

1. burden: read *mg.* It is derived from the verb "to lift up," meaning to lift up the voice.—**6.** *Cf.* Jl. 1₁₅.—**8. faces of flame:** variously explained as the flame of pain, shame, or excitement.—**10.** The failure of the heavenly bodies to shine is a very common element in prophetic pictures of judgment. Read, perhaps, "For the heavens and the constellations thereof." Constellations means such constellations as Orion.—**12. Ophir:** the situation has been much disputed. It has been located on the W. coast of India, and on the S.E. coast of Africa, opposite Madagascar. The most probable view is that it was on the S.E. coast of Arabia, but the name may also have included the district opposite this on the E. coast of Africa. See the Dictionaries.—**15f.** The atrocities were not actually perpetrated, for Babylon surrendered peacefully to Cyrus.—**17.** The **Medes** (pp. 58, 60) were a mountaineering nation to the N.E. of Babylon. Cyrus united them with the Persians under his sway, and together they captured Babylon in 538. See pp. 61, 77. —**19.** The **Chaldeans** (pp. 58f.) were a people living on the coast S.E. of Babylonia. Merodach Baladan (p. 71) who held Babylon for a time against Assyria, was a Chaldean. But they were not in any sense Babylonians till Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, who was a Chaldean, founded the new Babylonian empire about 626 (p. 60). The name was subsequently used as synonymous with Babylonians. In Daniel we have the curious use of Chaldeans in the sense of magicians or wise men (pp. 524f.).—**21f.** Parallels occur in Zeph. 2₁₄f.; Jer. 50₃₉, 51₃₇; Is. 34₁₁₋₁₅. The creatures mentioned belonged not merely to what we should call natural history, but supernatural, which were not sharply distinguished by the ancient mind. The names are in some cases of uncertain meaning. The satyrs are demons, probably in the shape of goats. It is a common Arab superstition that ruins are haunted by uncanny creatures. The author further predicts that this desolation is to come quickly. As a matter of fact the city remained unharmed under Cyrus. Its outer walls were destroyed when it revolted from Darius I, and it gradually decayed. It was still inhabited in the time of Alexander the Great, who purposed to make it his capital, and who died there.

XIV. 1–23. For Yahweh in His pity will restore Israel to its own land, and some of the heathen will join Israel as proselytes (*cf.* 56₃,6f.). The nations will bring them back to Palestine (49₂₂f., 60₉₋₁₄, 66₂₀), and the oppressors will serve those whom they had oppressed. Then when Israel has been rescued it will utter this taunting song over the king of Babylon. The song is written in the so-called lamentation rhythm, which was used largely, though not exclusively, for dirges and elegies. Now has the oppressor ceased, ceased the terror! The tyrant staff is broken that smote the nations in incessant anger and trampled them with a trampling that none could check. The earth is at peace, the trees rejoice that they will no longer be felled by the oppressor to provide timber for ships, buildings, and implements of war. The poet now depicts the fortunes of the fallen tyrant after his death, first of his shade (9–15), then of his corp[se] (16–20). First he follows the king's shade to Sheol. Th[e] was the underworld, to which the shades of men were supposed to go after death, leading there a shadowy existence, regarded here apparently as the counterpart or pale reflection of the life which they led on earth. Thus the kings of the nations still sit on thrones. The passage should be compared with the striking description in Ezek. 32₁₈–32*, which differs from this to some extent in its representation. Here the kings are said to rise in amazement to meet the king of Babylon. They had not expected this invincible monarch to be overthrown, but now he is w[eak] with them, as weak as they. This is the end of his pomp and his music; worms are his couch and his coverlet. So far from sitting on a throne like his fellow-kings, he is doomed to lie on the soil of the underworld, which is pictured as infested with worms, an indication of the close associations between Sheol and the grave. Later he is said to be brought down to the furthest recesses of the pit (15). He is thus dishonourably cast aside, no longer the centre of observation. The reason is, it would seem, the fact that his corpse remains unburied (19). Son of the Goddess of the Dawn (Job 39*), he aspired, as himself a demigod and king of a world empire, to become one of the gods (Ezek. 28), sitting in their assembly on their mountain home in the far North. He is like the morning star, which shines brightly, but only for a brief period, quickly disappearing before the sun. The falling of the star (*cf.* Rev. 9₁) is probably suggested by the falling of a meteor. How startling the contrast between the height he hoped to reach in the uttermost North and the depth into which he is plunged in the furthest recesses of Sheol! The scene changes to the battlefield (16), where the corpse of the king lies unburied. Those who see it will, as they closely scrutinise it, moralise on the change of fortune. Invincible though he had been, and holding his conquests so firmly, yet, unlike other kings, he is not honoured with burial in his own tomb. The text of 17–20 has apparently suffered from transposition and corruption (see below). Not only is he excluded from his royal tomb, his whole brood falls and their very names are forgotten (20). Let the conquerors extirpate his children, that his dynasty may not perpetuate the mischief of his rule. 22f. is perhaps an editorial conclusion describing the desolation of Babylon. When its irrigation system fell into neglect, the overflow of the Euphrates formed marshes, since it was no longer carried off by the canals (p. 50).

4. golden city: read "the raging" or "terror."—**9. the dead:** *i.e.* Rephaim (Gen. 14₅*).—**11. viols:** perhaps we might illustrate from 21₅, where the princes of Babylon are represented as at a banquet when the enemy were at their gates, and from the account of Belshazzar's feast in Dan. 5.—**19.** The text seems to mean that the king's body is cast away unburied, like a worthless branch, cut off the tree and thrown aside; that it is flung into a pit with the rest of the bodies of the slain, so that he is surrounded by them on every side. But the language is strange, especially the phrase, "that go down to the stones of the pit." Probably we should read, "but thou art cast forth with the slain that are thrust through with the sword, that go down to the base of the pit, as a carcase trodden under foot." The remaining words then form an introduction to 20. They do not make a complete

sentence, and probably some words have dropped out. It has been suggested to read: "[How art thou cut off] from thy grave, like an abominable branch. [How liest thou there without honour] clothed [with shame]." This is a largely conjectural restoration, but it gives a good sense and avoids the difficulties raised by the present text. Something like this is very probably right. The king is called "an abominable branch" in the sense that he is a shoot disgraceful to the family tree, and therefore deserving to be lopped off (*cf.* 11r, Jn. 15*b*).—**20. with them** in this context can refer only to the kings of the nations (18), which is very awkward, since the pronoun ought naturally to refer to the slain. But neither is satisfactory. He should be spoken of as buried with his ancestors. Read with Duhm, "as for thy fathers, thou shalt not be joined," etc.—**21. cities:** read "heaps of ruins," unless the word, which is unnecessary and metrically inconvenient, should be struck out. With this verse the ode comes to an end.—**23. porcupine:** AV "bittern" probably suits the passages where it occurs better, though porcupine is philologically much the best supported (see EBi, HDB, SDB²).

XIV. 24–27. The Destruction of Assyria.—This is usually regarded as a genuine fragment by Isaiah, asserting, as in 10*5*–34, the approaching destruction of Assyria in Palestine, and uttered probably not long before Sennacherib's invasion in 701. Some take it to be post-exilic, mainly on the ground that, just as in the later eschatology, the judgment is to be inflicted on all the nations, while Isaiah limits his view to a much narrower horizon. It is also said to be put together out of Isaianic phrases. It is true that numerous parallels occur in the other prophecies, but the piece is so free and vigorous in style, that it does not make the impression of having been composed by a mere copyist. Nor was it possible for the Assyrian Empire to be broken up without affecting the other nations in a vital and far-reaching way. The view taken of a fragment like this necessarily depends to a large extent on the attitude adopted to some of the larger critical questions raised by the book.

Yahweh has sworn to accomplish His purpose of breaking Assyria to pieces in the mountainous land of Palestine. It is a purpose of world-wide import, and, since Yahweh has decreed it, none will be able to thwart His design.

25*a*. The destruction takes place in Yahweh's land, that it may be plain to the world that Yahweh has accomplished it. It was a common feature in Apocalyptic that the judgment on the nations should take place before Jerusalem.—25*b*. Perhaps a gloss. We are not told whom the prophet means by "them." If the passage is original here, this should have been clearly expressed. We naturally think of the people of Judah as in the writer's mind, but the next verse contemplates a wider field. Besides, 26 connects better with 25*a* than with 25*b*. It is very similar to 10*27* (*cf.* 9*4*), and may have been written on the margin and then admitted to the text.

XIV. 28–32. Philistia's Exultation is Premature: Worse Calamities are at Hand.—The Philistines are warned not to rejoice that the rod which has oppressed them is broken, for the tyrant's successor will smite them with greater severity. At first sight it might seem, on account of the title, that the breaking of the rod referred to the death of Ahaz. But we do not know that the Philistines were at this time in any way subject to Judah, and it is likely that both Jews and Philistines were subject to Assyria. Nor does the prophecy favour this view, since it represents Judah as in poverty, while the description of the enemy that is coming upon Philistia points unmistakably to Assyria, if Isaiah is the author. Probably, then, the reference is to the death of an Assyrian king. We might think of Tiglath-Pileser's death in 727, or Shalmaneser's in 722, or Sargon's in 705 (pp. 59, 70f.). Titles are often untrustworthy, but there is nothing intrinsically suspicious in the title to this prophecy, while the fact that the year 727, assigned on independent grounds as the death-year of Ahaz, was also the death-year of Tiglath-pileser, is a striking coincidence, which makes it probable that this is the date of the prophecy. Duhm dates it between the battle of Issus (333 B.C.) and the capture of Gaza by Alexander the Great in the following year. In that case the Persian monarchy will be the broken rod; and the writer warns the Philistines that, instead of gaining their freedom through its overthrow, they will find Alexander a severer oppressor. But the breaking of the staff probably refers to the death of a king from whom they had greatly suffered. The rod and the serpent mean the same thing, viz. the oppressing empire or king. The serpent's root is the root from which the serpent has sprung, probably the royal house of Assyria. Since the basilisk springs from the same root as the serpent, it is hardly likely that the prophet can mean that one oppressing empire will be succeeded by another. It is the same power throughout that is referred to. The basilisk and fiery flying serpent are symbols of worse and worse oppressors. The Philistines seem to have sent ambassadors to Judah to form an alliance against the enemy. It was not unusual, when an Assyrian king died, for numerous rebellions among the subject nations to break out in the empire. The Philistines were very turbulent, and probably it is to one of these attempts that the passage refers. The answer is quite in the spirit of Isaiah. Yahweh has founded Zion; it is therefore safe, and needs no earthly alliance. The several petty kingdoms which make up Philistia are all rejoicing at the oppressor's death; but their joy is premature, for his successor will be far more formidable. But the poor shall feed on Yahweh's mountains and rest in safety, but the seed (LXX) of Philistia will be destroyed by famine and her remnant shall be slain. Philistia may lament for her extermination; the Assyrians are coming from the North, their track marked by the smoke of blazing towns. The soldiers march in a close, compact order, with no straggler in the ranks (*mg.*). The Philistian ambassadors must take back the message that Yahweh has established Zion, and in her the afflicted people take refuge.

29. basilisk: probably a mythical creature.—**30. firstborn of the poor:** if MT is correct, this means the poorest of the poor. Probably we should read, "and the poor shall feed on my mountains."

XV., XVI. Oracle on Moab.—In 16*13*f. we read that the preceding prophecy had been spoken in time past: now it is confirmed, and its fulfilment exactly dated. The natural meaning of this is that the main body of the oracle had been uttered some time previously. Very few accept the view that Isaiah himself wrote it. It is generally thought that he quotes the work of an older prophet and endorses it. This is suggested by the language of 16*13*f., which does not favour the view that its author also wrote the main body of the prophecy. The style of the prophecy is archaic and tedious, and there are many peculiar forms in the language. The sympathetic tone has no parallel in Isaiah, and the minute knowledge of the topography

of Moab is rather improbable in a city prophet. If this view is correct, it is still uncertain when the original prophecy was spoken. It must be later than the time of Ahab, since cities are represented as belonging to Moab which, as we know from the Moabite Stone, were recovered by Mesha. (Many think the original occasion was a conquest of Moab by Jeroboam II, which, though not expressly mentioned, is implied in the history. Since Judah is supposed to be able to protect the fugitives of Moab, she must have been fairly strong at the time, and this would suit the reign of Uzziah, which was for the most part contemporary with that of Jeroboam II. Isaiah may have republished the oracle with the appendix shortly before Sargon's campaign against Ashdod in 711, when Moab was intriguing against Assyria with Egypt and Philistia, or he might have done so shortly before Sennacherib's invasion in 701. Several scholars believe that the original prophecy is post-exilic. Gray (ICC) analyses into an elegy consisting of 15₁–9*a*, 16₁(6)7–11, and a prophetic interpolation containing 15₉*b*–16₅,₁₂. The elegy he thinks has reference to the Nabatæan conquest of Moab in the fifth century. The oracle forms the basis of the much longer prophecy in Jer. 48.

XV. 1–9. The Overthrow of Moab.—A sudden catastrophe has overwhelmed Ar (Nu. 21₁₅*) and Kir in one night. The daughter (read *bath* for Bayith; *cf.* Jer. 48₁₈) of Dibon (Nu. 21₃₀*) has gone up to the high places to lament; everywhere are signs of mourning. The cry of distress is heard from Heshbon (Nu. 21₂₅*) and Elealeh (Nu. 32₃₇*) in Jahaz (Nu. 21₂₃*). The fugitives (*mg.*) flee to Zoar (Gen. 19₂₂*) and the third Eglath. They mount the ascent of Luhith (between Rabba and Zoar), and lament in the way of Horonaim. The waters of Nimrim have been stopped by the enemy, the pastures are parched. The Moabites carry their goods across the brook of the willows, apparently into Edom; from one end of the land to the other the howling of anguish is heard. All bloody are the waters of Dimon. A more terrible enemy (? Assyria) is to come on the remnant which has escaped.

1. Kir: probably Kerak, a very strong fortress about 17 miles S. of the Arnon.—**2.** Baldness and cutting off the beard are signs of mourning (p. 110).—**5.** Probably there were three places named Eglath, near together; the third would be intended here. The sense of *mg.* is that Moab (or Zoar) is a vigorous power hitherto unconquered, but now to be crushed into servitude.—**Nimrim:** probably not Bath-nimrah (Nu. 32₃₆*), which is too far N., but the Wadi Numeirah, S. of Kir.—**8. Eglaim:** probably at the S. extremity of Moab, Beer-elim (Nu. 21₁₆*), in the N.—**9. Dimon:** probably the same as Dibon, the change securing an assonance with the word for blood (*dām*).

XVI. 1–12. The Moabites now in Sela, a city of Edom (2 K. 14₇*; *cf.* Jg. 1₃₆, *mg.**), exhort each other to send the tribute of lambs once paid to Israel (2 K. 3₄) to Jerusalem to secure her protection and shelter, since Edom was under the suzerainty of Judah. Judah can protect the Moabites, for it is under a righteous government. But the prayer is rejected, for the arrogance of Moab (25₁₁) is such that its flattery of Judah must be insincere. So Moab must mourn still more, lamenting for the raisin cakes of Kir-hareseth (in 11 Kir-heres, probably identical with Kir of Moab). The vineyards of Heshbon, the vines of Sibmah languish, whose vintage was so choice that it was drunk by monarchs, so strong that it overcame them, accustomed though they would be to powerful intoxicants. The poet shares the grief of Jazer (15 miles N. of Heshbon), for the vintage is all ruined. Though the poet's compassion is moved at the desolation, the prayers of the doomed people cannot avert it.

2. Out of place. The Moabites are here back at the fords of Arnon (Nu. 21₁₃*), timid and irresolute. It breaks the connexion between 1 and 3.—**7. raisin-cakes:** grapes pressed together in the form of a cake used at religious festivals (p. 99, Hos. 3₁*).—**8.** Poetically the author describes the vines under the figure of a single vine branching out to Jazer on the north, to the desert on the east, and the Dead Sea on the west.—**9f.** The word rendered "*battle* shout" is the same as that rendered "vintage shout." It is the technical name for the shout of the wine-treaders as they press the grapes. There will be a vintage shout, but it will be that of the soldiers as they trample the vineyards down; *cf.* Jer. 48₃₃, "the shouting shall be no shouting."—**11.** As the harp responds to the touch of the musician, so the poet's heart is moved by the sorrows of Moab.

13f. The preceding prophecy was spoken in time past, but now in three years precisely the glory of Moab shall be brought low, and only an insignificant remnant be spared.

14. The hired servant serves for the stipulated period exactly. The master sees to it that it shall be no less, the servant takes care that it shall be no more.

XVII. 1–11. Oracle on Damascus and Israel.—In spite of the title this prophecy deals much more with Ephraim than Damascus, which is not mentioned after 3. The close connexion of the two suggests that they have formed an alliance, and this is confirmed by the probable reference to Syrian forms of worship in 10. The prophecy is therefore later than 9₈–10₄, when the alliance between Syria and Ephraim had not been formed. It must be earlier than 732, since at that date Damascus fell. We may perhaps fix the date a little more precisely. No reference is made to the invasion of Judah by the allied forces, so this had probably not yet taken place. We may accordingly date it about 736–5. Damascus is to become a ruin, the Syrian cities desolate, so that flocks will pasture undisturbed on their site. Ephraim will thus lose her bulwark against Assyria, and Syria shall fail as Israel's glory will pass away. For Israel also shall be like a man smitten with a wasting disease, or like the standing corn ready to be reaped, of which the gleanings only will be left on the field, as when a fruitful olive tree is beaten and only a very few berries are left. The description of the judgment is broken off in 7f., which may be an insertion, asserting as the effect of the judgment that man will look to his Maker rather than to the idols. The description is resumed with a prediction that Israel's fortresses shall be like the ruined strongholds out of which the Israelites at the conquest drove the Amorites and the Hivites (*mg.*). For Israel has forgotten her God, she has planted plantings of Adonis (*mg.*) and vineslips of a strange god (*mg.*). The harvest ripens speedily but withers quickly, leaving only a desperate sorrow. Adonis was a vegetation deity whose worship was widely spread. The name Tammuz in Ezek. 8₁₄* is Babylonian. The myth of his death represented the death of vegetation in autumn. The plantings of Adonis were pots or baskets of earth sown with flowers, which were stimulated to rapid growth, and quickly withered. So quickly, the next verse intimates, will the plans and hopes of Israel, which, in

its alliance with Syria, had adopted this Syrian cult, be rudely crushed.

2. Aroer: three Aroers are mentioned in the OT—one in the extreme south of Judah, one in Ammon, the other on the Arnon in Moab. These are all much too far south, since the context requires a district in the neighbourhood of Damascus. Read, perhaps, "cities of Aram."—**3.** The meaning may be that the fortresses of Ephraim will be overthrown; but as the subject is Damascus, it is better to render "the bulwark of Ephraim" and explain as above.—**5.** The reapers used to cut the stalk close to the ear, not close to the ground. The valley of Rephaim (p. 31) lay S.W. of Jerusalem.—**6.** A rod was used to knock the olive berries from the tree, but a few might be left on the more inaccessible boughs.—**8. the work of his hands** refers to idols more naturally than to altars. For "Asherim" *cf.* p. 100, 1 K. 15_{13}*. The sun-images are probably sun-pillars (2 Ch. 14_{5}*); both are probably glosses.

XVII. 12–14. The Overthrow of Assyria.—A brief independent prophecy or oracle not connected with 1–11, and probably not with 18. Some assign it to the post-exilic period on account of the reference to the many nations, *i.e.* the hostile world gathering against Judah and dispersed by the intervention of God. It is also not impossible that so fine and vigorous a piece of Hebrew should be composed in the post-exilic period. But while this may be freely admitted, it amounts to nothing more than this, that if the passage stood quite alone it would not be unnatural to place it in the post-exilic period. There is, however, no reason for denying it to Isaiah, since the many nations may be adequately explained in the usual way, as the many nations subject to Assyria which had to send contingents to fight in her armies. The date is uncertain; it is most probably about 701.

The nations rush in their onset with an uproar like the roaring ocean, but Yahweh will rebuke them and drive them like dust before the storm. The host that in the evening is so terrible will be no more before morning. Such is the lot of those who spoil God's people.

13. chaff of the mountains: corn was preferably threshed on high ground, so that the wind might carry the chaff away.

XVIII. Isaiah Discourages the Schemes of Ethiopia.—This chapter is probably connected with the policy of the Egyptian alliance so frequently denounced by Isaiah in 29–31. Here the negotiations seem to be in the initial stage, and the courteous language of Isaiah agrees best with the view that at present he did not regard the alliance as within the range of practical politics. The land of Ethiopia is described, with special reference to the swarms of flies. Its rivers are the Blue and White Nile. Ambassadors have been sent to Jerusalem, apparently to induce the Jews to throw off the Assyrian yoke and assure them of support. They have come down the Nile, here called the sea (19_{5}*), in light boats of papyrus (Ex. 2_{3}). These were very swift, and could be carried along the bank where the river was not navigable. EV, by inserting "saying" in 2, gives a wrong sense, as if Ethiopia addressed the following words to the ambassadors, sending them to the various parts of the empire. They are rather the words spoken to them by Isaiah, bidding them return from Jerusalem to their own land. They are described as tall and with polished skins, a people of great military strength, trampling other nations beneath its feet, and inhabiting a land intersected by numerous rivers, unlike Judah, which was so poor in streams. The whole world is bidden observe the signal given for the overthrow of Assyria, since not Ethiopia alone but many other peoples are deeply concerned in her fate. Through a special revelation Isaiah has learnt the explanation of Yahweh's conduct and his knowledge of His future action. Unlike the busy, intriguing nations, whose action all ends in nothing, Yahweh waits quietly till the time is ripe, when He intervenes with effect. The heat and cloud ripen the harvest, and they also fitly symbolise the stillness in which Yahweh bides His time. He waits because Assyria has still His work to do, and only when that is accomplished does He cut her down. Just when the plans of Assyria are on the eve of accomplishment Yahweh brings them to nothing. Ravenous beasts and birds will prey on the corpses of the Assyrian soldiers. Then the Ethiopians will send a present to Zion for Yahweh.

2. that meteth out and treadeth down: render, probably, "a people of strength and treading down."

XIX. Oracle on Egypt.—This is one of the most difficult chapters in the book. It falls into two sections, 1–17 and 18–25. If 1–17 is in the main from Isaiah, it probably refers to an anticipated conquest of Egypt by Assyria. Three possibilities are then open: (*a*) the defeat of Egypt by Sargon at Raphia in 720 B.C. (pp. 59, 71); (*b*) the occasion which called forth the similar prophecy in 20; (*c*) the early part of Sennacherib's reign, when Judah was planning an alliance with Egypt. It is true that no Assyrian king ruled over Egypt till 672, when Esarhaddon did so (p. 60). But it is better to regard the cruel lord and fierce king, into whose power Egypt is to be delivered, as an Assyrian rather than a native ruler, even though it is difficult to fix the precise historical occasion to which the prophecy belongs. But its Isaianic authorship is by no means unquestioned. No agreement, however, has been reached as to its date if non-Isaianic. The cruel lord would probably be a Persian king. Cambyses (529–522), Xerxes (485–465), and Artaxerxes Ochus (359–338) have been suggested. 18–25 forms an appendix. Its tone is strikingly different from that of the earlier part. In the former part of the prophecy the tone is both threatening and sarcastic towards Egypt, while in the latter it is very sympathetic. Stylistically the passage does not resemble Isaiah's work, and it is most difficult of all to account for the very circumstantial details into which the prophet enters, if it is Isaiah's. The main objection to a post-exilic date has been the reference to a pillar in the land of Egypt as a sign that Egypt will turn to God. Since pillars are forbidden in Dt. 16_{22}, it is urged that the prophecy must be earlier, while this is confirmed by the fact that the altar would conflict with the Deuteronomic law of a single sanctuary (Dt. 12). But the pillar may have merely a memorial character, and be mentioned here because pillars were so numerous in Egypt. And in spite of Dt. a temple was actually erected in Egypt in the second century B.C. The date is very uncertain, especially since the text and meaning of 18 are quite unsettled. The view that this verse refers to the temple founded at Leontopolis about 160 B.C. is dubious, though the variation in the text may have expressed later judgment upon this temple.

1–17. Yahweh rides on a cloud (*cf.* Ps. 104_{3}, and, if the cherubim originally represented the thunder-cloud, Ps. 18_{10}) and enters Egypt. He strikes dismay into her and her gods, for He is about to judge them. He afflicts Egypt with civil war; Egypt's intellect is paralysed, so, incapable of wise counsel, she has

recourse to the idols and occult arts. In spite of this she falls under the sway of a tyrant. The Nile, here called the sea (*cf.* 18$_2$)—for it was more like a sea than a river when it overflowed its banks—will dry up, and the canals on which the country depended for its system of irrigation will also be dry. The land will be barren, vegetation fail, the fishermen and weavers be thrown out of employment. The princes and counsellors of the king have become foolish; how can they boast their descent from ancient sages and kings? Pharaoh is twitted with the helplessness of his advisers, the chief caste has caused Egypt to go astray. Yahweh has mixed a draught for the leaders, consisting of a spirit of infatuation which makes them incapable of directing the people aright. The people, thus misdirected, go astray like a drunken man. No one, either high or low, can render effective help. As Yahweh smites Egypt with blow after blow, she is filled with terror like a woman, and the very mention of Judah will dismay her, since the author of her trouble is Judah's God.

2. Egypt was divided into small provinces, which were very jealous of each other and constantly at feud. When the central power was weakened, they easily drifted into civil war.—**7.** The text is probably corrupt; the LXX is quite different.—**9.** Linen was worn by the priests and used for bandaging mummies. Cotton was worn by the non-priestly classes.—**10.** The pillars of society may be the upper classes or the labourers, but perhaps we should read "they that weave it," *i.e.* the fabrics mentioned in 9.—**11. Zoan** is Tanis in the N.E. of the Delta, once the chief commercial city of Egypt. It was the capital of Egypt during the Hyksos dynasty (pp. 52, 54), and also under Rameses II and other important Egyptian kings.—**13. Noph** is Memphis, a city on the left bank of the Nile, shortly before it branches to form the Delta. It was founded by Menes, the first monarch of the 1st dynasty, and was for a long time one of the most important cities of Egypt.—**tribes:** render "castes."—15*b*. *Cf.* 9$_{14}$.

XIX. 18–25. Five cities in Egypt will speak Hebrew and swear fealty to Yahweh. One shall be called "city of the sun." There will be an altar to Yahweh in Egypt, and an obelisk to Him at its border, which shall witness for Him; and He will send a deliverer from their oppressors, so that they will worship Him with the animal and vegetable offerings and perform vows to Him. Then He will treat them as He had often treated Israel, smiting them for transgression, and healing them when they repented after their chastisement. Then a highway will lead from Egypt through Palestine to Assyria, that there may be free intercourse between them; for not only Egypt but also Assyria will serve Yahweh, and Israel will be united with these two empires as the third member of the league.

18. Herodotus reckons the cities of Egypt as 20,000. Five is thus a very small proportion. These cities are apparently inhabited by Hebrew-speaking Jews. The Jews in Egypt nearly all spoke Greek, and the LXX translation was made because they were unable to read the Scriptures in Hebrew.—**The city of destruction:** the text is uncertain. There are two Heb. variants—Heres, "destruction," and Heres, "sun." The former is also rendered "lion," and the reference supposed to be to Leontopolis, where Onias IV built a Jewish temple in 170 B.C. The translation, however, seems far-fetched: the rendering "destruction" does not suit the favourable tone of the prophecy; it may be a correction made by Palestinian Jews to express the anticipated doom of the Egyptian temple. Similarly the LXX, "city of righteousness," may be a deliberate Alexandrian alteration to secure sanction for the Egyptian temple. On the whole it seems best to read "city of the sun"; in that case Heliopolis (*i.e.* sun-city) is meant. Leontopolis was situated in the district of Heliopolis.—**19.** The altar is intended for sacrifice, and thus the author rises above the limitation of sacrifice to the Temple at Jerusalem. The pillar is probably simply memorial, and in that case does not conflict with the prohibition of pillars in Dt. It is placed at the border of Egypt to testify of Yahweh to all who enter the country.—**23.** Assyria probably means Syria (11$_{11}$*).

XX. The Sign of Egypt's Overthrow.—The year in which the Assyrian Tartan, or commander-in-chief, came to Ashdod was 711. This city had been in negotiation with Egypt against Assyria, and so too had Judah, Moab, and Edom. Isaiah had protested against this policy by the sign here recorded. To show the futility of trusting in Egypt and Ethiopia he put off his outer garment, and for three years walked stripped and barefoot like a captive, symbolising the fate that was coming on these lands. Ashdod was quickly captured, many of its inhabitants were taken to Assyria and their place supplied by other exiles, as had been the case with Samaria. We do not know how Judah was treated. The desperate measures taken by Isaiah, and the summary punishment of Ashdod, may have kept Judah from open rebellion. 2 seems to represent the command to walk in captive's dress as given to Isaiah in the year that Ashdod was taken, whereas from 3 it is clear that by this time Isaiah had already been walking so for three years. It is simplest to regard 2 as an insertion, and this is supported by the use of the phrase "by Isaiah" instead of, as we ought to have, "unto Isaiah." If 2 is retained, it must be treated as a parenthesis, a very loose interpretation must be given to "at that time," and we must translate "had spoken" instead of "spake."

At the time of the conquest of Ashdod, Isaiah had by Divine command walked for three years in captive's dress. This was a sign that Assyria would carry captive the Egyptians and Ethiopians. Then dismay and disappointment would overwhelm those who trusted in Egypt and favoured alliance with her and they would fear for their own safety.

1. Sargon: see p. 59. He is mentioned here only in OT.—**2.** The sackcloth was worn by mourners, also by prophets, and was often made of hair. Isaiah removes his outer garment, and appears with nothing but the long linen cloak which was worn next the skin.—**6. this coastland:** *i.e.* Palestine. Strictly speaking, Philistia was a coastland, while Judah was not. The prophet has in mind the small nations of Palestine, especially Judah. As a matter of fact, the conquest of Egypt took place at a later period.

XXI. 1–10. The Capture of Babylon.—This prophecy describes a siege and capture of Babylon by Elam and Media. It is almost universally considered to have been written shortly before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 538. The attempts made by a few critics to refer it to a capture of Babylon by Assyria in Isaiah's time—710, 703, or 696—have not been successful. The title "wilderness of the sea" is difficult. Possibly the point is that Babylon is to become a marshy desert (14$_{23}$). LXX omits "of the sea."

The army of the invader sweeps into Babylon from the desert, the terrible land which separates Babylon from Elam, like as a whirlwind sweeps over Judah

from the Negeb. A distressing vision is revealed to the prophet; since Babylon treats the vanquished so brutally, Elam and Media are bidden besiege it, for Yahweh has decreed that the sighing of her captives shall be made to cease. The prophet is overwhelmed with pain and dismay: far other than he anticipated is the twilight that he desired, the still evening hour when the spirit is exalted to receive visions or other Divine communications. For before the captives can be delivered there are the horrors of war and of the siege to be endured, in which they must suffer severely. He now describes the state of things in Babylon with all the vividness of the immediate impression of his vision. He sees the foe rush on Babylon, he sees the unreadiness of the Babylonians for the conflict. They are feasting when the foe is upon them. Next the seer describes how the vision has come to him. The watchman is the prophet himself in his trance condition. The description casts an interesting light on the psychological character of this state, and on the mode in which revelation was mediated (p. 430). Similar distinctions in self-consciousness are familiar to students of anthropology and psychology. The watchman is bidden listen very attentively, when he sees a troop come in sight. The troop is the army which is to attack Babylon. For a long time nothing happens, and he cries out in his impatience. At last the appointed vision comes, and he divines that Babylon has fallen. The prophecy concludes with words addressed to Judah. The metaphor refers to the severe treatment that Judah has undergone at the hands of the Babylonians.

5. set a watch: the rendering is very uncertain. Perhaps we should accept *mg.*—**8. as a lion:** perhaps a metaphor for impatience, but the text is corrupt. Read either "I see" or "in my ears."

XXI. 11f. Oracle on Edom.—This is probably not by Isaiah. Date and authorship are uncertain. It is best regarded as by the author of 21 1–10. It might be objected to an exilic date that the prophecy, though not specially cordial, reveals none of the bitter hatred against Edom, called forth by the eagerness of the Edomites for the overthrow of Jerusalem. But the preceding prophecy similarly shows none of that hatred of Babylon which is expressed in contemporary writings, so that the absence of a violent attack on Edom need not be surprising from the same author at that date. One from Edom asks how long it will be ere the tedious night of their trouble is over. The watchman's reply is not clear. He invites them to consult him again, thinking apparently that he may learn more in another vision. Meanwhile he tells him that morning is coming and also night; apparently that there will be a respite from trouble, but the night of calamity will settle down again. The words may mean that there will be happiness for some but distress for others, or that he is uncertain which of the competing forces will gain the upper hand.

11. Dumah: *i.e.* silence, clearly a name for Edom, perhaps with a reference to the silence of desolation.—**Watchman:** not the same word as that in 6. There it meant one who looks out from his watch-tower, here it means one who keeps watch over things.

XXI. 13–17. Oracle on the Dedanites.—Date and authorship are unknown. If by Isaiah it may refer to an expected invasion in 720 or 711. Probably 16f, is an appendix, the original oracle, 13–15, being from the same hand as 1–10 and 11f. The title should probably be rendered "oracle in the wilderness." If RV is correct, Arabia is not used in its modern significance, but as the home of an Arabian tribe.

The prophet addresses the Dedanites, an Arabian tribe engaged in the caravan trade. Their caravans, fleeing from the sword, have to leave the ordinary routes and take refuge in the bush of the desert. They cannot get fresh supplies of food and water, so the people of Tema, a tribe about 250 miles S.E. of Edom, are bidden (*mg.*) show them hospitality. The appendix (*cf.* 16 13f.) says that in a year exactly measured Kedar will be decimated. Kedar (Ps. 120 5*) was a pastoral tribe of nomads, but seems to be used here for the North Arabian tribes generally.

XXII. 1–14. Jerusalem's Inexcusable Frivolity.—The prophecy apparently belongs to the time of Sennacherib's invasion. Its menacing tone contrasts with that of some other prophecies of the time. The people had provoked Isaiah's sternest anger by giving themselves up to festivity. Probably this was after the siege had been raised, either temporarily or when Sennacherib's army had been withdrawn after the disaster recorded in 37 36. In the reaction caused by this relief the inhabitants recklessly surrendered themselves to riotous merriment, recognising (13) that they might still be doomed to die. The valley of vision cannot be Jerusalem itself, for it was no valley, but must be some valley in the neighbourhood. It seems to mean the valley concerning which the vision was seen.

The prophet is amazed at the manifestations of festivity. The people are on the house-tops, perhaps watching the retreat of the Assyrians or some spectacle in the streets. But another vision passes before the prophet's inward eye in strange contrast to their riotous exultation. Her slain have met no honourable death in battle, her rulers have fled before the Assyrians and been made prisoners by the archers. The slain have been killed in flight or executed. The prophet therefore cannot share in the mirth of the citizens and refuses to be comforted, for Yahweh has sent a day of crushing defeat: in the valley of vision they are shattering the walls, and a cry of distress goes up to the mountains. Elam (Jer. 49 34–39*) sent a contingent of archers with chariots and horsemen, and Kir (Am. 9 7*) took the shields from the cases in preparation for battle. The valleys were crowded with chariots, and the cavalry were set in array to assault the gates. Then the defencelessness of the city was laid bare, and the Jews made hasty attempts to atone for their former blindness by putting it in a state of defence. They examined the armour in the arsenal (1 K. 10 17), found the walls of Zion in a ruinous condition; they retained the waters of the lower pool (situation unknown) in the city by stopping the outlets, to secure an adequate water supply during the siege. They numbered the houses to see which furnished the most suitable material, and could most easily be spared. They used these to mend and strengthen the walls. They stored the water of the old pool in a reservoir. But in all these preparations they had left God out of their reckoning. Yet all that had occurred was but the working out of His long-premeditated scheme, but they had not the insight to see His hand in history. Yahweh had called to mourning and humiliation, but they had given themselves to mirth and feasting, probably on the sacrifices of thank-offering for deliverance. But in their festivity there was a tragic undertone; they may well have realised that their position might soon be desperate again, and have drowned in reckless gaiety all care for the uncertain future. Sins so heinous must be punished by death.

5. Remove the semi-colon from "vision" to "hosts."—**6.** The Elamites were famous archers.—

Omit "of men."—*9b–11a.* Possibly a prosaic interpolation; if omitted, we get a finer connexion between *9a* and *11b*—you looked to the breaches of the city, but you did not look to Yahweh.—**11. the old pool:** perhaps the pool of Siloam.—**12. baldness:** shaving of the head in token of sorrow.

XXII. 15–25. Shebna to be Deposed and Eliakim Installed in his Office.—This denunciation of Shebna, who seems to have been a foreigner, was probably due to the obnoxious character of his policy. Presumably he favoured the Egyptian alliance. The sarcastic description of the abuse of Eliakim's position by his relatives, and their subsequent downfall with him, can hardly be due to the author of the remarkable eulogy that has just preceded. Accordingly 24f., at least, must be regarded as a later addition, probably by a scribe unfriendly to Eliakim's family. On the other hand, it is not likely that 19–23 is also an appendix. Isaiah's address to Shebna may have stopped with 18 or 19, but in issuing the prophecy he may well have added this prediction of Eliakim's elevation. The theory of two appendices is intrinsically improbable, and why should a late writer have composed this glorification of Eliakim? In 701 Eliakim appears as house-steward (36*3*), while Shebna, if the same person, is secretary. The date is probably somewhat earlier than Sennacherib's invasion. The office of house-steward (cf. *mg.*) was one of great importance and influence. Isaiah not only detested Shebna's policy, but he seems to have resented the elevation of a foreigner to such a position.

This invective is apparently uttered at the site of the sepulchre which Shebna was having hewn out for him. He had no ancestry in Jerusalem and no inherited possession, yet he was hewing out a grave on high in the rock, apparently in a distinguished position where members of old Jerusalem families alone had a right to be buried. Shebna aspired to found a family, perhaps by making his sepulchre there, just as now a man who has risen from the ranks might try to found an aristocratic house by accepting a peerage. Isaiah tells him that he will be flung into a foreign land and die there, where his sepulchre in Jerusalem will be of no use to him. In *16b*, where he speaks of Shebna with scornful anger in the third person, he seems to be addressing the bystanders. Then in language of tremendous energy he utters the upstart's doom. Yahweh lays firm hold upon him (*mg.*), winds him round and round like a ball (*mg.*), and flings him violently into a foreign land (probably Assyria) so large, that there will be room for him to go a long way before he stops. In contrast to the glory of his chariots, Isaiah reviles the man himself as a disgrace to the court. That Yahweh deposes him from his office seems to be a subsequent modification of the original judgment. It may, however, simply prepare the way for the prophecy of Eliakim's elevation to Shebna's office. Yahweh's servant Eliakim, who now sympathises with Isaiah's point of view, and whose appointment would imply a change in the king's policy, is to be invested with Shebna's robe and office, and will worthily use his high position, one of almost absolute authority. He will be firmly fixed in his position like a nail firmly driven into the wall. His family will derive advancement from his dignity; he will be like a throne of glory on which they will be seated. From this glowing eulogy we pass to a sarcastic enumeration (by a later writer) of the people who reap advantage from their kinsman's elevation. The nail fastened in a sure place, bearing the burden hung upon it, gives way under the strain. Eliakim falls through the favouritism to his relatives which he has displayed in his office.

18. To use chariots in the early period was a method of claiming the crown, as we see from the stories of Absalom (2 S. 15*1*) and Adonijah (1 K. 1*5*). No doubt it had lost this significance in Isaiah's time, but it was probably still a dignity reserved for those of high rank (*cf.* Jer. 17*25*).—**22.** The key is the symbol of authority (*cf.* Mt. 16*19*, Rev. 1*18*). Its holder was the king or king's deputy. The keys were of great size and weight, and carried on the shoulder (*cf.* 9*6*). The passage is practically quoted in Rev. 3*7*.—**25.** It is a mistake to suppose that this verse refers to Shebna.

XXIII. Oracle on Tyre.—The date and authorship are alike very uncertain. If by Isaiah, the occasion may be the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser about 727–722 (p. 59), the historicity of which, however, is questioned by some, or Sennacherib's invasion in 701. The text of 13 is very suspicious, and its interpretation very uncertain, or it might have helped to fix the date. 15–18 is probably a post-exilic appendix. 1–14 is perhaps best referred to Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre, 585–577 (p. 61).

The ships of Tarshish (2*16**) are on their way back to Tyre, and after they have left Kittim, *i.e.* Cyprus (Nu. 24*23*f.*), they hear the news of Tyre's fate from ships in flight from that city. Let the inhabitants of Phœnicia's coastland (*mg.*) be dumb with grief and terror, she that has been enriched by the maritime trade of Zidon. The corn harvest of Egypt, whose fertility was created by the overflow of the Nile, was her revenue, and this revenue was the gain of the nations. The sea disowns her children, and Egypt is sorely troubled at the tidings of Tyre's fall, whether from the loss of her market, or from foreboding that Tyre's fate may be her own, is uncertain. Let the Phœnicians emigrate to Tarshish, their most distant colony. Can this be the prosperous and ancient State whose enterprise had taken her citizens to such distant lands to trade and settle in them? Who has purposed this against Tyre? Tyre, the giver of crowns, who appointed the kings that governed her colonies, whose merchants are princes. It is Yahweh, whose design it is to humble those who are exalted in the earth. (The text and meaning of 10 are uncertain.) Yahweh has stretched His hand over the sea, since it is by the sea that Tyre has relation with her colonies. He has commanded that the strongholds of Phœnicia shall be destroyed. No more shall captured Zidon rejoice. Let her pass over to Cyprus; even there she will find no rest, for the long arm of the conqueror will reach her. (On 13, see below.) The poem closes much as it began.

3. Shihor: *i.e.* the Nile (Jer. 2*18*).—**mart:** render "gain."—**4.** Omit "stronghold of the sea" as a gloss.—**10.** Heb. seems to mean, Just as the Nile in time of flood flows over the land, unhindered by its banks, so now Tyre's colonies may assert their independence, the restraint of Tyre being removed. Usually "the girdle" is explained as a symbol of restraint, but generally its removal is a symbol of weakness. But this is very dubious, and the LXX read differently. Duhm emends "Wail, fleet of Tarshish, there is no haven any more."—**11. Canaan:** *i.e.* Phœnicia.—**13.** Extremely difficult. Heb. may be translated in various ways. Of these RV is perhaps the best, but it involves some violence. The best suggestion perhaps is that of E. Meier, that we should read Kittim for Chaldeans. The general sense is then that no rest in Kittim is possible because the Assyrians have laid it also waste. The detailed interpretation is still very uncertain.

15–18. For seventy years Tyre will sink out of notice and carry on her lucrative trade no longer. At the end of that period she will return to her former commercial activity. Yahweh will visit her, and she will make great gain by trading with all nations, but the treasure thus acquired will be dedicated to Yahweh to support His servants.

15. seventy years: from Jer. 25ıı f., 29ıo.—**the days of one king:** while the throne is held by one king, there is a continuity in policy, the state of things remains settled and unchanged, whereas on his death his successor may change everything.—**16.** A quotation from the song mentioned in 15.

XXIV.–XXVII. The World is Judged, Israel is Delivered.—This section of the book is certainly not by Isaiah. It has points of contact with his prophecies, but with the work of later prophets as well. Its style is more artificial, and there are several characteristics which distinguish it from Isaiah's writing. Driver enumerates the following: many plays on words and alliterations, a tendency to rhyme, a frequent combination of nearly synonymous clauses often without connecting conjunctions, repetition of words, many unusual expressions. But in addition to these features of style, it should be observed that the ideas are far in advance of those of Isaiah's time, and go even beyond those of the Second Isaiah. The tone is apocalyptic, and so are its imagery and the forms of representation. Cheyne mentions the following points in this connexion: the physical convulsion of the world, the going up of all nations to the Divine feast at Jerusalem, the committal of the host of the height and the kings of the earth to prison, the mysterious designations of the world-empires, the trumpet blown to recall the Jewish exiles. The expectation of the resurrection of individual Israelites and the promise that death will be abolished, also stamp it as late. It is certainly post-exilic. It seems most likely that it should be placed in the late Persian period at the earliest, and for much of it the tremendous convulsion, caused in the East by Alexander the Great's overthrow of Persia, seems to supply the worthiest occasion. The doctrine of individual resurrection is less developed than in Daniel, and there is no necessity to bring it down to a Maccabean date. Probably, as Duhm was the first to point out, the section is not a unity. His analysis has been largely accepted: (*a*) the oracle itself consisting of 24, 256–8, 2620, 271, 271 2f.; (*b*) 251–5; (*c*) 259–11; (*d*) 2512, 261–19; (*e*) 272–5. He was uncertain whether 276–11 belonged to the main oracle or not. Probably it is a separate fragment.

XXIV. A World-wide Judgment Foretold.—The apocalypse opens with the description of a judgment on the whole world. This judgment is predicted, it has not already happened. It will involve all in one common ruin, every distinction of class will be obliterated. For the world's inhabitants have broken the covenant made with Noah, in which bloodshed was forbidden (Gen. 95f.). On bloodshed the huge empires have been founded and they shall perish in the blood they have spilt. Few men will be left, merriment ceases for wine is scarce, and the revellers who drink wine and strong drink find no pleasure in it. The city of false gods has its walls broken, the houses are closely barricaded, all gladness has gone, the city is desolation, the gate in ruins. The survivors are proportionately as few as the olives left to be beaten off the tree, or the few grapes to be gleaned when the principal gathering of olives and grapes is past. What follows (14–16) is very difficult. The text is corrupt, and the verses do not fit into their present context. Possibly the remnant is described as singing songs of praise, in which the prophet feels that he cannot join. With 17 we return to the prediction of judgment. The world's inhabitants are menaced by terror, pit and snare. They escape from one only to fall into another. For heaven's windows are opened (Gen. 26f.*, 711), and the waters of the heavenly ocean descend in flood, while earthquakes of appalling violence heighten the catastrophe. Then Yahweh will punish the heavenly principalities and powers, the angels of the nations, their guardian princes (Dan. 1013*), along with the earthly rulers of these nations who have been incited by their malign inspiration to oppress Yahweh's people (*cf.* Pss. 58*, 82). They are to be shut up for a season in a subterranean dungeon, the pits of darkness of 2 P. 24, to await, as that passage also says, their final judgment. Then Yahweh in person will reign in Zion, so resplendent in glory before the elders of His people that the sun and the moon shall seem dim by comparison.

10. city of confusion: city of *tohu* (the word rendered "waste" in Gen. 12), possibly so called here to mean the city that is to become waste, but more probably the meaning is city of false gods (*cf.* 1 S. 1221). The city is not Jerusalem, but the capital of the kingdom of evil, the centre of the forces and tendencies which are hostile to God.—**11. is darkened:** read perhaps "has passed away."—**16. glory:** render "honour."—**18. windows on high:** Gen. 711.—**a hut:** a flimsy structure (*cf.* 18).—**visited:** not in mercy but in judgment.

XXV. 1–5. A Song of Praise for Yahweh's Great Deliverance.—The deliverance still lies in the future; the song is written from the standpoint of the redeemed community, and expresses its exultation over its salvation. Yahweh has overthrown the city, its inhabitants shall stand in awe of Him. He has been a shelter to His distressed people when the blast of the violent has beaten on them like a winter storm. He has assuaged the oppression of the enemy, as the sun's scorching heat in a parched land is ameliorated by clouds.

1. counsels of old: God's decrees formed in the far-distant past.—**2. a city:** the identification is uncertain; perhaps it is that of 2410.—**palace:** fortress (Am. 14*).—**strangers:** *i.e.* to God, but read "insolent," and similarly in 5.—**4. storm against the wall:** read "storm in winter."

XXV. 6–8. Yahweh's Feast to all Nations in Mount Zion.—Here the apocalypse is resumed. The universalism of the passage is especially noteworthy. "We have here one of the most catholic passages in the entire Old Testament, and one of the tenderest presentations of Yahweh" (Gray). Yahweh will provide for all nations a rich feast in Mt. Zion, a banquet of fat and marrowy dainties, and of wine on the lees well strained (p. 111). Here too He will tear from their face the mourner's veil and dry the tears He then sees upon the face. There will be no more death, no sorrow or shame.

7. face of the covering: the outer side of the veil; *cf.* Job 4113.—**8.** Duhm regards the first clause as an insertion, breaking the connexion between the removal of the veil and the wiping away of the tears. This may be correct, for the line has no parallel, but the anticipation that death will be abolished so completely harmonises with the situation that one would prefer to keep it in the passage, assuming a dislocation of the text and the loss of the parallel line. The prophet thinks of the predictions as realised on

earth; there is no reference to the Christian idea of heaven.

XXV. 9–12. A Song of Deliverance. Moab is Crushed.—Then they will sing, "Yahweh is our Saviour, let us exult in His salvation." For Moab shall be ignominiously trampled under foot, and if he tries to keep himself afloat, Yahweh will bring to nought all his clever and ingenious movements.

10. Moab: may be singled out as an example of Israel's enemies in general, but more probably is intended literally, though to what historical situation the catastrophe belongs is quite uncertain. *Cf.* 15f., Jer. 48, Ezek. 25*8–11*, Zeph. 2*8–10*.—**11***a*. The LXX has no reference to swimming; the spreading forth of the hands may originally have referred to Moab's vain prayers.—12 is perhaps a variant of 26*5*.

XXVI. 1–19. Memories and Anticipations.—The poem, which is a very elaborate composition, seems to have been written in confident expectation of deliverance, though the actual situation is still one of distress. Jerusalem has been made impregnable, let the righteous enter in. The unwavering mind is kept by God in unbroken peace (*cf.* *mg.*). He is worthy of trust, for He is an everlasting rock; He has laid low the exalted city, the afflicted Jews trample it under foot. The way of the just is made smooth. The manifestation of Yahweh's judgment has been eagerly awaited, for the world's inhabitants will learn righteousness when Yahweh's judgments are in the land. The unrighteous shall not find favour, for they have not learnt righteousness. Though Yahweh's hand is lifted, they fail to see it. See it they shall, and be confounded and destroyed. He alone has secured their peace. Other masters have ruled them, but they are dead, and will never return to exercise dominion; the nation is multiplied, the land enlarged. They had sought Yahweh in distress, they writhed in pain, but their agony was in vain, the land remained unpeopled. To fill the depleted land, those who died in loyalty to Yahweh shall be raised from the dead. God's dew shall quicken the dead bodies, the shades shall return to the upper world.

8. The name of Yahweh in the OT stands for His essential nature as self-revealed.—**10.** Perhaps we should read with Marti, "Favour will not be shewed to the wicked, who has not learned righteousness."—**13. other lords:** not false gods (*cf.* 14), but earthly lords, *i.e.* Israel's oppressors.—**14. deceased:** read *mg.*; *cf.* 14*9*.—**18. fallen:** RV means that the enemy has not been overthrown. But we should probably read "been born" (*mg.*), and take the meaning to be that Palestine remains thinly peopled.—**19.** An extremely important verse, the earliest mention in the OT of a resurrection. Here it is restricted to the righteous; martyrs may possibly be specially intended. The much later passage, Dan. 12*2**, adds the resurrection of the apostates.—**thy dead:** Yahweh's worshippers.—**dew of herbs:** render probably "dew of light" (*mg.*), *i.e.* dew from the realm of light; though J. G. Frazer thinks that the evidence he has collected with reference to the customs of bathing in dew may perhaps favour "dew of herbs."

XXVI. 20–XXVII. 1. Let Yahweh's People Take Shelter, for He is about to Execute Judgment.—Here the apocalypse is resumed. The Jews are warned that Yahweh's indignation is about to break loose on the earth, which will reveal the bloodshed she has concealed; let them take shelter, for His wrath will soon be executed. In that day He will punish the two leviathans and the dragon in the sea.

21*b*. *Cf.* Gen. 4*10**.—**XXVII. 1.** It is generally thought that the three monsters here mentioned are to be identified with empires. If so, the dragon is probably here, as elsewhere, Egypt. The fleeing (*mg.*) serpent has been identified with Assyria, Babylon, Persia, and Syria; the winding serpent with Babylon, Persia, Greece, or Parthia, according to the historical circumstances which are supposed to lie behind the oracle. It is possible that constellations are intended: if so, Smend and Burney may be right in identifying the first leviathan with Serpens, the second with Draco, and the dragon with Hydra. The sea will in this case be the heavenly ocean. It must be remembered that the stars were thought of as personal powers (*cf.* Jg. 5*20*), and they would be connected with the host of the high ones on high of 24*21*.

XXVII. 2–6. Yahweh's Cherished Vineyard.—Here another song is inserted. The text and meaning are alike most uncertain, but apparently the general thought is that Israel is Yahweh's pleasant vineyard (*mg.*), tended and protected by Him with the most assiduous care. He is not angry with it, but with its enemies, whom He is longing to destroy, but whom He is willing to spare if they will surrender their hostility. Israel will become a vine that will fill the world with fruit. On this interpretation the song forms a striking contrast to Isaiah's song of the ungrateful vineyard (5*1–7*). There Israel is threatened with judgment, here Israel's foes.

3. lest any hurt it: read "lest its leafage be missing."—**4. Fury:** *i.e.* against Israel.—**briers and thorns:** Israel's enemies.—**6.** At the end of the song the identity of the vineyard is disclosed, as in 5*7*.

XXVII. 7–11. Israel's Gentle Chastisement and the Terms on which it may be Pardoned.—This is an insertion out of connexion with the context, and it does not itself hang well together. The writer asks, Has Yahweh punished Israel as severely as He has punished Israel's oppressors? No, for Israel's oppressors have been slain, while Israel has been simply driven forth into exile. Israel's guilt may be removed on condition that false worship is given up. The city is deserted, the calf pastures on its site, and there the women collect their firewood, for its people are without knowledge of God, and He will have no mercy upon them.

8. in measure: the meaning is quite uncertain (*mg.*), the explanations offered quite improbable.—**east wind:** the sirocco, stifling and violent. It is vividly described in the opening chapters of E. F. Benson's *The Image in the Sand*.—**9. by this:** on these terms.—**fruit:** this should mean result, but we rather expect the cause to be mentioned, the surrender of idolatry being the reason for pardon rather than its consequence.—**altar:** *i.e.* heathen altars, the stones of which are to be shattered.—**the Asherim and the sun-images:** 17*8*.—**10.** The identity of the city is uncertain. Apparently it is not Jerusalem but Samaria, or some heathen city.

XXVII. 12f. End of the Apocalypse.—These verses link on to 27*1*. The general subject is the restoration of Israel from the Dispersion. The interpretation of 12 is most uncertain. Perhaps the sense is that from the Euphrates to the Wady el-Arish Yahweh will gather His people, beating out the good grain (that is, the Jews) from the straw (that is, the heathen). The trumpet will sound, and those lost (*mg.*) in Assyria and outcasts in Egypt will assemble for the worship of Yahweh at Jerusalem.

12. beat off: like olive berries from the tree (17*6*, 24*13*), but perhaps more probably "beat out," *i.e.* like grain from the ear.—**flood:** the word also

means "ear of corn."—**13. Assyria:** 11$_{11}$*, Nu. 24$_{23}$f.*

XXVIII.–XXXI.—In the main these chapters belong to the period before Sennacherib's invasion in 701 (pp. 59, 71f.). Special prominence is given to the project of an alliance with Egypt, which was strenuously opposed by Isaiah but carried through in spite of him, though the attempt was made to keep it from his knowledge, a signal proof that his opposition was feared by its promoters. Several recent critics have regarded much in these chapters as post-exilic, in some cases on cogent, in others on more flimsy grounds. The transitions from gloom to radiance, from predictions of doom to glowing descriptions of the happy future, are in some cases very abrupt; the phraseology is sometimes non-Isaianic, and the ideas have more affinity with those in the post-exilic period than in the age of Isaiah. We must be on our guard, however, against pressing the argument from theological ideas too far, in view of the scantiness of the earlier prophetic literature now extant, and, remembering that Isaiah held the doctrine of the happy future as well as the doctrine of a terrible judgment, we should not too readily condemn the optimistic sections, especially when they are happy endings, as necessarily later insertions.

XXVIII. In 1–4 Isaiah predicts the speedy overthrow of Samaria. The date is therefore not later than the year in which Samaria fell (722). Apparently it was uttered before the siege began, as is suggested by the reference to the drunken revelling of the inhabitants. It may possibly be fixed after Hoshea had concluded his alliance with Egypt and revolted from Assyria, and before Shalmaneser had actually taken steps to punish his defection (pp. 59, 70). 5f. seems to be a later addition. The rest of the chapter belongs in the main to *c.* 703. Probably 7–13 and 14–22 were originally independent oracles, but they seem to deal with the same circumstances. There is no valid reason for doubting the Isaianic origin of 23–29, and it may quite well be a continuation of the preceding prophecies.

1–6. The Doom of Samaria.—Samaria crowned the summit of a beautiful hill (p. 30), hence it is here described as the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim. But there is also an allusion to the garlands worn by revellers. Just as they fade and droop in the hot atmosphere as the banquet goes on, so the gay city which crowns the rich valley will be destroyed. For Yahweh has the mighty Assyria for His instrument, which will come like a tempest or a flood. The crown, of which Ephraim's drunkards were so proud, shall be flung aside all withered, to be trampled under foot, and it shall vanish as quickly as the firstripe fig, a rare delicacy, scarcely in the hand before it is in the mouth. If 5f. belongs to this prophecy, Isaiah passes from the disaster to the blessedness which is to follow; then the crown in which the remnant will rejoice will not be the crown of a strong fortress or a drunkard's garland, but Yahweh Himself. He will inspire the judge with the true spirit of judgment, and the warriors with strength to drive the battle back to (*mg.*) the gate. But apparently the verses mean that while Samaria is overthrown, righteous Judah will have Yahweh for her crown, and He will equip her with judgment and strength. But this is contrary to several expressions of Isaiah elsewhere.

4. The figs were ripe in August, the firstripe figs in June.

7–22. Jerusalem also is Threatened with Destruction.—But Jerusalem like Ephraim reels with intoxication, the priests and prophets especially. The prophet is not steady in his vision, the priest when pronouncing judgment has his faculties clouded by wine. Their revels are carried to disgusting excess. The scorners mock Isaiah: Is he talking to children that he goes over his lesson again and again with such wearisome monotony? Well, if the prophet's message will not satisfy them, Yahweh will speak to them in the foreign language of Assyria. They had refused to listen when He told them of the true rest, and so now He will speak to them with a wearisome monotony indeed, in strange-sounding words which they will not be able to treat with supercilious scorn, for they will be involved in utter ruin. The prophet now turns to the rulers, who scoff at his words, because they flatter themselves that they have secured immunity from disaster. Death itself is on their side, and will do them no harm; when the Assyrian scourge sweeps through, they will be sheltered by their policy of double dealing. But while the politicians are trusting in their flimsy refuge of lies, Yahweh is placing a real refuge in Zion, a well-tested stone for a foundation; he who believes will not give way. And Yahweh will deal with the scorners according to exact justice; He will test the quality of actions by judgment and righteousness, as a builder uses a line and plummet (34$_{11}$) to estimate the correctness of a building. Then their covenant with death, their agreement with Sheol, will not stand, and the scourge will smite them down. Assyria will give them no respite, and in utter terror they will come to learn what the prophet's warnings meant. The politicians fancied they had made themselves secure and comfortable, but they will find that their arrangements are quite inadequate, and will place them in a very uneasy position. For Yahweh will strike as when David overthrew the Philistines (2 S. 5$_{20–25}$). Let them cease their scorning, for if they mock the prophet's warning, the bands of Assyria, already fastened upon them, will be fixed more firmly than ever. For the prophet has heard a sentence of decisive destruction from Yahweh's own lips.

10. precept upon precept . . . line upon line: the words rhyme in the Heb.; perhaps they should be transliterated rather than translated, "tsaw la-tsaw tsaw la-tsaw qaw la-qaw qaw la-qaw." The meaning of the words is uncertain.—**11.** In 1 Cor. 14$_{21}$ this is applied to the "tongues" in the Corinthian Church. The meaning, however, is that, since they reject the prophet's message as too childish, Yahweh will use the Assyrians to bring them to their senses. Their language will be hard enough to suit their fastidious desire for something more difficult. The best parallel is in 8$_{5–7}$.—**12.** *Cf.* 30$_{15}$, the keynote of Isaiah's foreign policy.—**15. We have . . . agreement:** a proverbial expression meaning "we have secured immunity from all disaster." Possibly some magical rites practised for this purpose are in mind. "Death" is hardly to be explained as the fatal power of the Assyrians.—**overflowing scourge:** the Assyrian hosts, which rolled like a flood over Palestine. The mixed metaphor is curious. Duhm reads, "the scourging scourge."—**a stone:** this is variously interpreted as Yahweh Himself, Zion, the monarchy, the sanctuary, Yahweh's relation to Israel. The last is perhaps correct.—**make haste:** read "give way."—**20.** Perhaps a proverb.

23–29. The Husbandman Adapts his Methods to the Circumstances of Each Case.—This parable may perhaps not have been spoken to the same audience as 7–22, but there is no valid reason for denying it to Isaiah. When the ploughman has finished, does he begin to plough over again? Of course not. He does not go on ploughing indefinitely; he levels the surface of the ground, and then sows, putting each

kind of seed in the soil adapted for it. For so God has taught him. In threshing, he uses the measures suited to each particular kind of grain. The tenderer seeds are beaten with a rod, for they would be crushed or spoiled by large or sharp implements. Bread corn is not crushed; it is threshed, it is true, with a cart wheel, but, once it has been threshed, the husbandman does not keep on driving the cart over it. Such wisdom is inspired by Yahweh, and thus, the prophet suggests, Yahweh will deal with His people; He will temper the severity of His methods to suit each case, and even where harsher methods have to be used, He does not persist in them to the point of extermination.

25. **fitches**: read *mg.*—28. Read *mg.*

XXIX. The Doom of Ariel.—Possibly 7f., with most of 5, is an insertion to turn a prophecy of judgment into one of mercy. 1–6 is then a prophecy of ruin to Jerusalem, "visited" meaning "visited in judgment (2418)." 16–24 also seems to be late. Woe is pronounced in 15 on the promoters of the Egyptian alliance, who sought to conceal their plans from God, and we should expect the prophecy to continue with a prediction of punishment and frustration of their plans, yet in 17 the prediction of the happy future begins.

1–8. Within a year Ariel, *i.e.* Jerusalem, will be distressed and be an altar-hearth indeed, flowing with the blood of human victims. Yahweh will lay siege to her. She will be crushed into the dust, so that her moans will sound as feeble as those made by a necromancer (819) when he imitates the voices of the dead and seems to make them arise from the ground. Very suddenly the scene changes, and all the foes of Israel are like finely-powdered dust or chaff before the wind, driven in utter rout. Yahweh will intervene in tempest and earthquake, and the enemy is all at once an unsubstantial dream, a nightmare from which Zion will soon awake. Like a dream too will be the foes' experience; from their dream that they will soon slake their thirst for Jerusalem they will awake to the unwelcome reality.

1. **Ariel**: of the two margins the latter is to be preferred, but we might render "altar hearth" (*cf.* 319).—**add . . . round**: add a year to the current year, so in a year's time, when the feasts have run their course once more.—6. **visited**: *i.e.* in mercy.

9–12. The people are stupefied, for Yahweh has drenched their senses with a trance-slumber (Gen. 221*). He has shut their eyes and muffled their heads. All alike fail to understand the prophetic vision; to the educated it is a sealed book which they cannot read, the illiterate cannot read it, though no seal is upon it.

9. Substitute margins.—10. Omit "the prophets, the seers," glosses which miss the meaning.

13f. On account of the formalism and hypocrisy of Judah's religion, Yahweh will achieve a marvellous work which will bring all their foresight to nought.

13. Substitute AV "draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me."—**taught** *them*: they have learnt their religion by rote (*mg.*), but have no intelligent interest in it.

15–24. Woe to those who seek to conceal their plans of Egyptian alliance from Yahweh by hiding them from His prophet. What perversity! (cf. *mg.*). They reverse the true order; the creature passive in the Creator's hand dares to act on the fancy that it is independent of Him, as if He too was of no understanding (1015). Soon the land will become so fruitful that the forest will be as fertile as garden land, and what is now garden land will be thought no more of than forest land. Those now deaf and blind (9f.), unable to understand the prophet's vision (11f.), will both hear and see. The humble and poor will rejoice, for the foreign oppressor, and the irreligious, tyrannical Jew, and those who are on the alert to catch men tripping, will all be brought to nought. Jacob shall no longer be abashed. The sight of Yahweh's work shall lead him to hallow Israel's God, and those who have no insight and intelligence will then have right understanding.

22. **who redeemed Abraham**: perhaps an insertion. —**concerning**: read, "the god of."

XXX. Denunciation of the Egyptian Alliance. The Blessed Future of Israel. The Destruction of Assyria.—We should probably pass the same judgment on 18–26 as on 2916–24. The two passages are closely related, and are not improbably by the same author. A post-exilic date seems on the whole more likely. There are no substantial reasons for rejecting the Isaianic authorship of 27–33.

1–5. Woe to the unfilial rebels who negotiate alliance with Egypt, leaving God out of their counsels, intriguers who flout the prophetic spirit, piling one sin upon another. Egypt will prove no refuge, but a bitter disappointment. Though Pharaoh's princes are in Tanis (1911) and his envoys in Hanes, yet those who trust in their help will find that it is not forthcoming in their need.

1. Perhaps we should render "weave a web" (*mg.*), *i.e.* carry on an intrigue. The second margin, "pour out a drink offering," would give a good sense, the allusion being to the libation at the making of an alliance.—4. **Hanes**: Heracleopolis Magna, the Egyptian Hanes, W. of the Nile, S. of the Fayyum, a city of great importance. It has been inferred from this verse that the prophecy refers to negotiations with Egypt in the time of Sargon rather than of Sennacherib, Zoan and Hanes marking the limits of the Pharaoh's dominion.

6–17. This passage is introduced by a strange title, "Oracle concerning the beasts of the Negeb," *i.e.* either the beasts who carry the treasure to Egypt (6*b*), or the wild creatures that infest the Negeb. Duhm supposes that the oracle began "In the wastes of the South," and that the title should be, "Oracle. In the wastes of the South," the title being taken from the opening words, which have fallen out of the text through haplography. With great trouble and expense the ambassadors go through the difficult and dangerous desert to negotiate a useless alliance with Egypt, an insolent and indolent people. The prophet is bidden write his oracle on a tablet (81) and inscribe it in a book, that it may be a witness (*mg.*) for ever (816), to prove the accuracy of his foresight when history has vindicated it. For the people is disobedient to the teaching (*mg.*) of Yahweh. They will not tolerate harsh realities from the prophets, but bid them turn aside to a smoother message and a more congenial presentation of God. But this scorn of the warning word, this trust in crooked policy, will prove their ruin, sudden and complete, like a crack in a wall, small at first, but spreading till the wall comes crashing down. For the State will be smashed like an earthenware vessel into tiny fragments. For their salvation lay in renunciation of a spirited foreign policy and confidence in God, but they had refused to listen. They had relied on horses (313) for battle, but they will serve them only for flight. A thousand will be pursued by one, till they will be left lonely as a flag-staff on the summit of a hill.

6. **bunches**: humps.—7. **Rahab that sitteth still**: Rahab was properly the chaos monster subdued by

God (Job 9^{13},* 26^{12}; Is. 51^{9}*). Here it is applied to Egypt, as in Ps. 87^{4}. If the text here is correct, the suggestion in the name Rahab may be the etymological one of arrogance. Egypt's stormy bluster, however, amounts to nothing. When the crisis comes she sits still (36^{6}). This is, however, very uncertain, and the text is probably corrupt. Gunkel reads, "Rahab the subdued."

18–26. Yahweh waits till the time is ripe for intervention, and then shows His graciousness and mercy. Then there shall be no sorrow in Zion; Yahweh's answer anticipates (render, "has answered") His people's prayer (65^{24}). Even though they have been reduced to the barest necessities, yet Yahweh Himself shall be the teacher, His voice guiding them in the right way. The idols will be cast away, agriculture will flourish, the early rain at sowing-time will not fail, there shall be abundance of food for man, ample pasturage for the cattle. The oxen and asses will eat provender separated from its chaff and made savoury with salt (*mg.*). Even the mountains will run down with water in the day when Yahweh smites the foe with a great slaughter. The moon shall shine like the sun, and the sun with a sevenfold light.

20. Read (*cf. mg.*), "yet shall not thy teacher hide himself" and "see thy teacher."—**22.** The idols were made of wood and coated with precious metal.—**26. as the light of seven days:** omit (LXX).

27–33. If this is the work of Isaiah, it describes the overthrow of Assyria. The description is very vigorous, and some feel that the loud colours are dashed on too violently to make Isaiah's authorship probable. And the zest with which the disaster is painted is thought to be unworthy of him. But these reasons are far from cogent. Yahweh comes like the dense thunder-cloud from the far horizon, from which the devastating lightning will leap, while torrential rain floods the land. The nations will be passed through the sieve till they are destroyed, and will be guided in the way of ruin. While the Assyrians are being overthrown the Jews are exultant, as when they sing their song by night at the Feast of Tabernacles (or perhaps Passover), or as when they go in procession to the Temple. For Yahweh's voice shall peal out in thunder, while the lightnings flash, the clouds burst, and the hail descends, and the Assyrian is seized with panic. A funeral pyre has been prepared for the hosts of the Assyrian dead, vast in extent, burning fiercely at the blast of Yahweh's breath.

27. the name: for primitive thought the name was an essential part of the personality (Gen. 32^{27}*). The name of Yahweh in the OT usually means Yahweh in His self-revealing aspect; just as the name manifests the nature, so Yahweh's action discloses His character.—**32.** Unintelligible (see CB[2]).—**33. Topheth:** Jer. 7^{31}*, and note on that passage in Cent.B.—**for the king:** either the king of Assyria or Molech.

XXXI. The Folly of Reliance on Egypt. Jerusalem will be Protected, and Assyria Overthrown.—6f. seems to be an interpolation. 4f. creates serious difficulties. 4 apparently represents Yahweh as attacking (*mg.*) Zion, undismayed by its rulers as a lion is undismayed by the shepherds, whereas 5, with an abrupt change of metaphor, represents Him as Jerusalem's protector. By drastic measures we can remove the discrepancy; the passage then represented Yahweh either as hostile to Jerusalem or as its protector. Of the two the latter is preferable, but it involves the omission of "so shall. . . . As birds fly." If we keep the text as it stands, the meaning seems to be that Yahweh will wrest Jerusalem from its present rulers, but will protect it from falling into the hands of the Assyrians, who are the instruments of His judgment. This is continued in 8f., which represents the Assyrians as smitten down by His power rather than by human antagonists.

Woe to those who trust in Egypt and her cavalry and not in Yahweh. For Yahweh is wise as well as the sapient politicians, and His threat of evil will certainly be fulfilled. For Egypt, weak and perishable, is no match for Yahweh, who is spirit, and will involve helper and helped in one common disaster. When He descends to fight against Zion, the Egyptians will be as powerless to rescue it as the shepherds to rescue the prey from the dauntless lion. Yahweh will protect Jerusalem as birds protect their young. Let the disobedient turn to Him. In the day of deliverance all will cast away their idols. The Assyrian shall fall by no human hand, he shall flee in panic.

3. A classical passage for the OT sense of "flesh." It is the weak and mortal in contrast with the immortal and omnipotent. Flesh stands not for the lower element in human nature in contrast with the higher (as in Rom. 7$^{7-25}$), but for man as a whole as contrasted with the immortals (Gen. 6^{3}).—*8b.* This modification of *8a* may be an insertion.—**9. his rock:** the parallelism suggests that this means the Assyrian king. This is improbable; AV renders "and he shall pass over to his strong hold for fear." Duhm [2] renders "his rock by reason of terror shall he pass by," *i.e.* the hunted animal in its terror passes by its usual shelter. Duhm [3] emends, reading, "and his heroes shall be dislodged from the siege works."

XXXII. This chapter is regarded by some scholars as non-Isaianic on the ground of phraseology and ideas, but while it may have been interpolated, it is probably in the main Isaiah's work. It falls into two parts: (*a*) 1–8, (*b*) 9–20. The date of the former is uncertain. It may belong to the same period as 28–31. The address to the women which follows recalls the denunciation in 3$^{16-24}$, but it does not necessarily belong to the same period. And it too may belong to the same period as 28–31. There is no need to detach the Messianic passage, 15–20, from it.

1–8. The Blessedness of the Messianic Age.—A description of the Messianic time, though the figure of the Messiah is probably not present in the passage. King and princes will reign in righteousness, each of them a source of shelter and refreshment. The present failure in moral insight and responsiveness will be removed, the inconsiderate will gain judgment, the halting speaker the faculty of lucid expression. Men will be designated in harmony with their true character; the fool (pp. 344, 398) shall no longer be called noble (*mg.*), nor the swindler an aristocrat. For fool and swindler will act in accordance with their nature, but the noble will resolve on noble schemes and persist in their execution.

1. a king: *i.e.* whatever king is on the throne.—**2. a man:** render "each."—**6–8.** Probably a later insertion.

9–20. Startling Rebuke to the Women for their Indifference. Sore Calamity is at Hand, Ending only with the Coming of the Messianic Age.—This passage was perhaps spoken at a vintage festival, for Isaiah lays special stress on the failure of the vintage and the fruit. He addresses the women of the upper classes, who show an ostentatious indifference to his words; *cf.* 3$^{16-41}$. He startles them with the prediction that in little more than a year they will have cause for trouble; next year's vintage will not come. Let them put on mourning attire and lament for the

failure of the fruit, for there will be an irremediable desolation of Jerusalem. Yet the desolation will not be permanent; the life-giving energy of God will be poured out, the wilderness will become fruitful, and what is now a fruitful field regarded as no better than woodland (29 17). Not only will the face of Nature be changed, but justice and righteousness, peace and confidence, will abound. Happy the people who can plant beside all waters, without fear that any will run dry or that the foe will reap what they have sown, and can let ox and ass roam at large, since there is danger neither of cattle-raiders nor of dearth.

14. Ophel (*mg.*): the southern side of the Temple hill.—**19.** Generally regarded as an insertion.

XXXIII. Denunciation of the Treacherous Foe. Zion's Extremity, Yahweh's Opportunity.—If Isaiah's, the date is apparently 701, and the situation presupposed is Sennacherib's demand for unconditional surrender of Jerusalem after he had received an enormous tribute from Hezekiah. This breach of faith would cause the weeping of the ambassadors (7). But the chapter is now usually regarded as post-exilic. The parallels in language are with late Psalms, and the list of non-Isaianic words and senses of words is considerable. Nor is it clear that the historical allusions suit the actual circumstances of Isaiah's time. But it would be very precarious in our almost complete ignorance of great stretches of the later history to argue that it must be Maccabean, even if we have reconciled ourselves to the belief that there are Maccabean elements in the Canon of the prophets (p. 425). We must accordingly leave the date indeterminate.

1–6. Woe to the oppressor, retribution awaits him; let Yahweh be gracious to His waiting people in the daily renewal of their trouble. When He arises, the nations flee in dismay, the spoil shall be gathered as locusts gather it. Yahweh is exalted, He has brought about judgment and righteousness in Zion. In true religion the people is strong.

2. their arm: it is simpler to read "our arm" (*mg.*) than to suppose that a line has dropped out containing an antecedent to "their."—**6.** A verse of quite uncertain meaning.

7–13. The ambassadors weep bitterly, for the foe has treacherously broken the agreement, despised the witnesses (so read for "cities"); travelling has become unsafe (Jg. 56), Nature mourns. Now Yahweh will exalt Himself, the futile plots of the enemy will prove their destruction, their furious rage will devour them, burning them as if to lime.

7. valiant ones: perhaps their Ariels (29 1*) or God's lions, *i.e.* picked warriors, but the meaning is quite uncertain.

14–24. Sinners in Zion are terrified at Yahweh's judgment, and wonder who can dwell as a guest (Ps. 15 1*) with the consuming flame (31 9), the inextinguishable wrath. The answer is parallel to Pss. 15 and 26 3–6, and contains a beautiful description of the morality which will win the favour of Yahweh, and secure the safety of the pure and upright. He will be in an impregnable fortress amply provisioned. In that blessed future they will see their king in his splendour, his dominion stretching far and wide. They will think on the time of terror, now for ever passed. Where are the enemy's officials, those who collected the taxes and weighed the gold and silver and counted the towers? No longer will they see the foreigner and listen to his unintelligible speech. Zion is at peace, firm as an immovable tent. The river of Yahweh will take the place of the broad rivers and streams which protect other cities; no fleet will attack it, none be needed for defence. The ship of State is disabled, the slack ropes could not support the mast or spread the sail, but the Jews, all incapable of fighting as they seem, divide a great prey. Sickness shall be no more, sin shall be forgiven.

18. counted the towers: perhaps to estimate the strength needed for an attack, perhaps to see which ought to be destroyed. The latter is preferable, since the verse deals not with invaders, but with foreign officials governing the country. Neither is satisfactory. Cheyne reads, "Where are the tablet writers, where are the measuring clerks."—**21*a***. Text uncertain; read perhaps, "But there the river of Yahweh will be with us instead of broad streams."—**23.** This hardly suits the context, and may be a gloss.

XXXIV.–XXXV. The Downfall of Edom, and Permanent Desolation of its Land. The Blessedness of God's People and Fertility of its Land.—These chapters are generally, and probably correctly, attributed to the same hand. 34 exhibits the fiercest hatred of Edom, reminding us most of 63 1–7. This hatred, for which we may compare Lam. 4 21f., Ps. 137, Jer. 49 7–22, was largely due to the exultation displayed by the Edomites at the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, and it was cherished by the Jews from that time forward. The desolation of Edom is described in language very similar to that used in 13 for the desolation of Babylon. The connexion of Edom with the judgment of all nations, and especially the reference to a collection of prophecies as a Book of Yahweh, points to the post-exilic period as the most probable date for its composition. 35 implies the Dispersion and a knowledge of 40–66.

XXXIV. 1–4. All nations are summoned to hear their doom. Yahweh is infuriated against them, He has pronounced the ban (pp. 99, 114, Dt. 2 34*, Jos. 6 17*) upon them. The foul odour of their exposed and putrefying corpses shall fill the air, the mountains be dissolved with their blood. The sky shall be rolled up like a scroll, and the stars drop off it (Rev. 6 13f.) like a fading leaf from the vine or fig-tree.

4. host of heaven: read "hills"; the line is parallel to the last clause of 3.

5–8. In preparation for the slaughter of earth Yahweh's sword has drunk its fill of wrath in heaven. Now, charged and sharpened with its fury, it descends to execute the ban upon Edom (*mg.*). His sword reeks with blood and is glutted with fat, but the victims slaughtered in this sacrifice are the Edomites, commoners (6) and aristocrats (7) alike; for it is the day of Yahweh's vengeance in the controversy He has with Edom for the wrongs she has inflicted on Zion.

6f. The animals in 6 represent the common people, those in 7 the chiefs and nobles.—**Bozrah:** Jer. 49 13*.

9–17. Edom is near to the Dead Sea, and the country is volcanic, and these facts suggest this lurid picture of judgment. Edom's rivers will be turned to pitch, its dust to brimstone, the land shall be a smoking, desolate wilderness for ever and ever. Pelican and bittern (14 23*), owl and raven, shall dwell in it; it shall be reduced to utter chaos. Satyrs shall dwell in it, its rulers shall be destroyed. The palaces will be overrun with thorns and thistles, and be the dwelling-place of wild beasts and uncanny monsters. Let those who read this book verify the description for themselves, for Yahweh has allotted Edom to these creatures as their promised land, just as He allotted Canaan to the tribes of Israel.

11*b*. Confusion and **emptiness** are the words which describe the primeval chaos in Gen. 1 2. The line

and plummet are used to secure exactness in building. With just the same care and completeness Yahweh will execute the work of destruction.—**12.** Read, partially following LXX, "And satyrs shall dwell therein, Her rulers shall not be; There shall be no kingdom there to proclaim, And all her princes shall be no more."—**13–15.** *Cf.* 13$_{21}$f.*—**14. night monster:** better Lilith (*mg.*), a night demon among the Babylonians and Assyrians. The Jews of Mesopotamia kept up the superstition about her till late in the Christian era, and she is the subject of several Rabbinical stories. The representation of her as Adam's first wife appears in *Faust*.—**place of rest:** *cf.* Mt. 12$_{43}$, Lk. 11$_{24}$.—**15. arrowsnake:** the reference to hatching seems to favour the view that a bird is intended, but the writer may have been unaware that pythons are the only snakes that hatch.—**gather under her shadow:** read, "brood over her eggs."

XXXV. The wilderness shall become fruitful as the most fertile districts of Palestine. Let the timid take courage, for Divine vengeance on the enemy is at hand. The blind and deaf, the lame and dumb, will be healed. The thirsty desert shall abound with streams and springs. In the haunts of wild creatures will be grass for cattle. There shall be a holy way for pilgrims, on which the godless will not be permitted to travel; it will be unmolested by wild beasts, so that the pilgrims may travel on it in safety as they go up to Zion.

1. rose: better "autumn crocus" (*mg.*) or "narcissus."—**3. Carmel:** pp. 28–30.—**Sharon:** p. 28.—**5–7.** The descriptions are literally intended.—**7. glowing sand:** the rendering "mirage" (*mg.*) is very attractive. The phantom lake which deceives the traveller in the desert will be replaced by real pools of water. But it forms no good parallel to thirsty ground, and is not suitable in 49$_{10}$*.—**7*b*.** The text has been mutilated. Originally it may have run somewhat as follows: "In the haunts of jackals and wild cats Will be a resting place for your flocks and herds; The enclosure of the ostriches Will be filled with reeds and rushes."—**8. for those:** read, "for his people," and continue, "when it walks in the way, and fools shall not go to and fro in it." "Fools" bears a moral rather than an intellectual sense. They are the irreligious, and they will be excluded. The EV is singularly unfortunate, since it has been commonly taken to mean that the way to heaven is so plain that not even a fool can miss it.

XXXVI.–XXXIX. This section has been extracted from 2 K. 18$_{13}$–20$_{19}$, and the Song of Hezekiah has been added. For an exposition see the notes on 2 K.; here we have simply to deal with the Song of Hezekiah.

XXXVIII. 10–20. Thanksgiving for Deliverance from Imminent Death.—This is now generally regarded as a post-exilic psalm. Its absence in the parallel narratine in Kings is significant. Apparently it was inserted here by an editor who thought it suitable to Hezekiah's circumstances. If, as seems likely, it has been influenced by the Book of Job, it must be post-exilic. The title cannot, any more than the Psalm titles, weigh against internal evidence.

Hezekiah's writing after his recovery from sickness. I thought that when I had reached the zenith of my life I should be banished to Sheol, where I should have fellowship with Yahweh no longer, nor yet with my fellow-men. My habitation (*mg.*) is torn from the soil. I have rolled up my life as a weaver rolls up his web when it is finished; He will cut me off from the thrum (*mg.*), day and night Thou deliverest me to my pain. I cried out until morning, my bones broken with torment. I twittered like a swallow, moaned like a dove; my failing eyes looked up with appeal to Yahweh, that He would be my surety. What shall I say to Him? It is He who has done it. I toss all the time I am sleeping, because of the bitterness of my soul. Lord, for this my heart waits on Thee. Quicken me and restore me to health. Affliction was bitter, but it has been for my peace. Thou hast kept back my soul from the pit, and utterly forgotten all my sins. For in Sheol there can be no praise of Yahweh. Those who descend to the pit cannot hope for His faithfulness. Only the living can praise God, the father can declare to his children Yahweh's faithfulness. Here the song closes. 20 seems to be an addition fitting it for use in the Temple.

10. noontide: lit. "stillness." The metaphor is of the sun having risen to its height and pausing before it descends.—**12. loom:** better "thrum" (*mg.*), *i.e.* the threads that fasten the web to the loom.—**From day . . . of me:** better "day and night thou didst deliver me up."—**13. quieted myself:** better "cried."—**14*c*.** He is like a debtor who is being taken to prison; he appeals to Yahweh, to the creditor Himself, to become his surety (Job 17$_3$).—**15.** Very difficult. Duhm's restoration, adopted above, gives the probable sense.—**16.** Duhm's emendations of the obscure text are adopted above.—**18f.**—Observe the characteristic Hebrew conception of Sheol.

ISAIAH XL.–LXVI.

By Professor W. L. WARDLE

THESE chapters fall into two well-marked divisions, which may be considered separately.

(A) XL.–LV.—These chapters contain no claim to be from Isaiah's hand; and no critical conclusion is more certain than that they belong to a later period. Jerusalem has been laid waste; many of its people are in exile. This demands a date subsequent to its siege and capture by the Babylonians in 587 B.C. The date can be more precisely determined. Cyrus is mentioned by name, and his career depicted at a time when, though he has already won renown, Babylon is yet to fall to his attack, the imminence of that event being one of the keynotes of the prophecy. We may then with confidence assign 40–48 to a date between 546, when Cyrus gained his great victory over Crœsus, and the year (538) of his triumphal entry into Babylon (pp. 61, 77): since the latter event is regarded as imminent, the actual date may be *c.* 540. Matter and style alike suggest that 49–55 comes from the author of 40–48, but since Cyrus and the fall of Babylon drop out of sight this section is probably slightly later than 538.

The aim of the prophecy is to console and hearten the exiles in Babylon, and also the dejected inhabitants who had not been deported from Judah. Of the author we know nothing save what we can deduce from his message; it is not even certain where he resided. Egypt and Phœnicia have been suggested; but more probably he lived in Babylon or Jerusalem. Possibly he lived in Babylon and returned to Jerusalem before the prophecies were completed; hence the change in tone which begins at 49. Frequently this unknown prophet is referred to as "2 Isaiah."

The four so-called "Servant Songs" (42$_{1-4}$, 49$_{1-6}$, 50$_{4-9}$, 52$_{13}$–53$_{12}$) deserve special attention. In metre and style they stand out from the context in which they are found. Their teaching, too, possesses greater depth of insight. Moreover, first impressions suggest that they might easily be removed from their present positions without leaving an obvious gap, indeed that the connexion would gain by their excision. But a close examination reveals subtle links between them and their context. The best solution of a complex problem is to assign them to 2 Is., but to regard them as originally independent compositions, subsequently inserted by him in their present position. Round the figure of "The Servant of Yahweh" in these songs has raged one of the most keenly debated problems of interpretation. Some have argued that the Servant is an individual. But almost certainly he is a personification of Israel. The question then discussed is whether the Israel personified is "ideal Israel," the nation as it existed not in concrete realisation but in the mind and purpose of God, or the spiritual kernel of the people, "an Israel within Israel": or whether it is not the actual Israel, the nation of history. No theory will square absolutely with all the facts of the text, but the difficulties confronting the last-mentioned are much more naturally and easily dealt with than those which lie in the way of the other theories; in the Commentary the view is adopted that in the figure of the Servant we are to see the nation Israel, the suffering ambassador of Yahweh to the nations, Israel which had died in the Exile and would be raised in glory by a miracle of restoration. This recognises that though the nation as a whole is referred to, it is in some measure idealised. "The Servant is not an ideal distinct from the nation, but the nation regarded from an ideal point of view" (Peake, *Problem of Suffering*, p. 193).

The style is lyrical. As befits a prophecy of consolation, the "wooing note" is predominant. The leading feature of the theology is the characterisation of God. No OT writer has given us a loftier conception of Yahweh's unique majesty. His omnipotence is shown alike by His creative power and by His control of all the processes of both history and nature. Nations and kings are but tools whom He employs for His purposes. Governing the march of history, He is perfectly able to predict its course. Yahweh has proved His Divine power by predicting events, such as the rise of Cyrus, which have afterwards, within the experience of the people, been realised. In words of withering scorn the prophet contrasts with Yahweh the impotent idols manufactured and worshipped by the nations.

But with all His majesty Yahweh is tender of heart. He is patient and long-suffering like a gentle shepherd. Nor is He concerned for Israel alone: the nations too are His sheep, though they have wandered from Him. Israel occupies a peculiarly privileged position as Yahweh's Servant: but the very purpose of that service is that the blessings of Yahweh's religion may be extended to the nations. The OT reaches no greater height than the portrayal of Israel suffering vicariously for the other nations, a picture of such deep spiritual insight that Christians have rightly felt that none save Jesus, who concentrated and exhausted in His own Person Israel's significance for the world, has adequately met its demands. The immediate message of the prophecy is that Yahweh, whose faithfulness is as sure as His power and compassion, is about to bring back the exiles to Jerusalem, in miraculous fashion glorifying His people. So great will be the impression made upon the nations that they will come humbly to join themselves to the worshippers of so mighty a God. See further pp. 91f.

(B) LVI.–LXVI.—These chapters appear to be later still. The Temple seems to have been rebuilt, though the walls of the city have not been restored. Many Jews are in exile in the far lands; but, though their return is hoped for, the prophet's main interest centres in the Jerusalem community itself. That community seems to be sharply divided into two factions, one of

which contends for the purified and reformed religion, the other holding by the old Palestinian ritual practices, and in sympathy with the Samaritans. The attitude to the nations is less kindly than that which marks 2 Is. Ceremony and ritual seem to be put on the same plane as the more vital elements of religion and morality. The style, while in some parts obviously imitating that of 2 Is., is unable to sustain a high level. The loose way in which much of the matter hangs together suggests indeed that the prophecies may proceed from a number of authors rather than from an individual. The period most suited to the indications in these chapters is the time of Ezra's reforming activity, shortly before Nehemiah's advent, say 450 B.C.

Literature (see p. 437 for literature on the whole Book of Isaiah).—Budde (in Kautzsch), Haller (SAT); Klostermann, *Deuterojesaia;* König, *The Exile's Book of Consolation;* Sellin, *Serubbabel; Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde; Das Rätsel des deuterojesajanischen Buches;* Gressmann, *Ueber die in Jes. c.* 56–66 *vorausgesetzten zeitgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse;* Littmann, *Über die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia;* Cramer, *Der geschichtliche Hintergrund der Kapitel* 56–66 *im Buche Jesaia.* Special literature on the "Servant of Yahweh": Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik,* pp. 146–185; *Der Knecht Jahves des Deuterojesaia;* Budde, *Die sogennanten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder* (English version in *American Journal of Theology,* July, 1900); Roy, *Israel und die Welt in Jesaia* 40–55; Laue, *Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder;* Schian, *Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder;* Peake, *Problem of Suffering in the OT,* pp. 34–72, 180–193; Kennett, *The Servant of the Lord;* Workman, *The Servant of Jehovah;* Staerk, *Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder in Jesaia* 40ff.

XL. 1–11. Prologue Announcing the End of the Exile.—**1f.** The prophet sees in the triumphs of Cyrus the coming fall of Babylon's empire, and a revolution in the fortunes of the exiles. These are God's voice bidding the prophet and all who hear it encourage His people. Let them speak tenderly to Jerusalem (*i.e.* the nation, not the city). Her forced service is completed, her punishment has been more than adequate to her offence.

3–5. Rapt from earth, the prophet hears a heavenly being in Yahweh's court bidding other spiritual beings prepare in the wilderness a straight path for Yahweh, who shall march with His people back to their city. Let all hills and depressions be levelled.

3. Render, "Hark! One is calling, Prepare"; so too in 6.—**5.** A gloss added after 9–11 had been cut off from 4 by the insertion of 6–8, which originally stood after 11 (see below).

9–11. Zion's heralds of good news (render, "O ye that tell"), those who have received the commission of 1, are bidden ascend the hills to watch for Yahweh's coming, and proclaim it as they see Him approach along the wondrous way through the desert. "Look," cries the prophet, "He comes in might; His arm, long inactive, has displayed His power. Before Him goes the booty His arm has won, His delivered people. Gently He cares for them on the journey as a shepherd for his sheep."

11. Read, "like a shepherd, and gather them with his arm; the lambs he shall carry in his bosom and the ewes shall he lead."

6–8. The Message which the Prophet is to Deliver.—6–8 breaks its present context and differs metrically from it. It forms an excellent introduction to, and should be inserted before, 12–31. Another heavenly voice floats to the prophet's ear, bidding him proclaim. He asks (read, "I said," *mg.*) what shall be his proclamation, and the answer comes, "Man and his power are but transitory, whereas the word, the proclaimed purpose, of God endures for ever." The thought is not so much that men are creatures of a day as that the great kingdoms are doomed when Yahweh intervenes.

6. goodliness: read, "glory" (LXX), or "splendour."

XL. 12–31. An Expansion of the Text Suggested in 6–8.—12–17. The Majesty of God, in Whose Eyes the World is Insignificant.—God is the Creator, disposing of earth and heaven as very small things. No adviser instructed Him. The nations in His sight are like the drop hanging from the bucket, or the dust on the scale, too small to count in the bulk. The forests of Lebanon and the many wild beasts that range them would not provide fuel and victims for a worthy sacrifice.

14. path of judgement: rather, "the correct way."—**way of understanding:** "how to do it."—**15. isles:** properly "coastlands," but used as a synonym for "(distant) lands."

17–20. What Material Image Can Represent so Mighty a God?—41*6*f. should be inserted to fill the obvious gap between 19 and 20. In their present context they are a disturbing element. Addressing mankind the prophet asks, "If God is so exalted, what can represent Him? A molten image? Why the founder makes a core, which the goldsmith plates with gold, the workmen heartening each other as they work! A wooden idol? Carved from a tree and propped securely lest it fall! How absurdly inadequate!"

19. graven image: the original sense of the word; here simply "image"; a molten image is in question. In 20 it is used of a carven image.—**and casteth . . . chains:** LXX omits; delete as a guess at unintelligible and corrupt Heb.—**XLI. 6.** Render, "Each helps the other, and says to his comrade, Be strong."—**7. carpenter:** render, "artificer."—**that smiteth the anvil:** what has the blacksmith to do here? The last delicate modelling?—**fastened it:** "it" may be the gold plating: the next clause is a gloss from 40*20*.—**XL. 20. He . . . oblation:** improbable translation of unintelligible text. Possibly emend, "He who cuts out an image (of wood)."

XL. 21–26. God's Absolute Power over the Universe and its Inhabitants.—The appeal is again to mankind. The universe from the beginning has shown its Maker's might. Enthroned high above the disc-like earth, He spreads the heavens over it, easily as if they were but a tent (*cf. mg.*). History shows that no earthly power, however august, can for a moment survive His attack. What image can represent such an one? Even the stars (regarded here as in some sense personalities; Gen. 21*, Job 38*) are His handiwork, and He summons them forth each night to take their appointed stations; so great is His might that none of them dare play truant.

24. Their reign seems to end before it has begun (*mg.*).—**26.** Read, "For fear of him who is great in might and strong in power not one fails."

XL. 27–31. Yahweh, the Eternal God, shall Strengthen All who Trust in Him.—Israel complains that God has forgotten her just claims. Does she not see that God takes long views beyond her absorption in the moment? Let her not fear that He has become decrepit. On the contrary, His overflowing strength shall fill those who trust in Him so that they, when even strong men despair, shall rise above all feebleness.

27. way: render, "fate."—**judgement:** render

"right."—**passed away from:** *i.e.*, is forgotten by.—**31. mount . . . eagles:** read, "Put forth wings like (those of) eagles." The following words are an addition and an anticlimax.

XLI. 1–5. The Conquering Career of Cyrus Claimed by Yahweh as Evidence of His Power.—5 is probably an insertion made to connect 4 with 6f. after 6f.—for which see 4019—had been wrongly interpolated here. Yahweh calls the nations to listen while He, as though they might be in a court of justice, puts forward His claim. He it is who has raised up Cyrus, and caused nations to bow before him: He who ordains the whole course of history.

1. renew . . . strength: accidental repetition from 4031, replacing some such phrase as "await my argument."—**2. whom . . . foot:** render, "whom victory ("righteousness" often bears this sense) attends wherever he goes."—Read at the end, "His sword makes them like dust, his bow like driven chaff."—**3.** So swift his march that he seems not to touch the road with his feet.

XLI. 8–10. But Israel, who in the person of Abraham was summoned from Mesopotamia, is also a chosen instrument of Yahweh, and has nothing to fear amid these commotions.

10. right . . . righteousness: render, "My vindicating right hand."

XLI. 11–16. All the Enemies of Israel shall Perish.—This section is eschatological, and probably later, perhaps much later, than its context. All Israel's foes shall perish. Yahweh's people shall destroy their enemies as a threshing-sledge so powerful that it tears in pieces the threshing-floor itself, and even the hill upon which—to catch the breezes—the floor is situated.

14. ye men of: read, "thou worm," thus restoring the same pair of synonyms as in 1411 and Job 256.—**redeemer:** *go'el*, Ru. 220*.

XLI. 17–20. Yahweh will Provide Miraculous Water and Shade in the Desert for the Returning Exiles.—This continues 10. It perhaps combines metaphor with a more literal meaning, and it must be confessed that the reference to the return through the desert is not obvious. The vindicating hand of Yahweh will so wonderfully meet the needs of His people on their homeward way that the nations—probably the subject in 20—will recognise in the miracle the power of Israel's God.

19. The kinds of tree named are not certainly identified (*cf. mg.*).

XLI. 21–29. Yahweh's Challenge to the Gods of the Nations.—The nations are bidden to produce their case and bring forward their champions—their idols (so emend "strong reasons"). Let the idols show that in days gone by they have foreseen the antecedents of present developments, or explain the events now happening and about to happen. They remain dumb, and Yahweh taunts them with their impotence. He has raised up Cyrus; who among them had foreseen the event? Not one; how patent, then, their nothingness!

22. latter end: issue.—**things for to come:** the immediate development from the present situation.—**23. be dismayed:** rather (*cf. mg.*), "open our eyes in wonder."—**25. come upon:** read, "trample upon."—**26. He is righteous:** render, "Right!"—**is . . . declareth:** render, "was . . . declared," so in the two following clauses.—**27–29.** Read, perhaps, "At the beginning I announced it to Zion, and to Jerusalem I gave a herald of good news. But among these gods there was none, among them no counsellor was found. Lo! all of them are nothing, none of them utters a word. Their works," etc.

XLII. 1–4. The Mission of Yahweh's Servant (the first of the four so-called "Servant Songs"; see Introd.). —Yahweh bids the nations consider His Servant Israel, whom He sustains and loves. He has equipped him like the prophets with His spirit, so that he may publish the true religion to the nations. The frenzy, however, which often accompanied the utterance of prophecy in the public ways shall not characterise him; he shall be gentle, not crushing the damaged reed, or quenching the feebly-burning wick. Faithfully shall he publish the true religion. He shall not be crushed or grow feeble until he shall have established the true religion universally, and all lands look to him for direction.

1. judgement here and in 3f. means the whole collection of Yahweh's ordinances and decisions possessed by Israel, *i.e.*, in effect, "the true religion."—**2. lift up:** *i.e.* "his voice."—**4. fail, discouraged:** render as *mg.* Probably "till" is to be supplied in thought before **the isles.**

XLII. 5–7. An Exposition of the Theme of 1–4.—Yahweh the Creator, has called Israel, taken him by the hand, made him a covenant and light to the nations, to bring them forth from their prison-house of glimmering darkness.

5. God, the Lord: read, "Yahweh, the (true) God." —Insert "brought forth" before **that which.—6. in righteousness:** *i.e.* truly, of set purpose.—**will hold . . . will keep . . . and give:** read, "have held . . . have formed . . . and have given."—**covenant of the people:** an obscure expression, best interpreted as a parallel to the following clause, "a people embodying a covenant which Yahweh will make with the nations."

XLII. 8f. The fulfilment of His earlier predictions, the "former things," differentiates Yahweh from the gods of the nations, and guarantees the fulfilment of the prophecies now made.

XLII. 10–13. The Whole Earth is Summoned to Praise Yahweh, for He is about to Take the Field against His Foes.—Nations from one end of the earth to the other, the sea, the far lands, the deserts, and all dwellers therein, must swell this pæan. Yahweh will utter a war-cry, and go forth on a triumphant expedition against His foes.

10. ye . . . sea: read, "let the sea roar."—**11. Kedar:** the wandering tent-dwellers.—**Sela:** the rocky fastnesses.—**13. jealousy:** warlike rage.

XLII. 14–17. Yahweh has long Restrained Himself: at last He will Crush His Foes and Help His Servants. —Long inactive, Yahweh is now filled with desire to intervene. He will ravage and lay waste the lands of His foes: but His people He will bring carefully and tenderly home, thus overwhelming the idolators with shame.

15. islands: read, "parched ground."—**16.** Read, "on the way," and omit the next four words.—**forsake:** "leave undone."

XLII. 18–25. Israel's Piteous Plight, a Punishment from Yahweh.—The prophet bids the people, who have not recognised Yahweh's working in their distresses, look beneath the surface. To all appearance they are captives whom none can deliver. Will none of them see that Yahweh Himself is the author of their misfortune? He has chastised them, though they have not understood the discipline.

19. A gloss, identifying the "blind" and "deaf" of 18; a second gloss (19*b*) has been added. Both take Yahweh's Servant to be Israel.—**at peace with me:** difficult; perhaps read, "my devoted one."—

21. Probably editorial.—**22.** Figurative reference to the restraints of captivity.—**23. this:** *i.e.* the truths of 24f.—**for . . . come:** however blind hitherto.—**24.** All after **robbers** is a pious insertion. Read, "they sinned" (LXX).—**25.** Continues question of 24. Render, "Who poured . . . ?"

XLIII. 1–7. Having Chastised, Yahweh will Redeem His People.—Since Yahweh has sent Israel into exile, He can bring her back. He bids her be of good courage. His people shall not be overwhelmed by the calamities He brings upon them. He will ransom them, compensating the conqueror with Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sheba. The sons of Israel shall be gathered from their dispersion.

1*b*. The verbs are futures.—**2.** Read, "and rivers shall not."—**3. Seba:** not certainly identified; presumably an African state bordering on Ethiopia.—**4. men:** read "lands."—5*a*. An insertion.

XLIII. 8–13. Israel Called by Yahweh as His Witness before the Nations.—The scene is again a court of justice. The nations, Yahweh's opponents, are already assembled (read "are" for "let be"). Yahweh commands His people to be summoned as witnesses for Him. Blind as Israel may have been to the deeper significance of Yahweh's actions, yet even she has eyes to see the facts of history. What god can forecast and announce the future as Yahweh has done? Let them produce any witnesses who can attest the claim. Israel will attest Yahweh's claims and convince the heathen of His uniqueness. He alone who foretold the event can accomplish it. No strange god did this. His control of history is absolute.

9. former things: possibly read, "beforehand."—**or:** translate, "and"; "witnesses" is the subject of "hear, and say."—**10. servant:** read plural.—**ye may:** read, "they may."—**12. and I am God:** add, "from of old."—**13. since:** read *mg.*, and connect with what precedes.—**let:** render as *mg.*

XLIII. 14–21. Yahweh will Work for His People a Deliverance more Wonderful than the Exodus.—14 is too corrupt to be translated with confidence. RV understands it to refer to a flight by water of the Babylonians from their fallen city. Yahweh recalls His people's passage through the Red Sea, when He overwhelmed the Egyptians. So much more wonderful will be His new achievement that it will be quoted instead of the Exodus as the supreme evidence of His redeeming power. He will make a road for the exiles through the wilderness, and cause rivers to spring forth in the arid desert; the wild creatures of the wilderness shall praise Him in gratitude.

15. Omit **am.**—**16.** Something has been lost after **Lord.**—**17.** Translate, "Army and warriors together. They lie down and cannot rise."—**19.** Translate, "I am doing . . . it is springing . . . do ye not perceive it?"—20*b*, **21.** A late gloss; notice the change from the 2nd to the 3rd person.

XLIII. 22–XLIV. 5. Yahweh's Intervention, not Purchased by His People but Entirely of His Grace, shall Bring New Life to Israel.—It is not that during the exile Israel has assiduously sought Yahweh's aid by prayer and sacrifice. Nor has He exacted gifts and incense. So far from requiring them to buy sweet-scented cane to make fragrant their choice sacrifices, He has been compelled to do service for them, in saving them from the consequences of their sins. (Of His grace He will pardon their sins. What plea can they advance?) Their ancestor, Jacob, and the prophets, the very men who should have mediated between Yahweh and Israel, sinned against Him; the princes profaned His sanctuary. So He had given His people to the ban. Yet He bids His chosen people, addressing them by the pet name Jeshurun—the upright one—fear not. Upon them He will pour out His quickening life-spirit like rain on the thirsty ground. Their vigour shall be renewed, and they shall flourish like grass that grows amid waters (LXX) or willows on the banks of streams. Unto them, to share their prosperity, shall come men from the nations, giving their adherence to Yahweh, and marking on their hands the inscription, "Yahweh's" (*cf. mg.*), as a sign that they have become naturalised Israelites.

22*b*. Read, "nor hast thou wearied thyself over me, O Israel."—**25f.** Probably a gloss. The connexion would be improved by its removal.—**plead:** as in a law-court.—28*a*. Read (*cf.* LXX), "Thy princes profaned my holy sanctuary"; a succeeding parallel clause may have been lost.—**will make:** read *mg.*—**curse:** devoted to destruction (p. 99).—**XLIV. 2. Jeshurun:** Dt. 32¹⁵*, 33₅,₂₆, *cf.* Nu. 23¹⁰*.—3*a* Metaphorical; read *mg.*

XLIV. 6–8, 21–23. The Incomparableness of Yahweh, Who Redeems Israel.—Yahweh of (the heavenly) Hosts (Gen. 2¹*, 1 S. 1³*) asserts His uniqueness, challenging any who claim to have foretold the future aright to make their pretensions good. His people need not fear: long ago, as they can testify, He foretold what is now coming to pass. Let them remember the incomparableness of their Master. He blots out their sins as the sun disperses the morning clouds. The prophet adds a short lyric, calling upon all the universe to praise Yahweh, who so gloriously redeems His people.

7. Read, "Who is like me? Let him stand forth (LXX), and cry out, and declare and set it (his case) forth before me. Who foretold long ago what is now coming to pass? Let them declare to us (*cf.* VSS) what is yet to come!"—8*b*. Read, "Is there a God or a Rock beside me?"—**21.** Read, "Thou wilt not renounce me" (*cf. mg.*).

XLIV. 9–20. The Folly of Idol-Worship.—This late insertion breaks the connexion between 8 and 21, and differs from its context in style and spirit. Makers of images are as nothing: their beloved idols ("delectable things") bring them no gain. The devotees are so blind that they must inevitably be brought to shame. He who fashions a god has merely cast a useless image. All its devotees and magicians shall be put to shame (11). The metal-worker, fashioning his image over the hot fire, grows faint. The maker of a wooden idol marks out his block with line and pencil and carves it into human shape for a domestic god. He chooses a tree, which God has planted and nourished by His rain. With part of it he warms himself and cooks his food; the rest he makes into a god before whom he prostrates himself, seeking help from it! What absurdity! yet they are too blind to see it. Such men, getting satisfaction from (not "feedeth on" as RV) wood that burns to ashes, are too perverted to save themselves by reflecting that their support is a delusion.

9. their witnesses: *cf.* 43₉.—**that they may be:** the inevitable result of conduct is often represented as its deliberate aim.—**10.** An assertion rather than a question: "He who has fashioned a god, has but molten . . ."—**11.** Obscure: read perhaps, "All its devotees (*cf. mg.*) shall be ashamed, and its magicians confounded: let them," etc.—**12. an axe:** omit as a gloss; Heb. is impossible.—**14.** Heb. corrupt; no satisfactory emendation is proposed. LXX has merely, "He cutteth wood out of the forest which the Lord planted and the rain made it grow."—**15.** Connect the first clause with 14: "doth nourish it for kindling."

—**taketh thereof:** read "kindles fire therefrom" (LXX). —**16. with part thereof:** read, as in 19, "upon the coals thereof" (LXX Syr.) Read (*cf.* LXX), "he roasteth flesh, he eateth roast."—**18.** Read, "their eyes are smeared over" (*cf. mg.*).

XLIV. 24–XLV. 8. Yahweh's Commission to Cyrus.—Yahweh reminds Israel of His power as sole Creator of the universe. What He created He still controls, so that He falsifies the predictions deduced by the soothsayers from the omens, and makes the diviners look foolish, while He fulfils the predictions of His servants (read plural), the prophets. He it is who has decreed the restoration of Jerusalem, the Temple, and the cities of Judah. The hindrances are compared to a flood, which He will dry up (Ex. 14). He it is who calls Cyrus the shepherd of His people. To Cyrus, whom He has anointed for this commission, whom He supports in his career of victory, delivering to him all fortified cities, He has promised that He will go before him, smoothing difficulties from his path. Brazen gates and the iron bars that strengthen them He will shatter. He will give him the treasures hoarded in secret chambers, Babylon's spoils of conquest. Yet not for his own sake, but for Israel's, has Yahweh called him, though he knew Him not, and given him a title of honour. He, the only God, will gird Cyrus with strength, but kings who oppose him He will disarm, that all men may know He is Yahweh, sole controller of the fates of mankind. Let the heavens flood the earth with righteousness: from the womb of the earth let deliverance and prosperity spring forth, and let the earth produce the triumph of His people.

24. is: rather "was," *i.e.* at the creation.—**25. liars:** render, "soothsayers."—**28.** Oriental rulers often styled themselves "shepherd" of the nation.—**XLV. 1. loose the loins of:** *i.e.* ungird, and consequently disarm.—**7. peace:** render, "prosperity."—**create:** delete as repetition from preceding clause.—[If a dualistic doctrine is tacitly attacked here, whose doctrine was it? J. H. Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 220) says it was "that of teachers essentially akin to the Magi." He adds: "The existence of such a dualistic tendency within the field from which he drew his observations does not prove any nexus between the Magi and Babylon, unless in their accepting Babylonian ideas as they accepted Persian. But the dualism in question may quite well have been Magian and not Babylonian at all."—**evil:** calamity, not moral evil.—A. S. P.].—**8. Drop down:** transitive, having same object as "pour down."—**righteousness**[2]: "victory." —**together:** render, "also."

XLV. 9–13. Yahweh Justifies His Choice of Cyrus.—Whoever questions the wisdom of Yahweh's working through Cyrus, He likens to clay that would instruct the potter. "Would ye," He asks, "question Me as to the things that are in process, or command Me as to the work I have in hand? Let it suffice that I who created the earth and mankind, who made the heavens and control the stars, have raised up Cyrus, and will prosper his doings to the end that he may rebuild Jerusalem and free My exiled people."

9. thy work, He: read, "his work. Thou hast."—**hands:** *i.e.* power.—**10.** A gloss.—**11.** Read, "Do ye ask? Would ye command?"—**12*b*.** *Cf.* 4026.—**13. not . . . hosts:** probably an addition; contrast 433.

XLV. 14–17. Heathen Peoples See in the Deliverance of Israel the Might of Israel's God.—The passage is obscure, but possibly represents captives whom Cyrus has taken from the nations delivered up to him in exchange for Israel as passing the returning exiles, and entreating, through Israel, Israel's God; for plainly the contrast of their fates shows that it is with Israel alone that God abides. (Read, "With thee God hides Himself; Israel's God is a deliverer.") All idol-worshippers and enemies of Yahweh are brought to ruin, whereas Israel shall never be confounded.

14. Corrupt; read perhaps, "The captives of Egypt, the exiles of Cush, and the tall Sabæans, shall pass before thee." LXX reads, "there is no God except thee."—**16.** Render, "are ashamed," "are gone."—**all of them, together:** consecutive in Heb.; read, "all that rose up against him" (LXX).—**17. shall be saved:** render, "is delivered."

XLV. 18–25. Yahweh will Deliver All who Look to Him.—Yahweh created the earth to be, not desolate, but a dwelling-place for man. Nor has He concealed Himself in some remote mysterious shrine, like the oracles of some heathen deities. He has declared the truth when He has been inquired of. Even now the end of the conquests of Cyrus is not that the earth, apart from the land of Israel, shall become a desolation instead of a dwelling-place. The survivors are bidden approach. They have proved the impotence of their portable gods. But Yahweh long ago predicted these events; the issue has demonstrated His control of history. With surprising grace He invites all men to turn to Him for deliverance. Yea, He has proclaimed, and His word cannot but fulfil itself, that every man shall swear allegiance to Him. He is the only source of victory and strength. His opponents shall be discomfited, but Israel shall boast of her triumph through Him.

19. a place of: delete.—**in vain:** read *mg.*—**21. bring forth:** *i.e.* perhaps, "your witnesses."—**23.** The word, once uttered, becomes almost a personality, certainly a force, which will not return until it has fulfilled itself (*cf.* 5511). Read the first *mg.* rendering, substituting "truth" for "righteousness."—**24. unto me:** read, "to Jacob."—**righteousness:** victory. —**even . . . ashamed:** read, "for his sake shall be confounded and ashamed all they that were incensed against him."

XLVI. 1–13. The Helpless Plight of Babylon's Gods Contrasted with the Saving Might of Yahweh.—**1f.** In vision the prophet sees the images of Babylon's gods (two of the most prominent are named), taken from their proud pedestals and placed upon the victor's beasts. So far from delivering others, or even their own images, Bel and Nabu are carried away captive. The general drift is clear, but details are uncertain owing to corruption of the text.—**1. and upon the cattle:** delete as gloss on "beasts."—**the things that ye carried about:** the images carried in festive processions, but perhaps after **beasts** we should read simply, "laid as a load upon the weary cattle."

3–13. Yahweh addresses all the survivors of Israel, wherever they may dwell; He compares His people to an infant; He has carried them from birth, and will carry them to the end. How then can He be likened to any image, which is a burden, not a bearer? (6–8 is late, probably of the same origin as 449–20. It pours scorn on the men who weigh out precious metal to be made into an image which they worship, though they have to bear it to its pedestal, from which it cannot move to the help of its devotees. The apostate Jews are bidden reflect on their idolatry.) Let His people remember His former predictions, since fulfilled, proving His power to carry out His will. He is calling Cyrus to perform His plan, rapid in execution, like a swift-swooping bird of prey. The downhearted (LXX) who are despairing of salvation are promised that Yahweh shall bring it without delay.

4. made: read, "borne."—**8. shew yourselves men:** read, "own your guilt."—**11. counsel:** "purpose."—**12f. righteousness:** "deliverance."

XLVII. 1–15. A Taunt-Song of Triumph on the Fall of Babylon.—**1–7.** Babylon, erroneously personified as a virgin, as if never before captured, is bidden descend from the effeminate ease of her throne to the menial task of grinding the hand-mill. The garments of a secluded princess she must lay aside, to wade through the fords. For Yahweh's vengeance is inexorable, and she who queened it over the kingdoms of the earth must go into the darkness of captivity. When Yahweh, angry with His people, suffered His land to be profaned by the invader, and His people to be taken captive to Babylon, she treated them with cruelty, thinking ever to maintain her proud position, unaware that this was Yahweh's doing and that He would control its issue.

8–15. But though she lives in voluptuous ease and, serenely insolent, boasts her unrivalled position, she shall be bereaved of husband—the figure changes to that of a favourite wife in the harem—and children in one moment, nor shall the magic in which the Babylonians were pre-eminent and arrogantly confident ward off the danger. Calamity shall come which all these resources will be powerless to avert. Let her try these impotent magical arts! Let the astrologers and compilers of the monthly calendars of lucky and unlucky days help her now! They shall be as stubble licked up by the flame of disaster. Unable to save themselves, how can they deliver her? They stumble to destruction and she is left to her fate.

3f. and will . . . redeemer: read, "and will not refrain saith our redeemer."—**7.** Render, "I shall live for ever, a queen to eternity. Thou didst not," etc.—**8. carelessly:** care-free.—**9. in their full measure:** LXX and Syr. "suddenly."—**11.** Read *mg.*—**12. Stand now:** render, "persist, pray."—**strike terror** (*mg.*): *i.e.* into the demon who causes the calamity.—**13. from . . . thee:** connect with "prognosticators," and render, "prognosticators of the quarters whence (evil) shall come upon thee."—15*b*. Render, "Such have they proved to thee for whom thou didst toil from thy youth" (omitting "they that have trafficked").

XLVIII. 1–11. A Recapitulation of the Argument from Prophecy.—To the original text a redactor has added a commentary (bracketed below) from a different standpoint. Whereas the prophet regarded Israel as having more than paid the penalty of her sins, the additions represent her as obstinately and inveterately sinful, and long addicted to the worship of images.

"Hearken," says Yahweh to His people [proud of their nationality and attached to His cultus]. "Long ago I predicted what later I suddenly accomplished. [Knowing thine inveterate obstinacy, 4] I announced beforehand my intentions [lest thou shouldst attribute the events to thine idols, 5*b*]. Thou hast heard . . . wilt thou not admit it? Now I announce things hitherto unrevealed [lest thou shouldst say, "I knew them," 7*c*] unheard and unknown by thee [because I knew that thou hast ever been a traitor. For My own sake I am not destroying thee. I have refined thee in a furnace, but no silver did I gain, 8*b*–10]. For My name's sake I do it [how it is profaned!] and share My glory with none other."

1f. All after "Jacob" is from the redactor: note the change from 2nd to 3rd person.—**waters:** read "loins."—**6.** Render, "I am showing" (*cf. mg.*).—**8.** Read, "thine ear have I not opened" (LXX).—**9.** Yahweh will not extirpate His people because then His cultus would come to an end.—Read, "and for my praise do I spare thee."—**10.** Render, "but not with gain of silver."—Read perhaps, "I have tried (*mg.*) thee in the furnace in vain."—11*a*. Read simply, "For my name's sake will I do it."

XLVIII. 12–16. The "New Things" which Yahweh Shows.—Yahweh emphasizes His incomparable and eternal majesty as Creator. When He had fashioned the earth and the heavens at His word they took their places. Let Israel assemble and answer His question, "What heathen god has foretold that which is now taking place? Who has brought Cyrus forth to do His will on Babylon?" It is He who has called him and prospered his way. He is not speaking in secret but from the time when the event comes into being He announces (its end?).

15. he shall make: read, "I have made" (LXX).—**16.** The last clause, suddenly introducing the speaker, as 2 Is. never does, is a gloss.—**spirit:** prophetic spirit; object to "sent."

XLVIII. 17–19. Had Israel but Obeyed Yahweh!—This is a later passage, looking forward to a grey future far other than the glowing picture painted by 2 Is. Yahweh saith, "I am thy God, O Israel, and would fain lead thee in paths of prosperity. Hadst thou but followed My leading thou wouldst have enjoyed perpetual peace, like a perennial stream; a prosperity beyond measure and a posterity beyond counting. Nor would thy name have been cut off."

18. righteousness: the prosperity which righteousness brings.—**19. his:** read "thy" (LXX).

XLVIII. 20–22. The Joyous Song of the Returning Exiles.—The exiles on their return exhort one another to publish the salvation which Yahweh has brought, how, repeating the wonders of the Exodus, He miraculously provides them with water as they pass through the desert to Jerusalem.

20. from: out of the midst of, not fearing the Chaldeans, but escaping so as not to be involved in their ruin.—**22.** An insertion from 57*21*.

XLIX. 1–6. The Preparation of Yahweh's Servant, and its Purpose (the second Servant Song).—The Servant of Yahweh speaks, bidding the far lands hearken; for them he has a glorious message, which is, however, not uttered at once but forms the climax of the song (6). "Yahweh has from my earliest days ordained and nominated me to be His Servant. My mouth He has made like a keen blade, for I am to speak for Him a piercing word. Like an arrow saved in the quiver for a special quarry He has made me ready against the time. But when He told me that He would use me to His glory I answered, 'With no result have I exhausted my strength: yet my right and reward are in Yahweh's keeping.' But now the moment has come. Yahweh purposes to bring His exiles home, and I am glorified in His sight, and He is become my strength. Nor will this task suffice Him: He will make me a light for the nations to achieve a world-wide deliverance."

4. judgement: render "right," *i.e.* what is due to me.—**5.** This very difficult and certainly corrupt verse has been variously construed and emended. Read perhaps, "And now Yahweh that formed . . . servant, promiseth to bring Jacob again to him and to gather Israel." It is Yahweh, not the Servant, who brings back Jacob.—**6. that thou shouldest be my servant:** delete as an incorrect gloss.—**salvation:** *i.e.* deliverance; read *mg.*

XLIX. 7–12. The Glorious Home-Coming of the Exiles.—To Israel, despised and oppressed, Yahweh promises a reversal of fortune so wonderful that kings

in astonishment shall do homage to Israel, recognising him as Yahweh's chosen. When the time is ripe Yahweh responds to his appeal. He will preserve him and restore him to the deserted homeland, bidding the exiles and prisoners come forth. He, their shepherd, will feed them on their way through the barren country. Nor shall the sirocco or the sun's heat strike them, for He will lead them from the most distant dispersion by tree-shaded streams, along a road miraculously made over mountain and plain.—**7.** Read, "whom nations abhor."—**rulers:** in bad sense, "tyrants."—**worship:** render, "do homage."—**8. acceptable time:** a time of favour. The perfects are perfects of certainty, "I will answer," "I will help."—Render, "raising up," "making"; the subject is Yahweh.—**10. heat:** *i.e.* the hot wind (LXX). *Mg.* is wrong; a mirage cannot "smite" (35$7^*$).—**Sinim:** possibly Syene in the S. of Egypt, where there was certainly a settlement of Jews in the fifth century B.C.

XLIX. 13. A Short Lyric Appended to the Foregoing.

XLIX. 14–21. Jerusalem shall be Forthwith Rebuilt and Repeopled.—Zion has believed herself forgotten of Yahweh. But though a mother should forget her babe He will not forget Zion. His plan for rebuilding it He has cut upon the palms of His hands that it may be ever before Him. Zion's builders (*mg.*) shall speedily get to work, while her destroyers shall haste out of the city. From all sides the dispersed people return; they shall be to the newly-built city as ornaments to a new-made wife. Though all the waste places be made habitable (?) still the people shall more than fill them. Oppressors shall be far away. Those born while the city lay desolate are so many as on their return to strive in Zion's hearing for room. And Zion shall ask herself in bewilderment, "Who hath borne and reared me these when I was childless?" (*cf.* Gen. 16_2).

18. *Cf.* Jer. 23_2.—**19.** There is a considerable gap in the text after **destroyed.**—**21.** Read *mg.*—**an exile and wandering to and fro:** omit with LXX this clause, which spoils the picture. In the last clause read, "And these, whence are they?"

XLIX. 22–L. 3. The Promises to Zion Elaborated and Confirmed.—At a sign from Yahweh the nations shall with solicitous care bring back the exiles to Zion. Kings and queens shall tend them and do them abject homage (is it too abject for the prophet to have penned 23 or 26?). So shall His people's trust in their God be justified. But from such mighty ones can the captives be freed? Yes: for Yahweh will fight His people's battle, and cause their oppressors to slay one another; all men shall know that He is the deliverer. He has not finally divorced Israel—that would have required a bill of divorcement. Nor has debt compelled Him to sell His children into slavery; He has banished them as a punishment, and so He can bring them back. Why so reluctant to respond? Do they doubt His power, the power of Him who can dry up the sea and veil the heavens in darkness?

22. bosom: the fold of the garment.—**24.** Read Vulg, and Syr. (*mg.*).—**L. 2.** Apparently an appeal to a well-known tradition of Yahweh's exploits at the creation. Read perhaps, "Their fish dry up (LXX), because there is no water, and their monsters on the parched land."

L. 4–9. The Confidence of the Servant in Yahweh (the third Servant Song).—Here, as in 49_{1-6}, the Servant is the speaker. "Yahweh has given me the eloquence of a disciple that I may know how to answer the godless with upright words. Every morning He imparts instruction to me as to a disciple, nor have insult and cruelty caused me to shrink from the tasks He has set me. Through His help I have not been overwhelmed; upon me, confident that I shall not finally be put to shame, these cruelties have made no more impression than though I had been flint. My vindication is near. Let any accuser come forward and we will submit our case to Him. He will help me—who will pronounce me wrong? My adversaries shall perish like a moth-eaten garment."

4. The text is certainly corrupt. For **sustain,** a guess at an otherwise unknown word, read "answer," and for **with words him that is weary: he wakeneth:** a not difficult emendation gives "the godless with upright words."—**7. will:** render, "doth."—**8. justifieth:** *i.e.* pronounces in the right, opposed to—**9. condemn:** *i.e.* pronounce in the wrong.

L. 10f. A Late Appendix.—The song (4–9) is applied to the conditions of a later time when the pious Jews were oppressed by their fellow-countrymen.

Let the pious Jew hear (LXX) the Servant's voice, and despite his pitiful plight trust in Yahweh. Those who kindle the flames of persecution and strife shall become the victims of their own fire, and by His doom shall lie in a place of pain (Gehenna may be meant).

10*a.* is not a question.—**11. gird . . . with:** emend, "set aflame."

LI. 1–8. A Heartening Consolation.—Yahweh, in words that echo 50_{4-9}, bids His people, who seek the victory which ever eludes them, consider their origin. Abraham was but one; yet He made him a great people: how much more from a people, though their numbers be decreased, can He make a mighty nation. He will comfort Zion—the perfects of 3 are "perfects of certainty"—her ruins shall be rebuilt and her waste places made fruitful as Eden. Instruction in the true religion shall go forth from Him as a light for the nations. His vindicating victory is near at hand; His power shall judge the nations. Though heaven and earth pass away, and men perish like gnats (*mg.*), His victory shall be eternal. Let not His people, who know His vindicating power and understand His instruction, fear the taunts of men. Their oppressors shall vanish like moth-eaten garments, but His victory shall endure for ever.

1. Read, "and to the quarry whence ye were digged."—*4b–5a.* Read, "for a law shall go forth from me, and my judgement for a light of the peoples. Suddenly I bring near my victory," etc.—**6.** Translate, "and the earth as a garment; the world shall fall to pieces and they," etc.—**be abolished:** read "fail" (LXX, Vulg.).

LI. 9–11. An Appeal to Yahweh to Display His Might as of Old.—Let Yahweh's strong arm manifest its power as it did in slaying the dragon Rahab, the personification of the mighty deep regarded as the power of Chaos (Job 9_{13}^*). This thought naturally suggests another work of Yahweh's arm, the drying up of the Red Sea, the more easily that Rahab was an emblem for Egypt (*cf.* 30_7^*).—**10. great deep:** this expression makes it clear that the reference to the Exodus begins only with the following words.—**11.** A scribe's quotation from 35_{10}.

LI. 12–16. Israel, Trusting in Yahweh, Need Have no Fear.—"Since it is I, Yahweh, who am comforting thee, how canst thou fear mortal man, and how forget that Yahweh is the omnipotent Creator, so that thou art ever in fear of the (Chaldean) oppressor? The crouching (prisoner?) shall soon be freed: he shall not perish. I am Yahweh, controller of the ocean. My spokesman have I made thee, and jealously have I

guarded thee that I may stretch out (Syr.) the (new ?) heavens and establish the (new ?) earth, calling Zion My people." (??).

12. who art thou, that: Heb. idiom for "how canst thou ?"

LI. 17–LII. 12. The Sorrow of Jerusalem, which shall Give Place to Joy.—17–20. The prophet, obviously familiar with the vision of Jer. 25¹⁵, pictures Jerusalem as staggering under the stupefaction caused by the draught which Yahweh in His anger has compelled her to drink. Two pairs of evils (expressed in Heb. by word-plays) have befallen her, and who is there to comfort her (read "who shall" for "how shall I" with VSS). Under the fury of Yahweh her sons are like an antelope exhausted by its vain struggles in the net.—**18.** Apparently a quotation added by a scribe.

LI. 21–23. But Jerusalem shall no more drink of the stupefying draught; the oppressor who, like an eastern conqueror striding over the prostrate bodies of his captive foes, has arrogantly afflicted her shall be compelled to drink it instead.—**23. thy soul:** render, "thee"; "soul" in Heb. often means "self."

LII. 1f. With evidently designed contrast to 47, where Babylon is bidden sit in the dust and remove her fair apparel, Zion is exhorted to awake and put on garments of beauty. She shall no longer be the slave of the uncircumcised (Chaldæan): let her rise from the dust and free herself from her bonds.

2. sit thee down: *i.e.* on a throne (*cf.* 47¹). But read, "arise, O captive Jerusalem." The continuation of 2 has disappeared and been replaced by 52³–⁶.

LII. 3–6, which breaks the exhortation to Zion, resumed in 7, is marked by a view of Israel's history different from that of 2 Is., contains late phrases, and is, unlike its context, in prose; it is therefore a late addition. Yahweh assures His people that they were delivered to their oppressors for no fault, and not for money shall they be ransomed. To Egypt they went originally as guests (Gen. 45⁹–²⁰); nor had Assyria just cause for oppressing them. "Now, what do I find here—My people unjustly taken away, My Temple overthrown, My name constantly spurned! In the day of reckoning My people shall know the meaning of that name, and that it is I who am now speaking to them."

3. sold: in the sense of Jg. 11¹⁴.—**5. they . . . howl:** difficult in form and meaning, not supported by LXX. Of several emendations "my temple is cast down" is accepted above.—**6. behold it is I:** these words belong to the beginning of 7, but read simply "behold."

LII. 7–9. Behold, he who brings glad news of deliverance is speeding over the mountains. All the watchers from the city shout for joy because, so near that they can look in His face ("eye to eye"), they behold Yahweh approaching to reign in Zion. Let the ruined city break forth into exultant song!

7. Read, "Behold, hastening upon the mountains."—**reigneth:** *i.e.* is about to assume his position as king.—**8.** Read simply, "All thy watchmen lift up," etc.—**shall see . . . when:** render, "see . . . how" (*mg.*).—**9. waste places:** ruins.

LII. 10–12. Yahweh has thrown back the clinging garment that might hamper His arm, and all the world shall see the deliverance He will work. . . . Let the exiles depart from Babylon, the people and the priests, who bear the sacred vessels, alike having made themselves ceremonially pure. Nor shall their departure be a hurried flight like the Exodus from Egypt, for Yahweh will be both vanguard and rearguard.

LII. 13–LIII. 12. The Vindication of the Servant of Yahweh (the fourth of the Songs of the Servant of Yahweh).—**LII. 13–15.** Yahweh announces that His Servant Israel shall be raised to a position so glorious that, even as many were appalled at his pitiable plight, so nations shall do him homage and kings be reverently silent in his presence, beholding so wonderful, so unheard-of a transformation.

13. shall deal wisely: translate "prosper" (*mg.*), but probably the easy emendation "Israel" is to be accepted.—**14. thee:** read "him," with Targum and Syr. A parallel line such as "and princes shuddered at him" seems to have been lost.—The words in brackets are introduced in Heb. by "so." The picture seems to be that of a leper so disfigured as hardly to seem human (*mg.*). Possibly they should follow 53². If retained here, read "for his visage was marred."—**15. sprinkle:** an impossible translation, nor is *mg.* well based. Read "shall do homage," with **nations** as subject.—**shut their mouths:** *cf.* Job 29⁹f.

LIII. 1–3. At this point the nations begin to speak, their words continuing apparently as far as 11*a*. First they utter their thoughts concerning the change in Israel's fortunes. "Who," they ask, "could have believed what we have heard (*mg.*)? To whom was the working of Yahweh revealed? Why, Israel aforetime (so emend "before him") grew up like a shoot from the roots of a tree that has been cut down, or a feeble plant in an arid soil. Far from possessing beauty such as fascinates, he was despised, pain-stricken, and diseased, so that men turned from him in revulsion, and we paid him no regard."

2. nor comeliness: delete as a gloss, and render following words as *mg.*—**3. rejected of men:** a fine thought, but the Heb. is very dubious; possibly emend, "lightly esteemed."—**sorrows . . . grief:** render, "pains . . . sickness," and so in 4.

LIII. 4–6. "But now we recognise that it was our sicknesses and pains which he was bearing when we thought him stricken with leprosy by God as the punishment of his sins. Not his sins but ours were the cause of his suffering: he suffered chastisement in order to bring us prosperity and healing. We, not knowing Yahweh the shepherd, wandered as sheep having no shepherd: but upon him Yahweh made to light the sin of us all."

4. stricken: this term is used especially of a leper.—**5. bruised:** render, "crushed."—**of our peace:** *i.e.* which was to bring us peace=prosperity.

LIII. 7–9. "Though he was oppressed he made no protest, but suffered with the meekness of a sheep led to slaughter or shearing. Debarred from (so emend "by oppression and") justice he was taken off (*i.e.* by death) and who considered his fate (so emending simply "and as for his generation who *among them* considered"), cut off from life and stricken to death (LXX) for our (reading "our transgressions" by an easy emendation for "the transgressions of my people") rebellions! His grave was made with the wicked, and with evil-doers (so emend "rich") his tomb, despite his life of innocence." The last words are probably a metaphorical way of saying that Israel had lost its national existence in exile.

7. yet he humbled himself: possibly the text, which is awkward, originally read, "but he made no answer for himself" (*wᵉlo* for *wᵉhu*), and the words **and opened not his mouth,** the repetition of which is suspicious, are a correct gloss.—**9. in his death:** literally as *mg.* This seems almost absurd; the text by a slight alteration might perhaps be translated "his burial-mound"; in any case some such parallel is needed here.

LIII. 10–12. The text of these verses is so corrupt

that any translation is hazardous. This is apparent even in the English, in which Yahweh is, according to the usual interpretation third (" the Lord "), second (" thou "), and first (" I ") person.

But though men regarded him with scorn, Yahweh took pleasure in His Servant, and delivered his soul (=" him," in Heb. idiom) from trouble. He caused him to see light and be satisfied, in his descendants brought him justice. (The foregoing is an attempt, removing doublets, emending, and using hints from LXX, to give approximately what is now rendered by 10f. down to " justify," except the words " my righteous servant " which in Heb. follow " justify." From this point it would seem that the nations cease to speak and Yahweh pronounces His verdict upon His Servant.) " An object of scorn (so emending " righteous ") my servant may be to the many, though he is bearing their iniquities ; therefore he shall inherit (so LXX for " I will divide him a portion ") with the great, and with earth's rulers shall he share dominion (this seems to be the meaning of " dividing the spoil with the strong ") since he poured out his life-blood, and was numbered with the rebellious, when all the while he was bearing the sins of the many, interposing for the rebellious."

LIV. Zion shall be Restored to her Place as Yahweh's Wife, Never again to be Rejected.—The poet pictures Zion as a barren wife, left desolate by her husband. Let her break into transports of joy, for Yahweh promises that her children shall yet be more than the children of a wife not deserted—so many that her tent must be enlarged. He bids her " stretch forth her tent-hangings " (so LXX), without stint lengthening the cords and strengthening the tent-pegs to support the larger tent. For Zion's inhabitants shall overflow south and north, overrunning other nations and peopling the deserted cities. Let Zion not blush for shame ; the shame of her early days as Yahweh's bride—the Egyptian captivity—and her widowhood—the exile, when her husband, Yahweh, forsook her—shall be forgotten. For Yahweh has called her to Him, as a husband summons to his favour a wife neglected and dejected—the Heb. " forsaken and grieved " is an assonance. A wife of youth—that she should be utterly rejected ! it cannot be (such seems to be the meaning) saith thy God. The underlying idea is that of a wife in a harem, neglected for other wives, to whom, as his first bride, the husband inevitably returns. The time of exile shall seem but a moment when Zion looks back from the standpoint of the exiles gathered in their mother city. In anger (delete " overflowing ") He has turned from her, but with everlasting kindness He will compassionate her. His promise is like that He made in the days (*mg.*) of Noah, that never again should a deluge come, more steadfast than the " everlasting hills."

3. Heb. uses **right** and **left** where we use " south " and " north."—5. Probably a gloss.

LIV. 11–17. The Glories of the New Jerusalem.—Yahweh pictures for the disconsolate Zion the beauties of the rebuilt city. He will set her bases (so read for " stones ") in malachite (so emending " fair colours "), her foundations in sapphires. Her pinnacles shall be rubies, her gates carbuncles, her encircling wall of precious stones. All the builders of the state (Yahweh Himself rebuilds the *city*) shall be instructed by Yahweh ; her prosperity and welfare shall be great and permanent. She shall be far from being oppressed, for there shall be nought for her to fear (15 is a gloss capable of many translations ; the general idea is that Zion's enemies shall be conquered), because Yahweh hath made equally the smith who as a matter of craftsmanship (so render " for his work ") forges weapons, and the destroying tyrant who uses them on his ravaging expeditions, and having created them to serve His purposes can control them. No weapon can be forged that shall hurt Zion : her enemy in the court of justice she shall prove to be in the wrong (17*b* is a gloss. Read *mg.*).

LV. 1–5. The Glorious Blessings of the New Covenant which Yahweh will Make with His People.—Yahweh bids the thirsty come to the waters, the hungry to eat. Their life is now a constant striving issuing only in disillusion ; but listening to His call they shall, without effort or cost, enjoy the utmost blessing (fat or oil was considered a great delicacy). He will grant (as a condescension, not " make " as on equal terms) His people a covenant, transferring to them the sure promises of loving-kindness which He made to David. Even as once by crowning his career with success He made David an evidence to the nations of His power and their suzerain, Yahweh will now prosper Zion so that nations as yet unknown shall obey her call, seek union with her, beholding the wonderful blessings wherewith Yahweh honours her.

LV. 6–13. Seek Yahweh, for the Great Deliverance is at Hand.—Let the exiles seek Yahweh, for the time is at hand. His plans for His people reach beyond their own as far as the heavens are exalted above the earth. Even as the rain and snow descend and do not return, but make the earth fruitful, so Yahweh's promise, that has gone forth from His lips, shall be accomplished without fail. (An utterance was looked upon by the Hebrews almost as a personal power fulfilling itself.) He will lead forth the rejoicing exiles, mountains and trees shall rejoice aloud as the happy procession passes. The thorn-bush and the brier (?) or nettle (?) shall give place to the fir and the myrtle, an everlasting memorial of Yahweh's gracious deliverance.

LVI. 1–8. A Gracious Promise to Proselytes and Eunuchs.—We find ourselves conscious in this oracle of a change of atmosphere and setting. The Temple is built, and the centre of an elaborate ritual. Refraining from evil and sabbath-keeping are equally yoked. We pass now to the oracles of " Trito-Isaiah."

An exhortation to hold fast the ordinances of religion (" judgement "), based upon the imminence of Yahweh's vindicating intervention (" my righteousness "), is followed by a beatitude upon the man who obeys it. Let not the foreigner fear exclusion from the chosen people (" separate " is a technical term meaning " to excommunicate "), nor the eunuch, because he can have no posterity, refrain from joining them. For the eunuch who follows Yahweh's precepts (note again the emphasis on sabbath-keeping) a monument shall be erected in the Temple-precincts, indestructible and thus better than (*mg.*) posterity. Proselytes of whatever nation who keep His laws shall be admitted to the Temple courts (" my holy mountain "), share the joyous feasts, and have their offerings accepted. The Jerusalem community shall be increased not only by the return of the dispersed Jews but also by proselytes.

4. **of:** *i.e.* " in reference to."—6. **minister:** not in the technical sense of exercising priestly functions.

LVI. 9–LVII. 2. A Denunciation of the Rulers of the Community.—This oracle seems not to be connected with the preceding, though it arises out of the same circumstances.

Yahweh bids the beasts of prey (*cf.* Jer. 12$_9$), hostile nations, ravage the flock, since the watchdogs are not alert, but crouched in the slumber of gluttons. Vividly

then one of the rulers is introduced, inviting his fellows to a drunken orgy (*cf.* Am. 6⁶), and gloating over a like prospect for the morrow. But, while the rulers gorge and swill, the man who keeps the law and is godly (*mg.*) perishes through these evils (*mg.*), unnoticed: his only rest is that of the funeral bier ("beds").

10. his: read, "my."

LVII. 3–13. An Invective against the Pro-Samaritans.—Yahweh turns now bitterly to upbraid the "pro-Samaritan" party in the community, among whom flourished many of the primitive Palestinian religious practices. To defame his mother was to an Eastern the most offensive of insults; but the terms used are figurative (idolatry being often in OT described as adultery). How can this false brood deride the pious! (5 is probably an illustrative quotation). The adulteress has chosen for her portion the "smooth" (perhaps "slippery ones," *i.e.* false gods) in place of Yahweh. On the high places she has set her bed, *i.e.* practised heathen rites, which were in fact notoriously sensual. The "memorial" is probably a phallic symbol; "incited by it" (so read for "to another than me") she strips and prepares her bed and hires for herself such as she loves intercourse with (slightly emending "made thee a covenant"). For "where thou sawest it" translate probably, "thou sawest the phallus." If so, some clause has fallen out. She "anoints herself for the King," *i.e.* Melek (=Moloch) the Palestinian god, and perfumes herself. Not content with Palestinian deities she sends representatives to the shrines of distant gods, even to the deities of Sheol. She refuses, despite her weariness, to acknowledge failure. Whom has she feared? For she has entirely ignored her duty to Yahweh. She has misinterpreted His inaction. But he will expose her "righteousness (!)" and her works. When she cries, her abominations the idols (*cf. mg.*) will not rescue her. They shall fly like chaff in the wind. But he who adheres to Yahweh shall possess the land.

LVII. 14–21. A Gracious Promise to the Party of the Pious.—This oracle is modelled on 40, though the "way" is figurative. Yahweh commands that the way of His adherents be raised and freed from obstacles. He, the High and Lofty (*cf.* 61), who, unlike the perishing idols, sits upon a throne of eternity, dwells also with the (politically) crushed and lowly, whose fortunes He will revive. He will not be angry for ever, lest all creation should perish. Because of Israel's iniquity He smote him, and hid Himself from him, so that he turned aside to his own ways, which ways Yahweh, Himself unseen, has watched. ("I have seen his ways" should be joined to 17.) He will heal and give rest to and console him. For his mourners He creates the fruit of the lips, *i.e.* thanksgiving, and for the Jew at home or in exile, far off or near, He will create peace, *i.e.* prosperity. But the wicked, like the uptossed sea, shall have no peace.

15. in the high and lofty place: render, "on high as the lofty one."—**16. spirit, soul:** mean no more than "living creature."—**19. Peace:** object to "create." The sentence is not an exclamation.

LVIII. 1–14. Fasting, False and True.—Yahweh bids the prophet explain to His people wherein their sin lies. Daily they attend the Temple, seeking to know His will for all the world as though their one aim were to do it! They question the priests as to correct ritual—"righteous ordinances"—and delight in daily worship. "Why," they ask, "when we fast does Yahweh take no notice of our pleas?" Because on their fast-days they pursue their business—so render rather than "pleasure"—and exact their debts (so emend (*cf.* LXX) the dubious word rendered "labours"). Thus their fast-days are marked by strife and oppression. Such fasting will not speed their prayers on high! Yahweh desires as a fast not self-mortification, gestures of woe, symbols of humiliation: but the loosing of unjust bonds, and the freeing of the crushed; the feeding of the hungry (*cf.* Neh. 5¹⁷) and the housing of the homeless; the clothing of the naked, and brotherly association with their poor fellow-countrymen—"their own flesh." Thus would come prosperity and healing. Their right-doing would be as their vanguard and Yahweh Himself their rearguard. He would answer their petitions without delay. Let them put away oppression, contemptuous action, and wicked speech; let them give their bread (so some MSS and VSS for "soul") to the hungry: and their deep gloom shall be exchanged for noonday light. Yahweh will be their guide, giving them water in arid regions, renewing their strength (so emend the dubious Heb. "make strong thy bones"). They shall flourish like an irrigated garden, or an oasis whose springs do not disappear in the hot season. Zion's sons will rebuild her ancient ruins, restoring the time-honoured foundations. 13f. bears the marks of a later corollary to this discourse on fasting. It consists largely of quotation, and differs considerably in LXX. "If thou regard the Sabbath as holy ground, from which thou turnest a profane foot, refraining from business; if thou callest the Sabbath thy delight and the new moon of Yahweh (for the combination *cf.* 1¹³) thy joy (emending the strange and tautologous expression "the holy of the Lord honourable"), refraining from business and idle talk: then thou shalt have thy delight in Yahweh, and I will cause thee to surmount all difficulties (*cf.* Dt. 32¹³) and assuredly cause thee to enjoy the inheritance of thine ancestors."

8. healing: the new flesh which forms in the healing of a wound.—**11. spring of water:** rather, "a place of springs."—**12.** Read, "And thy sons shall build."—**paths:** perhaps read, "ruins."

LIX. 1–8. Solely the Sins of the People Delay Yahweh's Intervention.—**5–8,** with their fantastic metaphors and bitter invective, are probably a later addition made in even gloomier times. Note the third person, and the good connexion between 4 and 9. Not the waning of Yahweh's power, nor His deafness, explains His failure to aid His people. Their sins are like a wall between them and the Divine Presence. In act and word they are cruel and false. In the law-courts false dealing and speaking rule; a just cause counts for less than lying words. (5–8 pictures the schemes of the wicked under two figures. They hatch out poisonous serpents' eggs; anyone who eats the eggs dies, and if an egg is broken a young viper is disclosed. They weave spiders' webs; but these are useless to cover their iniquity. They haste eagerly to accomplish their wicked purposes. In their pathway they leave ruin. The path of peace they pursue not, and no right-dealing marks their tracks, for they choose crooked ways.)

2. his face: literally, "face," probably a proper noun used for the Divine Presence, the Shekinah.—**4. pleadeth:** in the legal sense.

LIX. 9–15a. The People Confess that their Piteous Plight is the Fruit of their Wrongdoing.—The poet now joins himself to his people and, speaking in their name, owns the truth of the indictment in 1–4. True! that is why we do not attain our right, and victory is not ours! No gleam of hope lightens our darkness. We grope like blind men along a wall instead of treading firmly. We stumble in broad daylight. We

moan and murmur like growling bears or cooing doves. Right and deliverance seem ever further off, for our numberless rebellions bear witness before Thee against us. Their guilt is ever on our hearts—rebellion and transgression against Yahweh, uttering perverseness (so read for " oppression "), defection, and lying words. So Right turns her back upon us and Victory keeps her distance, since Truth stumbles in our market-square, and Straight-dealing cannot make her way in. So Truth is not to be seen, and Insight departs from the city (*cf.* LXX).

10. Read (*cf. mg.*) " We dwell in darkness like the dead " (in the gloomy underworld).—**13. in:** delete.

LIX. 15b–21. Yahweh Himself Becomes the Champion of the Right.—Yahweh is indignant that Right is absent. He sees there is none to interpose (*mg.*) for her, so His own power brings the deliverance He desires, His victorious might sustaining Him in His strife. He arrays Himself as a warrior, Victory His cuirass, Deliverance His helmet, Vengeance His garments, and the Wrath of Indignation His cloak. Thus equipped, He proceeds to render to every deed its recompence, fury to His foes, shame (LXX) to His enemies. His administration of justice among His people shall bring Him world-wide glory, for His vengeance shall be swift and sudden like the movement of a stream pent in a gorge (*cf. mg.*) and driven fiercely before the breath of Yahweh. To Zion He shall come as a redeemer to remove rebellion from Jacob (LXX, and Rom. 11$_{26}$).

16. unto him: rather, " for him," " in accord with his wish."—**righteousness:** here and in 17 the power to make things right = might.—**18. According to . . . repay:** read probably, " according to deserts so is their recompence."—**to the islands . . . recompence:** an incorrect gloss on " enemies," absent from LXX.—**19. fear:** read, " see," with many MSS.—**he:** rather, " it," the recompence.—**21.** A late gloss, asserting the permanence of the covenant with the reformed community.

LX. 1–22. The Glories of the New Jerusalem.—This, with 61f., is marked by close imitation of the style of 2 Is.

1–3. The prophet, taking for his standpoint the fulfilment of his prediction, pictures as accomplished facts Zion's coming glories. While all other nations lie in darkness, Yahweh bids Zion stand forth radiant in the light of the prosperity He bestows. The nations are drawn to Zion's bright light.

3. rising: *i.e.* dawn.

4–9. He bids her behold her exiled children brought home from distant lands, her daughters carried carefully upon the hip (*cf. mg.*), as is the custom of the Oriental nurse. Then shall her face become radiant, and her heart beat wildly for joy. Into her shall flow the treasures of sea and land. The Bedouin tribes send droves of camels. Sheba's inhabitants (1 K. 10*) come and proclaim Yahweh's praises. From the N. Arabian tribes — Kedar and Nebaioth — flocks arrive for the sacrifices of the glorified Temple. From the West ships, so numerous that their sails are like clouds, come—unerringly as homing-doves—treasure-laden. The sea-farers too, those of Tarshish in the van, bring returning exiles, and precious metals, as a tribute to Yahweh's name.

5. be enlarged: read, " throb."—**6. Midian and Ephah:** *cf.* Gen. 25$_4$. Here apparently representative of the camel-owning Bedouin tribes of neighbouring deserts.—**Sheba:** in S.W. Arabia.—**7. Kedar, Nebaioth:** *cf.* Gen. 25$_{13}$*; N. Arabian nomads.—**minister unto:** emend " seek eagerly."—**8. windows:** the lattice openings of their cotes.—**9.** Read, " Surely the ships (or mariners) gather to me," which fits what follows.

10–16. The immigrants shall build up Zion's walls, their kings minister to her needs; for Yahweh's impulsive anger is now replaced by gracious mercy. So great shall be the throng of incoming proples, bringing their treasures, their kings leading the way, that the gates of Zion must be open day and night. To beautify the Temple, poor beside the glories of its predecessor, shall come the most precious woods from Lebanon's forests. The children of Zion's arrogant oppressors shall be her humble suppliants, recognising the dwelling-place of the mighty Yahweh. Hitherto avoided by the traveller, because of her poverty and meanness, she shall now become a proud city. From the nations and their kings she shall receive new strength, and shall realise that Yahweh is indeed her redeemer.

11. led with them: emend, " leading them."

17–22. In the new city gold and silver shall replace brass and iron: Peace shall be her magistrate, and Right her governor. Violence and ruin shall no more be found in her midst: the walls which protect her shall be called " Deliverance " and the gates through which throng the peoples and their treasures shall be called " Renown." She shall need no sun or moon, for Yahweh shall ever be her light and beauty, and His is light that knows no setting. All her inhabitants shall then be upright; they shall never be dispossessed, but, increasing as a tree planted by Yahweh might be expected to grow, they shall become a numerous people. Yahweh will hasten the accomplishment of her glory in His own good time.

21. Read probably, " The branch (*i.e.* shoot) of Yahweh's planting, the work of His hands. . . ."

LXI.–LXII. The Coming Year of Grace.—LXI. 1–4. The prophet speaks of his " call " in language reminiscent of the " Servant Songs." " Yahweh's spirit abides with me, because He has ordained me. He has sent me to bring glad news to the distressed; to proclaim freedom to the Jews in bondage; to herald the year of favour to those who love Yahweh, which shall prove a day of vengeance upon His foes; to comfort all mourners, giving them a ' coronal for a coronach ' (so Box, bringing out a word-play in Heb.), festal unguents for mourning attire, and songs for sighs. They shall be called ' Terebinths of Triumph ' (' righteousness ') planted by Yahweh for His glory. They shall rebuild the cities that have long been desolate ruins."

1. meek: Heb. may mean either " poor " or " pious "; parallelism favours *mg.*—**3. the garment of:** should precede " mourning."

LXI. 5–11. The prophet now addresses the people directly. Men of other nations shall serve as labourers at their bidding and call them " Yahweh's priests," or " Servants of our God," recognising Yahweh as such. As a priestly caste they will enjoy the wealth of the peoples, as priestly tithe, and deck (so emend " boast "; *cf.* LXX) themselves in their splendours. This privileged treatment is justified. For as their (so emend " your ") shame was in double measure, and ignominy their lot (emending " for confusion . . . portion "), they shall have in their own land a double portion and everlasting joy. For Yahweh loves justice, and hates iniquitous plundering; so He will recompense His wronged people, making with them a covenant (*cf.* 55$_3$). Their descendants shall be so prosperous that all nations shall recognise their pre-eminent blessedness. As surely as the seed germinates in the soil shall their triumph arrest the eyes of the nations.

10. Seems to be misplaced. Zion rejoices because Yahweh has clothed her with deliverance and victory like a begarlanded bridegroom or a bejewelled bride.

LXII. 1–5. The prophet will not rest in his mission (*cf.* 61 1) till Zion's triumph is resplendent, her brilliance dazzling kings and nations. Zion shall be as a beautiful crown which Yahweh takes in His hand to adorn Himself. Now she may well be named "Forsaken," her land, "Deserted"; but then Yahweh, Israel's husband, shall restore her to His favour, and her name shall be "My Delight," that of the land, "Spouse." With a young husband's joy in his young bride shall her builder (not "sons" which completely spoils the figure), Yahweh, espouse her.

1. lamp: rather, "torch."

LXII. 6f. Yahweh has appointed heavenly beings as an invisible guard of Jerusalem: their duty ever to sound in His ears, till its fulfilment, His promise to make her a renown in the earth.

LXII. 8f. Yahweh has pledged His omnipotence that no longer shall marauders plunder the fields and vineyards of His people, but, protected from invasion, they shall enjoy their produce and celebrate in the Temple the feasts of ingathering.

LXII. 10–11*a*. Anticipating the glad return to Zion from the Dispersion, the prophet bids the inhabitants go forth and make ready the road for the entry of the exiles, banking up the causeway and clearing it of stones, and raising a standard to which they may flock, for Yahweh has sent forth a world-wide proclamation to her exiled sons.

LXII. 11*b*–12. Say ye: does not introduce the proclamation, as the English seems to suggest, but a new exhortation parallel to "Go through."

LXIII. 1–6. The Triumph of Yahweh.—In this poem, isolated from its context, the poet, looking into the future, sees a solitary but majestic warrior striding along, his splendid garments all bloodstained. "Who," he asks, "is this?" To which Yahweh Himself, for it is He, makes answer, "I, resplendent in triumph, mighty to deliver." "Why," asks the poet, "is Thine apparel stained red like the garments of the grape-treader?" Yahweh answers, "A wine-trough indeed have I trodden and the nations lent Me no aid. In fury I trampled them, so that their juice spurted out and I stained all My garments." This terrible figure is explained in 4–6. Yahweh's day of vengeance on the nations that oppressed His people, the year (*cf.* 61 2) of ransom (*cf. mg.*) was come. He sought an ally among the nations—but to His astonishment found none to support Him. So His own strength and fury wrought deliverance for Him. The nations in passion He trampled and smashed (so read with some MSS for "made drunk") in His fury, spilling their life-blood (literally "juice," the same word as in 3) on the ground. The poem ends abruptly; the end of it seems to have been lost.

1. Edom, Bozrah: if the text is right Edom, and its chief city Bozrah, are used as typical of the nations. *Cf.* 34. But with the slightest change we might translate "cometh all crimsoned, his garments redder than a vintager." We might read in the last clause: "I resplendent in righteousness (*i.e.* triumph), mighty to save."

LXIII. 7–14. A Recital of Yahweh's Kindness to His People of Old.—This passage seems to be a liturgy of thanksgiving: resemblance to Pss. is obvious.

I will recount Yahweh's acts of love, His deeds of renown, in accordance with all that Yahweh, great in goodness (*cf.* LXX), has done for us. He thought, "Surely they are My people, sons that will not play Me false." So He became their deliverer in all their distress. (Following LXX, connect the first four words of 9 with 8, and continue: "No messenger or angel, but His own presence delivered them.") Yahweh Himself, no intermediary, delivered, ransomed, and led them with tender care. But, disappointing His thought (8), they were perverse, and pained His holy spirit (*i.e.* "His manifested presence") so that He was compelled to fight against them. In their consequent distress Israel (*cf. mg.*) recalled His grace in times gone by; "where," they lamented, "is He who brought up (delete "them" with VSS and some MSS) from the sea the shepherd (*mg.*) of His flock?" *i.e.* saved Moses from the Nile (*cf.* 19 5*). "Where is He who put His holy spirit within the community, lending His wonder-working power to Moses' hand and bringing, to His eternal glory, His people through the Red Sea, so that they did not stumble but walked as surely as a horse on the plain, and with the unerring step of cattle descending a hillside?" Read with VSS, "guided" for "caused to rest" in 14.

LXIII. 15–LXIV. 9. A Fervent Prayer to Yahweh to Intervene again for His Children.—The appeal rings like a litany, reminding Yahweh, who has withdrawn into His glorious heavenly palace, of His former compassion. To Abraham and Israel appeal has been made in vain (some approach to ancestor-worship seems to have been prevalent), but Yahweh is their father and redeemer. His severity has sent them wandering even further away, and hardened their heart so that they cannot "fear Him," *i.e.* carry out the duties of religion. If only He would come back from His seclusion! 18 is corrupt; regrouping of consonants and very slight changes give the excellent sense, "Why do the wicked despise thy Holy House, our enemies desecrate thy Sanctuary?" The allusion is not to a destruction, but a profanation, of the Temple by the pro-Samaritans, who refused to accept the new standard of religious practice, adhering tenaciously to old usages now regarded as heathenish. The strict party is left, through Yahweh's seclusion, as a shepherdless flock. If Yahweh would but manifest Himself in a glorious theophany (*cf.* Jg. 54f.), rending the heavens and causing the mountains to shake, even as fire makes brushwood crackle and blaze or water boil over, that He might "put the fear of God" into His adversaries, and make the peoples tremble while He does "terrible things"—the term used of the marvels of the Exodus—beyond the hopes of His people or the experience of men! (Delete 3*b*, "thou camest . . . presence" an accidental repetition from 1, and connect "For from of old men have not heard" with what precedes, changing "For" to "and." On the basis of LXX the rest of 4 may possibly be reconstructed, "Ear hath not heard and eye hath not seen the deeds and exploits which thou wilt work for those who wait on thee.") Oh! that He would meet, *i.e.* be gracious to, those who work righteousness and remember His ways (*cf.* LXX). The remainder of this corrupt verse (*cf. mg.*) may read, "Behold, thou wast wroth and we sinned, wroth at our doings, so that we became guilty.") For we have become like the unclean, our righteous deeds like a polluted garment: we are withered like leaves, and our iniquity (read sing.) has whirled us away like the wind. So that hardly one among us calls on Thy name (*cf.* Gen. 426), or is zealous to lay hold on Thee, because Thou hast withdrawn Thy countenance from us and delivered us up to the power of our sins (*mg.*). We are the clay which Thou hast fashioned; destroy not Thy work by unrelenting anger (*cf.* Job

10s–12). Look at us, we entreat Thee, we are Thy people!

LXIV. 10–12. These verses, which describe the Temple as not merely desecrated but actually burned, seem to be a late addition from a period of which we have no exact information.

The cities of the holy land are become a desert, Jerusalem a curse (LXX and Latin). The Temple, which has existed long enough to have exchanged its simplicity for adornment, and to be hallowed by memory, is burned. All that the people took delight in is ruined. Can Yahweh refrain from action on behalf of his people?

LXV.–LXVI. These chapters contain, loosely strung together, a number of promises of reward to the righteous and threats of doom to the faithless.

LXV. 1–7. Retribution Awaits those who Cling to the Old Ritual Practices and Refuse to Adhere to the Reformed Religion.—Yahweh declares His readiness to respond to this people, but they would not approach Him or call upon (*mg.*, *cf.* VSS) His name. "I made," He says, "unceasing entreaty to them, unruly as they were, but they steadfastly adhered to their own evil ways, insulting Me in My own holy city by their grove-worship and incense-burning. They pass the night among the tombs and recesses (to obtain dream-oracles from the dead). They eat the flesh of, and drink 'magical hell-broth' made from, forbidden animals that they sacrifice. Having acquired in these mystic rites a 'taboo' holiness—physically contagious—they caution others to shrink away lest they too should be made 'taboo' (read in 5, 'lest I make thee holy': 'am holier than' is an impossible translation). Such men are to Me a standing offence. But My remembrancer records their doings in his book. Nor will I be silent until I have punished their (so VSS) sins and those of their fathers, who defied (*mg.*) Me with their sacrifices in the high places. I will measure out their recompense upon their head (so emend "first") and requite it into their bosom."

1. am: the Heb. verbs are tolerative; render both times, "allowed myself to be."—**3. bricks:** the meaning is obscure. Perhaps "under white poplars" should be read; *cf.* Hos. 413.

LXV. 8–12. The Righteous shall Inherit the Land, but their Opponents shall be Slaughtered.—Yahweh says, "Even as the vintagers say when they see a cluster with only a few sound grapes in it, 'Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it,' so for the sake of those who are faithful to Me I will not utterly destroy My people. The righteous survivors shall possess the holy land. From Sharon (p. 28)—the maritime plain between Joppa and Carmel—to the valley of Achor—in the neighbourhood of Jericho—the plains shall teem with cattle. But you who deliberately ignore My Temple and its ritual, spreading instead a meal for the gods Fortune and Destiny—you will I destine (a terrible jest) to destruction, because ye were deaf to all My appeals, defying My will."

8. Destroy . . . in it: possibly the opening words of a popular vintage song.—**11. table:** the rite of the shewbread is probably to be traced to this custom of preparing banquets (*lectisternia*) for the gods (Lev. 245–9*).

LXV. 13–20. The Coming Good Fortune of the Righteous.—Yahweh again is the speaker. "My people shall rejoice in the satisfaction of their wants when ye, rebellious ones, are wailing in your need. Nought shall be left of you but your name, which My people shall employ as a curse, saying, 'As Yahweh slew those so may He slay thee.' But My people shall be called by a new name (*cf.* 624). The fulfilment of My promises shall make My faithfulness a proverb. The former trials shall be forgotten because, to men's exultation, I shall change existing conditions so that it is as though I had created the earth anew. I will transform Jerusalem so that she shall be joy personified, and in her people will I find My joy. There shall be no more mourning in Jerusalem, for none shall die in infancy or prematurely: all shall live a hundred years."

14. vexation: read *mg.*—**16. truth:** read, with change of vowel-points, "faithfulness."—**20. and the sinner . . . accursed:** probably a theological gloss.

LXV. 21–25. An Expansion of the Theme of 13–20.—They may build houses and plant vineyards, certain that they will live to enjoy them. Their lives shall be as the life of a tree, long, and undisturbed by calamity. They shall not bring up (so read for "forth") children only to see them perish: their children and they alike are a race blessed by Yahweh. Their prayers shall be answered even while they are being uttered. Even the beasts shall lose their redness of tooth and claw (*cf.* 11–9).

25. and dust . . . meat: a glossator, mindful of Gen. 314, has excepted the serpent from the general felicity.

LXVI. Here divisions are hard to define. The theme—the coming punishment of the apostates and the coming glory of the pious—is pursued now on one side, now on the other.

1–4. An Attack on the Projectors of a Rival Temple.—Those Jews who refused to accept the reformed religion apparently proposed to set up a rival temple. Yahweh scornfully demands of them in what manner of building they would house Him, whose habitation is the universe. These things—a temple and a resting-place—He has already made for Himself, on Zion; for despite His loftiness He ever considers the humble and obedient worshipper. As for these rebels who combine forbidden with legitimate rites, such as human sacrifice, the sacrifice of a dog without effusion of blood, the sacrificial use of swine's blood, and honouring of images, just as they choose their own perverse ways so will He choose to make them the sport of fate and bring upon them the things they dread. For, refusing to hearken to His commandments, they deliberately defied Him.

2. but: Heb. simply "and."—**3. is as he that:** Heb. literally, "He that killeth an ox, he that killeth a man" and similarly. The same man practises both the recognised and the illicit rite.—**4. delusions:** a rare word, meaning possibly "wanton blows of fortune."

5–11. The Imminent Satisfaction of the Hopes of the Pious.—On the other hand, those for whom Yahweh's word is law, to whom the opponents of reform have mockingly said, "Let Yahweh glorify Himself (so LXX) in accordance with your confident hopes, that we may see you happy!" are comforted by the assurance that He will bring these mockers to shame. He will roar from His Temple (*cf.* Am. 12) as He comes forth to punish His enemies. Zion, to the amazement of the nations, shall become so suddenly populous with throngs of returning exiles that she is likened to a woman who ere the birthpains have begun brings forth a son. Having brought His purposes near to accomplishment, Yahweh will certainly complete them. He bids Jerusalem rejoice, and those who have been "constant in her ills be joyous in her joy," deriving from her joy to the full.

8. land: probably "the people of a" has fallen out before this word.—**10. Rejoice ye with:** read with LXX "rejoice thou."

12–18*a*. The Future Felicity of the Pious Contrasted with the Impending Doom of their Opponents.—Yahweh promises that He will divert to Zion prosperity (" peace ") like an overflowing stream ; and the wealth of the nations shall pour into her like a torrent. Her children shall be so comforted by Him that they are compared to an infant carried on the side (*cf.* 60$_4$) and fondly consoled by a mother. In their experience of Yahweh's grace they shall rejoice, and their bodies shall be full of life like the new grass after the early rains. But while Yahweh's grace (so emend " hand," 14) shall be manifested to His servants, His enemies shall feel His wrath. He will come like (so some MSS and LXX) fire, the storm-cloud His chariot (*cf.* Ps. 18$_{10}$) scorching His foes with His hot indignation. With fire and sword He will enter into judgement with all men. As for those who cling to the old superstitious cultus, purifying themselves for the worship not of the Temple but of the groves, where they follow the actions of " one in the midst "—probably a leader of the ceremonies, *cf.* Ezek. 8$_{11}$—and eat in mystic meals food regarded by the Law as unclean, their works and thoughts shall perish together.

12. and ye shall suck ; ye: read, " and your children " (LXX).—**17. abomination:** read, " swarming creatures."—**18.** Transfer the first clause to 17, rendering " their works and their thoughts shall come," etc.

18*b*–22. Yahweh will Gather to Zion her Dispersed Sons, and She shall Abide for Ever.—Yahweh will assemble all nations before Jerusalem, and manifest His majesty in punishment ; the survivors He will send into the furthest regions to testify of what they have seen. These furthest nations—evidently the " all " of 18 is not to be taken literally—shall bring all the dispersed Jews back to Jerusalem, tenderly and reverently as a Jew would bring an offering to Yahweh. Yahweh will take some from the returned exiles to be Levite-priests. The nation shall be eternal, like the new earth and heavens which Yahweh will make.

18. If **all** are gathered, who are the nations of 19 ? Many would delete " all." But possibly the writer was not strictly logical.—**19. unto the nations . . . Javan:** a gloss explaining the far lands. In any case for **Pul** read " Put " (LXX) ; *cf.* Jer. 46$_9$, Ezek. 27$_{10}$f., and for **that draw the bow**, read (*cf.* LXX) " Meshech and Rosh," *cf.* Ezek. 38$_2$.—**Javan** = the Ionians.—**21. priests and for Levites:** the " and " is inserted by the translators, the " for " probably due to accidental repetition of a consonant in Heb. ; read " Levitical priests." The point is important, as it would date the passage before the sharp distinction made in the Priestly Legislation between priests and Levites.

23f. A Late Appendix.—The triumphant note upon which the book ends is sadly marred by this late addition, which pictures the Jews—" all flesh " can hardly here be of wider application—coming each new moon and Sabbath to worship in the Temple, and regarding with abhorrence the dead bodies of the apostates in the Valley of Hinnom (Gehenna, Mk. 9$_{43}$*). But the picture is not to be taken too literally, for the fantastic elements of the ever-gnawing worm and the undying fire cannot be reduced within the limits of experience. The addition is not much older than the second century B.C.

JEREMIAH

By Professor H. WHEELER ROBINSON

1. Jeremiah is the prophet of the closing generation of Judah's political existence; his personal fortunes and prophetic activity are closely related to the circumstances which resulted in its extinction in 586 B.C. He was born about the middle of the seventh century under Manasseh, who ruled during half of it (until *c.* 641) as a vassal of the great Assyrian empire, and even fostered the astrological religion of the empire within the precincts of Yahweh's Temple at Jerusalem (2 K. 21$_{3-5}$). In reaction from such syncretism, and from the contemporary heathen tendencies in general, the nucleus of our present Book of Deuteronomy was composed (pp. 74f., 89f.), within the circle of those who were enthusiastic for the ideas of the eighth-century prophets. This document became, in 621, the basis of the reformation under Josiah (639–608), which centralised all worship in the one sanctuary at Jerusalem, and purified it of alien elements (2 K. 22f.). But peace without, and reforming zeal within, were destined to disturbance through the approaching decline and fall of the Assyrian empire, which suffered invasion by the Scythians (p. 60) from about 630 onwards. By 608, its growing weakness had tempted the Babylonians and Medes to attack Nineveh, and the Egyptians under Pharaoh Necho to invade the empire from the west. In opposing the latter, Josiah was defeated and killed at Megiddo (608; 2 K. 23$_{29}$). Josiah's successor, Jehoahaz, was displaced by Necho in favour of Jehoiakim, as his own vassal. But, Nineveh having fallen by 606, the victorious Babylonians were free to turn against Necho, who was defeated at Carchemish (605). Judah now passed into the hands of the Babylonians, from whose overlordship Jehoiakim revolted in 598. In the following year, Nebuchadrezzar captured Jerusalem and deported Jehoiachin (who had succeeded Jehoiakim for three months), together with the principal people. In 586, provoked by another rebellion under Zedekiah, Nebuchadrezzar destroyed the city, and made a second deportation. Those of the Judæans who remained were placed under a governor, Gedaliah; he was, however, soon treacherously murdered, and many of those in his charge sought refuge in Egypt. So ends the history of Judah as a political state, and such were the circumstances which shaped the personal life of Jeremiah, and challenged his prophetic interpretation. (See further pp. 60f., 72f.)

2. Jeremiah belonged to Anathoth (p. 31) in Benjamin, 2½ miles from Jerusalem. We may see in him the child of both the country and the city, for, by the time he received his call to become the prophet of Yahweh (626), his emotional nature and poetic temperament had brought him into keen sympathy with both realms —nature and man. In the line of his priestly ancestry may well have been that Abiathar who survived Saul's massacre of the priests at Nob (1 S. 22$_{20}$; *cf.* 1 K. 2$_{26}$), and was descended from Eli (1 S. 14$_{3}$), the priest of Shiloh (*cf.* Jer. 7$_{12}$, 26$_{6}$), Ephraim's sanctuary. Jeremiah's special interest in the men of Benjamin is apparent (6$_{1}$; *cf.* 31$_{15}$). The stern significance of the northern kingdom's fall, a century earlier, had already been enforced by the great prophets of the eighth century; their influence on Jeremiah, especially that of Hosea, is strongly marked. In the southern kingdom, around Jeremiah, there were moral and spiritual conditions which seemed to call for a judgment not less stern than that of Samaria (36ff.). Altogether, then, we can understand that keen sympathies, the home influences of religion, the precedents of the past, and the irreligion of the present, would prepare this youthful interpreter of his times for Yahweh's call, and for the recognition of the Scythian invaders as Divinely appointed instruments of Judah's punishment. This is the significance of the two visions which are linked to the prophet's narrative of his call (1); Yahweh is wakeful over His word, that it fail not, and the foe from the north shall bring it to pass.

What was the attitude of Jeremiah to the Deuteronomic Reformation, which occurred five years after his call? He does not appear at all in the account of that event, but, if Jer. 11$_{1-14}$* is to be trusted, he became an itinerant preacher of "the covenant" in Jerusalem and the cities of Judah. With much in this prophetic-priestly book he would be in sympathy, though its insistence on the external aspects of religion (as well as on its inner essentials), and the place it gave to the Temple at Jerusalem, stand in marked contrast with Jeremiah's emphasis. In any case, Jeremiah's later attitude to this reformation, and to the document on which it was based, seems to have been one of disapproval (8$_{8}$, p. 46). Perhaps the sense of alienation from the current forms of religious zeal, combined with the passing of the Scythian danger, will account for the silence of Jeremiah during the last few years of Josiah's reign. From this he was aroused by the new political outlook at the death of Josiah, and the accession of Jehoiakim (608). It was early in the reign of the latter that Jeremiah delivered that "Temple-sermon" (7ff., 26ff., both referring to the same event) in which he denounced false trust in the inviolability of Yahweh's sanctuary, proclaiming its imminent desolation. On this occasion, the prophet narrowly escaped with his life; on another (20$_{2}$), he was beaten and put into the stocks for similar teaching. The victory of the Babylonians at Carchemish (605) led him to see in them the Divinely commissioned "foe from the north" whom he had first found in the Scythians; in 604, accordingly, he dictated to Baruch a collection of his earlier prophecies, making this new application. The anger of Jehoiakim, who destroyed this roll (36$_{23}$), resulted in its reissue (with additions), the prophet remaining in hiding. A second time, however, the fulfilment of Jeremiah's anticipations was postponed. To the outward opposition and in-

ward tension of these years, as well as of those which followed under Zedekiah, are doubtless due the experiences of loneliness, defeat, and despair (*e.g.* 15$^{10-21}$, 20$^{7-18}$) which are characteristic of this prophet.

The contemporary unpopularity of Jeremiah, extending even amongst those in nearest relationship to him (12^{6}), was not simply due to the rebuke of sin (23^{22}), which was a central feature in the mission of all the pre-exilic prophets (28^{8}; *cf.* Mi. 3^{8}). The policy of submission to the Babylonians, which he urged consistently on Zedekiah, was clearly unpatriotic, when judged by ordinary standards. Moreover, he believed and taught that the future of Israel lay with those who had been deported to Babylon, not with those among whom his own lot was cast (24). In 593, he succeeded in turning the king from the proposal to revolt which was made to him by other vassal-states (27). In 588, however, Egyptian influences prevailed, and Egyptian promises were so far kept that the besieging army of the Babylonians was drawn off for a time in order to meet Pharaoh Hophra. At this juncture, Jeremiah was arrested under suspicion of desertion to the Babylonians (37^{11}ff.), though, in fact, he was simply going to Anathoth on private business (32^{6}ff.). He was beaten and imprisoned by the "princes", but removed to the better conditions of the "guard-court" by the king. Here his continued declarations of the coming capture of the city again provoked the "patriots", and they forced the king to surrender him to them. They left him to die in a pit, but a foreigner's intervention restored him to the guard-court. When Jerusalem fell in 586, Jeremiah was well treated by the victors, and allowed to stay with Gedaliah, the governor of the district (40). After his murder (41), Jeremiah and Baruch were taken against their will into Egypt by Jewish fugitives. There we hear of him for the last time as protesting against the revival of heathen worship by this group of Jews (44). A late tradition says that he was stoned to death by them (*cf.* Heb. 11^{37}).

3. It will be seen that the life of Jeremiah was one of suffering and apparent failure; with perfect truth, he compares himself with "a lamb that is led to the slaughter" (11^{19}). But, like Him of whom Jeremiah is the truest and most impressive OT type, Jeremiah won his victory through defeat. The influence of his life on posterity is a striking example of the power of great ideas, once they have entered the world by the conquest of a human soul. It is probable that Jeremiah's sufferings have largely shaped that ideal for the nation which is enshrined in Is. 53, whilst the contemporaries of Jesus were ready to see in Him a returning Jeremiah (Mt. 16^{14}). Along this line of the personal realisation of truth, rather than that of its formulation into explicit doctrine, lies Jeremiah's particular contribution to religion. In him, as never before, religion became individual, spiritual, intimate, warm with the life-blood of a loving and sympathetic heart. The supreme interest of his prophecies springs from the scattered autobiographical fragments which tell of his call (1$^{4-10}$), his mission (1$^{11-19}$), his anxious sympathies (4^{19}, 8^{18}ff., 13^{17}, 23^{9}), his awestruck sense of Yahweh's power (4$^{23-26}$), his lonely sorrows (15$^{10-21}$), and the Divine compulsion which kept him to his task in spite of its difficulty (20$^{7-18}$). Such passages do not merely throw a light on the nature of the prophetic consciousness which we gain nowhere else so clearly and fully; they constitute, in their simplicity and sincerity, a new revelation of religion as personal fellowship with God. This finds clearest articulation in the prophecy of the "new covenant" (31$^{31-34}$), conceived as an inner personal relation to God, in contrast with dependence on the Temple and its worship (7^{4}), and with conformity to an external written law (*cf.* 8^{8}). In other words, he anticipates the time when all Israel shall share his own prophetic consciousness of fellowship with God. To this deep insight into the essence of religion, the inner qualities of his character and the outer troubles of his life have both contributed. His affectionate and sympathetic heart, his intensely human interests, his need for companionship, and the clinging instincts of self-distrust, were all checked in their ordinary social satisfaction by the stern force of circumstances, which made him a lonely and misunderstood man—but with the result that the treasures of a loving heart were lavished on God, to the permanent enrichment of the whole conception of religion.

This, then, is his great achievement—one which entitles him, on the whole, to the supreme place in Hebrew prophecy. Apart from this, he is not the pioneer of great ideas, as were his predecessors in the eighth century. Amos had anticipated him in the demand for the moralisation of religion, Hosea in the consciousness of Yahweh's personal love for His people, Isaiah in the sense of Yahweh's transcendent control of the nations, Micah in the separation of the fortunes of Jerusalem and the Temple from the essential interests of religion. Further, as compared with Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, he is without the massive sacramentalism of the one, which did so much for the practical maintenance of Jewish nationalism, and he makes little explicit advance towards the evangelical universalism of the other (*cf.* 12^{14}ff., 16$^{19-21}$). But, in several important directions, we can see the effect of Jeremiah's personal experience of religion on his teaching in general. There is a deeper conception of sin, as springing from the heart itself (4^{4}, 17^{9}; *cf.* 7^{9}f., 12^{2}), and showing as its most fatal result that "hardness of heart" (7^{24}, 9^{14}, 23^{17}) which makes fellowship with God impossible, and undesired; to meet man's need, Yahweh must write His law in the heart (31^{33}; *cf.* 24^{7}), of which He is the searcher (11^{20}, 17^{10}, 20^{12}; *cf.* 6$^{27-30}$). There is a clearer differentiation of the true prophetic consciousness from the false (23$^{9-40}$; *cf.* the Hananiah incident in 28), because Jeremiah has so felt for himself the irresistible might, the humbling power, of Yahweh's real contact with the soul (23^{29}). There is more explicit rejection of the value of ritual for its own sake, and more emphatic concentration on moral obedience to Yahweh than we find elsewhere (7$^{21-26}$; *cf.* 11^{15} *mg.*), except, perhaps, in Mi. 6$^{6-8}$ and in certain Psalms (40^{6}, 50^{13}, 51^{16}f.). Jeremiah's characteristic policy of submission to the Babylonians may itself be regarded as a proof that he had conceived religion on a higher level than that of national pride, whilst his confidence in the future restoration of the nation (31$^{1-6,15-22}$, Israel; 24^{6}, 29^{10}, 32^{15}, Judah) reminds us that his individualism is never uprooted from its social environment.

But the heart of Jeremiah means more to us than the immediate applications of his teaching. Whilst Judah, like her northern sister before her, is passing away, he becomes the depository of the spiritual treasures of both, the guardian of a trust like that which Paul committed to Timothy, only to be kept by the obedient heart through the Holy Spirit. The legends which represent him as hiding away the Tabernacle and the Ark and the altar of incense until the gathering of the people (2 Mac. 2$^{1-8}$), and as giving the golden sword to Judas Maccabæus, wherewith to smite down his adversaries (15$^{13-16}$), are woefully

wrong in their interpretation of his spirit, for the Jeremiah of history cared little for the sacramental emblems, and bade men sheathe their swords. Yet, as parables, these legends are profoundly true. For Jeremiah was the guardian of Israel's most sacred spiritual treasures, and in his hand was the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. (See further on this and the two preceding paragraphs, p. 90.)

4. The reader of our present "Book of Jeremiah" may be disposed to think this estimate extravagant, until literary criticism has helped him to "take forth the precious from the worthless" (15^{19}). Not only is there much in the book on a lower level (partly, at least, due to later expansion and addition), but the prophecies are often difficult to arrange in order, since they have little explicit indication of their occasion, whilst the interspersed statements and appended narratives require careful study and rearrangement (*e.g.* 7 and 26 refer to the same event). One of these narratives is particularly important because it throws light on the origin of the book. According to ch. 36, in 604 Jeremiah dictated to Baruch all his prophecies "against Israel and against Judah and against all the nations" since 626. When this writing had been destroyed, he dictated them again, "and there were added besides unto them many like words." We may suppose this roll to have contained all existent prophecies which do not by their contents fall later than 604–603, *i.e.* "it will have included certainly chs. 1–10 (except 10$^{1-16}$), probably some part of 11–18, and at least a nucleus of 25, perhaps also parts of 46–49^{33}" (Driver; but some further exceptions are made in the following Commentary; for a convenient classification of the whole book, see Gray, IOT, p. 193). This roll must have formed the foundation of the present "Book of Jeremiah"; the superstructure built upon it includes the biographical narratives which bulk so largely from 26 onwards. These last it is plausible to ascribe to Baruch, the secretary and faithful companion of the prophet (*cf.* 45), who was even accused of influencing his prophecies (43^{3}). These two main elements—the prophecies up to 604, with additions made subsequently by Jeremiah, and the narratives which may have belonged to an independent life of the prophet by his friend—have been combined, and to some extent rearranged and expanded, by later hands, with various purposes in view, *e.g.* to bring together the "restoration" prophecies (30–33, in part only Jeremianic). The foreign prophecies (46–51) especially have been much expanded, and relatively little of them seems to be by Jeremiah. It may be noted as an evidence of the rearrangement the book has undergone from time to time, that the Greek translation of it known as the Septuagint, made from a Hebrew text often differing widely from that we possess, has these "foreign" prophecies after 25^{13} and in a differing order. The closing chapter of the book is a description of the fall of Jerusalem extracted *verbatim* from 2 Kings. Of course, no attempt is made in the following Commentary to discuss the minutiæ of criticism; where nothing is said to the contrary, it may be assumed that Jeremianic authorship of the prophecies can be reasonably maintained, though not all the possible expansions or insertions could be indicated. Duhm's extreme position, that only about sixty metrical poems (270 verses) belong to Jeremiah, has not carried conviction to more recent commentators, *e.g.* Cornill.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Cheyne (PC), **Peake** (Cent. B), Streane[2] (CB). (*b*) Driver (Trans. and notes; specially useful and here often followed), Kent (Trans. and notes in *Sermons, Epistles and Apocalypses of Israel's Prophets*). (*c*) Duhm (KHC), **Cornill** (*Das Buch Jeremia*) Giesebrecht[2] (HK). (*d*) Ball (1–20, Ex.B), Bennett (21–52, Ex.B). *Other Literature:* Articles on Jeremiah by Davidson (HDB), Schmidt (EBi); Cheyne, "Jeremiah" (*Men of the Bible*), Hölscher, *Die Profeten*, pp. 268–297. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, ed. 1888) has been frequently cited in the Commentary, for its details of Oriental life.

I. 1–3. Title, ascribing the prophecies which follow to Jeremiah, a man of priestly descent, belonging to Anathoth (see Introduction); his prophetic activity is said to have begun in 626 B.C. (the thirteenth year of Josiah), and to have continued under Jehoiakim (608–597) and Zedekiah (597–586). The present book, however, contains prophecies delivered after "the carrying away of Jerusalem captive" (586 B.C.; *cf.* 2 K. 25^{8}ff.), viz. in 42–44. Probably 2 was originally the title of this chapter only, and 3 is a later editorial addition. Nothing is known of Jeremiah's father, Hilkiah (perhaps descended from Abiathar; see Introduction), who must not be identified with the Hilkiah named in 2 K. 22^{4}ff.

I. 4–10. The Prophet's Call.—The account of this should be compared with similar accounts of the calls of other prophets (see Is. 6, Ezek. 1^{1}–3^{3}, Am. 7^{12}ff.) and the characteristic differences should be noted. Probably all such experiences, whilst ultimately due to moral and religious conviction, involved abnormal psychical elements; *e.g.* Jeremiah believed that he heard an external voice, and felt an outward touch. On the general nature of the prophetic consciousness, see H. W. Robinson, *Religious Ideas of the OT*, pp. 113ff, and the article on "Old Testament Prophecy" in the present work. Jeremiah is told that Yahweh predestined him for a particular life-work before he existed; he was "a thought of God" (Duhm) before the Divine hands shaped his limbs, according to this pattern, in the mystery of the embryo (Ps. 139^{13,15}f.; Job 10f.; *cf.* Is. 49^{1}), and he was consecrated to the Divine purpose before he appeared in the world. This purpose is the utterance of Yahweh's message to the nations of the world. Jeremiah shrinks from such a task on the ground of his youthfulness (*i.e.* he cannot claim from others the respect due to age and experience; *cf.* Job 32^{6}). Yahweh, however, bids him think of the Divine authority and strength supporting him; let him but obey, and God is with him. Then the Divine touch appropriates his mouth as the instrument of Yahweh's address to men; Jeremiah is to be an "overseer" of nations, and, according to his prophetic word (because it is really Yahweh's), they will rise and fall.—**5. sanctified** means "set apart as God's property"; there is no moral reference here.—**unto the nations:** Judah was a politically insignificant people, but its fortunes were to be decided in the great drama of general history, over which Yahweh was supreme. A prophet for Judah's needs was necessarily in such days a prophet "unto the nations".—**6. child:** the Hebrew word should here be rendered "young man" as in Gen. 14^{24}.—**9.** The act is not merely symbolic; according to Hebrew ideas of physiology and psychology it would actually affect the organ of speech. This Divine appropriation of Jeremiah's mouth is, however, different from the cleansing of Isaiah's lips by the burning coal (Is. 6^{7}*), though the narrative of the latter may have had a psychological influence on the experience of Jeremiah.—**10. set thee:** lit. "made thee overseer".

I. 11–19. The Two Visions of Judgment.—These form a separate experience, and imply some change

of standpoint, since it is now the judgment of Judah through the instrumentality of the nations which is presented to the prophet's eye. The first vision (11f.) is preparatory; he sees the branch (rod) of an almond tree, and the interpretation of his vision is that this *shāḳēḏ* stands for the Divine *shōḳēḏ*, the "watcher" God (who slumbers not nor sleeps, Ps. 121₄), ever wakeful unto judgment. The almond tree is here called the "waker", because of its early (February) blossoming; see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 318. Such play on words is characteristic of Hebrew thought; it finds a parallel, *e.g.* in Am. 8₂, where the prophet's vision of a basket of summer fruit (*ḳaiṭz*) suggests that the end (*ḳēṭz*) of Israel is near. Such visions as these, at least in pre-exilic times, are not merely a rhetorical device; they imply some abnormal psychical experience. The second and principal vision (13ff.) is of a boiling caldron. The phrase "the face thereof is from the north" is obscure, and might mean either that the caldron was seen north of the prophet, in which case its contents, as they boil over, represent the northern nations as they descend upon Judah, or, more probably (with Duhm, repointing one word) that the fireplace on which the caldron stands is open on the northern side, from which the fire is "kindled". On this latter view, the caldron becomes Judah itself, whose inhabitants suffer from the flames kindled beneath them by the enemy. On either interpretation of the object seen, the emphasis falls on the quarter from which the enemy comes, *i.e.* the north. These "kingdoms of the north" are doubtless the Scythians (p. 60), who came as far as Syria, intending to invade Egypt (Herod. i. 103–6), about this time, though they did not do what the prophet here expects of them. When he reissued these and similar prophecies in 604 (see Introduction), he transferred his expectations to the Babylonians. The hostile kings set up their thrones (15) to judge the vanquished after the city is taken. Through their agency, Yahweh proceeds to judgment upon Judah (16 *mg.*), because of the heathen worship appropriated by, or practised along with, the worship of Yahweh in the reign of Manasseh (heathenism which the Assyrian supremacy naturally encouraged). This is the judgment Jeremiah is to declare fearlessly, with a Divinely given strength comparable with that of a fortified city and a bronze wall.—**14. shall break forth:** read, with LXX, shall be "kindled", *i.e.* "blown upon", with a play on the Hebrew word for "seething".—**15.** Omit, with LXX, "families of the".—**16. burned incense:** "sacrificed".—**18.** Omit "iron pillar", and read "wall" for "walls", both with LXX.

II. 1–IV. 4. These chapters belong to the time of Josiah (626ff. B.C.), and contain some of the earliest prophecies of Jeremiah. Their central thought is the faithlessness of the people as Yahweh's bride, an idea developed in the previous century by Hosea. Note that the name "Israel" frequently denotes the whole people, including both kingdoms, sometimes (*cf.* 3₆ff.) the northern kingdom only, in contrast with the southern. The aim of the prophet is naturally to rebuke the infidelity of the surviving Judah, but, in order to do this, he reviews the conduct and character of the Hebrew nation.

II. 1–3. Early Loyalty and Security.—The prophet reminds the people of its desert wanderings, when it loved Yahweh as a young bride does her husband. In those days, Israel was safe from all interference, like a gift laid on the altar, Yahweh's first-fruits (Ex. 23₁₉). This idealisation of the nomadic period was carried furthest by the Rechabites (35), who "abstained" from the civilisation of Canaan.—**3. holiness:** lit. "a consecrated thing", the word has no moral significance here; Israel was under taboo, and so inviolable.

II. 4–13. Yahweh's Reproaches.—Yahweh asks why His redeeming acts are forgotten and His (true) worship abandoned; other nations do not abandon their gods, though these are worthless, but Yahweh's people have forsaken the one true God. Jeremiah here treats all other gods as worthless, though explicit monotheism is not found until the next century (Deutero-Isaiah). When Israel entered Canaan under its desert-God, Yahweh, it was natural to worship the local Baalim (p. 87), as well, since they were regarded as the gods of agriculture and fertility. But when the land came to be regarded as Yahweh's heritage, there was a strong tendency for Him to be worshipped as the Baalim had been, and under the name of Baal ("Lord"). Both the worship and the name are here treated as heathenism.—**5. vanity:** lit. "breath"; *cf.* 8₁₉.—**10. Kittim:** the people of Kition in Cyprus (Nu. 24₂₃f.*); **Kedar** (Gen. 25₁₃, Jer. 49₂₈, Ps. 120₅*): an Arabian tribe; thus, W. and E. are here graphically indicated.—**12. be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate:** read, with LXX, "shudder exceedingly".—**13.** For the contrast between the **fountain**, or spring, and the **cistern**, see Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 287; the latter, though hewn in rock, is said to crack easily, and its water, collected from the roof, is in any case inferior.

II. 14–28. Israel's False Religion.—Israel has forfeited the privileges of a son, and incurred disaster by forsaking Yahweh for the sensuous worship of the Baalim (*cf.* 2₀,₂₈). 14–17 may be a later insertion, as it seems to break the connexion between 13 and 18; 15 apparently refers to the devastation of the northern kingdom by Assyria, 16 to the defeat of Judah by Pharaoh Necho (pp. 60, 72) at Megiddo in 608 (Noph (Is. 19₁₃*) is Memphis, Tahpanhes is Daphne, these being taken as representative cities of Egypt). In 16, the Hebrew reads as *mg.* The last clause of 17, "when he led thee by the way", should be omitted with LXX. 18 resumes the figure of 13, and remonstrates against the pro-Egyptian policy, which was the chief alternative to subjection to Assyria. In 20, read as *mg.*, with VSS. 21 employs the familiar figure of Israel as a vine, which might be called the national emblem (12₁₀ff., Hos. 10₁, Is. 5₁–₇, Ezek. 17₅ff.). In 22, "lye" and "soap" denote a vegetable and a mineral alkali respectively; "marked" should be "ingrained". Israel protests (*cf.* 2₇,₃₅) that she has not abandoned Yahweh, in worshipping Him according to the manner of the Baalim (23); she is answered by a reference to the valley (Hinnom; 7₃₁*, Mk. 9₄₃*), and the sensuality of her worship (so repugnant to the God of righteousness) is suggested by the figures of the young camel (23 *mg.*), and the ass (24) when in heat. Reference is made in 25 to the eager pursuit of strange gods, in 27 to the Asherah (p. 100, 1 K. 15₁₃*) and Mazzebah (p. 98) employed in their worship (Dt. 16₂₁f.*), in each locality (11₁₃).

II. 29–37. The Deserved Punishment.—Israel's sorrows are well deserved, for Yahweh's love has been forgotten. In spite of wrong-doing, there is no penitence for sin. The help of Egypt will be as futile as that of Assyria.—**29. plead:** "complain".—**30. For your own** read "the" with LXX.—**32. attire:** properly "sash" (Is. 3₂₀, RV).—**33. trimmest:** lit. "makest good", *i.e.* "pickest".—**wicked women:** better, "evil things", same word as in 35; "even to evil things hast thou accustomed thy ways".—**34** as it stands apparently refers to social injustice (76); men are slain where no excuse of justifiable homicide (*mg.*) can be offered. But the verse seems corrupt,

and the last clause gives no good sense, even if we supply "garments" with "all these".—**36. gaddest** should be simply "goest"; "ashamed of" (*bis*), rather, "put to shame by".—**37.** The gesture is one of deep sorrow (2 S. 13^{19}). The precise occasion of the political reference in this verse is not known; *cf.* Is. 30^{3}ff.

III. 1–5. Israel's Infidelity.—(Some introductory formula, like that of 2^{1}, has dropped out before 1; note *mg.*). Israel's marital unfaithfulness to Yahweh is too gross for a facile repentance to avail. The analogy of the law of divorce (*mg.* reference) suggests that Israel cannot deal with her Divine Husband as lightly as she will. She has waited for her lovers as persistently as a nomad plunderer for his victims. The loss of that prosperity which depended on the latter rain (of the spring) has brought no compunction. Recent promises have not been kept.—**1. land** should be "woman", with LXX; *mg.*^{3} to be read.—**4.** Render "Hast thou not just cried"; some see a reference here and in 5 to the Reformation under Josiah, and its relative failure.—**guide** is "friend" or lover (*cf. mg.*); for the idea of Yahweh as both "father" and "husband" to Israel, see Hos. 2^{16}, 11^{1}.—**5. hast . . . done:** read *mg.*

III. 6–18. Israel's Sin less than Judah's.—This passage interrupts the continuity of 3^{19} with 3^{5} (note also the interruptive introductory formula, 6), and seems to be a separate prophecy, though it employs the predominant figure of this section, *i.e.* the marriage of Yahweh and His people, and is probably by Jeremiah (to 16). The northern kingdom was faithless to this marriage, through the Baal-cult; Yahweh waited for her return in vain (7 *mg.*), and at length divorced her (8; see on 3^{1}–5). Judah saw the consequences of that divorce, in the devastation of Israel (a century earlier), without learning the lesson, and repeated the offence. Such repentance as Judah did show (in the Deuteronomic Reformation?) was unreal, and her sin was worse than Israel's, because the fate of Israel was before her eyes as a warning. The prophet now (12ff.) invites Israel, or at least its righteous remnant (14; *cf.* Is. 12^{5}f.), to return to Him, that they may be restored to their land under worthy kings ("shepherds"); the Ark, as the external sign of His presence, will no longer be needed (16, both *mgg.*). This prophecy has been expanded by a Messianic promise that Jerusalem shall be the religious centre of the changed world (17) and that Judah shall share in the return of Israel (18).—**9.** The Hebrew reads "She was polluted with the land", which RV silently emends, as often; read "she polluted the land" with Vulg. and Targ.—**10.** Omit "her" and "sister", with LXX.—**17.** Omit, with LXX, "to the name of the Lord to Jerusalem". Note that "backsliding" (6,11,14, etc.) should be "back-turning", with play in "return" (7, etc.) on the double sense of "turn back," *i.e.* from and to Yahweh.

III. 19–IV. 4. A Dialogue of Yahweh's Grace.—This directly continues 3^{5}, the "I" of 19 being emphatically contrasted with the "thou" of 5. Yahweh expresses His desire (19 *mg.*) to give Judah, though a daughter, a son's portion in the best of lands (*mg.*^{2}), but Judah (here called Israel in narrower sense, 20) has left Him. When, speechless, she weeps in penitence (21) on the bare heights, the place of her former sin, Yahweh will bid her return to Him; she comes making confession that Baal (24 *mg.*) has not profited her. Yahweh assures Judah (4^{1}) that true penitence will be followed by the conversion of the heathen, who will use Yahweh's name in blessings (Is. 65^{16}). Let Judah, then, reform in earnest (3; *cf.* Hos. 10^{12}), with an inner consecration, before Yahweh punishes (4).—**19. children:** "sons"; (*cf.* Hos. 11^{1}ff.)—**23.** Some word parallel to "tumult" (better "throng" with *mg.*) has fallen out (RV italics); the cult of Baal is meant by both; *cf.* 1 K. 18^{26}ff.—**IV. 1.** Read *mg.*^{1}; for the first "shalt" render "if".—**abominations** denote such heathen emblems as are named in 2^{27}, etc.

IV. 5–VI. 30. A new paragraph should begin with 4^{5}, introducing a new section of the prophecies, which deals with the judgment of Judah, its causes and its instrument. This section is probably somewhat later than 2^{1}–4^{4}; it amplifies the vision of the boiling caldron (1^{13}). The "foe from the north", whom Jeremiah expected to invade Judah, would originally be the Scythians, subsequently the Babylonians (see on 1^{13}ff.).

IV. 5–18. The Enemy's Approach.—Warning is given by the horn, and guidance, to the refugees fleeing to Jerusalem, by the standard; they are bidden to bring (their families) into safety (not "flee for safety"). The lion-like foe draws near to destroy, and the courage (Hebrew "heart", 9) of Judah's leaders fails them. The prophets will say that they have been deceived in prophesying prosperity (*cf.* 6^{14}, 14^{13}, 23^{17}; Jeremiah's own prophecies were in marked contrast, see on 28). A sirocco blast blows on Judah, too strong (12 *mg.*) to winnow, and to distinguish the grain from the chaff. The foe approaches, cloud-like in numbers, vulture-like in speed. "Hark! one declareth" (so 15), from the extreme north of the land, and then from the mountains a few miles north of Jerusalem (Ephraim), that the "watchers" (*i.e.* besiegers) are at hand. The bitterness of heart-felt sorrow is the result of Judah's wickedness.—**10. said I:** read, with Cod. A of LXX and the Arabic Version, "they will say".—**13.** The **eagle** of RV is the griffon-vulture.—**15. Dan:** *cf.* the proverbial phrase, "from Dan unto Beersheba", Jg. 20^{1}.

IV. 19–22. The Prophet's Grief for his country finds characteristic expression: "My bowels! my bowels! Let me writhe! The walls of my heart! My heart moaneth within me!" (Driver). His soul hears (*mg.* with LXX) the battle, and identifies itself in sympathy with his people, whose habitation ("tents" and tent-"curtains"; *cf.* 10^{20}) is destroyed, because they are so ignorant of Yahweh. This is the first example (after the call) of that revelation of the inner life which especially distinguishes this prophet, and forms his great contribution to spiritual religion.—**19.** The **bowels** are the seat of strong emotion according to Hebrew psychology.

IV. 23–31. The Vision of Desolation (23–26) most impressively describes the Divine visitation of Judah. The earth becomes like the chaos before creation (*mg.*) under a sky that has lost its lamps; the very mountains have no longer stability; the denizens of earth and air are gone; the garden-land is wilderness; the cities are overthrown (*cf.* 1^{10}). Jeremiah has actually seen all this in some ecstatic state, just as George Fox saw its opposite, the paradise of God in which "all things were new and all the creation gave another smell!" (*Journal*, i. 28). There follows the application of the vision (27–29), viz. such an interpretation of its meaning as would subsequently come into the prophet's more normal consciousness. In 30 and 31 there is an effective contrast between the gaily-decked prostitute and the travailing woman, though both figures are used to express the same fact, *i.e.* Jerusalem's helplessness before the invader, either to allure or to withstand.—**28.** Transpose, with LXX, "I have purposed it", and "I have not repented".—**29.** The first

city should be " land ", with LXX.—**30. paint,** *i.e.* antimony, which was and is used in the East to darken the rims of the eyelids, that the eyes may appear larger ; *cf.* 2 K. 930, Ezek. 2340.

V. 1–9. The Sins of Jerusalem.—Jeremiah is bidden to seek even one man in Jerusalem, for whose sake Yahweh may spare the city (*cf.* Gen. 1816–33), one man of justice and faithfulness (*mg.*) ; even the oaths they swear by Yahweh mean nothing. The prophet confesses that it is this lack of faithfulness that has brought a hard discipline on the city, though in vain ; yet he turns from " the man in the street " to those of high degree, for *they* (emph.) know the ordinances of Yahweh—only to find them united in disobedience (5 ; for the figure of the rebellious oxen, *cf.* 220). So comes the foe, like forest lion, or desert wolf (*mg.*), or lurking leopard ; since Yahweh's provision of a fertile land has but led to wantonness.—**7. assembled themselves in troops :** read, with LXX, " lodged ", as 1 K. 1720 (" sojourn ").—**8. horses in the morning** should probably be " stallions " (Driver) ; the suggestion of the figure is actual immorality, which may or may not have been coupled with the sensual worship of the Baalim.

V. 10–19. The Coming of the Foe.—Let the enemy, therefore, destroy the vineyard of Judah, for of its owner Judah has said, " He does nothing ", rejecting His warnings by (true) prophets. The word they have rejected now becomes a fire to consume (*cf.* 2329 ; ancient thought attached great power to the spoken word). The enemy (Scythians or, later, Babylonians) comes to destroy, being enduring (*mg.*), foreign in speech (Is. 2811), and a nation of warriors (" mighty men "), whose arrows do not miss (16). Heathenism at home shall bring exile abroad (19).—**10. walls** should probably be " vine-rows " ; for the figure, *cf.* 221).—**12. It is not he :** lit. " not he " ; *cf.* Zeph. 112, end.—**18,** like many similar remarks, seems to be a later insertion, meant to qualify the rigour of the destruction in 17.

V. 20–31. Let Evil-doers Fear Yahweh.—The folly of not fearing Yahweh is rebuked by a reminder of the power of Him who has set an impassable limit even to the sea (*cf.* the rebuke of Job's presumption by the description of Nature as Yahweh's work, Job 38–41). Because they have not feared Him who gives the regular rains (the " former " in October, the " latter " in March-April), and the resultant harvest (24), they have lost these gifts. Punishment is brought down on the nation by evil-doers, who fill their houses with (the gains of) deceit, as bird-catchers their cages with birds, and by the same arts ; evil-doers who are prosperous and sleek, and unjust to the helpless. Horrible in Yahweh's eyes is the degeneracy of the prophets who ought to teach the truth, and of the priests who follow the suggestions of the prophets (31 *mg.*), and of the people who are satisfied with all this ; what of the issue ?—**24.** The dependence of Palestine on the periodic rains for its fertility was felt to link it to Yahweh in a unique degree ; *cf.* Dt. 1110–12.—**28. shine :** *i.e.* with fat ; *cf.* Job 1527, Ps. 737).

VI. 1–8. The Siege of the Sinful City.—The prophet bids his kinsfolk (Anathoth, his birthplace, being in Benjamin) to abandon the capital, and to gather in the southern mountains ; the northern peril is now nearer than ever, and the fair and luxurious city is to be destroyed. Her besiegers are around her, like shepherds with their flocks, ravaging the land. We hear the foe discussing their plans—a surprise at noon when men are resting from the heat ; then, when they lament the loss of this opportunity (" Woe unto us ! "), a night attack. The trees around the city (6 *mg.* ; *cf.* Dt. 2019,20) are cut down, and earthworks are thrown up as part of the enemy's plan of attack. The city is " visited ", *i.e.* punished, because she " keeps fresh " (7 *mg.*) her wickedness, as a rock-cistern does its waters ; let her be disciplined (230, 53 ; for " instructed ") before Yahweh casts her off.—**1. Tekoa :** (p. 31, Am. 11) 10 miles S. of Jerusalem.—**Beth-haccerem :** perhaps a height 3 miles NE. of Tekoa.—**4** *mg.* refers to the sacrifices which began a campaign (pp. 99, 114) ; war and religion are in closest alliance amongst ancient peoples ; *cf.* Dt. 20.—**7.** The Rabbis found the middle letter of the OT in the word rendered " cistern " (Cornill).

VI. 9–15. The Justification of Yahweh's Wrath.—The turn of Judah, the " remnant of Israel ", is now come, and Yahweh bids the foe, figured as a grape-gatherer at work on the vine (see on 221) to do his work thoroughly (9 *mg.*). The prophet complains that the ears of the people are closed to his word, yet he cannot hold it back (209), and will pour it out (so LXX) even on the playing children and the irresponsible youth. Calamity falls on all alike, for all seek gain, and the very leaders are false with their easy talk of prosperity (15 ; both *mgg.*).

VI. 16–21. Obedience more than Sacrifice.—Yahweh vainly bade the people stand at the parting of the ways (Hebrew, " by the ways "), and seek the ancient road to prosperity, that they may find repose for themselves. The watchmen-prophets have called in vain. Yahweh's teaching (" law ", not necessarily written) has been rejected. For these moral faults far-fetched offerings and many sacrifices do not atone ; Yahweh will make the people stumble to their ruin.—**16. saith** should be " said ". This verse must not be taken in the spiritual sense of Mt. 1129 ; the " good " is material well-being, the " rest " security, and " your souls " is no more than a reflexive pronoun here.—**18.** The latter part of the verse is corrupt and yields no good sense.—**20.** The Sabæans of S. Arabia (**Sheba,** *cf.* 1 K. 101–13*) exported perfume (Is. 606) ; the calamus (*mg.*) used for incense (Ex. 3023) may have come from India.—**frankincense** is a resinous gum exuding from certain trees ; it became a usual accompaniment of the " meal-offering " ; *cf.* 1726, 415, Lev. 21.

VI. 22–26. The Foe from the North is again described (*cf.* 515–17) in his advance against Jerusalem (22,23). Its inhabitants utter their dismay (" wax feeble," 24 ; Heb. " are slack "). The prophet warns of the danger without (25), and bids the (individualised) people mourn (Am. 810, Zech. 1210) for the coming disaster.—**22–24** are repeated in connexion with Babylon in 5041–43.

VI. 27–30. The Prophet's Task.—The record of earlier prophecies (1–6) fitly closes with the application to the prophet of the figure of the " trier " (*mg.*) or assayer ; " so inextricably is the alloy mixed with the silver that, though the bellows blow, and the lead (which was added to carry away the alloy) is oxidised in the heat, no purification is effected ; only impure silver remains " (Driver).—**27.** Omit **a fortress,** which is probably a marginal note on the rendering " tower ", which should be " trier ".

VII.–X. A new section begins here, containing prophecies presumably uttered in the earlier years of Jehoiakim (608–604), except 101–16*.

VII. 1–15. The Temple Sermon.—The prophet is sent to the gate of the Temple, to rebuke the false confidence of Yahweh's worshippers in the possession of this block of buildings (" these ", 4). Yahweh de-

sires social justice (6), moral conduct (9), and whole-hearted worship; otherwise the security inspired by the fact that the Temple belongs to Him (10, note *mg.*) is utterly baseless. Yahweh will not permit His Temple to become like some cave which shelters robbers (11; *cf.* Mt. 21 13), but will destroy it as He destroyed that of Shiloh, and will banish Judah as He banished the northern tribes (Ephraim) from His land. The confidence in the possession of the Temple which is here rebuked was a natural outcome of the reformation under Josiah (2 K. 22f.), which made it the only centre of worship; the remarkable deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib in 701 (2 K. 19 35) had also contributed to the belief that the city was inviolable. The effect of the prophet's words in denouncing this sense of security is described in 26, which refers to the same occasion, *i.e.* soon after 608 B.C.—**6. stranger** denotes the settled foreigner; *cf.* Dt. 1 16, etc. —**12. Shiloh:** in Ephraim, with Eli as its priest (1 S. 1–3), and the Ark as its pride; it was probably destroyed by the Philistines after the victory described in 1 S. 4 10ff.; *cf.* 1 S. 7 1*, Ps. 78 60.—**15.** Omit the first "all", with LXX.

VII. 16–20. The Worship of Astarte.—The prophet is forbidden to intercede for a people who are even now worshipping other gods, to their own deserved ruin. The cult (p. 99) described in 18 (and more fully in 44 15–30) is that of Ashtoreth (Astarte), "the queen of heaven", *i.e.* the planet Venus, who was worshipped under the name of Ishtar by the Babylonians (1 K. 11 5*). A similar offering of cakes (p. 99) by women to the Virgin Mary, practised by an Arabian sect, is the continuation of this (EBi. col. 3993).—**18.** *Cf.* the drink-offering in the worship of Yahweh (Nu. 15 5ff.). —**provoke to anger**, here and elsewhere, should be "vex."

VII. 21–28. Obedience Necessary, not Sacrifice.—Yahweh scornfully tells these formal worshippers to eat even the burnt-offering (wholly offered to God), as well as the peace-offering (which was eaten by the worshippers, except the blood and portions of the fat); both are mere "flesh," without sacrificial value in the hands of the disobedient. In the desert days He asked for obedience, not sacrifice; but Israel has refused it, notwithstanding the continued ministry of the prophets, nor will Jeremiah's own message be heard.—**22f.** clearly show that the Pentateuch in its present form was not known to Jeremiah (*cf.* Am. 5 25), for the Priestly Code lays the greatest stress on sacrifice as Divinely prescribed from the beginning.—**28.** Read as both *mgg.*

VII. 29–VIII. 3. Mourning for Judah's Dead.—Let Jerusalem mourn, and raise a dirge on the heights (where she sinned by her idolatry), because of the near approach of the punishment for the desecration of Yahweh's house, and for the offering of human sacrifice, which Yahweh never ordered. The land shall be full of corpses (32 *mg.*), and all joy shall cease. The valley of Hinnom shall be renamed "Slaughter", and burials will have to be made even in the (unclean) Topheth. Even those who have died previously shall be dishonoured by exposure to the sun, moon, and stars, which they have worshipped, whilst the living shall wish themselves dead.—**VII. 29.** The hair was shorn, as a mourning custom; *cf.* Mi. 1 16, Job 1 20.—**31. the valley of the son of Hinnom:** Heb. "Gē-ben-Hinnom," whence "Gehenna" (Mk. 9 43*); near Jerusalem, but exact site disputed. Recent excavations have shown the frequency of the sacrifice of children in Palestine, a practice which is condemned in Dt. 18 10; it is probable that such sacrifices were offered to Yahweh as "king" (Melek), *i.e.* that "Molech" in this connexion is a title, rather than a proper name. For what is known of this Molech cult, see EBi, "Molech," and *cf.* Mi. 6 7, Gen. 22 13, Ex. 13 13, Lev. 8 21*, 2 K. 16 3, 21 6, 23 10, Dt. 12 31, Jer. 19 5, Ezek. 20 26.*—**Topheth:** 2 K. 23 10; supposed to be the Aramaic word for "fireplace", revocalised to suggest "bosheth", *i.e.* "shame", a word sometimes substituted for "Baal" (1 S. 14 47–51*, 1 K. 16 32*).—**VIII. 2. the host of heaven:** (Gen. 2 1*) as in Dt. 4 19, etc., with reference to Assyrio-Babylonian star worship. The significance of this dishonourable treatment of the dead lies in the belief that the shades in Sheol suffer with their bodies; an enemy's ghost is still vulnerable through his corpse (Job 14 22*).—**3.** Omit "which remain", with LXX and Syr.

VIII. 4–17. Judah's Unnatural Conduct and its Punishment.—There is something unnatural in the persistency of the people's misconduct; they show no inclination to return to Yahweh, but pursue a headstrong course away from Him (6 *mg.*). They put themselves below the level of the very birds of heaven, the stork, the turtle-dove, the swift, and the swallow (so in 7), who know the time of their return in spring (after their winter migration; *cf.* Is. 1 3). Their alleged knowledge of Yahweh's teaching ("law," 8) is delusive; they have been misled by insincere teachers, whose punishment awaits them. (10*b*–12 should be omitted, with LXX; they have been repeated from 6 13–15.) They shall perish like a fruitless and withering tree (13; contrast that of 17 8; *cf.* Ps. 1 3ff.). The stricken people urge each other to gather into the cities, but they cannot escape the bitterness of their fate (14). The invader approaches from the north (*cf.* 4 15), nor can his venomous assault be avoided as a snake-charmer avoids the bite of an adder (17 *mg.*; the basilisk of RV is a reptile of fable).—**5.** The emphasis should fall on "perpetual". Omit "of Jerusalem", with LXX.—**8.** The reference is apparently to the Book of Deuteronomy, published some dozen years before. With its prophetic attack on heathen modes of worship, etc. Jeremiah was in full sympathy; but its priestly emphasis on the sanctuary and its ritual, and the resultant externalisation of religion, were quite alien to his teaching. [This view is taken by several of the best authorities, and may be correct. But a strong case can be made out for the view that Jeremiah's attitude to the law-book was more sympathetic, in which case the reference will be to regulations made by the scribes, which we do not possess.—A. S. P.].—**13f.** Read *mgg.*—**gall** or bile here stands figuratively for some bitter, if not poisonous, plant, which has not been identified; it is rendered "hemlock" in Hos. 10 4.

VIII. 18–IX. 1. Jeremiah's Sorrow over Judah's Suffering.—The prophet, in sorrowful sympathy with his people, hears in anticipation the cry of the exiles and Yahweh's answer. They reproach Him with His abandonment of Zion; He points to their idolatry, and introduction of foreign ("strange") deities. The people lament (apparently in proverbial form) the disappointment of their hope of deliverance; it is as when the hope of harvest (April–June) has been destroyed, and the failure of the autumn ingathering (20 *mg.*) has removed the remaining expectation; they (emph.) have not been rescued from their distress (the reference in "saved" is to material prosperity, not to a spiritual change). The prophet himself goes arrayed as a mourner ("I am black", *mg.*), appalled because of his people's wound; is there no cure? He cannot sorrow enough for the tragedy of Judah.—**22. balm:** not the balsam, but mastic, a medicinally

used resin, abundant in Gilead (Gen. 37$_{25}$, *mg.*), and exported to other countries.—**health:** Heb. "new flesh", which "comes up", *i.e.* forms over a wound.

IX. 2–22. Faithlessness and its Retribution: the Dirge of Death.—The humblest caravanserai would be preferable to life among these evil men, with their calumnies and the unfaithful use of power by those in authority, their mutual deceit, and their untruthfulness (2–6). Yahweh will prove them in His furnace (6$_{29}$), "because of the wickedness of" His people (so read in 7, with LXX, which continues preferably, after "arrow", in 8, "the words of their mouth are deceit", and omits "with his mouth"). 9 occurs in 5$_{9,29}$ (7–9). The prophet raises (10–12) the mourner's dirge for the devastated country and ruined towns; it is by Yahweh's hand that they have been laid waste (rather than "burnt up"), as the discerning recognise (Hos. 14$_9$). Disobedience to the (Deuteronomic) law, seen in the worship of the local deities, brings the bitter result of exile and death (13–16). Let Zion's sorrows be bewailed by the singers of dirges. Yahweh Himself supplies the dirge to be learnt and sung, *i.e.* 21f. (which are in the appropriate metre of the dirge), of which Cornill well remarks that more cannot be said in eight short lines—the dirge of the Reaper Death (17–22).—**4. supplant:** with a suggestion of the story of the "supplanter" (Gen. 27$_{36}$).—**10. wilderness:** properly a place to which cattle are driven for pasturage, not a desert.—**11. jackals** often haunt the ruins of Syrian towns; *cf.* Is. 13$_{22}$, 34$_{13}$.—**15. wormwood:** *cf.* 23$_{15}$, Pr. 5*; some bitter herb, always named figuratively.—**17.** Professional singers of dirges, as still employed at Syrian funerals; **cunning** is an archaism for "skilful"; *cf.* Am. 5$_{16}$.—**21. without** should be streets", and **streets** should be "broad places".—**22.** The words "Speak, Thus saith the Lord", which interrupt the metre of the dirge, should be omitted, with LXX. This prophecy is continued in 10$_{17–25}$, the intervening sections being a later insertion; possibly 9$_{13–16}$ also is not by Jeremiah.

IX. 23–26. The Knowledge of Yahweh: Uncircumcised Israel.—This paragraph contains two originally distinct prophecies, unrelated to their present context, though quite possibly Jeremianic. They teach the glory of Israel's religion (23f.), and the futility of physical without spiritual circumcision (25f.). In the second, Israel is degraded to the level of other, uncircumcised nations.—**26.** The "corner-clipt" (25$_{23}$, 49$_{32}$) are those shaved around the brow, according to the practice of some Arab tribes (*cf.* Herod. iii. 8, and contrast Lev. 19$_{27}$*).

X. 1–16. The Folly of Idolatry.—This passage (like 9$_{23–26}$) interrupts the connexion of 9$_{22}$ and 10$_{17}$; its denunciation of the idols of the heathen as utterly futile for good or evil relates it to the times of Deutero-Isaiah (*cf.* Is. 44$_{11}$ff.), and sharply distinguishes it from the denunciation of Israel's syncretistic worship, and the declaration of its penalty, found in 7–9. Israel is urged to hold aloof from the heathen religion of its environment. The idol is but a human product (3 *mg.*), as lifeless as a scarecrow in a cucumber garden, needing to be carried in a procession (Is. 46$_7$). Fear is not necessary before these things, which can do nothing; it is fitting towards Yahweh alone (7 *mg.*). The worshippers of idols are one and all senseless, and "the instruction of idols is wood," *i.e.* without moral or spiritual force (so Driver, but the rendering is doubtful, and the sentence obscure). The idol is plated with costly metals, and dressed in fine clothes by human hands, but it is Yahweh who is truly God (10 *mg.*). There follows (11) a gloss in Aramaic, which breaks the connexion of 10 and 12, and is doubtless some marginal watchword of Jewish faith against heathenism, which has crept into the text. The remaining verses (12–16, repeated 51$_{15–19}$) describe the manifestation of Yahweh's power in creation and in tempest (with 13 *cf.* Ps. 135$_7$). The result of the Divine visitation is that the idolater is struck dumb (14*a*), and the idol-maker put to shame by the utter inability of the image to do such things. The idol is a lifeless mockery, doomed in the Day of Yahweh, when the power of Israel's God shall be revealed.—**2. the signs of heaven:** *i.e.* eclipses, comets, etc., pointing to the astrology of Babylon, amid which this passage was probably written.—**5.** Read as *mg.*, where the reference suggests that the "pillar" serves the purpose of a scarecrow.—**9. Tarshish:** Tartessus in Spain, Ps. 48$_7$*, Is. 23$_{16}$*; for **Uphaz,** not known, read as *mg.*; Ophir was perhaps in S.E. Arabia (Is. 13$_{12}$*).

X. 17–25. The Departure into Exile.—The personified community is told to pick up its bundle (*mg.*), and prepare for the inevitable exile. She bewails her hurt and her spoilt dwelling. These troubles, says the prophet, come from her unwise rulers ("shepherds"), and already are upon her. Identifying himself with the people, he pleads with Yahweh for mercy in judgment, on the ground of man's weakness. (23 should be repointed and rendered, "Not for man is it to walk and direct his steps.") 25 can hardly be Jeremiah's; its cry for vengeance on the heathen contradicts his attitude towards the nations as the Divinely commissioned instruments of Yahweh's wrath against His people's sin. (Omit "yea, they have devoured him," with LXX, and with the parallel cited in *mg.*)

XI. 1–XII. 6. The relation of the prophet to the (Deuteronomic) Covenant (11$_{1–8}$); its subsequent abandonment, and the Divine punishment (9–17); the plot at Anathoth (18–23); the prophet's problem (12$_{1–6}$). On the difficulties raised by this section, see Introduction, § 2; it seems likely that, as Duhm and Cornill have argued, 11$_{1–14}$ is an unhistorical inference as to what the prophet might be expected to do at the time of the Deuteronomic Reformation in 621. If its historicity be accepted, then Jeremiah's initial approval must subsequently have passed into disapproval, in view of the religious externalism and false confidence which followed upon the Reformation. (See on 7$_{1–15}$, 8$_8$.)

XI. 1–8. The Proclamation of the Covenant.—Jeremiah is commissioned to enforce solemnly (*cf.* Dt. 27$_{26}$, 29$_9$) on Judah and Jerusalem the covenant which Yahweh made at the time of the national deliverance from Egypt, as the condition of blessing. He solemnly accepts this commission, and is sent to the smaller cities, as well as to the streets of the capital, to declare the penalty of disobedience to this covenant, as shown by past history.—**2.** The verbs, "hear ye", and "speak" should be emended to the singular, in view of 3.—**4. the iron furnace** means one for smelting iron, here a figure for severe trial; *cf.* Dt. 4$_{20}$, 1 K. 8$_{51}$.—**5. Amen,** *i.e.* "truly", implies the confirmation of the curse; (*cf.* Dt. 27$_{15}$ff.).

XI. 9–17. The Failure of the Reformation.—The first part (9–14) of this passage implies the failure of the Deuteronomic movement ("They are turned back", 10), and is, therefore, often referred to the reaction under Jehoiakim, after Josiah's death in 608, on the assumption of Jeremianic authorship; but see prefatory note to 11$_{1}$ff. Judah is leagued to renew the disobedience of the past; Yahweh will punish, and will refuse to answer, whilst the false gods cannot, the

outcry for help (13*a*, as 22*8b*). The prophet is forbidden to intercede (14 as *mg.*). The corrupt verse 15 is emended by Driver (*cf. mg.*) into "What hath my beloved (to do) in mine house, (seeing) she bringeth evil devices to pass? Will vows and holy flesh remove thine evil from off thee? then mightest thou rejoice!" *i.e.* Judah's lavish ritual is really useless. She is compared with a luxuriant (not simply "green") olive, suddenly struck by lightning (16); evil will come upon her, corresponding to the evil of her Baal-cult (17, perhaps an expansion). The want of connexion between 1–14 and 15ff. supports the view that the former has been prefixed by a writer wishing to connect Jeremiah with the Deuteronomic Reformation. As a matter of fact, 15 stands in marked contrast with the Deuteronomic emphasis on Temple and ritual (Cornill).

XI. 18–23. The Anathoth Plot.—The abrupt introduction of this account of the plot of the men of Anathoth against the life of the prophet might be explained by the supposition that his advocacy of the Deuteronomic Reformation (11ff.) would seem treachery to his kinsmen. For, as stated in the Introduction, they may have traced their descent from Abiathar, a priestly line now perpetually set aside in favour of the Zadokite priests of Jerusalem. If, however, Jeremiah's advocacy of Deuteronomy be not accepted as historic, then the Anathoth persecution will be a special instance of the general unpopularity of Jeremiah. Whether it was provoked by some particular utterance like that of Jesus in the synagogue of Nazareth we do not know. Jeremiah says that he was as unconscious of this plot as is a tame ("gentle") lamb (*cf.* 2 S. 12*3*) of the purpose to kill it. He appeals to the just Judge, who knows his inmost feelings and thoughts, against the injustice of this plot. Yahweh answers the prophet's appeal with a threat of vengeance on the men of Anathoth (see on 11).—**19. fruit:** a slight emendation gives the preferable meaning "sap".—**20.** In Hebrew psychology, the reins or kidneys are the seat of strong emotions, *e.g.* desires, and the heart is the general centre of psychical activity, including thought. Duhm points out that this is the earliest declaration of Yahweh's knowledge of the inner life. Cornill suggests with considerable plausibility that the following section, 12*1–6*, originally preceded 11*18–23*.

XII. 1–6. The Problem of Unrighteous Prosperity.—Jeremiah raises (for the first time in Hebrew literature) the problem of the prosperity of the unrighteous, apparently in connexion with his experiences at Anathoth. He ventures to complain (rather than "plead") unto Yahweh, since He should award adversity to the evildoers who dishonour Him in their inner man ("reins", see on 11*20*), and he appeals for their punishment. God answers Jeremiah (5) with the warning that he has worse trials to face than the troubles at Anathoth. — **4** has little point in this context except for its close, "He shall not see our latter end", which apparently means that Jeremiah will not live to see the vengeance desired. For this, however, LXX reads, "God will not see our ways."—**5. thou art secure:** the change of one letter gives the much better sense, "thou fleest".—**the pride of Jordan** denotes the semi-tropical jungle of the Jordan valley, marking the breadth of the river in flood, still the haunt of wild beasts; *cf.* 49*19*, Zech. 11*3*. This was visible from Jeremiah's home, Anathoth.

XII. 7–17. The Desolation of Judah by her Neighbours, and their Future.—This isolated prophecy is most naturally referred to the events of 2 K. 24*1f.*, when Jehoiakim had revolted against Nebuchadrezzar (*c.* 598). Yahweh laments His enforced abandonment of His house (a term here denoting the land rather than the Temple; *cf.* Hos. 8*1*, 9*15*), because Judah has challenged Him; now He sees her—a speckled bird—marked out for the attack of her neighbours. Nomad invaders (the "shepherds" of 10) have laid her waste, so that Yahweh Himself grieves; none has learnt the lesson in time. 13 is difficult (read "they shall be disappointed of their fruits", *cf. mg.*) because it does not suit the context; it must refer to the men of Judah. In 14–17, Yahweh says that He will exile these neighbours (Syrians, Moabites, Ammonites), but they shall be brought back if converted to Judah's religion (for the oath in 16, *cf.* 4*2*).—**11. unto me:** to my sorrow; *cf. mg.* of Gen. 48*7* (Driver).

XIII. Five detached prophecies, all except the fourth being of uncertain date.

XIII. 1–11. The Symbol of the Waist-cloth, its removal signifying the rejection and ruin of Judah, as a consequence of her disobedience. The prophet buys and wears a linen waist-cloth, not yet put in water, as a declaration of Yahweh's adoption of His people into closest intimacy. The prophet then removes it, and buries it in a rocky cleft where it is spoilt by damp, the removal being a sign that Yahweh puts His people from Him into the ruin of exile. Such symbolism as this, so frequent on the part of Hebrew prophets (for Jeremiah, *cf.* 16*5ff.*, 27*2ff.*, 28*10ff.*, 32*6ff.*, 43*8ff.*, 51*63*), has still something of the "symbolic magic" of primitive peoples clinging to it; it has the force, and more, of the spoken word, and helps to secure the result it "symbolises" (2 K. 13*16f.**). Such symbolism helps to explain the NT emphasis on baptism.—**1.** The object named is not the outer girdle, but a covering worn next the skin.—**4. Euphrates:** Hebrew "Perath"; it is improbable, owing to the distance, that this was literally the place of the burial; perhaps Parah (Jos. 18*32*) near Anathoth is meant, this spot being chosen as suggestive of the Euphrates, and so, symbolical of the place of exile.—**10. shall even be:** "let it be".

XIII. 12–14. The Figure of the Wine-jars.—The fate of the men of Judah is that they shall be filled like jars with the wine of drunkenness (*cf.* 25*15ff.*, Ps. 60*3*), and then shall be dashed to destruction (as a potter might dash such earthen jars together; *cf.* Ps. 2*9*).

XIII. 15–17. Israel's Pride.—The prophet warns against the arrogancy that persistently refuses to obey (*i.e.* "give glory to"; *cf.* 1 S. 6*5*) Yahweh, and compares the disobedient with travellers on mountain paths, who wait vainly in the twilight for light, until the night falls (16 *mgg*). He is filled with grief at their coming captivity.

XIII. 18f. A Dirge on the Doom of Jehoiachin and his Mother (Nehushta, 2 K. 24*8,15*), *c.* 597.—18 should read, "Say ye (LXX) to the king and the queen-mother, sit ye down low (*mg.*), for come down from your head (VSS) is your beautiful crown" (*mg.*). The queen-mother is more important than the queen in an Oriental court (*cf.* 22*26*).—**the South** denotes a particular district, the Negeb (p. 32), in the south of Judah (Jos. 15*21–32*).

XIII. 20–27. Jerusalem's Shame.—This prophecy, as perhaps others in this chapter, would suit the position of affairs under Jehoiakim, after Carchemish (605). Jerusalem is asked concerning the welfare of her people, in the day of invasion by the foe from the north (46, etc. · here of the Babylonians). 21 should read, "When he shall set over thee as head those whom thou hast thyself taught to be friends unto thee," *i.e.* those who have been courted as friends are now

become masters. Her anguish and shame are merited; a change seems hopeless, since habit has become second nature (23). Ruin is inevitable (24 *mg.*). The shameful exposure of her nakedness (26 *mg.*) is an appropriate punishment of her sensuality (Nah. 35; *cf.* Is. 473, Ezek. 1637). 27 reads, "After how long time yet wilt thou not be cleansed?" For the force of **neighings**, see 58.

XIV. 1–XV. 9. The Drought in Judah, and Jeremiah's consequent Intercession.—The date of this disaster is unknown, but some year in the latter half of Jehoiakim's reign is most probable. The effects of the drought are graphically described in 2–6. The personified "gates" represent the people who gather at them in mourning attire and attitude ("sit in black upon the ground"; *cf.* 821, 1318). The empty pits are dried-up storage cisterns (*cf.* 213). Men cover their heads because of grief (2 S. 1530). The first clause of 4 (to "chapt") is best emended, with Duhm, after LXX, "The tillers of the ground are dismayed" (*cf. mg.*). The eyes of the wild asses fail through fruitless search for herbage (*cf.* Lam. 417). In 7–9, the prophet confesses the people's sin, but appeals to Yahweh's honour (7), and His ownership of Israel (9; *cf.* 710), as a reason for His permanent presence and effective help. In 10–18, Yahweh replies that His aloofness corresponds ("even so") to the people's abandonment of Him (10*b* as Hos. 813), and announces evil as the only answer to their sacrifice; to which Jeremiah objects (13) that the people have been misled by the prophets (239ff.) who promised peace. Yahweh, disowning these prophets (14), announces their doom as well as that of the people, and Jeremiah is bidden to lament the horrors that are coming on Judah through invasion and its consequences. In 19–22, Jeremiah continues the dialogue with a further confession on behalf of the people, and with an appeal to the ties that bind Yahweh to Israel (21 *mg.*); Yahweh alone can remove the terrors of this drought. In 151–9, Yahweh replies that even such pleaders as Moses (Nu. 1413–20) and Samuel (1 S. 79) would not turn Him from His purpose; let the people go forth to pestilence ("death", 2), sword, famine, and captivity; let them be "an object of consternation" (for "tossed to and fro", 4) to all, because of the heathenism of Manasseh (2 K. 2111ff.). It is Jerusalem that has rejected Yahweh (*thou*, 6, emphatic), and therefore is winnowed with a fork. The coming destruction is described (8) as widespread and unexpected ("at noonday", as in 64); even the (happy) mother of seven (1 S. 25) utterly collapses.—**XIV. 3.** Read both *mgg.*—**14. divination, and a thing of nought:** read, with Driver, "a worthless divination" by omission of one letter.—18*b* is difficult and obscure; for "go about" we should perhaps render "go begging", or, with second *mg.* alternative, simply "journey".—**21. the throne of thy glory:** Jerusalem, as containing the Temple; *cf.* 1712.—**22. vanities:** *i.e.* "gods."—**XV. 7. fanned with a fan:** *i.e.* winnowed; *cf.* 411, Is. 3024, Mt. 312. The Eastern threshing-floor is described in Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, pp. 538ff.

XV. 10–21. The Sorrow and Strength of Prophetic Service.—The experience of the prophet, as described in the following section, may be the result of his unpopularity at the time of the drought, and therefore be rightly placed after 141–159; but it would suit many other occasions of his life. On the great importance of this and similar passages, both for a true conception of Jeremiah's personality, and for his special contribution to religion, see Introduction, § 3. The present passage is interrupted by the irrelevant verses, 13f., which occur again, more correctly and in their proper place, in 173f.; they relate to the people, not to Jeremiah (Heb. of 14 is as *mg.*). Moreover, 11f. is obscure and possibly corrupt. Jeremiah laments his birth to so unpopular a rôle as that of a prophet of disaster, as unpopular as that of the creditor or debtor ("usury" is simply "interest", as in Dt. 2320). Yahweh had promised to strengthen him and to humiliate his opponents, but they are too strong for him (12 as in *mg.*, the "northern iron and bronze" denoting the greater strength of Jeremiah's Jewish opponents as compared with himself; but this is not very satisfactory). Jeremiah begs Yahweh not to destroy him through excessive patience ("long-suffering") towards his persecutors. His joy has been to take to heart Yahweh's messages (for the figure of eating, *cf.* Ezek. 28–33), and he belongs to Yahweh (16; *cf.* 710 *mg.*). The compulsion of the Divine Hand in prophetic rapture (Is. 811, Ezek. 13*, 314; *cf.* 2 K. 315) has separated him from the ordinary joyous fellowship of men, and has urged him to a message of indignant protest against men's ways. Obedience seems to have brought unending pain, and Yahweh is "a lying stream", the waters of which are dried up in the hour of need (18; *cf.* Job 615). To this cry of distrust and despair Yahweh's answer is to bid Jeremiah turn from such a spirit, and resume his service ("stand before me", 1 K. 108, 1815); let him utter the precious, and leave out the worthless elements of his thinking, that he may be Yahweh's "mouth" (Ex. 416; *cf.* 71); then, at length, the nation will come to see with him (19). Meanwhile, Yahweh renews the promises with which his ministry began (118f.).

XVI. 1–XVII. 18. The Coming Distress a Penalty for Sin.—The prophet is forbidden to found a family, because of the coming sorrows (*cf.* 1 Cor. 729ff.), in which death will be too common even for due mourning and burial. He is to stand aloof from the ordinary expressions of grief (5–7) or social joy (8f.; *cf.* 734), as a sign that Yahweh will make both to cease in the universal disaster. The reason for this great suffering is the sin of disloyalty to Yahweh, who will fling out His people (like a javelin, 1 S. 2033) to a land of other gods (13; *cf.* 1 S. 2619). The two following verses (14f.), which promise a future restoration, are inserted from 237f., and interrupt the present context. The "fishers" and the "hunters" whom Yahweh will send, to net in shoals or hunt down singly, are Judah's invaders, from whom there is no escape. The heavy penalty ("double" as in Is. 402) has been provoked by the peculiar insult to Yahweh of the sin of idolatry (18). The prophet breaks off to anticipate the day when Yahweh shall be known by all the peoples, who will abandon their no-gods (19–21). Judah's sin is ineffaceably written on her heart; the projections at the corner of their (*mg.*) altars (Ex. 272) bear the blood of heathen sacrifice; therefore shall Judah be spoiled and her people become exiles (171–4). The rest of this section (5–18) is an editorial collection of more or less disconnected sayings, probably by Jeremiah. The fine contrast in 5–8 is probably the source of Ps. 13f. The confession of inner weakness in 9 may belong to the prophet's prayer for healing in 14ff. (with 10 *cf.* 1120, 3219). 11 is a proverb based on the alleged habits of the partridge, the point being that the adopted brood at last forsakes its pretended mother. Unbroken confidence in Yahweh is expressed in 12f., and the prophet prays that he be not forsaken in his prophetic task; he disclaims any malicious joy in his prophecies of evil, but asks to be justified (14–18).—**XVI. 5.** On mourning the dead, see p. 110, HDB,

"Mourning", EBi., "Mourning Customs", and *cf.* 415, 475, Dt. 141, etc.—**13.** For such tacit recognition of heathen deities, combined with practical monotheism, see the contemporary Dt. 64,14.—**18. carcases:** a term of contempt for idols; omit "first" with LXX.—**XVII. 1. pen of iron:** *i.e.* an iron instrument used for carving on rock; *cf.* Job 1924.—**2. whilst . . . Asherim:** probably a gloss, after which we should proceed, "upon the spreading (green) trees, upon the high hills, the mountain in the field." As it stands, the last phrase must be taken as a title of Jerusalem (but see on 2113). —**3f.:** partly found as an insertion, 1513f.—**4. thou . . . discontinue** is not the Hebrew; a slight emendation gives, "Thou shalt let thy hand fall".—**6. heath:** supposed to be the dwarf juniper tree.—**11. fool:** denoting moral rather than intellectual inferiority.—**12,** hardly likely to be Jeremiah's, refers to the Temple. —**13. written in earth:** *i.e.* transient, in contrast with what is carved on rock.—**living waters:** 213.—**15.** *cf.* Is. 519.—**16.** A slight vowel change (with some VSS) would turn "from being a shepherd" into "because of evil", a parallel to the following clause.

XVII. 19–27. The Sabbath Day.—The general tone and emphasis of this paragraph, which makes a particular ceremonial ordinance the condition of permanent survival, relate it rather to the period of Neh. 1315–22 than to that of Jeremiah. The prophecy is uttered "in the gate" (72), because of the Sabbath traffic through it; nothing is known of this particular gate. In 21 and 25 read as *mg.*; omit "and princes" in 25. 26 designates the districts around the small post-exilic community, viz. the "lowland" or Shephelah, towards Philistia, the hill-country around Hebron, and the "south," the country S. of Judah (pp. 31f.). For the burnt-offering, and "sacrifice" (*i.e.* peace-offering) see Ex. 2024; for the meal-offering (*mg.*), Lev. 21ff.; for the frankincense, Jer. 620; for the thanksgiving offering, Lev. 712. *27b* is drawn from the refrain of Am. 13, 25; *cf.* Jer. 2114, 4927, 5032.

XVIII. 1–23. The Potter and the Clay.—The potter (1–4) moulding his clay on the upper stone, which he makes revolve by his feet resting on the connected lower stone, is compared with Yahweh in His control of Israel (5–12). The point of the comparison, as worked out in 7ff., is not predestination (contrast Rom. 9–11), but the conditionality of Yahweh's treatment of a nation, according as it turns to good or to evil (*cf.* the story of Jonah and Nineveh, also Ezekiel's individualism, 182off.). Judah, however, will not repent (with 12, *cf.* 225). Some commentators think that this application cannot be original, since the description of the potter's work (the tenses in 4 denote habitual practice) suggests rather the moulding of Judah into something useful after all. On this ground, Cornill dates 1–4 between 620 and 610. But Semitic parable is frequently employed to suggest a single point, the details being irrelevant, and often unsuitable, to the main truth. The prophet declares that Judah's conduct is unnatural, contrary to the steady course of nature (14); the people have forsaken the good old road (616) for unmade by-paths of futile idolatry ("vanity"; the idol gods being the antecedent of the following "they", 15). Therefore Yahweh will scatter them with a sirocco-blast (east wind, 411), and turn His back to them (17 *mg.*; *cf.* 227). In consequence of this prophecy, men plot (*cf.* 1118ff., 1515ff.) against the prophet, refusing to believe that the settled order of life will ever fail (18 is probably proverbial; *cf.* Ezek. 726), and slander him. He protests against this return of evil for good, and prays for vengeance on them.—**3. wheels:** see Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 521, and *cf.* Ecclus. 3829,30.—**11. frame:** the term used describes a potter's work.—**14** is difficult and probably corrupt; as it stands, the reference is to the unfailing snows and ever-flowing streams of Lebanon; *cf.* Ca. 415. —**21. death:** denotes "pestilence" as in 152.

XIX. 1–XX. 6. The Earthenware Flask; Jeremiah in the Stocks.—This section seems to be editorially grouped with the last because of the further reference to pottery; the original prophecy may have been expanded in 3–9 by a later writer. It seems more natural to date these incidents after the Temple-sermon (7) rather than before it; in either case, in the early years of Jehoiakim. Jeremiah is to take representatives of Judah to the Valley of Hinnom (731), by the gate of potsherds (*mg.*; *i.e.* where these were thrown away), that he may warn them of the punishment about to come for their introduction of alien worship, their injustice, and their sacrifice of children by fire. A new name shall be given to the valley (732) to denote the coming slaughter, appalling (1816) to behold. As a symbol of this destruction, the prophet is to break the flask he has bought; deaths shall be so numerous that burials will take place even in the defiled valley (2 K. 2310) for want of room (11 *mg.*), and the city itself shall be defiled, because of its Babylonian cults (3229). Jeremiah repeats his warning in the Temple (14f.), with the result that the responsible officer put him in the stocks. To this official Jeremiah gives a symbolic name (203), denoting the terror of his fate and that of his friends at the hands of the Babylonians. —**4. estranged this place:** *i.e.* Jerusalem, by the worship of other gods.—**the blood of innocents:** 234, 2 K. 2116, 244.—**5.** Omit, with LXX, "for burnt-offerings unto Baal", since these offerings were made to Molech, 3235, *i.e.* probably to Yahweh under this name; *cf.* 731 and the note.—**6. Topheth,** see on 731.— **7. make void:** playing on the Hebrew word for "flask"; *cf. mg.*—**8. plagues:** strokes or wounds.—**9.** *cf.* Dt. 28 53. On the breaking of the flask, *cf.* Thomson, p. 641; for the significance of such symbolism, see the note on 131.—**13.** The use of the Oriental roof is described in Thomson, p. 42.—**XX. 2.** See 2926, Ac. 1624; a more modern parallel in Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 197.

XX. 7–18. The Prophet's Troubles, Hopes, and Dark Despair.—In passionate protest against his lot (possibly occasioned by the incident just related) Jeremiah complains that Yahweh has beguiled him into the work of a prophet, only that he may incur bitter shame, and suffer violence. Yet the inner compulsion of the prophetic word will not allow him to restrain it (*i.e.* "forbear", 9), though it subjects him to the charge of treasonable utterance (2611). 11–13 (if originally here) mark a change of mood, and express Jeremiah's confidence that Yahweh will avenge him. The depth of his despair is reached in 14–18 (*cf.* Job 3 3–12), in which he curses the very day of his birth; he awards a curse instead of the usual reward for good news to the messenger who announced it, invoking on him the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 1925, Is. 1319), and the alarms of war (419). He wishes he had never been born, because of his hard fate (18). This impressive passage is of great importance for the study of the prophetic consciousness; it shows clearly that the psychological compulsion which underlies a "Thus saith the Lord" is the guarantee of the prophet's sincerity, when claiming to speak by Divine inspiration.—**8. Violence and spoil:** *i.e.* as being suffered by the speaker.—**17.** For "from" read "in", with LXX, Syr.

XXI. 1–10. The Outcome of the Siege (588 B.C.).

—Zedekiah, apparently at an early stage of the siege of Jerusalem (whilst 373–10 refers to a similar, but later, incident) sends envoys, Pashhur (not the same as in 201) and Zephaniah (2925, 373, 5224), to ask the prophet if Yahweh will cause the besiegers to withdraw (" go up ", 3421). Jeremiah replies that Yahweh is against Jerusalem, and will deliver king and people to the enemy. Those who choose (with 8 *cf.* Dt. 1126, 3015) to surrender to the enemy will escape with bare life (" for a prey ", 382, 3918). There follow two fragments, 11f. being a warning to the royal house (based on 223 and 44), and 13f., in the present context, a warning to Jerusalem. But the topographical description is not suitable, and the original reference was perhaps to some other city.—**4.** Omit " I will gather them ", with LXX; the Jewish defenders will be driven in.—**7. with the edge of the sword:** means " without quarter ".—**13. habitations:** " dens ", Nah. 212, Ps. 10422.—**14. forest:** used here figuratively.

XXII. 1–XXIII. 8. This section contains several distinct Jeremianic prophecies, relating to contemporary kings of Judah; they have been editorially collected, probably with some expansion.

XXII. 1–9. Introduction.—The prophet is sent down to the palace (lower than the Temple, and on the S.) to declare judgment and justice as the condition of permanence in the royal line. He bewails in a dirge (6f.) the fall of the royal house, which is like that of well-wooded districts (Gilead, Lebanon) delivered over to the axe. The cause is the disloyalty of the city to Yahweh (8f.; taken from Dt. 29 4f.).—**5.** For this solemn oath by Yahweh, *cf.* 4913, and Heb. 613–18.

XXII. 10–12. Josiah and Jehoahaz.—The fate of Josiah (" the dead "; slain in battle at Megiddo, 608, 2 K. 2329f.; *cf.* 2 Ch. 3525) is less pitiful than that of Jehoahaz (Shallum), who reigned (for three months in 608) until taken captive by Pharaoh Necho into Egypt, where he died (2 K. 2331ff.; this king, like Jeremiah, was anti-Egyptian in his policy).

XXII. 13–19. Jehoiakim (608–597; 2 K. 2336–247). —His injustice and rapacity (17 *mg.*), as shown in his sumptuous palace-building, are contrasted with the normal life and upright rule of his father, Josiah. Jehoiakim shall not be honoured in death by his relatives (1 K. 1330) or subjects (Jer. 345), but flung forth unburied (3630; *cf.* 2 K. 246, where there is no mention of burial).—**14. chambers:** the word denotes structures on the roof; *cf.* Thomson, p. 160. In 14*b* read " panelling it . . . painting ".

XXII. 20–30. Jehoiachin.—Jerusalem is bidden to climb the heights and lament (729), because her lovers (430; probably of allies) are broken, and the wind shall " shepherd " her shepherds (rulers). Her fancied security, as of a bird making its nest in Lebanon, will be turned into groaning travail (23 *mg.*). Jehoiachin (Coniah or Jeconiah, who reigned for three months in 597, 2 K. 248ff., 2527) is rejected by Yahweh, and will be exiled with his mother (Nehushta, 1318, 2 K. 248); he is to be recorded (Is. 43) as having no royal successor. —**20. Abarim:** E. of Dead Sea.—**24. signet:** Hag. 223.—**30.** Jehoiachin was not childless according to 1 Ch. 317.

XXIII. 1–8. Conclusion.—Denunciation of the unworthy rulers (shepherds, 2222): " *ye* have scattered, *I* will gather my flock (Ps. 957) and appoint worthy rulers " (1–4). The king called the " Shoot " (5 *mg.*) will continue the worthy traditions of David (2 S. 815) and rule over a united people (Israel as well as Judah). His symbolic name shall be " Yahweh is our righteousness," *i.e.* the source of all our well-being. This restoration will eclipse the original deliverance from Egypt (5–8). Note that this " Messianic " king is an ideal human ruler, acting as Yahweh's administrator, and subordinate to him.—**5. Branch:** " Shoot," *i.e.* from the ground, as in Heb. of Gen. 1925; for the later use of the term as title, *cf.* Zech. 38, 612.—**6.** The title is used of Jerusalem in 3316; *cf.* Ezek. 4835; there is a tacit reference here to Zedekiah (597–586), whose name means " Yahweh is righteousness ".

XXIII. 9–40. The Prophets.—Jeremiah is overcome by the stern message given him to deliver. The evil of the land is encouraged by prophet and priest (613), even the Temple being dishonoured (2 K. 215); for this they shall be thrust down a dark and slippery way (9–12). The immorality of the southern prophets is worse than was the false religion of the northern (13). Hence their punishment (15; *cf.* 915). They inspire baseless hopes (" teach you vanity ", 16), which are without Divine warrant (1414) and prophesy well-being (17, as *mg.*). They have had no entrance into Yahweh's heavenly council (18; *cf.* 22, Job 158 *mg.*; whereas true prophets have, Am. 37). 19f., describing the ultimate judgment, appears to be an interpolation from 3023f. The teaching of the true prophet can be known from its moral quality (22). But Yahweh is omnipresent and omniscient (23f.) and knows the falsity of the appeal made by these prophets to their dreams as revelation (*cf.* Job 413ff.). Let the dream be put forward for no more than it is; the (direct) word of Yahweh shall be known by its powerful effects (*i.e.* its appeal to the sanctions of history, 29). Yahweh is against this imitative, second-hand prophecy (30), which is without inner confirmation (31, and see on 209), and Divine commission (32). This passage is important for the study of the prophetic consciousness, especially of the distinction of true from false prophecy (*cf.* 1413ff., Ezek. 131–16). The implied marks of false prophecy are superficial optimism (17), immoral teaching (22), futility of result (29), lack of originality and inner conviction (30).—There follows (33–40) a rather obscure denunciation of the term " burden ", as used of an oracle, *i.e.* of something " taken up " on the prophet's lips. When men scornfully ask about Yahweh's " burden ", the answer, playing on the term, shall be " Ye are the burden " (33 *mg.*). Men make their own words into Yahweh's " burden " (36 *mg.*). If men persist in using this term " burden " of Yahweh's oracles, he will " take them up " (39 *mg.*, again with play on the word) and fling them away.—**9. shake:** " be soft," *i.e.* strengthless.—**10.** Read *mg.*; " for because . . . dried up " interrupts the connexion.—**13. folly:** lit. " unsavouriness ", Job 66.—**23. at hand:** must be taken to mean " locally limited ", in view of context. **26.** The verse is corrupt: Driver suggests " how long? is (my word) in the heart, etc.".

XXIV. 1–10. The Good and Bad Figs.—The prophet sees (either in vision or actuality; see on 111,13; *cf.* Am. 71, etc.) baskets of good and bad figs respectively; Yahweh tells him that the former represent the first body of exiles under Jeconiah (Jehoiachin, 2 K. 2415f.) who shall be restored, and the latter the people remaining under Zedekiah, together with those in Egypt. For Ezekiel's similar judgment of the Palestinian and Babylonian sections of Judah, see Ezek. 1711ff., and 1117ff.; the opinion was justified, those deported having been the picked men of the nation; moreover, the future of Judaism, as matter of history, was committed to their charge.—**2.** For the **firstripe fig** as a delicacy, see Is. 284; Mi. 71. —**5. Chaldeans:** *i.e.* " Babylonians," as often; the Kaldu, SE. of Babylonia, became supreme there, *c.* 626 (pp. 58–60).—**8. Egypt:** see 2 K. 2334, for the exile

thither of Jehoahaz. The Elephantine papyri (p. 79) show the existence of a Jewish community in Egypt, possessing a temple, before 525, possibly from the seventh century, *cf.* Dt. 17¹⁶.—**9.** Read *mg.*; omit "for evil" with LXX.

XXV. The Supremacy of Babylon over Judah and the Nations.—1–11. In the year 604 (after the Babylonian victory over Egypt at Carchemish, 605 B.C., *cf.* 462), Jeremiah publicly reviews his ministry (since 626; *cf.* 12), which has failed to produce repentance (1–7). As a result, Yahweh will bring the victorious Babylonians against both Judah and the surrounding peoples to lay them waste, and the supremacy of Babylon shall last seventy years.—**10. the sound of the millstones:** for this familiar sign of normal routine, see Thomson, pp. 526f., and *cf.* Rev. 18²²; also 23 (where there is a reference to **the light of the lamp**).—**11.** *Cf.* 29¹⁰ and Zech. 1¹²; **seventy** is a round number, to denote two or three generations, as in 27₇.

12–14, proclaiming final judgment on Babylon itself, is a later addition. It interrupts the connexion, and presupposes the existence of the whole book, and in particular, of the prophecy against Babylon, 50¹–51⁵⁸, which is certainly later than this chapter, to say nothing of other sections of 46–49. LXX makes the foreign prophecies (46–51) follow 13 and precede 26–45; it omits 14, and uses 13*b* as a title of the foreign prophecies, at the end of which it resumes with 15.

15–29. The Babylonian advance (the "sword" of 16) against the nations (*cf.* 1¹⁰) is figured as the offering of a cup to be drunk (13¹³, 48²⁶), producing the confusion of intoxication among the peoples enumerated (18–26; on their relation to the prophecies given in 46–51, see the prefatory note to 46). Yahweh, who has begun with His own people, will not spare the others.—**18.** Omit with LXX, "as it is this day", added after 586 B.C.—**20. mingled people:** settled foreigners (so 24; *cf.* 50³⁷).—**the remnant of Ashdod:** *i.e.* the survivors of the Egyptian siege (Herod. ii. 157). —22 *mg.* refers to the shores of the Mediterranean. —**23b:** see on 9²⁶.—**26.** The last clause, omitted by LXX, is a later addition; note *mg.*

30–38 (eschatological and non-Jeremianic). Description of the "Day of Yahweh" (33; *cf.* Is. 66¹⁶), when He will judge Judah (His "fold") and the whole world. The rulers ("shepherds", 34) and their chief subjects, shall cry out in vain; Yahweh, like a lion, shall leave His lair (*i.e.* Judah), now desolated by the sword (38 *mg.*; *cf.* Zech. 11₃).—**30** is based on Am. 1₂. For the **shout** of the wine-press, see 48₃₃, Is. 16¹⁰; for the general figure, Is. 63¹–6.—**31. plead:** "contend" (29).

XXVI.–XLV. These chapters, usually ascribed in the main to Baruch, chiefly narrate selected incidents in the life of Jeremiah, often with connected prophecies; they form a second main section of the book, in contrast with 1–25, which consist chiefly of prophecies, with little narrative.

XXVI. Destruction of the Temple Foretold: Jeremiah's Peril (608 B.C.).—Jeremiah is told to proclaim in the Temple (*cf.* 19¹⁴; probably at some festival) a perilous message ("keep not back a word", 2), in the hope that it may produce a change (18₈). Unless the people obey Yahweh, He will destroy the Temple, like that of Shiloh (7¹⁴) and make the city (an example of) a curse (29₂₂). The priests and prophets declare that Jeremiah must die for this blasphemy (Dt. 18²⁰); it is incredible to them that Yahweh can have given such a word as this (7–9). Accordingly, the case is referred to the secular authorities, who hear it in "the new gate". Jeremiah reasserts the Divine origin of his message, and warns them of their guilt, if they slay him. The princes and people acquit him on the ground of his sincerity (10–16). This decision is confirmed by the century-old precedent of Micah of Moresheth, who also announced the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple ("the mountain of the house", 18), a fate averted by the repentance of Hezekiah (17–19). The writer of this narrative has added (20–23) an account of the similar charge brought against another prophet, Uriah of Kiriath-jearim (7 m. W. of Jerusalem), which issued, however, in his extradition from Egypt, his execution, and his exclusion from the family grave (*cf.* 2 K. 23₆). The closing reference to Ahikam (24) seems to refer back to an important influence contributory to Jeremiah's escape.—**4. law:** *i.e.*, the oral teaching of the prophets; *cf.* Is. 1¹⁰.—**8.** Omit "and all the people", since they are friendly in 11ff.—**10. the new gate:** 36¹⁰; perhaps that of 2 K. 15₃₅; gates were usual courts of justice, *cf.* Thomson, p. 27.—**15. innocent blood:** Jon. 1¹⁴, Dt. 21₈, 2 K. 21¹⁶.—**18. Hezekiah:** 720–693; this result of Micah's preaching is not otherwise known. —**22. Elnathan:** one of the princes, 36¹²,²⁵.—**24. Ahikam:** 2 K. 22¹²ff.; *cf.* 39¹⁴, 40₅f. for the friendship of his son Gedaliah with Jeremiah.

XXVII.–XXIX. Certain linguistic peculiarities (*e.g.* the incorrect spelling, Nebuchad*n*ezzar) suggest that these three chapters may have circulated as a separate pamphlet, *e.g.* in Babylon. They deal with the rebuke of false hopes concerning a speedy return from exile.

XXVII. 1–11. The Conspiracy against Babylon.—Probably in 593 (note correction by *mg.* of 1; the more definite date of 28₁ seems to belong here) Jeremiah is told to make and wear a yoke (as symbol of submission to Babylon; *cf.* 1 K. 22₁₁, and the note on 13₁₇ff.). He is to send an interpretative message by the representatives of the five kings who are seeking the alliance of Zedekiah in a conspiracy against Babylon. Yahweh, the Creator of all, has given all into the power of the Babylonian king. Those who will not bear the yoke willingly shall be given into his hand after much suffering. They are not to be deceived by false guides. On Jeremiah's characteristic policy of submission to Babylon, and its consequences to himself, see Introduction, § 2.—**3.** Omit "them", with the LXX of Lucian; according to 28¹⁰, Jeremiah is still wearing the yoke himself.—**6. the beasts of the field, etc.:** the words simply emphasize the absolute sovereignty of the Babylonian king; *cf.* Dan. 2₃₈.—**7** (omitted by LXX) limits the Babylonian tenure of power to two more generations; it is probably, like 25¹²–¹⁴, a later addition.—**8. consumed . . . by:** should probably be emended into "given into".—**9. dreams:** read "dreamers" with VSS.

XXVII. 12–22. The Warning to Zedekiah.—Jeremiah also warns Zedekiah to the same effect (12–15), and tells priests and people not to believe the prophets who promise an early return of the Temple vessels. Let the prophets rather pray that the vessels left by the Babylonians be not also carried off; for Yahweh intends to remove these also, that they may remain in Babylon until His appointed time. This warning was apparently successful; Zedekiah did not revolt until four or five years later. In order to quell the suspicions excited by the embassies of 27₃, he may have made the journey to Babylon mentioned in 51₅₉.—**16. the vessels of Yahweh's house:** the popular emblems of patriotism and religion, carried off in 597; *cf.* 20.—**16–22.** LXX has a shorter text, without any promise of the ultimate restoration of these vessels.—

19. For the details, see on 1 K. 7 15ff. The larger objects were broken up in 586, and the metal carried to Babylon (52 17) ; the smaller were restored by Cyrus in 538 (Ezr. 1 7–11).

XXVIII. The Prophecy and Fate of Hananiah.—Whilst Jeremiah still wears the symbolic yoke (27 2), his testimony concerning it is opposed by another prophet, Hananiah of Gibeon (5 m. NW. of Jerusalem), who declares that the yoke shall be broken, the Temple vessels, the king, and the exiles brought back, within two years (1–4). Jeremiah wishes it might be true, but points out the predominant "pessimism" of prophecy hitherto, which throws the onus of proof on the event itself, in case of an exceptional prophecy of "peace" (5–9 ; *cf.* Dt. 18 21f.). Hananiah reasserts his prophecy, confirming it by breaking the yoke on the neck of Jeremiah, who makes no reply (10f.). But, subsequently, Jeremiah receives a Divine word telling Hananiah that a yoke of iron shall replace the yoke of wood, that he is a false prophet, and shall die within the year, as actually takes place (12–17). Note the dependence of the prophetic consciousness on psychological factors beyond the prophet's conscious control ; on general grounds, Jeremiah does not believe Hananiah, but only after an interval does some new psychological experience authorise Jeremiah to embody his disbelief in an oracle of Yahweh. *Cf.* the similar interval of waiting for the "word" in 42 7.—**13. thou shalt:** read, with LXX, "I will."

XXIX. The Future of the Exiles in Babylon (*c.* 595).—Jeremiah sends a letter by royal messengers to tell the exiles in Babylon to settle down there for a lengthy stay, and not to be deceived by those who say otherwise (1–9). After seventy years (see on 25 11), they shall be restored in accordance with Yahweh's declared purpose (24–7) and goodwill (1–13). At this point, an insertion seems to have been made in the original letter. Most of 14 (after "I will be found of you") is rightly omitted in LXX ; the reference to "all the nations" does not suit the destination of this particular letter. LXX also omits 16–20, threatening Zedekiah ("the king"), and those left in Jerusalem (24 8,f.) ; this passage also has been added to the Hebrew text. 15, which is quite disconnected from its context where it now stands, will then fitly precede 21–23, its first word being rendered "because" instead of "for" ; the sequel names two of these Babylonian prophets for condemnation. The remaining verses of the chapter (24–32) are in some confusion. They begin as prophecy in a message to Shemaiah (24 *mg.*), then pass (26ff.) into the quotation of a letter from him to Zephaniah, then break off abruptly into narrative in 29, and become prophecy again in 30. Shemaiah's letter, evidently prompted by Jeremiah's, urges Zephaniah to treat Jeremiah as Pashhur had done (20 1ff.), *i.e.* as a mad prophesier (*cf.* 2 K. 9 11 ; Hos. 9 7, 1 S. 10 10ff., 19 20ff.) ; but Zephaniah simply informs Jeremiah of this advice, with the result that a prophecy is uttered against Shemaiah and his descendants, in accordance with Hebrew ideas of "corporate" personality (*cf.*, *e.g.*, 2 K. 5 27).—**3. Elasah:** brother of Ahikam (26 24) and of a Gemariah (36 10) distinct from his present companion.—**18** as *mg.* ; *cf.* 24 9.—**19.** Read "they" for "ye", as in LXX of Lucian.—**22.** Nothing further is known of these men or their fate, presumably assigned for treason.—**23. folly:** "senselessness" (Driver) ; *cf.* 2 S. 13 12.—**25. Zephaniah:** *cf.* 21 1, 37 3, 52 24. Omit, with LXX, "unto all the people that are at Jerusalem" and "and to all the priests".—**26. officers:** read singular with VSS.—**32.** After "seed", we should probably continue, with LXX, "there shall not be a man of them in the midst of you to see the good", etc. (omitting last clause).

XXX.–XXXI. The Future of Israel and Judah.—These two chapters of prophecy, dealing with the future restoration of Israel and Judah, appear to be a later editorial insertion in the narrative scheme of 26–45, placed here perhaps because 32 and 33 contain narratives and prophecies dealing with the same subject (*cf.* also 29 10ff.). In 30 and 31, there are numerous points of contact with Deutero-Isaiah, a fact which, with other features, has suggested to many scholars an exilic or post-exilic date for much that these chapters contain. The contrast with the general "pessimism" of earlier chapters is very noticeable. On the other hand, the internal evidence for 31 2–6, 15–22, 31–34 entitles us to regard these sections as Jeremianic.

XXX. 1–4. The prophet is commanded to write down his prophecies (*i.e.* those of 30,31, in view of 4), because of their approaching fulfilment. Note the difference of this (editorial) introduction from the account of the circumstances leading to the writing of the roll in 604 (36 2ff.).

5–22. Description of the people's terror (5 *mg.*) at the "Day of Yahweh" (Am. 5 18) ; but this "Day" shall bring deliverance from the (heathen) yoke (8), and Israel shall have (religious) freedom under the future "Davidic" king. The gathered people shall be delivered from fear (like a protected flock, Is. 17 2) ; the heathen nations shall be destroyed, Israel escaping with proper chastisement only (10 24). At present, Zion is sorely wounded (13 as *mg.*[1]), and forsaken of her old allies ("lovers", 14 ; *cf.* 4 30, 22 20). Her condition is deserved, yet because she is so helpless ("therefore", 16) her foes shall be overthrown, and she shall be healed ; the city shall be rebuilt upon its mound, and the palace inhabited as usual (18 *mg.*). There shall be joy (Ps. 126f.) at the restoration of her numbers, and her former glory ; for she will be in the care of Yahweh ("before me", 20 ; *cf.* Ps. 102 28), and under a native ruler (Dt. 17 15), with priestly rights of access to Yahweh (Ezek. 44 13, Nu. 16 5), such as none would presumptuously claim. 23f. is an eschatological fragment (found elsewhere as in *mg.*) which describes the destruction of the wicked within the Jewish nation.—**5ff.** The "Day of Yahweh" is a frequent idea of prophecy to denote the dramatic intervention of Yahweh in human history ; *cf.* Is. 13 6ff., where there is the same figure as here of men overcome in travail-like anguish.—**8.** *Cf.* Is. 10 27 ; "thy" in both cases should be "his" ; *cf.* LXX.—**9.** A return of the original David is not meant, but the coming of an idealised descendant ; *cf.* Hos. 3 5.—**10f.** (LXX omits) as 46 27f. ; see Is. 41 8f. for thought and phrasing.—**20.** The term for "congregation" is characteristic of the post-exilic period, when Israel had become a "Church" instead of a "State".—**21.** It is difficult for us to realise, in view of the Christian sense of direct fellowship with God in Christ, the old idea of the peril of any approach to deity.

XXXI. 1–6. This prophecy of the restoration of the northern kingdom may belong, like ch. 3, to Jeremiah's early period. The northern Israelites shall be gathered from exile ("the wilderness"). Yahweh will appear from Zion (3, *mg.*[1] ; *cf.* 51 50), declaring His enduring love (Hos. 11 4), and will restore general happiness ; in the security of tenure the vineyards (which require time for their development) will be replanted, and their keepers ("watchmen", 6) will call men to Zion (thus marking the union of the two kingdoms).—**2.** The tenses are "prophetic perfects". Render *2b*, with Driver, "I will go that I may cause Israel to rest".

—**4. tabrets:** tambourines; rendered "timbrels" in Ex. 15$_{20}$, Jg. 11$_{34}$.

7–14 (suggestive of Deutero-Isaiah). Let there be joy that Yahweh hath saved His people, for He will gather all to Palestine ("hither", 8), and they will come penitently to the Divine provision made for their need (9 *mg.*; *cf.* Is. 49$_{10}$), made as for Yahweh's first-born (1 Ch. 51f.). Let the nations make it known that Yahweh is the rescuing shepherd (Is. 40$_{11}$) of Israel, which is now gathered to the good things ("goodness", 12; *cf.* Gen. 45$_{20}$) of Zion; these are sufficient for all, so that they shall no more faint through hunger ("sorrow", 12, should be "pine"; *cf.* 25, "sorrowful"). The people will rejoice, and the priests will receive abundant offerings, because of the general prosperity.—**7. save thy people:** read with LXX, Targ.: (Yahweh) "hath saved his people"; also read *mg.*—**10. isles:** *i.e.* the Mediterranean with its coasts.—**14. satiate the soul:** satisfy the appetite, Is. 55$_{2}$.

15–22. Jeremiah hears Rachel (the mother of Joseph and Benjamin, Gen. 30$_{24}$, 35$_{16}$ff.) weeping at (her grave near) Ramah, for her children, the northern exiles. He bids her refrain, in the certainty of their restoration. Their penitence is described (18f.). Yahweh expresses wonder (20) at His own enduring love for this very precious son, this child of delight; He is moved to deep emotion, and, in spite of all, cannot abandon him. Let Israel indicate and note the way of return (21), and persist in it (22), for Yahweh will now bring the virgin Israel to cling around Him, offer herself to Him in true marital affection (Hos. 2$_{16}$, Is. 54$_{5}$f.), as never before.—**15. Ramah:** 5 m. N. of Jerusalem; *cf.* 1 S. 10$_{2}$. Mt. 2$_{17}$f. follows the different tradition as to the site of the grave (vicinity of Bethlehem) given in Gen. 35$_{19}$*, 48$_{7}$.—**16. shall be:** emphatic.—**17. is:** emphatic.—**18. turn thou me:** better, "bring me back".—**19. turned:** *i.e.* from thee; for the gesture of grief, see Ezek. 21$_{12}$; the reproach is that springing from earlier sins.—**20. dear . . . pleasant:** not strong enough for the Heb. The **bowels**, in Heb. psychology, are the seat of deep emotion (4$_{19}$).—**21. set thine heart:** denoting attention, not desire or affection.—**22** is difficult and dubious; some commentators emend, after Ewald and Duhm, into "A woman shall be turned into a man," *i.e.* "the weak shall be made strong"; the interpretation already given follows Driver.

23–26. At the restoration of Judah there shall be joyous acclamation of the city and the Temple (Zech. 8$_{3}$); agricultural and pastoral life shall be resumed in peace; the thirsty and the hungry (*cf.* 14) shall be satisfied. 26 appears to be a gloss, which hints that these bright dreams are very different from the waking reality.

27–30. Yahweh will replenish the scanty populations of both kingdoms, and will establish them (for the terms, *cf.* 1$_{10}$). In the future, individual responsibility for sin will replace the old doctrine of "corporate" personality, by which children suffered for the sins of their fathers (*e.g.* Achan's, Jos. 7$_{24}$), and Israel seemed to be suffering for the sins of past generations (Lam. 5$_{7}$; *cf.* Dt. 24$_{16}$, and the notes on Ezek. 18$_{2}$ff.).

31–34. The prophecy of the "New Covenant," contained in these verses, may have been written in 586, when the destruction of Jerusalem had suggested that the "Old Covenant" was cancelled. The Jeremianic authorship of this most important passage has been firmly established by Cornill's arguments against the criticisms of Duhm and others. Yahweh is about to establish the national religion on a new basis. When He led the Israelites out of Egypt (Hos. 11$_{1}$–4), He made with them a covenant (that of Sinai, involving the Decalogue, written on tables of stone, Ex. 31$_{15}$, Dt. 4$_{13}$), which *they* broke, though *He* was bound to them in marriage love. His new covenant He will write upon their hearts (instead of upon stone), and He will maintain (permanently) the bond between God and people (33). The common knowledge of God (22$_{16}$, Is. 54$_{13}$) resulting from this inward change will make the teaching of one by another to be unnecessary (*i.e.* the prophetic consciousness of a Jeremiah, with its direct relation to God, will become general); the barrier of (past) sin will be removed by an act of Divine forgiveness, to make this new covenant possible (34).—The primary truths of this great passage are to be grasped only in the light of the personal history and inner experiences of its writer. They are in general (*a*) the moral inwardness of true religion, (*b*) its dependence on supernatural agencies, (*c*) its realisation of a direct personal fellowship with God. (See further, Introduction, § 3.)—**32. although I was an husband unto them:** *cf.* 3$_{14}$; but LXX, Syr. suggest that we should read "and I abhorred them"; *cf.* 14$_{19}$.—**33.** *Cf.* 44, 24$_{7}$, and the dependent Is. 51$_{7}$; contrast Jer. 17$_{1}$. For the supernatural influences upon which this new and more individualised relation to God is conceived to rest, see Is. 59$_{21}$, Ezek. 36$_{26}$f.

35–40. Israel's national existence shall be as permanent as Yahweh's rule of nature (35f.); it is as impossible for Israel to be rejected as it is for man to comprehend the created world (37). In the future, Jerusalem shall be rebuilt from the NE. to the NW. corner (Zech. 14$_{10}$), and (apparently) southwards, and shall include even the Valley of Hinnom (desecrated by human sacrifices to Molech, 7$_{31}$) as far as the SE. corner ("the horse gate", Neh. 3$_{28}$).—**39. Gareb . . . Goah:** not found elsewhere, and not known.

XXXII. The Redemption of Land at Anathoth.—A token of confidence in the future restoration. Probably not much more than 6–15 is original. This narrative, it should be noticed, is both preceded (30f.) and followed (33) by restoration prophecies.

1–5. In 587 B.C., during the siege of Jerusalem by the Babylonians, Jeremiah was a prisoner in the "guard-court", used for specially-treated prisoners (37$_{20}$f.); the explanation given is that he had prophesied (21$_{7}$, 37$_{17}$, etc.) defeat and captivity for Zedekiah (fulfilled as in 2 K. 25$_{7}$). 2–5 are parenthetical, and should be placed in brackets; 6ff. are not, as they might seem, an answer to Zedekiah's question. According to 37$_{11}$ff., Jeremiah was arrested in the interval during which the Babylonians had withdrawn from the siege, for alleged desertion to the enemy; the princes were hostile to him, but Zedekiah showed him kindness.

6–15. Jeremiah, after a premonition of the coming opportunity (subsequently confirmed as being of Divine origin, 8) uses the "right of redemption" belonging to the next-of-kin (Lev. 25$_{25}$; Ru. 4$_{3}$ff.) to buy family property in Anathoth (11) from his cousin Hanamel; he duly executes the purchase with all legal precision. By this prophetic act, he exhibited his confidence that land now in the enemy's occupation would ultimately be restored to Israel (*cf.* Livy 26$_{11}$ for a similar incident).—**9.** The weight of uncoined metal named would be worth about £2. 6*s.* 9*d.* to-day, but the exchange value then would be much greater; *cf.* 2 S. 24$_{24}$.—**11.** Read as *mg.*—**14.** Excavation has revealed the similar Babylonian custom of keeping in an earthen vessel a tablet enclosed in an outer envelope, itself inscribed in duplicate. Baruch, with whom the

deeds were deposited, was the prophet's secretary (36), faithful companion (433), and, probably, future biographer.

16–25 (a later Deuteronomistic expansion, except perhaps in 24f.). Prayer of Jeremiah, reviewing the Divine characteristics, and Yahweh's control of Israel's history, up to the present distress, and implying doubt as to the issue.—**24. mounts:** earthen mounds raised by the besiegers, 66, 334.

26–44. Yahweh answers the prophet by declaring the issue and cause of the present distress, and by promising (36ff.) the future restoration of the people to Palestine, where they shall dwell in religious unity and in prosperity. Most or all of this seems later than Jeremiah; *e.g.* 31 agrees with Ezekiel (16), rather than with Jeremiah; 43 presupposes the exile; 27–35 is irrelevant to the context.—**29.** *Cf.* 1913.—**34f.,** as 730f. (see the notes).—**39.** *Cf.* Ezek. 1119.—**40.** *Cf.* 3133.—**44.** *Cf.* 1726.

XXXIII. Promises of Restoration.—There may be a Jeremianic nucleus in the first half of the chapter, but 14–26, being imitative, and omitted by LXX, is probably late. Yahweh the Restorer promises to reveal great and secret things (Is. 486). In spite of the present state of the city, which is surrounded by besiegers, Yahweh will restore it to health (6, "new flesh", 822), establish its prosperity ("truth" means "firmness"; *cf.* 1413), renew its former estate (7, as at the first, Is. 126, 1 K. 136), cleansing away its sin (3134; *cf.* Ezek. 3625), so that men shall be awed at its glory (1–9). The present desolation shall be replaced (contrast 734) by a joyful and thankful population, enjoying pastoral peace (10–13). Yahweh will perform His promise (2910) to both sections of the nation by raising a Davidic "Shoot"; the royal (2 S. 716) and priestly (Dt. 185) succession shall be guaranteed with a certainty like that of natural phenomena (3135f.), and in an abundance like that of the stars and the sand (Gen. 2217, but there of the whole nation). The taunt that Yahweh has rejected Israel and Judah ("the two families", 24) shall be disproved (14–26).—**2. that doeth it:** *i.e.* restoration; in Is. 22 11, on the other hand, the phrase denotes the Destroyer. —**3. difficult:** *i.e.* unattainable; *cf. mg.*—**4. mounts:** see on 3224.—**5** is corrupt; a slight emendation gives "the Chaldeans are coming to fight and fill", etc.—**10** presupposes the exile.—**11.** For the refrain, see Ps. 1061, etc.; for the offering, Jer. 1726.—**13.** The latter half refers to the counting of sheep; for the districts named, see 3244.—**15. Branch:** see on 235f., here repeated, though the city instead of the king now receives the title; *cf.* Ezek. 4835.—**18.** For the sacrifices named see on 1726; for the priestly title, Dt. 181.—**24** is difficult; as it stands, "this people" means the heathen, but we should probably emend slightly (*cf.* Duhm and Cornill), and read (after "off"), "and spurns His people . . . before Him", making "this people" then refer to disconsolate Jews.

XXXIV. 1–7. The Fate of Jerusalem and of Zedekiah.—In the course of the siege (588–6), Jeremiah is sent to Zedekiah to tell him that the city will be taken and destroyed, that he will be brought before Nebuchadrezzar and sent to Babylon, but will obtain the customary royal honours after a peaceful death. At this time, it is said, the only other uncaptured cities were Lachish (Tell-el-Hesy, 35 m. SW. of Jerusalem, see p. 28) and Azekah (Jos. 1535, probably 15 m. SW. of Jerusalem). For the actual fate of the king, so different from that here promised, see Jer. 5211, and *cf.* Ezek. 12 13. The present prophecy must be explained as conditional on submission to Babylon, a condition not fulfilled.—**5. burnings:** with reference to the spices used (so *mg.*); bodies were buried.

XXXIV. 8–22. The Cancelled Liberation of Slaves.—In the interval during which the besiegers had withdrawn (21; *cf.* 212, 375), Jeremiah is commissioned to condemn the breach of the promises made by king and people during the earlier straits. They had agreed to emancipate all Hebrew slaves, and had solemnly covenanted to this effect. They broke this agreement (when the Babylonian peril seemed to be removed), and in so doing they "profaned" (16) Yahweh's name, by disregard of His original covenant (18), when the law of emancipation after six years of service was first given (13). So Yahweh proclaims a "liberation" of His people from Himself to the cruel tyranny of war (17); He will cause the besiegers who have temporarily retired from them ("gone up", 21) to return, as they have caused their emancipated slaves to return.—**14.** The original **covenant** of Yahweh included the law of Dt. 1512ff., which is here cited; the connexion with this law is not, however, very precise, since the present temporary emancipation is represented as general, apart from the period of six years of service. —**At the end of seven years** (we should say, "in the seventh year", or "at the end of six years".—**18.** This division of the victim is usually supposed to symbolise the fate invoked on those who break the covenant—but Robertson Smith (*RS*², p. 481) suggested that "the parties stood between the pieces, as a symbol that they were taken within the mystical life of the victim" (Gen. 1517*).

XXXV. A Lesson in Obedience from the Rechabites.—These were the descendants of that Jonadab who, in 842, aided Jehu to overthrow the house of Ahab and the cult of Baal of Tyre (2 K. 1015–23*); they were connected with the Kenites (1 Ch. 255), from whom the worship of Yahweh may have passed to Israel (*cf.* Jg. 116). The incident here described is to be dated *c.* 598 (*cf.* 11 with 2 K. 242), *i.e.* after the events of 36.

1–11. Jeremiah is told to bring the family ("house") of the Rechabites into one of the rooms (*cf.* 3612, Ezek. 4017, etc.) erected round the Temple courts, and to offer them wine, which he does. They reply that it is an ancestral rule with them to drink no wine, and to dwell in tents, having no share in vine-culture, agriculture, or housebuilding (*i.e.* they are loyal to the nomadic tradition; the civilisation of Canaan, involving the cult of the Baalim, they regard as an influence corrupting the true worship of the desert God, Yahweh, see pp. 74, 85, 87, 2 K. 1015f.*). The Rechabites explain their (exceptional) presence in Jerusalem as due to flight before the invaders.—**2.** The incident takes place in the Temple, in order to give it publicity and solemnity.—**4. the keeper of the door:** 5224, where three of these high officials are named after the second priest.

12–19. Jeremiah proceeds to contrast the loyal obedience of the Rechabites to the commands of Jonadab with the disobedience of Judah and Jerusalem generally to the commands of Yahweh Himself, given through a line of prophets (1811, 255f.); hence the coming punishment. To the Rechabites is guaranteed the continuance of their line (19; *cf.* 3317) as servants of Yahweh.—**14. I** is emphatic.—**19. stand before me:** see on 1519.

XXXVI. The Writing of the Roll.—This chapter narrates how the oral prophecies of Jeremiah were first put into writing (604 B.C.). The account is obviously important for the criticism of this book: see Introduction, § 4, for the probable contents of the

roll. The circumstances also throw light on the origin of written prophecy in general; the failure of the oral testimony (3; *cf.* Is. 8$_{1,16}$, 30$_8$) led to its preservation through writing. The pioneers amongst the so-called "literary" prophets are not primarily writers at all; the written records of their work are largely incidental, a fact which helps to explain the fragmentary and complex character of much of the prophetic "literature," due, as it largely is, to the work of disciples. On Hebrew writing materials, see the article, "Writing" by Kenyon, in HDB.

1–8 (The first roll written). Jeremiah is told to write down his prophecies of the last twenty-two years (25$_{1,3}$) relating to Jerusalem (so read with LXX for "Israel" in 2), Judah, and the nations, in the hope that Judah may yet repent (26$_3$). Accordingly, he dictates them to Baruch (32$_{12}$, and see Introduction), and tells him to read them publicly in the Temple on a fast day (6 *mg.*), since he is unable to go there himself. Baruch does this (8 summarises the following narrative, 9–26).—**5. I am restrained,** *mg.*: this cannot mean "imprisoned" in view of 19; it may refer to ceremonial uncleanness (*cf.* 1 S. 21$_7$, Neh. 6$_{10}$), or, perhaps, to a "restraint" through the prophetic spirit.

9–26 (The roll read and destroyed). In the winter (Nov.–Dec.) of the following year, Baruch uses the opportunity of a fast to read the roll in the room of Gemariah. Its contents are reported to the princes in the secretary's room at the palace (below the Temple, 26$_{10}$), and they send for Baruch to read it again to them. They are alarmed by it, and decide that the king must be told. They ask how it came to be written, and Baruch replies that it was dictated to him. They tell him to go into hiding with his master, and they go to Jehoiakim; he sends for the roll, and hears it in his "winter" house (Am. 3$_{15}$), sitting by the fire. When three or four columns (23 *mg.*) of the roll have been read, the king repeatedly cuts them off, and throws them into the fire, till all has been read and burnt. This he does in spite of the entreaty of some of those in attendance ("which stood beside the king," 21; *cf.* Jg. 3$_{19}$). The king sends in vain to arrest the prophet and his secretary.—**9. a fast:** some special day of humiliation; *cf.* 2 S. 12$_{22}$, 1 K. 21$_{27}$, Zech. 7$_5$.—**10. Gemariah:** son of the Shaphan of 2 K. 22$_3$ff., and brother of the Ahikam of 26$_{24}$.—**16.** Omit "unto Baruch" with LXX.—**17.** Omit "at his mouth" with LXX.—**20. court** should perhaps be emended into "chamber" or "cabinet" (*cf.* 1 K. 11$_5$), in view of 22.—**23.** The tenses denote repeated action.—**26. king's son:** "royal prince".

27–32 (The second roll written). Since the king has destroyed the first roll, owing to its anticipation of a successful Babylonian invasion (25$_9$f.), Yahweh announces that the king shall leave no successor to his throne (as a matter of fact, his son Jehoiachin succeeded him for three months only; *cf.* 37$_1$), and shall lie unburied (22$_{19}$), whilst the evils foretold for the people shall come upon them. Jeremiah is to rewrite all that was written; he does this (through Baruch) on a second roll, with many additions.

XXXVII., XXXVIII. Fortunes of Jeremiah during the Siege (588–586).

XXXVII. 1–10. Zedekiah, made vassal-king in place of his nephew, Jehoiachin (in 597), sends Jehucal (38$_1$) and Zephaniah (21$_1$, where a similar inquiry earlier in the siege is recorded) to ask for Jeremiah's intercession with Yahweh (*cf.* Is. 37$_4$), at a time when the siege has been raised through the Egyptian expedition of Pharaoh (Hophra, 589–564; *cf.* 44$_{30}$). Jeremiah sends back to say that the Babylonians will return, and that the capture of the city is certain, even though the Babylonian army had but a few wounded survivors. (The Egyptians were presumably defeated by the Babylonians on this occasion, *cf.* Ezek. 30$_{21}$).

11–21. Jeremiah, during the interval in the siege, is leaving the city by a northern gate on private business (perhaps connected with the earlier incident of 32$_6$ff.), when he is arrested by the officer on duty under charge of desertion (plausible in view of 21$_9$; *cf.* 38$_{19}$). His denial is disregarded, and he is beaten and imprisoned by the princes (those friendly to him, *cf.* 26$_{16}$, 36$_{19}$, were now probably exiles). After a lengthy imprisonment, the king sends for him secretly (38$_5$ suggests the reason) to ask about the future; Jeremiah prophesies his captivity, declares his own innocence, reminds him of the falsity of the prophets of peace (*cf.* 28$_{2,11}$), and asks not to be sent back to his dungeon. Accordingly, the king places him in the guard-court (32$_2$), giving him daily bread (the bakers, *cf.* Hos. 7$_4$, were grouped in a common quarter, as Eastern trades often are).

XXXVIII. 1–13. Four of the princes (37$_{15}$) hear Jeremiah (confined in the guard-court, 37$_{21}$) foretelling the fall of the city and advising individual surrender (*cf.* 21$_9$f.). They denounce him to the king as a source of weakness to the defence, and Zedekiah gives him over to them. They lower him into the mud of a waterless cistern in the guard-court, belonging to a royal prince (36$_{26}$, note). This is reported to the king by a negro eunuch called Ebed-melech (39$_{15–18}$), who points out that he will die on the spot for want of food (he would lose the special court rations of 37$_{21}$). The king authorises Ebed-melech to take men ("thirty" should probably be "three") to draw Jeremiah up; this is carefully done, "torn and tattered rags" (Driver) being first lowered to protect the armpits from the ropes.—**5.** LXX reads "for the king was not able to do anything against them".—**7. eunuch:** in charge of the harem, 22.

14–28. Zedekiah asks Jeremiah about the future, swearing immunity to him, whatever his answer (16). Jeremiah urges him to save himself and the city by surrender to Nebuchadrezzar's princes (Nebuchadrezzar being absent, 39$_{3,5}$); promises that the Jews who have already deserted shall not illtreat him; declares a Divine vision of the end, contingent on the king's refusal to surrender. Jeremiah has seen the women of the harem being brought out for the Babylonian victors, and as they go he has heard them singing a dirge (22) for Zedekiah. The king bids him conceal the true nature of this interview from the princes, which he does; he is allowed to return to (the relatively favourable conditions of) the guard-court.—**14. third entry:** not otherwise known.—**19. mock:** *i.e.* work their will on.—**22.** The terms of the dirge sung by the mocking women may have been suggested by Jeremiah's recent experience in the cistern. With the reference to the "friends", *cf.* Ob. 7, which depends on this. Read with LXX, "they have made thy feet to sink".—**23.** Read with VSS, "this city shall be burned".—**26. Jonathan's house:** 37$_{15}$.

XXXIX. 1–14. The Fall of Jerusalem: Jeremiah Spared.—This paragraph well illustrates the growth of the OT text; *cf.* 2 K. 25$_{1–12}$ (also reproduced in 52$_{4–16}$, from which 1f. and 4–10, 13 have been here interpolated. The former verses (1f., bracketed in RV) break the Hebrew connexion, and refer back to the time prior to the capture of the city; the latter (4–13 are omitted in LXX) include events connected with Nebuzaradan, who arrived a month later than the capture (2 K. 25$_8$, Jer. 52$_{12}$). 14 properly connects with 3. For the interpolated verses, see on

2 Kings. The special instructions as to Jeremiah (11f.; not in 2 Kings or Jer. 52) would be due to his known policy of surrender. The closing words of 38, as continued in 39$_{3,14}$, describe what happened to Jeremiah on the fall of the city. The Babylonian officers held a court ("sat in the middle gate", 3), and directed Gedaliah (son of Jeremiah's friend Ahikam, 26$_{24}$) to take the prophet home, where he was set at liberty.—**3.** The personal names (note *mg.*) are probably a corrupt expansion of the two names correctly given in 13. [On the meaning of *Rab-mag*, see J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 187f., 430. He argues for the view that it means "chief of the Magi"; if this is correct there was apparently a priestly caste of Magi in Babylonia at this date. For the presence of Magi at Jerusalem *cf.* Ezek. 8 17*.—A. S. P.]

XXXIX. 15–18. Ebed-melech.—A prophecy of his deliverance, given during the siege (*cf.* 38$_{7-13}$).—His enemies (17) may be either the Babylonians, or the hostile princes.—**18.** *Cf.* 21$_{9}$, 45$_{5}$.

XL.–XLIV. The next five chapters continue the biography of Jeremiah, including connected events, after the capture of Jerusalem.

XL. 1–6. Release of Jeremiah.—This paragraph is possibly a later expansion of 39 11f.; the opening words do not suit what follows, and Nebuzaradan, the Babylonian general, would not speak as in 2f., whilst, according to 39$_{14}$, Jeremiah had been given into Gedaliah's charge a month before. Jeremiah, one of a band of captives to be deported to Babylon, was released at Ramah (31 15) by the Babylonian commander, with full liberty of choice as to his future residence; he chose to join Gedaliah (39$_{14}$) at Mizpah (4½ m. NW. of Jerusalem).—**5.** Omit "Now . . . gone back", with LXX; the Hebrew is strange, and the clause awkward.

XL. 7–12. The Governorship of Gedaliah.—The scattered Jewish forces which remained heard of Gedaliah's appointment as governor, and made submission to him at Mizpah. He guaranteed their security, and encouraged them to proceed with agriculture. Their example was followed by Jews who had migrated to the surrounding districts. The hope of this community to become the nucleus of future growth is reflected in Ezek. 33$_{24}$.—**8. Netophah:** E. of Bethlehem; **Maacah:** a district SE. of Hermon.—**9.** For "to serve" read, with LXX and 2 K. 25$_{24}$, "because of the servants of".—**10. to stand before:** "to serve", 15$_{19}$, 35$_{19}$; *i.e.* Gedaliah is responsible to Babylon, and implies that he will protect Jewish interests.—**ye have taken:** should be "ye will take".

XL. 13–16. Gedaliah's Peril.—Johanan warns Gedaliah of his danger from Ishmael, another of the newly-submitted leaders (41 1), alleged to be an agent of the king of Ammon (27$_{3}$). Gedaliah refuses to believe this, or to avail himself of Johanan's offer to kill Ishmael.

XLI. 1–3. Murder of Gedaliah by Ishmael.—Three months (39$_{2}$) after the capture of Jerusalem, Ishmael, who was of royal blood (and so perhaps jealous of the governor's position), together with ten followers, took advantage of Gedaliah's hospitality to murder him, and those with him (in his house, or at the banquet).—**3.** Omit, with LXX, "even with Gedaliah", and "even the men of war", *i.e.* the body-guard.

XLI. 4–18. Ishmael's Deeds and Flight.—Eighty pilgrims from N. Israel to Jerusalem, mourning its fall, and carrying offerings (17$_{26}$), were met by Ishmael and enticed into Mizpah. There he killed them all except ten who acknowledged that they had stores of grain, etc. Ishmael threw all the dead bodies into a great cistern, made by Asa, and started for Ammon, with the surviving Jews as his captives, including certain princesses (doubtless also Jeremiah and Baruch; *cf.* 42$_{2}$, 43$_{3}$). Johanan and other Jews pursued Ishmael and overtook him at Gibeon, but he escaped with eight men. His captives were taken by Johanan to the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, with a view to migration into Egypt (for other refugees there, *cf.* 24$_{8}$).—**5.** For the ceremonial cuttings, *cf.* 16$_{6}$. The offerings would presumably be made on the site of the destroyed Temple.—**6.** LXX refers this weeping more naturally to the pilgrims.—**8.** The stores "hidden in the field" would be at home; underground pits are still used for such a purpose; see Thomson, pp. 509f.—**9. by the side of Gedaliah:** read instead, with LXX, "was a great cistern". Asa would make this for water-storage, when he fortified the place (1 K. 15$_{22}$).—**12. Gibeon:** 1 m. N. of Mizpah; for the **waters**, see 2 S. 2$_{13}$.—**16.** Emend with Hitzig, "Ishmael . . . had taken captive" for "he had recovered from Ishmael", and omit "of war". The **eunuchs** would be in attendance on the princesses of 10.—**17. Geruth Chimham:** Geruth should perhaps be "folds of" (so Aquila); *cf.* Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 9. 5); for Chimham, see 2 S. 19$_{37-40}$.

XLII. 1–XLIII. 7. The Migration into Egypt.—Jeremiah is asked by the leaders (1 *mg.*, with LXX) and the people to seek Yahweh's guidance, which they solemnly (5 *mg.*) promise to follow (1–6). After ten days, the Divine revelation comes to the prophet and is communicated to the people, to the effect that they are to remain in Judah, where Yahweh promises to protect them from the Babylonians; their hope of prosperity in Egypt will be found delusive; Yahweh will treat them in Egypt as He has treated Jerusalem. They are doing harm to themselves by their (intended) disobedience after the pledge given (7–22). The leaders (as Jeremiah had anticipated, from 42 17ff.) refuse to obey the oracle, alleging that it is not genuine, but inspired by Baruch. They migrate to Egypt, and reach Tahpanhes (Daphne, a frontier fortress, 2 16).—**XLII. 12.** Read "to dwell in" for "to return to", with Syr. Vulg.—**20. dealt deceitfully:** should be, with LXX, "done evil".—**souls:** simply "selves".—**XLIII. 2. saying:** read instead, with Giesebrecht, "and defiant".—**5.** *Cf.* 40 11f.—**6.** *Cf.* 41 10.

XLIII. 8–13. The Future Conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar.—According to an imperfect inscription (given in Rogers's *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT*, p. 367), he actually invaded Egypt in 567 B.C. Jeremiah symbolically proclaims this by placing stones on the spot where the Babylonian king shall erect his throne and glittering canopy (10 *mg.*). He will make the land his, as easily as a shepherd puts on his garment (12), and will destroy heathen temples, and the obelisks of Heliopolis (13 *mg.*; 6 m. NE. of Cairo). For the force of such "symbolism" see on 13 rff.—**9. in mortar in the brickwork:** a very doubtful phrase; LXX reads "in the forecourt", and other Greek VSS with Vulg. "in secret"; the latter is preferable, as the action would perhaps have to be done by night: *cf.* Ezek. 12$_{7}$.—**10.** Read with LXX, Syr. "he will set".—**12.** Read with VSS, "he will kindle".—**13.** "Cleopatra's Needle" is one of these obelisks.

XLIV. Denunciation of the Jewish Worship of Ishtar in Egypt.—Jeremiah points to the desolation of Judah as the experienced consequence of idolatry, notwithstanding Yahweh's warnings (1–6). Why, then, do they repeat the offence, forgetting the past? Yahweh will destroy the remnant in Egypt, leaving fugitives

only (7–14). The assembled men and women refuse to abandon the worship of Ishtar ("the queen of heaven", 718*), which they have vowed (17, "out of our mouth", Jg. 1136); prosperity of old accompanied that worship, whereas, since its abandonment (*i.e.*, in 621, at the Deuteronomic Reformation) there has been nothing but disaster (15–19). Jeremiah urges his point, *i.e.* that the true connexion is between Jewish idolatry and Jewish disaster (20–23), and ironically tells them to fulfil their vows of idolatrous worship. Yahweh solemnly declares (26) that all Jewish reference to Him in Egypt shall cease (a grim hint that no Jews will be left). He is wakeful (112, 3128) to bring this penalty; as its token, He asserts that the fate of the Egyptian king shall be like that of the Jewish. Pharaoh Hophra (589–564) was defeated in 570 by a rebellion under Amasis (his successor), and was strangled in 564; see Herod. ii. 169. —**1. Migdol:** E. of Tahpanhes, 437; **Noph:** Memphis, near Cairo, 216; **Pathros:** S. or Upper Egypt.—**2.** The first **ye** is emphatic.—**3. burn incense:** rather "offer sacrifice", 116; so 8,17, etc.—**9.** Read "princes" for the first "wives" with LXX; *cf.* 17, 21.—**15. Egypt** must denote Lower, **Pathros** Upper, Egypt; but such a gathering is improbable.—**19.** Some MSS of LXX, with Syr., put this verse into the mouth of the women, as the closing words require, by prefixing "And (all) the women answered and said". The **cakes** were perhaps star-shaped; *cf.* RVm. For the point of the women's reference to their husbands, see the later law of vows in Nu. 303–16.—**25. Ye and your wives:** read, with LXX, "ye women".

XLV. 1–5. Baruch.—This prophecy concerning him is dated 604, when the first roll ("these words") was written (361ff.). The implied reference to personal danger might be explained by 3626, if the date were a year later, or by the troubles of 586, if we disregard *ib.* Probably this formed the (fitting) close of Baruch's biography of the prophet. Baruch has complained that to his pain (perhaps on account of the fortunes of his people) sorrow (concerning his personal future) is added. Yahweh asks whether *he* can expect much when Yahweh has to be destroying His own work; yet Baruch's life shall be spared (219).—**4.** The opening and closing clauses are best omitted (the latter with LXX) as glosses.—**5. thou** is emphatic.

XLVI.–LI. The Foreign Prophecies.—These form the third principal division of the Book of Jeremiah. As already seen (15,10, 2515), Jeremiah's prophetic horizon naturally included the surrounding nations; how far the prophecies that follow are his can be decided only by detailed criticism in each case. They refer, though in somewhat different order, to the several nations enumerated in 2519–26 (which may be regarded as an introduction to them), except that an oracle on Damascus here replaces the reference to Tyre, Sidon, and the Mediterranean. (The LXX, which places this group of prophecies after 2513, follows a third order.) It is generally admitted that the long prophecy on Babylon (50f.) is not by Jeremiah (see prefatory note). As to 46–49, there is considerable difference of opinion, ranging from Duhm's rejection of the whole, through Giesebrecht's acceptance of 47 (except towards end), with the nucleus of 462–12, 497–11, up to Cornill's acceptance of most of 46–49 (so also Peake). It is in any case natural to suppose that there are genuine prophecies by Jeremiah which underlie these chapters, though they have been worked over, or incorporated with other non-Jeremianic prophecies (*e.g.* 48) by later writers. For details, the larger commentaries must be consulted.

XLVI. Egypt.—(*a*) **2–12,** the defeat of Pharaoh Necho (610–594) in 605 at Carchemish (NW. Mesopotamia, near junction of Sagur with Euphrates) by Nebuchadrezzar (who became formally king of Babylon in 604). The prophet summons Egypt to battle array (3f.), and dramatically describes its defeat (5f.). He compares Egypt's efforts with an inundation of the Nile (7; *cf.* Is. 87, of the Euphrates), and introduces Pharaoh (8) as boasting of his strength, and calling his warriors to the fray (9; the contingents here named are those of the Ethiopians, the Libyans, and some unknown peoples of NE. Africa, respectively; *cf.* Ezek. 305). The prophet declares (10) that the Babylonian sword is executing the vengeance of Yahweh, and (11) ironically bids Egypt (famed for its skill in medicine) seek a plaster for its wounds (822, 3013).—**4. get up, ye horsemen:** rather "mount the chargers".—**5.** Begin, with LXX, "Wherefore are they dismayed, etc."; for the characteristic phrase, **terror is on every side,** see 625, 2010, 4929.—**10.** *Cf.* Is. 346, and note the defeat of Israel by this Pharaoh at Megiddo, three years before the date of this prophecy.—**12.** *Cf.* Lev. 2637.

(*b*) **13–26,** the coming invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadrezzar, either as sequel to its defeat at Carchemish, or with reference to 438–13. The Egyptians are summoned to withstand the invaders, and their utter overthrow is described (14–17; see critical notes). Nebuchadrezzar comes in towering strength (18), and Egypt must prepare for exile (19, *mg.*[2]; *cf.* Ezek. 123), since the capital, Noph (Memphis) is to be destroyed. She is like a graceful heifer, stung by a gad-fly (20, both *mgg.*), but her mercenary soldiers (*e.g.*, the Ionians and Carians) are like fatted calves, useless to defend her (21). The foe is irresistible (22–24). Yahweh is punishing Amon the god of No (Thebes, Nah. 38) and Pharaoh, but promises ultimate restoration of the Egyptians to their land (25f.). A promise of comfort for Israel (found elsewhere as *mg.*) has been attached to this prophecy (27f.).—**14.** Omit, with LXX, "in Egypt and publish", also "and in Tahpanhes"; *cf.* 216, 441. —**15.** Read with LXX (*cf. mgg.*), "Why is Apis fled? Thy strong one (*i.e.* Apis, the sacred bull of Egypt— LXX, "thy choice calf") stood not, because Yahweh did thrust him down."—**16.** Read, after LXX, "Thy mixed people (*i.e.* trading foreigners) have stumbled and fallen, and they said one to another, etc."—**17.** The Hebrew consonants should be read, "Call ye the name of Pharaoh, king of Egypt (so far LXX) *shā'ōn he'ebīr hammō'ēd.* This mocking title (see on Is. 307) might be freely rendered, "Irretrievable Ruin" (lit. "a Crash, he has let pass the fixed time"). The middle word, *he'ebīr,* perhaps contains a play on the Egyptian name of Hophra (Uah-ab-ra), 589–564, *cf.* 4430; this would fix the period of the prophecy (so Cornill).—**22.** As *mg.*, except that "the serpent as it goeth" should probably be "a hissing serpent", with LXX; Egypt withdraws as a serpent into its forest (so Is. 1018, of Assyria), whilst the invaders are like men advancing to hew the trackless forest down (23 *mg.*).—**25.** Omit, with LXX, "Pharaoh and Egypt with her gods and her kings even".—**26.** Ezek. 2913f. promises restoration to Egypt after forty years (from 587).

XLVII. Philistia.—Instead of 1, LXX has simply "On the Philistines", which is probably original. The "waters rising from the north" (2) would suggest Babylon, not Egypt, as the foe; the editorial reference to Egypt in 1 might be suggested (wrongly) by 5. Pharaoh is supposed to have smitten Gaza (Cadytis, Herod. ii. 159) in 608. The devastating waters (Is. 87f.) of an overflowing wady flood the land (2); the terror of the enemy's approach breaks even the closest bonds

of affection (3). The Philistines, being destroyed, will not be able to help the Phœnicians (4). The cities of Philistia mourn (5), and the Philistines appeal to Yahweh's sword for mercy (6); the prophet answers them (7) with the question "How can it be quiet?" (so read, with VSS, and note *mg.*).—**4. Tyre and Sidon:** chief cities of Phœnicia; the text is dubious, "every helper that remaineth" being really "every helping survivor", an improbable phrase.—**Caphtor:** the original home of the Philistines, *i.e.* Crete (pp. 56f., Am. 97*).—**5. Baldness . . . cut thyself:** see on 16 5f. For "their valley", read "of the Anakim" (Jos. 11 22), with LXX, taking the phrase as a vocative, "O remnant of the Anakim!"

XLVIII. Moab (the territory E. of the Dead Sea, from Wady Kerak in the S. to the neighbourhood of Heshbon in the N.). Many of the numerous places named in this prophecy will be found on G. A. Smith's map, though some of his identifications are disputable; others such as Misgah (1) are quite unknown. Much of this chapter is almost certainly later than Jeremiah, as it incorporates parts of Is. 15f. (note *mgg.*), an elegy apparently of the fifth century.

1–10. The spoiling of the cities of Moab, and the end of her glory ("praise," 2), are declared. The lamentation of the Moabites is described (5); they are told to flee like the wild ass (hard to capture; so with LXX, instead of "heath", 6). Moab's confidence in her strongholds (so LXX for "treasures"; omit "in thy works and") is misplaced; Chemosh (the national god, identified with his people; *cf.* Is. 46 1f.) is exiled. The destruction shall be general, both in the valley (where the Jordan widens out above the Dead Sea) and on the table-land (Dt. 3 10, *mg.*); Moab would need wings to escape it (9). The prophet incites to the slaughter with a curse.—**2. Heshbon . . . Madmen:** the Hebrew plays on these names.—**4. her little ones:** read with LXX and Is. 15 5, etc.; "to Zoar"—SE. corner of the Dead Sea—(they make a cry to be heard).—**5.** Omit "continual", as in the parallel of *mg.*, and "the distress of" with LXX.—**9.** Render with Driver, "for she would fain fly away".

11–19. Moab, hitherto undisturbed, is compared with wine left standing on its sediment (Is. 25 6), and retaining its flavour and scent (*i.e.* being self-centred and undisciplined; *cf.* the "pride" of 29). But now she is roughly handled, and the jars (12 *mg.*[2]) broken. She "shall be put to shame through" (the helplessness of) Chemosh (so render in 13), as Israel was through her false trust in the worship at Bethel (Am. 5 5). In spite of her warriors, she is soon to be ravaged, and a dirge (17–19; in the characteristic metre of lamentation) is sung over her. Dibon is bidden to "come down" from her lofty site, N. of the Arnon, between which and herself lies Aroer, in the way of fugitives (to the fords of the Arnon).—**17. staff:** for the figure, see Is. 14 5.

20–28. Enumeration of the cities which are to suffer (20–24). The strength of Moab is destroyed, and Moab is become drunken (with the cup of Yahweh, 25 15), an object of present derision, as Israel formerly was to Moab, when Israel was treated as a detected thief (2 26). Let the Moabites seek refuge like the dove in the inaccessible crannies of some ravine.—**20ff.** Several of these sites are unknown; **Bozrah** is not the Edomite city of 49 13.—**25. horn:** a figure of strength, drawn from the bull; *cf.* Ps. 75 10.—**26. wallow:** rather "splash into", but LXX has "Moab has clapped his hands", *i.e.* in derision of others.

29–39. Moab's pride is without foundation, doomed to a fall which the prophet laments; comparing the past glory with the far-reaching tendrils of a choice vine (32). There is no longer the joy of the ingathering; the shout of battle replaces that of the vintage (33). The beginning of 34 is corrupt and yields no sense, but the general meaning is that there shall be widespread ruin. The worship of the land is brought to an end (35). Hence the prophet's sorrow for Moab, a land filled with mourning (37; *cf.* 47 5).—**30.** Render (after "Lord") with Driver, "and his boastings are untruth; they do untruth".—**32.** Omit "more than", and "the sea of", both with LXX.—**spoiler:** read "battle-shout", as in the source, Is. 16 9.—**33. none shall tread with shouting:** read with Is. 16 10, "no treader shall tread".—**35. in the high place:** involves a slight emendation, as is often the case with RV.—**36. pipes:** a flute-like instrument, specially used at funerals; *cf.* Mt. 9 23.—**37. the loins:** prefix "all", with LXX.

40–47. The foe swoops down vulture-like (41 3) on Moab, destroyed because of pride against Yahweh. One disaster succeeds another in this time of punishment ("visitation," 11 23, 23 12), and there is no asylum to be found in Heshbon, for a destructive flame proceeds "from the house of Sihon" (so read; *cf.* Nu. 21 26,28) to destroy the temples of Moab's head. Moab goes into exile, but Yahweh will ultimately change her fortunes. The closing sentence (47) is an editorial note.—**40f.:** partly taken from 49 22.—**45. Heshbon:** the capital of Sihon, who captured it from Moab.—**corner:** *i.e.* of the head, 9 26.

XLIX. 1–6. Ammon.—The Ammonite territory lay eastward of part of that assigned to Gad, between Heshbon and the river Jabbok; the Ammonites appear to have occupied the territory of Gad after the deportation of its inhabitants in 734 (2 K. 15 29). Why has Milcom seized the land of Gad as his inheritance (1 *mg.*[2])? As a penalty, there shall be war against Rabbah (the chief city of Ammon, at the upper sources of the Jabbok), and it shall become a desolate mound, its dependent cities ("daughters", Nu. 21 25) being burnt. Let there be mourning for the coming exile of the Ammonites (3). Rabbah's pride in her site and in her wealth is rebuked (4). The Ammonites shall be driven forth by their (unnamed) foe, but afterwards restored (5f.; but LXX omits 6).—**1. Malcam:** read "Milcom", here and in 3, with VSS; see 1 K. 11 5,33, for this Ammonite god, whose relation to Ammon is the same as that of Chemosh to Moab, or that of Yahweh to (early) Israel.—**2.** The last clause is perhaps a later addition (*cf.* Zeph. 2 9) since Israel, as well as Ammon, was helpless before the foe.—**3. Heshbon:** must be corrupt, as this is a Moabite city; Ai is unknown. The last clause of the verse is taken from Am. 1 15. The first clause should be emended with Duhm into "Howl, O palace, for the city is spoiled."—**fences:** "folds", *e.g.* for sheep; the women are supposed to be fugitives from the cities, but the word "folds" is probably corrupt.—**4.** Read "Wherefore gloriest thou in thy valley?" (omitting "thy flowing valley", with Syr.), *i.e.* in the lofty valley-plain facing NE, and drained by the Jabbok, in which Rabbah lies.—**backsliding:** *cf.* 31 22; we should perhaps emend to "arrogant", with Duhm, as the term hardly suits non-Israelites.

XLIX. 7–22. Edom.—For the land, and the relations of this people to Israel, see on Obadiah, from 1–5 of which the present prophecy has taken verbally 9, 14–16. This does not, in itself, disprove the Jeremianic authorship of other parts of this prophecy, *e.g.* 7f., 10f., 22. The Edomites are paralysed by disaster. Let the Dedanites (their southern neighbours, Ezek. 25 13) flee to some inaccessible refuge ("dwell deep", 8). The

foe will destroy Edom utterly (9 *mg.*; in different sense from that of its source, Ob. 5). Yahweh Himself ("I" is emphatic in 10) searches out Edom, and cannot be escaped, but He will care for the orphans and widows (of the slaughtered Edomites): Israel undeservedly has drunk the cup (of Yahweh's wrath, 25 15ff.), and now it is Edom's turn; Bozrah and other Edomite cities shall be laid waste (13). The nations are combining against Edom, and she shall be humiliated; her pride in being inaccessible to the invader shall be shaken (14–16, see on Ob. 1–4; "as for thy terribleness," not found there, should be "O, thy shuddering!"). Desolated Edom shall become an object of wonder (19 8), like the cities of the plain (Gen. 19 24, Dt. 29 23). The foe comes up like a lion from the Jordan jungle (12 5); through him, Yahweh will drive them forth (*mg.*[3]) as He chooses, for who can withstand Yahweh? The helpless Edomites shall be dragged off (*cf.* 15 3, *mg.*); their calamity is known far and wide (21). Vulture-like will the foe swoop down (48 40) and Edom be in dire extremity (22).—**7. Teman:** the northern district of Edom.—**vanished:** better, "spoilt".—**13. Bozrah:** capital of Teman, Is. 34 6, perhaps Busaireh, 20 m. SE. of Dead Sea.—**19. strong:** should be "permanent", as *mg.*; **19–21** recur in 50 44–46, applied to Babylon.—**appoint me a time:** *i.e.* for trial or contest, Job 9 19.—**shepherd:** fig. for "ruler", 25 34ff.—**20.** Read 2nd and 3rd *mg.*

XLIX. 23–27. Damascus.—The prophecy refers to the Aramæans; Hamath, 110 miles N. of Damascus, and Arpad, 95 m. N. of Hamath, never belonged to the Damascene kingdom. They were absorbed into the Assyrian empire *c.* 720 B.C.; *cf.* Is. 10 9. There is no mention of these cities in the list of foreign prophecies, 25 18ff. The prophecy announces the invasion of certain Aramæan cities in conventional terms drawn from other prophecies.—**23.** *Cf.* Is. 57 20; read, after "tidings", partly with LXX, "they surge as the sea; they are anxious and cannot be quiet."—**24.** *Cf.* 6 24.—**25.** Spoken by the inhabitants; omit the negative; *cf.* Is. 32 13.—**26** as 50 30; "therefore" has no point here.—**27.** *Cf.* Am. 1 4.

XLIX. 28–33. The Arabian Tribes.—Kedar (2 10), a branch of the Ishmaelites (Gen. 25 13), is here used generically for Arab tribes E. of Palestine. Hazor, perhaps a collective term meaning "settlements", seems to denote Arabs in village communities, as distinct from the nomadic tribes. Yahweh summons the foe (here identified with the Babylonians, though no campaign of Nebuchadrezzar against Arabs is known), and promises that they shall capture the nomads' tents and camels. The village-dwellers are told to seek a refuge ("dwell deep", as in 8), and the foe is called (31) to attack this defenceless people, confident in their isolation, who shall be spoiled and scattered, and their villages laid waste (33; *cf.* 9 11).—**29. curtains:** "tent-hangings", 4 20; for the cry, *cf.* 6 25.—**31. alone:** Dt. 33 28, Ps. 4 8 (*mg.*); with whole verse *cf.* Ezek. 38 11, its source.—**32. the corners** (of their hair) **polled:** "corner-clipt", see 9 26, 25 23.

XLIX. 34–39. Elam.—Roughly, this was the modern Khuzistan, E. of the Tigris, and N. or NE. of the Persian Gulf; the date given is *c.* 596, and the occasion may have been the conquest of Elam by Teispes, a Persian ancestor of Cyrus. News of this could have reached Jeremiah through Jewish exiles in Babylonia. Yahweh is destroying the military strength of Elam. He will scatter the Elamites throughout the world, and destroy them (9 16), setting up His throne (for judgment): but they shall ultimately be restored.—**35. the bow of Elam:** Is. 22 6* (Elamite archers formed part of the Assyrian force besieging Jerusalem).—**36** (*cf.* 32) may be an interpolation based on Ezek. 5 12; *cf.* 37 9; so Cornill.

L.–LI. 58. Babylon.—This long and monotonous prophecy, which is without order or logical development of ideas, is largely a compilation from the prophetic writings of Jeremiah and others (*cf.*, *e.g.*, 50 41ff., 51 15). It presupposes the destruction of Jerusalem, apparently as a remote rather than a recent event. Its idea of Babylon is that of a cruel tyrant to be punished by Yahweh, not that of a Divinely commissioned agent of Yahweh's wrath against Israel, as Jeremiah teaches. We are not at liberty to make it contemporaneous with such exilic writings as Is. 13 and 40–55, because of its obvious dependence on these amongst other prophecies (see the notes); but the survival of Babylon (under the Persian empire) in the post-exilic period would provide later occasion for such a compilation. Moreover, the narrative of 51 59–64, which tells of a (private) scroll of prophecy sent by Jeremiah to Babylon, foretelling its end, would easily give rise to such a compilation by some later writer. In the present (editorial) arrangement of the text, this narrative is made to date the prophecy of 50–51 58 in 593 B.C., which is impossible (*cf.* Jer. 27–29 for the actual conditions about that date).

L. 2–4. Declaration of the overthrow of Babylon by a nation from the north, *i.e.* Media, which lay north of Babylon (51 28, Is. 13 17).—**2. set up a standard:** to attract attention, but derived from Is. 13 2, where the phrase is used in a different sense.—**Bel:** *i.e.* Baal, or "Lord" of Nippur, the earth-god; *cf.* Is. 46 1; his place and title were usurped by Bel-Marduk or Merodach.

4–7. United Israel will return to Palestine in penitence; the Israelites have gone astray and become defenceless through their sin.—**5.** Read as Syr., "let us join ourselves".—**7.** Render "We are not guilty", contrasting 2 3.—**the habitation of justice:** here a title of Yahweh, derived from 31 23, where it is used more naturally of Jerusalem. Omit with LXX, "even the Lord".

8–13. Let Israel be the first to go (the "he-goats" are the natural leaders of the flock). Yahweh brings a resistless foe from the north; Babylon, instead of enjoying her present luxury, shall be desolated.—**9.** As *mg.*[2]; the warrior comes back laden with spoil.—**10.** The spoilers are satisfied, *i.e.* they get all they want.—**11. because:** better "though", in all cases.—**your mother:** Babylon.—**12.** Omit "she shall be", and read the following phrases as exclamatory.—**13.** *Cf.* 19 8.

14–16. The foe is urged to the attack; Babylon surrenders; agriculture is brought to an end; the foreign residents (Is. 13 14) flee.

17–20. The second of Israel's two assailants (*i.e.* Assyria in 722, Babylon in 586) will now pay the penalty; Israel will be restored to Palestine (*cf.* Mi. 7 14), and pardoned (31 34).—**19. soul:** "appetite".

21–28. The foe is summoned to attack Babylon, and the destroyer of others (23; *cf.* 51 20ff.) is now to be "devoted" (Dt. 13 15f.). News of this Divine vengeance for the destruction of the Jewish Temple is brought to Jerusalem (28).—**21.** Note the play on names as in *mg.*; *mât marrâtim*, "the sea-country", is a name of S. Babylonia; the Pukudu are a Babylonian people (Ezek. 23 23).—**27. bullocks:** figure for warriors (Is. 34 7).

29–32. The foe is again summoned to recompense Babylon's pride (with 30 *cf.* 49 26, with 31f. *cf.* 21 13f.).

33–40. Yahweh takes up the cause of His oppressed people (Babylon continuing the Assyrian tyranny over the northern exiles, 33). The sword destroys Babylon, leaving it desolate.—**36. boasters:** the diviners and oracle-mongers (Is. 4425).—**37. mingled people:** foreign residents (2520).—**38. drought:** should be "sword" (figuratively used) as in LXX of Lucian, Syr.—**they are mad upon idols:** point with VSS, "they boast of idols"; *cf.* Ps. 977.—**40.** *Cf.* 4918.

41–43 has been transferred bodily from Jerusalem (as in *mg.*) to Babylon; similarly, **44–46**, from Edom (*mg.*) to Babylon.

LI. 1–10. Yahweh is stirring up "the spirit of a destroyer" (so render for "a destroying wind"; *cf.* 11 and 2 Ch. 3622) against Babylon (cypher as *mg.*; *cf.* 2526), which shall be "fanned", *i.e.* "winnowed", by her assailants. Yahweh's people are not abandoned; Babylon is held guilty. Let the Jews flee from Babylon (*cf.* 45) to escape the vengeance on her guilt. Babylon has been a cup from which other nations drank frenzy (2515f.); now the cup is broken (so Hebrew for "destroyed", 8), and her hurt is incurable. The Jews recognise this, and urge other foreigners to depart (9); the justice ("righteousness", 10) of the Jewish cause is to be manifested by the overthrow of Babylon.—**2. strangers:** point as *mg.*[2] with Syr., Vulg., Targ.—**3.** Omit the first and second "not", with LXX, making the whole verse refer to the assailants of Babylon (so Cornill); as it stands, the first half refers to the Babylonians, the second to their enemies.—**5.** Render "but their land", *i.e.* that of the Babylonians.

11–14. Let the assailants polish their arrows and put on their shields, for the king (sing. with LXX, *i.e.* Cyrus) of the Medes (*cf.* Is. 1317) is executing Divine vengeance on Babylon; let the blockade be begun, because the measure of Babylon's destiny (13, lit. "cutting off", rather than "gain"; *cf.* Is. 38 12) is accomplished, and a swarm of invaders shall fill her.—**13. many waters:** with reference to the canals and water-defences of Babylon.—**14. cankerworm:** the locust in its chrysalis stage; *cf.* 27.

15–19. Yahweh's power and the powerlessness of the idols are contrasted. The verses are repeated from 1012ff. (*mg.*).

20–27. Babylon has been Yahweh's war-club to destroy other nations; now it shall be repaid in the sight of Israel for its own evil-doing, and the destroyer shall be destroyed.—**20.** Render "do I break", and so throughout; *cf.* 5023. Others, with the rendering of the RV, suppose that Cyrus is addressed in 20-23. —**25. mountain:** purely figurative.—**26.** The stone is made useless for building by being burnt; *cf.* Is. 3312.

27–33. The nations, especially those of (the present) Armenia ("Ararat", etc.), and the Medes, are called out against Babylon, which is defenceless; its capture is described (30–32). Babylon's time of suffering is come.—**27. The rough cankerworm:** the "bristling" locust-chrysalis, its most destructive stage.—**28. kings:** sing. with LXX.—**32.** For the corrupt **pools** of Hebrew text (see *mg.*,) read "their palisades" (*i.e. muzzabēhem; cf.* Is. 293), which LXX implies (though it pointed the consonants *mazzabēhem*, "their garrisons").—**33.** The earth of the threshing-floor is trodden hard in preparation for the threshing.

34–44. Israel declares the wrongs done to her by Nebuchadrezzar, and invokes a curse on Babylon. Yahweh promises vengeance through the desolation of Babylon. The Babylonians, amid the very feasting on their prey, are "stupefied" (39; so LXX, for "may rejoice") and brought to slaughter; the city that is the glory of the earth is captured. A sea of invaders (*cf.* Is. 87f.) floods her, and Babylon is compelled to disgorge her prey (*i.e.* the captured nations).—**34. crushed:** "discomfited"; **made:** "set" (as); **cast:** "driven" (re-pointed). For the figure of the **dragon** or sea-monster, *cf.* Ezek. 293, Is. 271.—**36. her sea:** possibly the lake for defensive purposes made by Nebuchadrezzar.—**38.** Omit "shall" in both cases.—**44. Bel:** see on 502.

44–58. Israel is told to escape, and not to be afraid amid wars and rumours of wars; the judgment of Babylon is greeted with universal joy. Israel is bidden remember Jerusalem (50); has not Jerusalem been defiled? (51). Hence the irresistible judgment which sweeps over Babylon, even to the destruction of her walls and gates. LXX omits 44*b*–49*a*.—**49.** The doubtful text should be rendered with Driver, "Yea, Babylon must fall, O ye slain of Israel; yea, for Babylon have fallen the slain of all the earth."—**55. the great voice:** referring to the din of a great city's life, here overcome by the greater tumult of invasion.—**57.** *Cf.* 39.—**58. walls:** sing. with LXX and Vulg., and with its Heb. adjective "broad".—**overthrown:** should be as *mg.* (the foundations are bared).—**58*b*.** Note reference of *mg.*; the two passages are drawn from some common source; here the application is to the vanity of human achievements, as represented by the fortifications of Babylon.

LI. 59–64. The Mission of Seraiah.—This royal official (the brother of Baruch, 3212) was journeying to Babylon with the king in 593, being concerned with the halting-places, etc. of the journey (59 *mg.*). Jeremiah gave him a scroll containing a prophecy against Babylon. He is to read this at Babylon, to remind Yahweh of His word, and to sink the scroll in the Euphrates, as a symbolic anticipation of the sinking of Babylon (see on 131ff., for the force of such symbolism). The closing sentence of 64 is editorial, and is omitted by LXX, as also are the words, "and they shall be weary", which are a scribal repetition from 58, by error.—**59. with Zedekiah:** nothing is known of this visit, though see on 2712ff. for its possible object.—**60.** Omit "even all these words," etc., which has been added to identify the scroll with the prophecy of 50–5158.—**62. thou:** emphatic.

LII. Historical Appendix.—This is taken from 2 K. 2418ff., and gives an account of the capture of Jerusalem, etc., in 586, *i.e.* of the fulfilment of Jeremiah's repeated declarations. Except for 28–30, this chapter has been taken, virtually verbatim, from its source, which should be consulted for the commentary (see *mgg.*). The differences of text are of minor importance, *e.g.* the addition here of 10*b*, and the last clause of 11, the reading "tenth", for "seventh" (2 K.257) in 12, "seven", for "five" in 25 (2 K. 2519), "five" for "seven" in 31 (2 K. 2525), the expansion here of the details of 18ff. In 15, the clause, "of the poorest sort of the people" (*cf.* 16) should be omitted with 2 K. 2511. The added verses (28–30), which are not found in LXX, give the number of the Jews deported under Nebuchadrezzar. They serve to replace a passage in 2 K. summarising the events of Jer. 40–43. —**28. seventh:** usually emended to "seventeenth", as the number of exiles differs from that of 2 K. 2416, the deportation under Jehoiachin in 597.—**30.** This third deportation is probably to be connected with the campaign of Nebuchadrezzar mentioned in Josephus, *Ant.* x. 9. 7.

LAMENTATIONS

By Professor ARCHIBALD DUFF

To read this book without consideration of its date is to receive the strong impression that it is too trivial to be a portion of the revered and sacred writings either of Christians or of Jews. Here and there, indeed, fine utterances of faith and devotion occur, but in all the five Laments the verses or stanzas are carefully arranged so as to number exactly twenty-two, that being the number of the letters in the Heb. alphabet, and in chs. 1–4 the initial words of the stanzas are chosen so as to begin with those twenty-two letters successively. The first stanza has Aleph—the Heb. "A"—for initial, the second has Beth, and so on. One cannot help asking whether the lamenting poet was really in earnest in his lamentations: how could any deep passion confine itself to such formalities? And there are more of these than we have indicated.

We are driven to question whether there is any good reason for having the book in our Bible, or in any collection of sacred writings. So we turn to read it, and we find that all the Laments concern a siege and sack of Jerusalem. What siege was that? There were sieges by Nebuchadrezzar, in 599–588 B.C.; also one by Antiochus Epiphanes in 170–168; and one by Pompey, the Roman general, in 63. The choice lies between the first and third of these, since there was no Jewish king in 170 B.C. Which of those two is the date for our book? We can see at once that if the later time is right, then the book must be a series of, so to speak, autobiographic pictures of the society into which Jesus was born; and the Lamentations will show us the audiences to which He preached, and among whom He died. Surely this light on Him is very desirable. The present writer confesses an anticipatory leaning towards the late date, so eagerly does he seek for more and more exact visions of the actual historical Jesus.

It is impossible to give the arguments in the whole case within the limits of space allowable in this commentary; but a full account will be found in the *Interpreter* for April 1916. A mere outline is the following: (*a*) The writer cannot have been Jeremiah, and surely lived long after Nebuchadrezzar's siege (see against this Peake, Cent.B). (*b*) The exiled Hebrews in Babylon and the people left in Judah were very unlike the society pictured by our book. (*c*) The scholastic and rather petty construction of serious utterances in alphabetic acrostics is not like the literature of the sixth century B.C., but it is very much the way of the scribal age just before Jesus. (*d*) The deeds of the besiegers, bewailed in our book, were exactly those of the Roman invaders, with some added colouring taken from the cruelties of Antiochus (167); but Nebuchadrezzar and his armies behaved quite differently and generously. (*e*) The picture of the fallen king suits Aristobulus far better than Jehoiachin or Zedekiah. (*f*) The language of our book has many late touches: (i.) The Prince was not commonly called "Mashiach" until late; (ii.) Ritual terms like "Mo'edh" came into use with P (450 B.C.); (iii.) "Zion" was not a sanctuary name until after the Exile; (iv.) "Medinah" (1 1) is decidedly a late governmental term (Ezr. 2 1,2*a**). In view of this and much more which will emerge in our commentary we may perhaps conclude that Lamentations is a product of the sorrows and the faith of 200 or 100 B.C. onwards. With deep interest, therefore, we turn to the Laments. We shall look at their curious metrical forms as we read each chant. In general literary quality 3 may be called the most skilful, but 2 and 4 have a finer spirituality; 1 looks like an early effort, of less ability; 5 is probably an unfinished work, and is not alphabetical.

[A date in the first century B.C. seems incredibly late; nor is it favoured by the actual phenomena. In the Cent.B. the view that the writer "surely lived long after Nebuchadnezzar's siege" was not taken. The book was there regarded as the work of at least three writers. It was allowed that Lam. 3 was probably post-exilic, that Lam. 5 was little earlier than the close of the Exile, and that Lam. 1 might belong to much the same period. But Lam. 2 and 4 were regarded as the work of an eye-witness, who had observed the horrors of the siege and capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., not composed, indeed, immediately after the event, since they exhibit the influence of Ezekiel, but not necessarily later than 580 B.C. There seems to be no valid reason for abandoning this conclusion.—A. S. P.]

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Peake** (Cent.B), Streane (CB[2]), Adeney (Ex.B); (*c*) **Löhr** (HK), good stanzaic trans., Budde (KHC), metrics valuable, Thenius (KEH), Ewald, now old-fashioned, Oettli. *Other Literature:* G. B. Gray, *The Forms of Heb. Poetry*, pp. 87–120); Löhr (ZATW). *Introductions:* Bennett, Cornill, Driver, Wellhausen's Bleek, Gray. All good, save on date. Articles in HDB (J. A. Selbie), EBi (Cheyne), EB[11] (Ball), *Jewish Encyclopedia* (Löhr). All good.

I. The First Lament.—This is an alphabetical acrostic poem in twenty-two stanzas of three lines each, with five Heb. beats in each line. It has two equal parts: **1–11** (Aleph to Kaph), the singer's account of Zion's sorrows, and **12–22** (Lamedh to Tau), a soliloquy thereon by the city herself. In detail: **1–6** tells of a Zion once populous, now widowed; her nights full of weeping, unconsoled by former lovers who are now all faithless. The people have migrated, to escape taxings (note that they are not exiled, as had been the case in 586 B.C.), but even abroad they are harried; no pilgrims are thronging the roads, as they had been wont to do in the days of the Ptolemies' rule (300–200 B.C.), but they did not do so in Jeremiah's time; priests, virgins, children wander about moaning; princes and all grandeur have fled away. And, alas! it is Yahweh Himself who has wrought all this scourging of Zion: it is for her sin.

1. How (*cf.* 2₁, 4₁, and Is. 1₂₁, 14₄): the book takes its Heb. name (*Eykah*) from this its first word.—*Medinah* (pl. *medinoth*), (see Introd.) is used only in late writings, except in 1 K. 20, where it is difficult to avoid thinking that there the word is misspelt for "Midianite."—**4.** *Mo'edh*, "Trysting-place" or solemn assembly (see Introd.).—**6** seems like an echo of Ps. 42, which is probably the wail of Onias II, High Priest in 175 B.C.

7–11. A story of Zion's worst sorrow, which is her own sense of sin, and her sighing and depression over it.—**7.** Delete "in," and read, "Zion remembers the days of her affliction." The line, "All her pleasant . . . of old" is a comment written on the margin by some reader and afterwards copied into the text as if original: we decide thus because it would be a fourth line in the stanza, whereas regularly the stanzas have only three lines; besides it spoils the sense.—**9.** Read, "the hinder parts of the filthy skirts," instead of "the latter end."—**10.** The third line speaks of "entering into thy congregation," which may be a late churchly addition. The verse seems, to the present writer, to concern the sacrilege of Pompey—and of Antiochus—in entering the Temple.

12–19. Zion moans before Yahweh: first confessing her sin, then appealing to every passer-by to see how her hurt is worse than any that has ever been before. Yahweh's fierce anger has burned her, trapped her, loaded her to the neck with woes. Although He is the indwelling Lord, yet He has dishonoured all her leaders, has summoned a solemn sanctuary meeting (*Mo'edh*) to condemn her; and all her choice young lives are to die. But the sentence is just: she confesses she has been unfaithful.

12. By a copyist's repetition of one letter, the displacement of another, and the insertion of a tiny one to save space, the text has, "Is it nothing to you?" instead of the correct sense, "Therefore ho! all ye."—**14** is difficult: we need not state all particulars, but should read:

"He has set Himself as a watch over my sin,
Which thro' His power is going to get twisted into a rope to bind me:
By His yoke on my neck He has made my strength fail.
The lordly one has given me into such hands,
That never shall I be able to rise again."

16. My eye is written twice by mistake, spoiling the metre.—**19.** The "false lovers" are said to be the priests and elders: this was not possible in Jeremiah's time or anywhere near it, but was exactly the condition in the last two centuries B.C.

20–22 is Zion's prayer for mercy: "Will not Yahweh see her repentance, and regard her inconsolable mourning?" But what then? Is He simply to relieve her pain? Oh no, her cry now is, "May He work revenge on her oppressors, who are exulting because He has fulfilled on her His righteous sentence. May they too be so treated: and under His swiftly falling blows may they writhe!" Such, then, was the spirit of even the best men in Judah just before Jesus rose to preach His gospel of forgiveness. We see here the treatment they were ready to give Him, when He brought them good. And this was the soil on which He sprang: such were the audiences He sought to change and save.

20. there is as death: read, "death has utterly ended all."—**21. They have heard** should be, "Hear ye," for the Hebrew lack of vowels has caused a slip in the ordinary translation. The verse should run, by making one or two transpositions, "Thou has brought the day that Thou proclaimedst."

As we leave the song, let us note how the darkest, gloomy wailing is in the earlier versés, but towards the end Zion is pictured as more confident of Yahweh's help, and more defiant towards her enemies. Then this defiance culminates in the spirit of utter cruelty in the closing stanzas. How wonderful was the faith of those poor oppressed Jews before Jesus came! They could never dream of an annihilation of their nation. In the course of the long ages they had risen wonderfully to a strong grip on an eternal life, and a doctrine that they were by and by to rule all the world. This Lament shows us vividly the agonies that surrounded Nazareth, and also the follies that were cherished amid the sorrows. Men needed a Consolation for Israel, and they felt sure that such would come. These singers are a picture of the audiences to whom Jesus spoke.

II. The Second Lament.—This differs from the first in its contents, and in its literary form. The metrical matters are the same, *i.e.* there are twenty-two verses, wherein the first word of the verse, or stanza, begins with the Heb. A, B, C, etc., and each stanza has three lines, of five accents each. We saw that in Lam. I the singer's wail for Zion filled half the song, and her own cries the second half; but this second Lament is all taken up with God. In **1–12** the woes are bemoaned as being of His doing and His alone, and **13–17** forms a short résumé of this; then, next, **18f.** urges the city to cry to Him for help; and in the close, **20–22**, she does so.

In more detail, **1–17** is the wail of a stricken heart, because Yahweh has flung down all Zion's beauty, has demolished her fortress, has profaned her throne. True, this might mean Zedekiah's ruin in 586 B.C., but the pathetic touch of personal experience of the ruin, which marks the passage, cannot well suit that earlier dating, since scholars are fairly well agreed that the poems were not written until after 600 B.C. More probably the Lament comes from men who actually saw the ruin of Aristobulus II by the invasion of Pompey.

And now, awful thought! it is Yahweh Himself who has lifted the bars of the city's gates to let those invaders in. He Himself is the real enemy! He has ruined the Temple, which was His own Place of Trysting with men! His hand has led the roaring troops tramping into His sanctuary. And meanwhile all the old rulers have fled afar to alien lands, where they can receive no Torah, no ever-new teaching from the Priestly ministrants, who are the only authoritative receivers and issuers thereof. This is a notable evidence that, if the writer lived in 60 B.C., Torah was not regarded at that date as a thing all given through Moses in the far-off past. This agrees exactly with the central faith of P, expressed beautifully in Ex. 25₂₂, that Yahweh would always give new revelations to His people from His Shekinah on the Ark. But now, cries our singer bitterly, all our prophets are silent; our priests, elders, virgins all sit silent, amid the moaning of babes for food.

In **1f., 5, 7, 18f.** notice that the name "Yahweh" is avoided, and "Adonai" is substituted. The Jews, just before Jesus came, were shy of pronouncing the Divine Name: by A.D. 400 they had ceased altogether uttering it aloud whenever it occurred in their synagogal reading of the Pentateuch; and they had learned to say instead of it simply and reverently "my Lord" (Adonai), as they do to this day. So in the passage

before us, it is probable that we see the rise of this custom. The practice arose apparently through the loss of confidence in Yahweh's care for them: they were superstitiously afraid lest they should invoke His presence and His anger. G. B. Gray notes on the passage 1–12 that the singer's love for his particular metre and for a certain parallelism makes him at times forget his connexion of thought. So manifest is the scholastic formalism which we have attributed to the scribal age.

2. Delete "daughter," substitute "king" for "kingdom," and with some transposition we get the writer's ideas better expressed thus:

"Lordly One has swallowed up, and has not spared
Judah's vales;
Has torn, and flung to earth her fortress;
Angry even to over-boiling wrath, He has destroyed
her king and princes."

—**3. horn** is used in the sense of "power," as is usual.—**4a** has a word too many for the metre: which word shall be omitted? Gray omits "like a foe," because the author did not care much for sectional parallelism. The second line must run on to "Zion," while the end of the third line has been lost.—**5.** has several marks of late Judaism, such as "Lordly One," and *Mo'edh*. Alliteration was much liked by Hebrews and Jews, and a good illustration of it occurs in **5**, where Cheyne translates "moaning and bemoaning": but Streane gives "groaning and moaning."—**6.** Omitting a Heb. letter we get clear and good sense thus: "He has done violence to His arboured garden." Here, too, beside "His Trysted place" some late annotating reader has set "Sabbath," as an equally sacred thing: this is a mark of the growth of formalism.—**7.** The noisy invasion of the Temple seems meant as that of Pompey, rather than that of Antiochus: had the latter been intended, there would have been a word about his desecration of the altar (see Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 5, xiv. 4).—**9f.** is pitifully sad; the eyes have run tears till they are dry; honour is poured out on the ground.—**13.** The song becomes a passionate wail, like the sleepless weariness of a wrecked soul. What could be like this tragic undoing of Jerusalem? Her wound gapes, big as the sea: who could possibly heal it? How well does all this make us realise the heart of Jesus when He rose and cried, "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden."

14–17 rehearses again the sorrows, especially laying blame on false preachers: these had lied, mocking at warnings of danger and banishments and punishments. So now God's vengeance lies herein, that all lands mock at Zion, and say, "Ha! Is this city the perfect beauty? Is this the place of joy for all the earth? Ha, ha!" Omit in **15** the commentator's remark, "Of which they will say." Evidently some preachers had been proclaiming the apocalyptic theory that Israel was to be the chief people in all the earth: another note of date, for this was a favourite faith of the generations just before the birth of Jesus. A wonderful faith it was, foolish indeed in many ways, yet grand in its fault. Moreover, Jesus fulfilled it.

16. Now appears a remarkable thing: an inversion of the usual order of the Heb. alphabetical letters Ayin and Pe. Usually the order would be "Pe, Ayin," but here Pe begins 16, and Ayin begins 17. The same strange feature is found also in chs. 3 and 4. It occurs nowhere else in Heb. literature, except in the alphabetical Psalm 9 and 10, at least as this is restored by Duhm. That Psalm seems to have peculiar doctrinal evidences of having been written by a scribe of the first century B.C. Did that scribe compose these three Laments?—**17** pictures the hatred of the people by their enemies, and the patronising mockery of Yahweh by these: "He has at last done what He threatened, has He? We knew all along that either He or someone else would have to crush this Zion." All the more bitter, following this taunt, is the aching moan of the song, "O Maiden-city, cry, cry; cease not to cry to the Lordly One. By day, by night, pray; Oh weep and pray."—**19.** A fourth line has been needlessly added, as a marginal note no doubt, by some reader.—**20–22.** Zion's prayer: here sore need makes the approach to God more pressing, even more familiar than before. Zion does not now say, "O Lordly One," but "O Yahweh." It is Yahweh's own daughter that is beseeching the Father's heart only to look and see that it is she whom He has so hurt. Her cry becomes a ghastly thing: mothers are eating their babes; priests are murdered in the Temple; old and young, virgins and lads, lie dead in the streets.—**22** is most pathetic of all, "Wilt Thou not summon a Trysting meeting, as the old faith expected, to consider all this? And yet, from the hamlets all about no man can come now, for there all are dead!" So ends this saddest of all the Laments, full of pitiful scenes, black and awful with woe. The pleading before Yahweh makes one's own eyes wet. "Oh, is it really Thou! Canst Thou not stay Thy hand?" rises the cry. All this misery is unlike the condition in which Nebuchadrezzar left Jerusalem. Then the poor people were put into some comfort. Jeremiah was well pleased to stay in Jerusalem; and he bade the exiles pray for the Babylonians. The Servant-Singer preached Yahweh's love to them. And more remarkable still is Ezekiel's constant insistence that Babylon is Yahweh's hand. It is Babylon that shall set all nations to rights, and shall be rewarded greatly for her coming punishment of Egypt. Surely these Laments come from a very different condition of things. On the other hand, all is just like the conditions just before Jesus came; when so many were broken-hearted, and were waiting for some Consolation of Israel. This second Lament is surely a prelude to the Gospel of the Saviour.

III. The Third Lament.—Here it is the singer that comes chiefly to the front; whereas in 1 it had been Zion, and in 2 it was Yahweh. EV hardly puts 1 forcibly enough: it should read, "It is I, even I the strong man, who know now, alas, what abasement means." The chant is artistically more clever than 1 and 2, but its heart is not so great. In form it has a cunning device all its own; for the first stanza has three initial Alephs, the second has three Beths, and so on throughout the twenty-two stanzas. This is a skilful bit of scholastic development; scribal indeed, but not great. Editors have usually regarded each line as a separate verse, so that there result sixty-six verses in all. Similarities between Ps. 143 and our poem have led Löhr to think that the two are based on a common original (*cf.* 6 with Ps. 143_3). Certainly our poem seems closely related to late Jewish Pss., and it is impossible that a Jeremiah did or ever could invent such a fantasia on three A's, three B's, three C's, and so on. Nevertheless the Lament has several good features.—**1–16**, a quarter of the whole, is a personal wail. Yahweh has beaten this strong man, has misled him, torn him, hemmed him in, and, as it were, actually buried him alive. Yahweh has torn the man's inmost soul, like a bear, like a lion that has crouched and leaped upon him. Worst of all, the sufferer has become

a laughing-stock in his own city: this is bitterest wormwood. Evidently the people were not all so excited and troubled as was our poet: possibly his feelings arose largely amid the fancies of his private study, where he could have time to dream and calculate over his Alephs and Beths. In **16** he has an apt figure of one who is mocked, "He has made my teeth grind on sand." Then his extremity of vexation drives him to God. He feels he has been away from his best counsellor. He begins to pray (19–21), sure that Yahweh will remember him. As he thus remembers Yahweh, his meditation is at times so beautiful that many a sentence of it became a household word in the Christianity that soon was born, *e.g.* "Yahweh's loving-kindness cannot cease." A Greek commentator in the LXX has added a fine remark here, "We are not ended, because His care is not ended." The singer grows jubilant and rises to the threshold of all apocalyptic expectations, saying, "It is good to wait." So he takes in the wide future as well as his present view of things and conditions and sufferings. All are only light afflictions. He is probably a priest, and therefore remembers Dt. 18$_2$, quoting it as he sings, "Yahweh is my portion. The eternally abiding God is enough." Three times we read, "It is good": Yahweh is good, and a man must have twice goodness, first in hoping, and then in waiting. Like Paul long afterwards (*cf.* Rom. 8$_{33}$ff.) he seems to love the wonderful Servant-Song of Is. 50$_4$–9, for he probably alludes to it in **30.** In **31–41** he pens a confession of faith worthy of any of the great confessors in all the ages. Every line here is precious and familiar: we need not quote any as the best.—**42–66.** After confession comes supplication; and here first (in 42–53) the sorrows are rehearsed, but in submissive tones this time. He acknowledges that Yahweh has come near to him, has actually spoken to him, has repeated for him the great eternal watchword of Is. 41, "Fear thou not." Truly he does touch the hem of the Father's garment; or, as the Scotch saint would say, "he gets far ben."

But now, after three stanzas of such exquisite beauty, what is it that he prays for eagerly? "Pursue thou my enemies in anger: destroy them from under heaven!" Alas that a curse should be the climax of communion for such a soul! How did they need to hear the death-cry of Jesus, that was soon to sound among them, "Father forgive them." The Lament proves thus to be the utterance and the picture of a priest who, at moments, seemed to be the very Rutherford of Anwoth of his time; but who, nevertheless, needed sorely that there should be breathed upon him the Gospel of Forgiveness and Love for enemies. The Lament is surely another scene in the background of Christianity.

IV. The Fourth Lament.—This has less literary finish than 3, and it has also less spiritual value. It lacks much of the saints whom one seems to see in 1, and we miss the love of worship that appears to be breathed in 2. The keenest pang felt in this fourth chant is in behalf of the suffering king of Judah. If we are right in thinking that it dates from about 60 B.C., then we may say that it was penned by a Sadducee, some strong supporter of the Maccabean, or new "David" dynasty. Hence we may explain the bitter spite which at the close it flings at the Edomites, or Idumeans, the Herods who displaced the Maccabeans, having got their power by base trafficking with the Romans. In versification the chant is of its own sort. It is in pentameters, as in 1, 2, and 3; but the stanzas have only two lines each, while the others had always three. It is an alphabetic acrostic, as before; and while the characteristic letter stands at the beginning of the first line only, yet in the second or Beth stanza, with a Beth as initial of its first line, the initial of the second line is an Aleph, and the initial of the second line of the third or Gimel stanza is a Beth. The scholastic writer seems to have been trying to invent a new feature: he does not, however, persist in it very far. Again, the Pe stanza (16) is set before the Ayin (17) as in chs. 2 and 3: perhaps it was the same writer that composed all three, and the order of these letters may have been a dialectical peculiarity of his home region.

The chant is one long wail for Zion, with a short parenthesis (13–16) laying the blame of all the woes upon prophets and such priests as are of the prophetic party. This would agree with the theory of authorship by a Sadducee or courtier, for these Sadducees disliked the prophets. The song bewails one class of the people after another: in **1–4**, mothers are starving, and are deserting their children as the ostrich deserts its eggs; in **5f.** the ruin of the nobles has been more sudden and awful than that of Sodom, where there was not time to writhe the hands before death silenced all; **7–10**, the princes, once all beauty, are now all defaced. It were better to be stabbed to death than to starve. In **10** the second reference to mothers who are eating their children may mean that even princesses are doing this. Then **11f.** laments Yahweh's fury and His act of bringing enemies into Zion, as too strange a thing for anyone in all the world to believe. The parenthesis (13–16) blaming prophets and priests, looks on these as moral lepers, filthy beyond any pity: it is some comfort that it is Yahweh Himself who sends them wandering out and away as pariahs. In **16** is an interesting use of "the Face of Yahweh" (*mg.*) as a substitute for "Yahweh" Himself: this was very common in the later days.—**17–20** recounts the sorry tale of the expected help, which never came. Just so was Aristobulus treated by the Romans. The song tells how the desired cohorts became the most cruel destroyers: "they have spied our every footstep, and, swifter than eagles, they have hunted us into the mountains." This seems like an allusion to the Roman standards. And "These, these," cries the singer, "drove our dearest one, our hope, our King, the Anointed of Yahweh out into the Idumean wilds to be caught in their snares." Just thus does Josephus tell us that Aristobulus trusted Edom for protection: but there he was trapped, for Edom was in league with his foes (see Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 1–3). The use of the word "Anointed" for the king of Judah suggests a late date: the term is scarcely used in the earlier literature. In late Pss. it becomes very common. Note also that the writer would probably avoid using the word "king," lest the Roman rulers should be jealous of such a seeming aim at setting up an independent royalty. A fierce curse on Edom (*i.e.* Idumea) closes the Lament; and this is sharpened to the utmost by the claim that the sin of Judah shall be altogether forgotten, when it is seen contrasted with the sad baseness of Idumea. In 21 there is a word too many: omit "the land of," rather than (with LXX) "Uz."

Ere we leave the chant, let us notice that the customary translations in AV, RV, etc., miss the fine shadings which Heb. writers could put into their verb-forms: so **1** should be "How is gold *going to* grow dim? Even fine gold *shall be* dimmed!" The writer was expecting worse things than he had yet seen.—**9** should run, "Well off *were* those who were stabbed with the sword: better off than those stabbed by hunger. For they were *going to* pine away, riddled

through and through." On the other hand, events that are actually past are meant in **22**, "Thy waywardness is complete (done with), O Judah; but He *has* now also looked in on *thy* waywardness, O Edom; He has uncovered whatever hid thy faults."

Finally, this singer (a Hasmonean courtier, shall we say?) or this Sadducee is scarcely a saint; nor is he quite one of the ordinary people. He has a deep sorrow for the governmental troubles of Judah; and, having seen much past evil, he fears that much more is to come. He clings to the old faith that David shall never lack a true successor to sit upon his throne. He hungers for this token of Yahweh's promised, trysted Presence: he expects it in spite of all the woe. He too is waiting for the Consolation of Israel. But would he trust Him who came?

V. A Prayer.—This chapter differs much from the previous four. It is not a Lament, but one long pleading; and it is not the chant of an individual, but of a company, a plural, "we." It may be called a hexameter poem, having six and not five beats in each of its twenty-two lines; it keeps, however, to this alphabetical number of lines, although it is not an alphabetic acrostic. Possibly, the composer intended to think out later other initial words for his lines, and thus to make them acrostic: so it may be an acrostic in the making. But it may perhaps have been appended to the book as a sort of satire on the alphabetic fancies of chs. 1–4. It is not deeply spiritual, and yet at the close there comes a pathetic and even affectionate appeal to God.

The cry in **1** opens the prayer; then in **2–18** follows the long list of sufferings set out before God. This length is suspicious, extended by measure as it seems, and then cut off so as not to exceed the exact number of twenty-two verses. First in the list is lamented the subjection of Judah to Egypt and to Assyria. If the view we have suggested of the date is correct, these two great names stand for the Neo-Grecian powers, Egypt under the Ptolemies in the south, and Syria ruled by the Seleucids on the north. After the Assyrian Empire had fallen (607), the name Assyria continued to be used for its successors (*e.g.* Ezr. 6$_{22}$ and Is. 11$_{11}$*, 19$_{23}$ff.); and here it probably stands for Syria. We observe how interested our writer is in the government: he is a courtier.—**7** is remarkable for the blame it lays for all the sufferings upon the ancestors now long gone: the theologising mind of the writer is concerned with the doctrine of inherited sin: that theory had already arisen in Ezekiel's day, but it grew more painful as the centuries passed, until it burdened sadly the men around Jesus. In **8–18** are minute details of the troubles: famine, disease, women's shame, dishonour done to dignities, slave-toil laid even on children, who have no pleasures now. There are no courts of justice, where the white-haired elders preside; and, worst of all, the crown has gone. The sacred city is a haunt of foxes! And why is this? How can Yahweh rule His people without an earthly throne?

This leads to the Envoi in **19–22**. Surely Yahweh cannot forsake His people for ever, else He would be left all alone. Now a noble faith is kindled, finding expression in words learned from the fine Ps. 80, "Turn us again, O Yahweh." So a singular courage awakes, and lays upon Yahweh the task of initiating restoration. "We would return, but Thou must give the compelling spirit, else we can do nothing." A holy familiarity breaks into a loving, trusting reproach. "Hast Thou really altogether thrown us away? Art Thou so bitter against us? That cannot be." So the chant ends in great confidence. God abides: to-morrow and all the days for ever shall manifest His gracious way. The later Rabbis understood the singer's heart, and they arranged here at the end of the book a corrective for the saddening tone of the whole; for they directed that, at public readings of Lamentations, **21** should be read aloud again when **22** had been ended. This was right; for the simple, good courtier did not mean to leave his people's hearts all in the dark. He believed in the sure rule of God, he had caught the apocalyptic spirit, that wide outlook which is not bounded by to-day, but lays hold on eternal life. These lamenting singers were not far from the Kingdom of God. Jesus was born of them: He could find audience among them. Vastly more beautiful certainly were His soul, His purpose, and His thought than those of the lamenting men among whom He came: but these Lamentations are a background against which He is grandly seen.

EZEKIEL

By Professor J. E. M'FADYEN

INTRODUCTION

Difficulty of Ezekiel.—Ezekiel is a figure of incalculable importance in the history of Hebrew religion, and it is somewhat unfortunate that to most readers of the Bible he is so unfamiliar. Much of his writing seems to them tedious, unattractive, and remote. They miss the glow of living personality which suffuses the pages of an Amos or a Jeremiah. His mind, they tell us, is prosaic and mechanical; his imaginations are sometimes offensive, sometimes grotesque, nearly always complicated; his interest in religion is chiefly concentrated upon the technicalities of ritual, so that it is more than doubtful whether he is entitled to bear the honourable name of prophet at all or not.

His Vitality and Versatility.—Such an estimate, however, is anything but just. He is a man of rich and versatile mind, thoroughly alive to the problems and perplexities of the people he addresses, and well qualified, by discipline alike of head and heart, to bring to bear upon their situation words full of insight and consolation, of warning and of hope. With no sort of propriety can the lack of true poetic imagination be charged upon the writer who created the weird and wonderful valley of dry bones (37); who painted the downfall of Tyre as a gallant ship rowed out to meet her doom by storm upon the high seas (27); or who sketched the grim judgment fulfilled upon Jerusalem by supernatural executioners—the silent Temple courts heaped with the bodies of the slain, and the lurid fires of judgment about to consume the guilty city (9). Further, he is sensitive to every current of the life about him, he knows its every whisper. So far are his words from being abstract or theological discussions that they are frequently a direct reply to popular murmurs or challenges which he quotes. His great assertion of individual responsibility, for example (18), is called forth by the sullen disappointment with which they repeat the proverb about the fathers and the sour grapes, and by their furious challenge of the ways of God as unfair (18$_{25}$). The very vision of the forlorn valley is first suggested to him by the words of despair to which he had but too often listened (37$_{11}$); and part, at least, of his message was spoken in answer to deputations of the elders (8, 14, etc.).

Historical Background.—But let us look at the situation to which Ezekiel ministered. Sorrowful enough it was. He was in Babylon—an exile addressing exiles who with him had been carried away by Nebuchadrezzar in 597 B.C. (2 K. 24). Born probably about 622 into a priestly family, he had spent the first twenty-five years of his life in Judah. Assyria, which had long been the dominant power in Asia, had begun to totter in the last quarter of the century, and, finally fell before Babylon in 607 B.C. The consequence of this for Judah, however, was only to exchange one vassalage for another, and Babylon remained the oppressor until fully thirty years after the death of Ezekiel. Soon after he was born, under the inspiration of the book of Dt. which had just been published (621 B.C.), a great reformation of popular worship and social life was inaugurated (pp. 45, 74f., 89f., 126–131, 231f.), and the piety thus exhibited was expected to guarantee the prosperity of the country. But the charges repeatedly hurled by Ezekiel both against the idolatrous worship (6, 8f.) and against the injustice and immorality of the people (22) show only too plainly how futile and superficial that reformation had been. The religious decline was crowned by political disaster, and in 608 king Josiah fell on the field of Megiddo fighting against Egypt. On the fall of Assyria, Egypt enjoyed a temporary ascendancy in western Asia, and to that country Jehoahaz, Josiah's son and successor, after a brief reign of three months, was carried off prisoner; but her power was finally crushed by Babylon at the decisive battle of Carchemish (605). Jehoiakim, another son of Josiah, who had ascended the throne in 608 as vassal of Egypt, was naturally now a vassal of Babylon; but after a few years he revolted, thus drawing upon himself the vengeance of Nebuchadrezzar, who successfully besieged Jerusalem in 597 and carried into exile many of her leading citizens, including Ezekiel and Jehoiachin, a king of three months' standing—his father Jehoiakim having meanwhile died. Jehoiachin was succeeded by his uncle Zedekiah (a son of Josiah), who for a time remained faithful to Babylon, though sorely tempted to rebellion by the insurrectionary kings of the neighbouring nations. But at last, depending upon the support of Egypt, which did actually attempt to make a diversion in Zedekiah's favour (17$_{17}$, Jer. 37$_5$), he definitely renounced his allegiance to Babylon—an act which Ezekiel bitterly resented and denounced as treachery to Yahweh Himself (17$_{19}$)—with the result that Jerusalem was invested by Nebuchadrezzar, and after a siege of eighteen months destroyed amid horrors untold. The Temple, on which such a passion of love had been lavished (24$_{21}$), was reduced to ashes and the people deported to Babylon (588–586, 2 K. 25). (See further on this paragraph pp. 72f., 75, 474f.)

The Book.—That is the situation which confronts Ezekiel. Five years before the doom fell he had foreseen it, and with some detail predicted it. His fellow exiles constitute his immediate audience, but his eye is ever also on that remoter audience in the homeland. The burden of his earlier message, which runs throughout the first half of his book (1–24), is one of judgment: to the incredulous people he announces and justifies the coming doom. When at length it has fallen, and the character of the "holy" God, whose holiness was so wantonly defied, has been vindicated, he speaks to their despair his word of hope (33–39), and shows his practical genius by sketching a programme for the

reconstruction of the national life (40–48) after all the obstacles to it have been swept away (25–32).

The People Incredulous.—We may wonder that the first terrific blow struck by Babylon in 597 should have left the Jews unconvinced of the probability of their impending political extinction—a probability which to Ezekiel was a certainty as clear as noonday. But the people had reasons for their incredulity. Their destruction meant, to an ancient mind, the destruction of their God's own power and prestige as well; and Yahweh could not and would not allow Himself to stand discredited before the world. Jerusalem as His own city, the Temple as His peculiar home, the monarchy as established by Himself, were believed to be inviolable: it was their very faith in these things, and in the God who was supposed to guarantee them, that rendered the message of Ezekiel as incredible as it was intolerable. Besides, they had pinned their faith to more visible and tangible support in the shape of Egyptian battalions, though they might have learned from the history of the past that Egypt was but a broken reed to lean upon (29$_7$, Is. 30$_{1}$ff., 31$_1$, 36$_6$), and that her promises had never been adequately implemented by her performances. Again, though year after year Ezekiel had thundered his message of doom, nothing had happened. Jerusalem still stood; and they argued, either that nothing would happen, or that if it did, it was so far away as to be negligible (12$_{21-28}$). Again, Ezekiel was not the only prophet. There were others who preached a more welcome and probable message; and, between the two, a people with no very sensitive conscience to moral issues might well be really confused, and only too ready to give themselves the benefit of the doubt.

The Prophet's Indictment.—But to Ezekiel there could be no doubt. Whether he scans the present or the past, it is so abominable that it calls aloud for the avenging stroke of high heaven. The fierce indictment—and there has never been a fiercer—is drawn up in several elaborate historical reviews (16, 20, 23). From the very beginning to the end of her career Israel's record has been one of black and shameless apostasy; she has always been "a rebellious house." In Egypt, in Canaan during the conquest, and then throughout the monarchy, she had been perpetually coquetting with the worship of foreign gods, indulging in their lascivious and brutal rites; while at the very time he was speaking, the sacred Temple itself was being contaminated by sun-worship, Tammuz worship, animal worship, and other well-nigh incredible abuses which showed how thoroughly Yahweh had been dethroned from His supremacy. Nor was this all. The foul religion was fittingly matched by a foul morality. The old social injustices, denounced by a long succession of prophets, were still rampant; immorality and bloody crimes were the order of the day (22): in Ezekiel's terse phrase, "the land was filled with violence" (8$_{17}$, 7$_{23}$). Such things could not be permitted to go on for ever by the God in whom Ezekiel believed; and so, for the sake of His "name"—that name so grievously tarnished by the misconduct of His people—He must act; and the form which His action must take in the siege and destruction of Jerusalem is described in one vivid passage after another (4, 5, 12, etc.)—the most terrible of all being that in which the supernatural executioners mercilessly slay the worshippers in the very courts of the Temple, and the city is sternly devoted to the flames (9f.).

Reason for the Restoration.—It fell out exactly as Ezekiel had said, and then his credit as a prophet was established. Now they "know that there has been a prophet among them" (2$_5$), and the mouth which has been stopped by their incredulity is opened (33$_{22}$) to declare a message of hope and restoration and to vindicate once more—this time before the heathen—the honour of Israel's God. For the heathen, looking upon the awful fate of Israel, could only conclude that Yahweh was an impotent God (36$_{20}$). But they, too, must be taught His power, as Israel had been taught His character, and nothing will teach them so conclusively as the restoration of Israel. History is the process by which, now in this way and now in that, the world is brought to a knowledge of the nature and character of the great Power behind it.

Nature of the Restoration.—The picture drawn by Ezekiel of the "salvation" in store for his people is as gracious and brilliant as his forecast of their doom had been stern. First, they must be brought back to the homeland. In the exile they are hopeless and dead—a valley of wizened bones—so dead to the claims of Yahweh upon them and to a belief in His power that some had even solemnly proposed to abandon Him for other gods (20$_{32}$). He must bring them home to the land that was both His and theirs, to live their new and glorious life upon it, that land of ancient promise, whose capital, Jerusalem, was the dear mother of them all. The old idolatries would be left behind for ever; and in their reconstructed Temple, on whose minutest architectural details Ezekiel expends a wealth of careful affection (40), they would worship Him in sincerity and truth according to a pattern which would command the Divine approval. The cities devastated by war would be rebuilt, the population would be greatly increased, and everywhere across the land fertility would reign (36). The old strife between the north and the south would be no more. Judah and Israel would live in harmony as one united people under a prince of the Davidic line, untroubled any more by discord within or without (37$_{15}$). The social conditions would be as healthy as the land would be fair. Gone for ever would be the heartless governors, the ruthless shepherds who had fleeced the flock it was their business to care for (34). Cruelty, injustice, wrong of every kind would disappear. The land and the city would be such that it could be said with truth "Yahweh is there" (48$_{35}$).

Medium of the Restoration.—Precisely how this transformation is to be initiated, we are not told. Enough for Ezekiel that behind it was Yahweh. This need not, however, exclude the use of historical instruments. For just as the destruction of Jerusalem is regarded as Yahweh's work, though the immediate agent of it is Nebuchadrezzar—the sword he wields is Yahweh's sword (21$_5$)—so it may well be with the restoration. But Ezekiel does not, like his great successor (Is. 45$_1$), name the agent, because his figure is not yet on the historical horizon. Enough that he sees and proclaims with so sublime a confidence the large lines of the Divine purpose.

Ezekiel's Conception of God and Religion.—It is easy to do less than justice to Ezekiel—to maintain that his God is a selfish and super-sensitive Being, concerned for nothing but the vindication of His own honour and the spread of His fame, doing what He does, not for the love of His people, but solely for His own name's sake (36$_{22}$). It is easy to maintain that Ezekiel's own conception of religion is ritual and superficial, that, though he wears the prophet's mantle, he is a priest at heart, who cares more for organised institutions and punctilious ceremony than for the love of God and the service of his fellows. But it must be remembered that, if his God is austere almost

to the point of inaccessibility, He is none the less truly a God of love. This conception of Him underlies the realistic imagery of ch. 16, in which Israel is likened to a poor foundling girl, saved and nurtured and finally lifted to an honourable wifehood by Yahweh. Stern though He be, He does not desire the death of a sinner, but rather that the sinner should turn and live (33¹¹). Again, though Ezekiel may speak of religion as if it were a thing of obedience to external "statutes and judgment," it ought not to be forgotten that, even in those very contexts, he insists also on the need of a new heart and a new spirit (36²⁶). Assuredly his religion has more inwardness than many of his words would seem to imply. Instead of regarding him as a priest disguised as a prophet he might with almost equal justice be regarded as a prophet disguised as a priest. Though at times he seems to put the ritual and the moral demands of religion upon the same level (22⁶–⁸), he is yet a worthy successor of the ancient prophets in his broad insistence upon the supreme importance of character, and he carries their appeal further than they did by addressing it distinctly and definitely to the individual. With them the nation was the religious unit, with him it is the individual. Upon the individual lies an inalienable responsibility for his attitude to the prophetic message, and in general for the spiritual quality of his life, and Ezekiel is not afraid to begin by applying this doctrine of responsibility to himself. He knows himself to have the "cure of souls"; he is the first Hebrew pastor.

Individualism.—This doctrine of individualism is stated by Ezekiel with a bluntness which has frequently drawn on him the charge of "atomism," in seeming to imply that the individual was in no way conditioned by his ancestry or even by his own past. His extreme form of the doctrine is explained partly by the fact that it is a pioneer statement, with all the exaggeration natural to a protest against the traditional view which had submerged the individual in the community. But this emphatic assertion of the freedom of the individual was valuable in two ways: if it made vigilance obligatory, it made hope possible, and it threw a useful emphasis, not on what man had been but on what he was and willed to become. Another aspect—equally open to challenge—of this doctrine was its assertion of the exact correspondence between an individual's fortunes and his moral deserts: "the soul that sinneth—*it* and no other soul shall die" (18⁴). But Ezekiel, though a theorist, always keeps an open eye for fact; he recognises that, among those who perished in the general destruction, some were good; among those who survived, some were bad; and it is more than usually interesting to watch how Ezekiel meets the strain of these new facts upon his theory (12¹⁶, 14²¹–²³).

The Community.—Ezekiel finely complements his emphasis upon the individual by an equal emphasis upon the importance of the community. His ideal in religion is anything but a mystic isolation, it is a community of saved and worshipping souls, drawn to each other because drawn to their common Lord. This is the real significance of the last nine chapters, with their elaborate description of city and Temple. Institutions and organisations are not everything, but they are something: nay, they are indispensable, if men are to live and worship in concert. This is a truth clearly and firmly grasped by Ezekiel.

Devotion of Ezekiel.—No prophet ever took himself or his call more seriously. From the beginning to the end (592–570) he devoted to his ministry all his powers of mind, heart, and imagination. He pleaded with individual souls; he preached to the people—and there is proof that he was a most attractive speaker, however little his audience laid his message to heart (33³²); and he planned for the national reconstruction in that future in which, even when the outlook was blackest, he never ceased to believe. Even when constrained to silence—whether, as some suppose, in virtue of some physical or psychical disability (*e.g.* catalepsy), or merely by the incredulity of his hearers—he was still the prophet, preaching by acts, which were charged with an easily decipherable symbolism (4, 5, 12), no less than by his words. He seems to have had the gift of second sight (24²), he was certainly subject to ecstatic experiences, and he had visions; but all his faculties and all his experiences became contributory to his ministry. Even the silent sorrow which fell across him in the death of the wife he loved so dearly, is invested with symbolic and prophetic meaning (24¹⁵). Whether he speaks or is silent, whatever he does or suffers, he is the prophet still.

Influence of Ezekiel.—No influence was more potent than his in the shaping of that Judaism which has lived on unshaken through the centuries. It is seen in his transcendental conception of God, in whose presence Ezekiel feels himself to be but a poor frail "son of man." It is seen in his dogma of individual retribution. It is seen in his apocalyptic vision of the great assault to be made one day upon the holy land by heathen hordes, who will in the end be defeated ignominiously and for ever (38f.). It is seen above all in his passionate love of a minutely-organised worship, which perhaps no single thinker did so much to shape and guide as he. When we consider the hopes he encouraged, the movements he initiated, the visions he held before the eyes of his contemporaries, the influence he has exerted on posterity, we cannot deny him a place in the front rank of the great men of Israel (pp. 91, 129, 131).

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Davidson and Streane** (CB), **Lofthouse** (Cent.B.), Toy (SBOT Eng.), Skinner (Ex.B.), (*c*) Hitzig, Smend (KEH), **Kraetzschmar** (HK), Bertholet (KHC). *Other literature:* Davidson, *Theology of the OT*, p. 338ff.; Westphal, *The Law and the Prophets*, pp. 342–357; A. C. Knudson, *Beacon Lights of Prophecy*, ch. vi.; Peake, *Problem of Suffering in the OT*, ch. ii.

I.–III. Ezekiel Enters upon his Ministry.

I. 1–28. Ezekiel's Vision.—1–3. Like the prophets generally, Ezekiel enters upon his ministry only after he has had a vision of God and a call from Him. The book, therefore, appropriately opens with a description of these experiences. They took place "in the thirtieth year"—a difficult phrase: perhaps the thirtieth year of the prophet's life—in any case in 592 B.C., the fifth year after Jehoiachin and the leading citizens of Judah had been carried captive into Babylon (2 K. 24¹⁰–¹⁶). Among them was Ezekiel, who whether or not a priest himself, came of a priestly family—a fact which explains certain elements in the vision about to be described, and which accounts for the form into which he casts his ideals (40–48) and in general for the temper of his mind. The Jewish colony of which he was a member was settled in the neighbourhood of a large navigable canal called the Chebar, S.E. of Babylon. It was there that he had the vision of God which sent him forth upon his ministry. It came upon him apparently when he was in a state of trance or ecstasy—for that is the implication of the frequently recurring phrase "the hand of Yahweh was

upon him"; and the full bearing of the vision is not appreciated till we remember that the God who there came into his experience with such illumining and quickening power was popularly supposed to be confined to Canaan, the home of His people, or more particularly to the Temple; but, as certain symbolical details of the vision will soon make clear, this great God is not thus confined, but even in distant Babylon He can make Himself felt and known.

4–21. The vision, which is unusually complicated and elaborate, would be very difficult to render pictorially; but the ultimate elements can still be recognised which were fused together in the sublime experience of ecstasy. It was suggested in part by the prophet's knowledge of Isaiah's vision (Is. 6), of Solomon's Temple, and the mongrel figures of Babylonian art. But it is not till towards the end of the description that we hear anything of the Divine Being Himself (26); attention is first concentrated on the wonderful chariot upon which He is borne, and the details of it are all symbolic of aspects of the Divine nature. First the prophet sees a fiery cloud approaching—flashing like amber, or rather electrum (a mixture of silver and gold). From out the glow four living creatures, suggested by the cherubim of the Temple (1 K. 6$_{23-28}$, Gen. 3$_{24}$*, Ps. 18$_{10}$*, Is. 6$_{2}$*), begin to articulate themselves; each of these creatures had four wings and four faces, that of a man, lion, ox, eagle, symbolising respectively intelligence, dignity, strength, and speed. The four creatures face east, west, north, and south, suggesting that all parts of the universe alike are open to the gaze of God—an idea further enhanced by the presence of wings attached to the creatures, and of wheels beneath and beside them, so that there is no spot inaccessible to the Divine energy: for everywhere this mysterious chariot can go. The wonder and weirdness of it all is heightened by the presence of eyes in the wheels. Wheels so equipped cannot miss their way, and to those mysterious eyes every part of the universe is open. The creatures and the wheels alike were animated by the Divine life: and in the midst of the creatures was a perpetual flash of lightning, and the glow of fire—suggested, no doubt, by the altar fire of Isaiah's vision—so that the whole phenomenon constituted an awe-inspiring symbol of the omnipotence, the omnipresence, and the omniscience of God.

If it be said that much in this vision is obscure and some of it grotesque—the combination, *e.g.* of wings and wheels as means of locomotion—it may be urged in reply that the prophet is quite conscious that he is attempting to describe the indescribable. Instead of boldly describing the things themselves, he usually only hints at their appearance: it was "the likeness of" living creatures, faces, etc., that he saw—something like them, but in the last analysis something unutterable. The vision is a mystery, as every vision of God must be, and this feature persists throughout the description to the end. Indeed this sense of mystery, with its accompanying reverence and reticence, is most prominent when Ezekiel comes to tell of the figure throned upon the chariot which he has just described.

22–28. Though the whole is a vision of God, it is worth noting that Ezekiel does not name or describe Him till towards the end. This has the literary effect of heightening the reader's suspense, though the impression of the Divine presence is far less immediate than that produced by the story of the vision and call experienced by Isaiah or Jeremiah. God is more remote to the later prophet.

The mysterious reverberating whirr of the mighty wings is followed by an equally mysterious silence. The wings droop, the chariot stops. Above the heads of the creatures is seen a crystal floor or platform (here called firmament) on which rested a sapphire throne—the imagery here suggests the deep blue of heaven—and on the throne is Almighty God Himself, something like a radiant human figure of supernatural brilliance and glory. And all this terror of the Divine majesty is softened by the sight of a lovely rainbow round the throne. But little wonder that, when the prophet saw the awful vision, he fell prostrate upon his face.

Notice the incessant repetition, in the last few verses, of the words "appearance" and "likeness." At this point more than ever, Ezekiel knows himself to be describing things which it is not possible for a man to utter.

II. 1–III. 15. The Call.—II. 1–7. The awful silence is broken by a voice from the Almighty upon His throne, bidding the prostrate prophet rise and accept his commission for service; for it is a work and not an inactive prostration that God and the world need. Into the phrase "son of man," which occurs nearly 100 times in the book, Ezekiel throws his sense of his own frailty in contrast with the majesty of God as illustrated by the vision of the previous chapter. The service which he feels himself Divinely summoned to render is to declare the message of God—in the first instance a message of doom (10)—to his people: a doom justified by the infidelity which they had shown from the beginning of their national history up to that very moment, and which had already swept into exile those whom he was immediately addressing. The prophet is under no illusions: they are a rebellious house, "hard-faced and stubborn-hearted," and it is more than likely that they will not listen, though they are free to "hear or forbear," as they please: they will be "as briers and thorns," symbols of the opposition and persecution the prophet may expect to encounter (some emend these words in 6 to mean, they will "resist and despise thee"). There will be every temptation to refuse to embark upon so perilous a course, to "rebel" in one way as the people had rebelled in another: but he is to go on without flinching or fear to speak the word that would be given him, and the sequel would show them that he had been a true prophet, Divinely inspired.

II. 8–III. 15. His inspiration is suggestively described by the symbolical swallowing of a book-roll. In Jer. (19) it is more immediately conceived as due to the touch of the Divine Hand upon the prophet's lips: but by the publication of Dt. thirty years before (621 B.C.) the book had begun to hold a place in the religion of Israel which it had never held before (p. 90), and it is significant, not to say ominous, that Ezekiel is represented as owing his message and his inspiration to a book. The "lamentations, mourning, and woe" (10) inscribed in the visionary book do, in point of fact, faithfully describe the general contents and temper of Ezekiel's message throughout the earlier part of his ministry and the first half of his book (1–24), *i.e.* down to the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Though this conception of inspiration might seem mechanical and superficial, it has some profoundly suggestive features. In particular it implies that the message he is to deliver must be his own. It is God's ultimately, but Ezekiel must make it his own, work it into the very fibre of his being, assimilate it, as we should say—this is the meaning of the strong language in 3$_{3}$—until it is himself that he is uttering. When he eats the roll, bitter as are its contents, it is as sweet as

honey in his mouth, for it is sweet to do the will of God and to be trusted with tasks for Him.

But again he is reminded of the sternness of that task. He is sent to a stubborn people who will be infinitely less responsive to the Divine message than heathen foreigners would have been: this sorrowful comparison is drawn often enough in prophecy from Jonah to our Lord (Mt. 11$_{21}$, Lk. 4$_{24-27}$) between the susceptibility of the unprivileged heathen and the callousness of privileged Israel. But with resolute face the prophet is to go forward to meet their hard and resolute faces, and fearlessly deliver the message of the God who has called and can equip and sustain him.

That, then, is the summons he seems to hear from the awful Figure upon the throne of the mysterious chariot. Then once more the whirr of the wings and the roar of the wheels is heard "when the glory of Yahweh rose from its place" (as we should probably read at the end of 12); and the chariot departed, leaving the prophet, on return to normal consciousness, in a state of reaction graphically described as bitterness and heat of spirit. In this mood he found his way to Tel-abib, a colony of his fellow-exiles, apparently at or near his home, where he remained for a week in a state of utter stupefaction, dumb and motionless.

III. 16–21. The Pastoral Charge.—At the end of the week he receives another Divine message, this time of a more explicit kind and unaccompanied by vision. His task is now defined as that of a watchman. As it is the watchman's business to detect and give warning of danger, so it is the prophet's business to warn individual men of the coming catastrophe which he himself so clearly sees. It is not enough to warn the crowd: he must deal personally with the individuals good and bad, who compose the crowd, and warn them solemnly, each and all, the good no less than the bad—the bad to turn from his evil way, and the good to persist to the end without swerving in the good way; for the destiny of men will be determined by the character and conduct they exhibit when the hour of judgment strikes.

This is a passage of great importance, emphasizing the idea of individual responsibility but applying it more particularly to the calling of the prophet or preacher. There is a sense in which he is responsible for the souls of his hearers; and if one of them dies unwarned, then the prophet is his murderer. For the first time in Hebrew history the prophet becomes a pastor; he has the "care of souls."

III. 22–27. A Period of Silence.—Another ecstatic mood falls upon Ezekiel, accompanied by a vision similar to the former (ch. 1) but not this time described. The Divine voice seems to decree for him a period of temporary silence and inactivity. Perhaps 25 should read, "I will lay bands on thee and bind thee": at any rate, he is restrained in some way, whether, as some suppose, by some physical disability (*e.g.* catalepsy) or merely by the angry incredulity of his hearers, from proclaiming his message in public. He does not open his mouth, except in his own house to those who consult him privately (*cf.* 8$_{1}$), until his message is confirmed by the fall of Jerusalem (33$_{21}$f.).

IV., V. Four Symbols, Prophetic of the Coming Doom of Jerusalem.

IV. 1–3. (A) **The Siege of Jerusalem.**—But if Ezekiel may not speak, he is a prophet still, preaching, if not by the word, at least by symbolic action; and, ominously enough, his first message is the announcement of the siege of Jerusalem—and this, be it remembered, four and a half years before that siege began. How the message came to his own soul, we cannot explain except on his own assumption, that it was the voice of God: its truth was certainly justified by the sequel. He sets forth the truth symbolically by portraying upon a brick (such as the Babylonians used for writing upon) a walled city exposed to a furious siege from surrounding forts, mounds, and battering rams.

IV. 4–8. (B) **The Exile: its Duration.**—The next action is more curious. Ezekiel is represented as lying upon his side for 190 days (as LXX correctly reads in 5) to symbolise the years of punishment in exile—a year for a day—undergone by Israel and Judah for their sins. As the restoration of these two kingdoms is expected to occur simultaneously (37$_{16}$ff.) we must assume that, as he lies for forty days upon his *right* side to represent Judah (*i.e.* the *southern* kingdom), so he lies 150 days on his *left* to represent Israel (*i.e.* the *northern* kingdom), though the *whole* period of her exile covers, of course, 190 years. Forty is a round number: in point of fact, the exile of Judah (reckoning from the fall of Jerusalem) lasted almost fifty years (586–538 B.C.). A hundred and fifty is also a round number: from the date at which Ezekiel is writing (592 B.C.) back to the fall of Samaria, the capital of the northern kingdom (721 B.C.), the exile of Israel lasted about 130 years, or more nearly 150, if we carry the date back to the Assyrian deportation of some of Israel's northern inhabitants, 734 B.C. (2 K. 15$_{29}$).

Some think that this action points to the rigidity of catalepsy; but the sequel, in which Ezekiel bakes, eats, and drinks, shows that it cannot have been literally carried out. At most one may suppose that the symbolic action was deliberately performed for a certain time each day. Despite his silence, his strange posture and behaviour were charged with prophetic meaning.

IV. 9–17. (C) **The Hardships of the Exiles and the Besieged.**—The horrors of famine, consequent upon the siege, are suggested by the symbolical action of this section, in which the prophet's food and drink are to be carefully measured out—about half a pound of food a day and a little over a pint of water. But blended with the thought of the scarcity of food during the siege is the thought of the uncleanness of the food eaten during the exile. According to Hebrew ideas, any food eaten in any land outside of Canaan was necessarily unclean: partly because such a land, not being Yahweh's land, was itself unclean, and partly because no first-fruits would be offered to Him, as He could have no sanctuary there (Hos. 9$_{3}$f.). The uncleanness of exile is suggested by the mongrel combinations (*cf.* 9) which in food, as in dress and other things (*cf.* Dt. 22$_{9-11}$), seems to have been offensive to Hebrew religious sense; but it is suggested far more drastically by the repulsive accessories of its preparation, which must have been peculiarly offensive to the priestly Ezekiel with his regard for ceremonial propriety. This regard he specially emphasizes before God in a highly significant prayer—one of the very few prayers in the book—and a special concession is made; but even so, the religious horror of the exile to a sensitive and scrupulous Hebrew is powerfully suggested.

V. 1–4. (D) **The Fate of the Besieged.**—Yet the last symbol is perhaps the most terrible of all; it suggests the all but irretrievable completeness of the destruction. Ezekiel is commanded to take a sharp sword, and use it, like a razor, upon his head and beard—suggesting how clean the city will be swept of its

population. The hair removed is to be scrupulously weighed—there is a deadly accuracy in the Divine justice—and divided into three portions, destined to be burned, smitten, and scattered respectively, symbolic (as we learn from 12) of the fate of those within the city (the fire stands for pestilence and famine), of those caught near it, cruelly cut down in their efforts to escape, and of those who will be swept away to exile. Of these last a few, symbolised by a little hair caught in the folds of Ezekiel's garment, shall escape, but even this remnant is to be decimated by further disaster. (Perhaps the last sentence of 4 should be deleted.)

V. 5–17. Explanation of the Symbols.—By the four preceding symbolical actions the doom has been made too terribly clear: the reason for it is now given. Jerusalem is the centre of the world, conspicuous alike for her position and her privileges, especially for her possession of a unique religious law, the gift of her own unique God. But so far was she from gratefully conforming her life to it, that she fell disgracefully below even heathen standards (*cf.* Jer. 211); and so, conspicuous in her doom as in her privileges, she must be punished before all the world—a fate from which Israel had always shrunk with special horror (8). Her punishment was to be unparalleled (9)—parents would literally devour their own children in the stress of the siege (*cf.* Lam. 410)—because her sin had been unparalleled; and it is very significant that Ezekiel defines this sin in ritual terms (*cf.* 414). It is because the Temple had been defiled by idolatry in ways to be described in ch. 8 that the pitiless punishment falls. Over and over again it is described in all the detail of its inexorable ruthlessness, and Yahweh pledges Himself to it all in a solemn oath (11). In His fury He will make of guilty Jerusalem a terrible example, which will warn, if not win, the rest of the world. The spirit of this threat—that Yahweh will not rest content until He has wreaked the fury of His vengeance upon them—is, of course, not Christian: but neither is it ignoble. He does it out of what is called His zeal (13), *i.e.* a jealous regard for His honour which He had entrusted to Israel's keeping, and which Israel has trampled in the dust. We have here that "terrifying sense of the Divine anger against sin so powerfully represented in the preaching of Ezekiel" (Ex.B. Ezek. p. 69).

VI. The Doom of the Sinful Mountains.—VI. 1–7. Not only, however, was Jerusalem steeped in sin, but the whole land; therefore the whole land is here addressed and denounced, or rather the mountains, partly because the mountains were the conspicuous and characteristic feature of Canaan: but more especially because from time immemorial the "high places" upon them had been the seat of idolatry. The Hebrews had taken them over from the Canaanites, and with them many elements of the idolatrous worship practised within them. Thirty years before a desperate effort, based upon the newly-discovered book of Deuteronomy, had been made by Josiah to abolish these sanctuaries; but such a passage as this shows us that they still persisted. The words "high places," which primarily denoted sanctuaries on heights (*e.g.* of hills), came to denote sanctuaries in general, and so are applied here also to the sanctuaries in the valleys (such as the Valley of the son of Hinnom, S.W. of Jerusalem, where a cruel worship was practised, Jer. 731) and the watercourses, or rather gorges, wadys. The worship was often licentious as well as cruel (Hos. 413f.), and other deities besides Yahweh were worshipped here, *e.g.* the sun (2 K. 2311), whose images or obelisks (2 Ch. 145*) are referred to. This idolatry, like the idolatry on Zion Hill in the Temple (511), must be avenged, and the chapter describes the relentlessness of the Divine vengeance. The enemy will invade the land, demolish the sanctuaries, and slay the worshippers who have taken refuge there, but whom the idols (Ezekiel uses a contemptuous word) are impotent to defend: and the scattered bones of the slain will defile the altars (2 K. 2316). So thorough will the devastation be that silence will reign throughout the mountain villages and mountain shrines alike.

VI. 8–10. The object of all this devastation is the vindication of God's insulted honour: "ye shall know that I am Yahweh" (a very common phrase in Ezekiel), the just and mighty Yahweh, in comparison with the impotent idols. But that honour will be more completely vindicated by the penitence and conversion of sinners than by their destruction: and Ezekiel anticipates that a remnant in exile, smitten with self-loathing as they contemplate the fearful consequences of their immorality and idolatry, will remember the God whom they had forsaken, repent, and acknowledge Him. (In 9 read, "*and I will break* their whorish heart," *i.e.* with calamity.)

VI. 11–14. The prospect of the awful destruction of the idolaters by sword, famine, and pestilence, moves Ezekiel to give vent to his feelings in gestures of triumphant scorn; far from pitying his sinful fellow-countrymen in the hour of their sore distress, rather does he rejoice in Yahweh's victory over them. (For *alas*, 11, read *ha!*) And again comes the scornful reference to the impotent idols who could save neither the worshippers nor the sanctuaries nor the land from destruction, but desolation would reign across it all from the wilderness in the south to Riblah (as we should read for Diblah) on the Orontes in the far north, where, after the sack of Jerusalem, king Zedekiah was taken and blinded (2 K. 257).

VII. The End is Nigh.—VII. 1–9. The visions of doom, so vividly described in the three preceding chapters, reach their climax in this chapter, charged with emotion and palpitating with the sense of the approaching end. That end was yet more than four years off, but already Ezekiel sees it in all its horror—that day of the pitiless anger of Yahweh, who by His terrors would teach His wicked and idolatrous people who and what He was.

VII. 10–18. That dreadful day, which would extinguish their political existence, would no less bring to an end all their social and commercial life. The proud blossoms of Judah would soon be smitten and withered. Buyers need no more rejoice when they made a good bargain, nor need sellers be sorry when they came off badly, for very soon they would all be levelled in one common catastrophe. The enemy would come, the alarm of war would be raised, but none would have the courage to go forth to the fight, so that destruction in its every form would reign unchecked, alike on those who remained in the city, and on those who escaped to the mountains, and everywhere would be seen the signs of mourning (sackcloth, shaven head, etc.). (This passage bristles with textual obscurities, which would not repay discussion here. Suffice it to say that in 10 the "rod" is probably Judah or the royal house, and 13 is referred by some to the property of the expatriated nobles: also in 13 for "the vision is touching" read "there is wrath upon.")

VII. 19–27. In the dread day of the siege, when ruthless Babylonian hands would profane Yahweh's secret (or rather cherished) place, *i.e.* the Temple, famine would reign, and then not all their silver and gold, of which they had been so haughtily proud, could

buy for them a bit of bread, nor could their gilt and silvered gods deliver them. Nor was it only the idolatry of their worship, but the violence, the cruelty, the injustice of their lives, their "bloody crimes," that had brought this desecration upon the holy places. All the civil and religious leaders would be at their wits' end, and, in the absence of true leadership the common people would be helpless. Then, when they are reaping the reward of their sin and folly, "they shall know that I am Yahweh." (In 23 the words rendered "make the chain" are obscure and uncertain.)

VIII.–XIII. Other Visions of Sin and Judgment.

VIII.—The Idolatry of Jerusalem Illustrated.—VIII. 1–6. The Jealousy Image.—The visions which fill chs. 8–11 occurred about a year after those that precede (1¹), *i.e.* in 591 B.C. This chapter gives concrete illustrations of the kind of sin that justified the doom already announced: significantly enough, they all centre round idolatry (*cf.* 6), and—most horrible of all—the scene of it is the Temple itself. Thither, on the occasion of a visit of certain Judæan elders to his house Ezekiel had been transported in ecstatic trance by the Divine Being, whose glory he had seen and described in ch. 1: there he had witnessed—some think by a kind of second sight—one idolatry after another, each one worse than the last, and all represented as constraining Yahweh to depart from His sanctuary. First was an image of jealousy, *i.e.* an image which provoked Yahweh: it may have been an image of the goddess Astarte, or it may only have been a sacred pole (ashērâ) forbidden to the Yahweh worship (Dt. 16²¹): enough, as an image, it was an abomination—the more so, as it had been introduced after being abolished by Josiah (2 K. 23⁶).

VIII. 7–13. The Mystery Cult.—Next, through a hole in the Temple wall, Ezekiel saw seventy elders headed by Jaazaniah (son, perhaps, of that very Shaphan who had been associated with the reform of the worship thirty years before, 2 K. 22³ff.) indulging in mysterious animal worship, which some trace to Egypt, others to Babylon, while others, with more probability, regard it as a recrudescence of ancient Canaanitish practice (possibly totemistic). But the explanation of this, as partly of the other practices, lies in this (12), that they believe both themselves and their land to be forsaken by their God, Yahweh, and they are therefore driven to seek the support of other gods. (The meaning and the text of the phrase "chambers of imagery" in 12 are uncertain.)

VIII. 14, 15. The Worship of Tammuz.—Then follows a scene in which the women lament for Tammuz—a clear allusion to a Babylonian cult. Tammuz (pp. 631 f.), "impersonation of the fructifying, gladdening sun," god of the spring vegetation, is represented as later in the year descending to the realm of the dead. Thither he was followed by the goddess Ishtar, and this accounts for the part here taken by the women in the cult. "Here we strike upon the danger-point in the old nature religions"; they easily developed licentious features. Whether these were practised in Israel in Ezekiel's time or not, such a cult constituted a grave menace. (For an illuminating account of Tammuz, who roughly corresponds to Adonis, see J. F. McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, §§ 1186–1190.)

VIII. 16f. Sun Worship.—The next scene is a group of sun-worshippers with their backs significantly turned towards the Temple. This also points to Babylonian influence. Sun worship, abolished by Josiah (2 K. 23¹¹) had apparently been reintroduced. What the more abominable thing, alluded to in 17, may have been, we do not know, as the phrase "they put the branch to their nose" is obscure: some imagine it conceals a reference to a definitely immoral worship. [But see J. H. Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. x, 189–191. He says, referring to the Magi. "The earliest evidence of their activity as a sacred tribe is in Ezekiel (8¹⁷), where they are found at Jerusalem, in or before 591 B.C., worshipping the sun, and holding to their face a branch, which is the predecessor of the later *barsom*" (p. x). Of the *barsom* he says that Parsi priests still hold it "to the face as they minister before the sacred fire" (p. 190). J. G. Frazer, with reference to Strabo's account of Zoroastrianism in Cappadocia, says: "The perpetual fire burnt on an altar, surrounded by a heap of ashes, in the middle of the temple; and the priests daily chanted their liturgy before it, holding in their hands a bundle of myrtle rods and wearing on their heads tall felt caps with cheek-pieces which covered their lips, lest they should defile the sacred flame with their breath."—*Adonis, Attis, Osiris,*³ i. 191.—A. S. P.] At any rate, after so many references to ritual sin, it is refreshing to find Ezekiel ending the indictment which justified the doom with a definite charge of wrong-doing: "they have filled the land with violence."

IX. The Pitiless Slaughter of the Sinners.—The doom has been abundantly justified; now it comes, and in bloody form. In obedience to a ringing summons, seven angels come forth to execute it—six armed with deadly weapons, the seventh arrayed in priestly linen and with an inkhorn hanging at his side, ready to put the sign of the cross (the "mark" in 4 is the letter *taw*, which in the old alphabet was a cross) upon the brows of the few who were to be spared in the coming destruction, because they sighed and cried over the sin of Jerusalem. At this point comes the ominous reminder that Yahweh is gradually departing from the guilty city: already His glory has left the holy place where the cherubim were and moved to the threshold of the Temple. Then there rings out the awful command to the destroying angels, uttered by Yahweh Himself, to slay without mercy all—old and young, man and maid—who had not the mark upon their brow; and the deadly work was to begin at the holy Temple itself, the scene of their sin (8)—the Temple in which they trusted (Jer. 7⁴), and which, since Isaiah's time, they had deemed inviolable.

The veil is mercifully drawn over the horrible carnage. Ezekiel, alone and appalled, gives vent to his tumultuous feelings in a passionate prayer that the remnant may be spared, but the inexorable answer comes that for the moral guilt of the land, the pitiless punishment must go on: and the awful threat is confirmed by the return of the angel with the inkhorn, who reports with terrible simplicity, "I have done as thou hast bidden." The ghastly details are left to the imagination.

X. 1–8. The Burning of the City.—But the guilty city must be destroyed as well as the people: so the awful carnage is followed by a no less awful conflagration—prophetic of the fire, kindled later by Babylonian hands, which reduced the city to ashes (2 K. 25⁹). But this fire was kindled by supernatural hands which took it from among the flames that flashed and blazed between the strange creatures in the Divine chariot (1¹³); and again (*cf.* 9³) the ominous note is struck of the departure of Yahweh, confirmed by the loud whirr of the wings. Very solemn was the moment when the linen-clad angel took the fire and went forth to scatter it over the guilty city. But over this scene, as over the other (9), a veil of silence is drawn. The passage is overpoweringly dramatic. The Temple is desolate,

Ezekiel is alone, around him are the slain, not far off is the mysterious chariot with its strange creatures, and, to crown all, the angel scattering flame over the city.

X. 9–22. This splendid passage is followed by a description of the Divine chariot (9–17) which does little more than duplicate the description in 1¹⁵–²¹, and which, to a modern taste, seems of the nature of an irrelevance and anticlimax. The point of the repetition, however, is suggested by 20, 22, which identify the chariot seen at Jerusalem with that seen in the former vision by the Chebar. It is as if Ezekiel said that the glorious God of Israel, whose glory had been trailed in the dust by His worshippers (8), had not only annihilated Jerusalem, her Temple and her people, but had definitely abandoned it—at least for a time—for Babylonia where the exiles were; and the departure by the eastern gate is described in 18f.

(In 14 for "cherub" we should perhaps read "ox": *cf.* 1¹⁰.)

XI. The Departure of Yahweh.—XI. 1–13. Another Guilty Group.—The doom has been executed with grim thoroughness, the guilty are all slain (9); it is therefore surprising to come here upon another guilty group. Clearly this passage presupposes a slightly different time, but it admirably serves to strengthen the reasons for Yahweh's departure from the city. Besides the idolatry already described (8), another type of guilt is illustrated by this group of twenty-five (probably twenty-four and a president) who give "wicked counsel" in the city. Apparently these were statesmen who favoured the policy (condemned by Jeremiah) of revolt from Babylon. In proverbial language they compare the city to a caldron, and themselves to the flesh within it: the fire may blaze round the pot, but the flesh within it is protected. The sense of security which they thus express is rudely shattered by the prophet, who is inspired to announce that the only people safe within the city would be those whom their wicked policy had already slain—grim irony!—while they themselves would be thrown from the pot into the fire, driven out of their fancied security by the sword which they fear towards the cruel destiny reserved for them by the Babylonians away on the distant northern borders of ancient Israel; and then they would be compelled by the logic of fact to acknowledge the power and the character of Yahweh who punishes those who ignore His law. In point of fact, after the fall of Jerusalem the Hebrew prisoners were taken to Riblah (6¹⁴) and there put to death (2 K. 25²¹). Immediately after this announcement one of the leaders of the guilty group fell dead—this Ezekiel may have seen in virtue of his gift of second sight—and the prophet, horrified, uttered a piercing prayer for the remnant, like that which he had offered before when the angels were slaying the wicked people (9⁸).

(The meaning of the first clause of 3 is not clear: perhaps it should be read as a question—"have houses not recently been built?"—and taken to indicate a sense of returning prosperity and confidence: so LXX.)

XI. 14–25. A Glimmer of Hope.—The people who, at the first deportation (597 B.C.), were allowed to remain in the land, clearly thought themselves superior to those who, like Ezekiel, had been taken to Babylon—far from Yahweh's land and therefore far from Yahweh (15, read *they are far*). Ezekiel undeceives them: the future lies with the exiles, not with them. True, Yahweh had been (see *mg.*) to the exiles "but little of a sanctuary"—*i.e.* their religious privileges had been inevitably curtailed—but some day they would come back to the land, and establish upon it the true worship of Yahweh. First they would sweep it clean of every idolatrous thing, and then for their callous obstinate hearts God would give them soft impressionable hearts on which His laws would be easily written (36²⁵–²⁷). (It is worth noting here how great prophetic thought is crossed by ritual interests.) In 19 for "one" read, with LXX, "another."

Then, in good earnest, the Divine chariot begins to move (22–25): it passes away from the guilty city across the Kidron to the Mount of Olives, away—we are not told where; and we hear no more of it till we reach the reconstruction sketched at the end of the book (44¹–³). Then Ezekiel awoke from his trance.

XII. Exile Foreshadowed.—1–16. Flight from the Beleaguered City.—Ezekiel's message of doom has surely been made plain enough, but the "rebellious house" will not listen; for one thing, their confidence in the indestructibility of the monarchy and the throne made such a message incredible. Well then, if they will not hear, they must be made to see; and again, as before (4) Ezekiel incarnates his message. By his conduct, he becomes a prophetic "sign." In the daytime, before the eyes of the people, he packs a few belongings together, such as an exile might take with him to the land for which he was destined; then, having thus stimulated their curiosity, he carries them on his shoulder in the dead of night through a hole which he had dug in the wall (apparently of his house). In the morning, in answer to their astonished queries, he tells them plainly that it is a prophetic symbol of exile. But more, it symbolises king Zedekiah's stealthy attempt (*cf. prince*, 12) to escape (2 K. 25⁴); and the description of his face so covered that he could not see the ground is so plain an allusion to his blinding by the Babylonians (2 K. 25⁷) that some have supposed the passage to be written after the event. But Ezekiel, with his peculiar gifts, may very well have had a presentiment of the fate of Zedekiah. Thus sternly does he tear from them the illusion of the indestructibility of the monarchy; but this whole tragic experience is meant to teach the people the true character of their God.

XII. 17–20. The Straits of the Siege.—In another message whose symbols resemble those of 4¹⁰f., 16f., he seeks to bring home to them the certain and horrible privations of the siege.

XII. 21–XIV. 11. The Folly of the Popular Attitude to Prophecy.

In two further ways the people allowed themselves to be deluded—(i.) by their ignoring of true prophets, such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, (ii.) by their confidence in false prophets.

XII. 21–28. Disregard of the True Prophets.—One reason for ignoring the stern message of Ezekiel is suggested by the popular saying that the days keep stretching out but the doom is never fulfilled, so that there is nothing in prophecy after all (21–25). Another group of people appears to have believed in prophecy, but regarded the doom at which it pointed to be so far away as to be negligible (26–28). To both Ezekiel reiterates his message with the assurance that the doom is coming speedily.

XIII. Denunciation of the False Prophets (1–16) and Prophetesses (17–23).—Besides the delay of the doom which Ezekiel threatened, the people were deluded by the welcome and reassuring promises of the false prophets, of whose temper and methods this chapter draws a very living picture.

XIII. 1–7. The false prophets were jingoes, with no real inspiration, courage, or insight into the moral quality of the political situation. Some of them were

sincere and hoped for the confirmation of their message, but all of them were shallow. They could repeat the formulæ of the true prophet, and preface their message with a "Thus saith Yahweh," but they were not real messengers of His at all. Instead of bravely stepping into the breach (the language is suggested by the siege), instead of giving warning like Ezekiel (316ff.) of the dread day of Yahweh that was coming, and strengthening the moral fabric of the state, they were only too much at home in its ruins, where, like burrowing foxes, they only succeeded in confounding the confusion.

XIII. 8–16. Their doom is therefore sealed. They too will be confounded in the confusion which they have helped to create. They shall be swept off the land of Israel, and their names shall not appear on the registry of the citizens of the restored community, because they said "It is well," when it was anything but well. In another picture suggested by the siege, Ezekiel very graphically describes their shallow, criminal methods. Instead of helping to repair the shattered wall of the state, they whitewash it, careless of the fact that "the whitewashing of the wall may hide its defects, but will not prevent its destruction" (EXB, p. 121). But one day—he is thinking of the siege and fall of the city—the awful storm will come, deluge, and hailstones, and hurl the fair but shoddy wall so violently to the ground that the very foundations will be laid bare. Then when the wall and its silly builders, the state and its shallow prophets, go down in a common ruin, in grim irony but with perfect justice Yahweh will put this question: "Where is the wall and where are those that whitewashed it?" (So we should probably read in 15.)

XIII. 17–23. The False Prophetesses.—But women, as well as men, contributed, and just as fatally, to the popular delusion. The false prophets were public men, who exercised an influence on politics; the false prophetesses corresponded roughly to our modern fortune-tellers, and wielded an enormous private influence over a people prone to superstition, and confused by the complexity of the situation. We have here a very vivid picture of their mysterious practices. They are seen sewing magic bands or amulets (not pillows) on to the wrists or elbows of their clients, and attaching long, flowing veils to their heads. The professed object of these superstitious practices is the capture and control of souls—more plainly to slay and to spare, *i.e.* to determine their fate by a solemn prediction of death or good fortune, as the case may be. Ezekiel takes three objections to all this profane jugglery: (*a*) it is done for sordid gain (19), (*b*) it was a desecration of the Divine name, which was invoked at these performances: but (*c*) almost worse, if possible, even than this, was the complete contempt shown by these fortune-tellers for the indissoluble relation between character and destiny, on which the true prophets so uniformly insisted: they pretended to be able, by their spells, to decree death to the innocent and life to the guilty. Their effect was to disintegrate the moral life of the community: consequently they, with all the implements of their nefarious trade, must be destroyed. [J. G. Frazer, at the close of his discussion on "Absence and Recall of the Soul," says that Robertson Smith suggested to him that the practice of hunting souls denounced by Ezekiel may have been akin to those collected in this discussion (*Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 77).—A. S. P.]

XIV. 1–11. Insincerity of those who Consult the Prophets.—Like prophet, like people. The prophets, as we have just seen (13), were greatly to blame; but no less were the people—partly because of their scepticism (1221–28), and partly, as we now see, because of their insincerity. This is illustrated by a question put by certain elders on the occasion of a visit to Ezekiel—a question which neither deserved nor received an answer; for they are idolaters, certainly at heart and probably in fact; they worship Yahweh with divided heart, and are therefore inevitably excluded from a knowledge of His purpose and will. No answer can be given to such, but the answer of the Divine judgment; and if they continue their policy of impenitent compromise, their fate will be nothing less than terrible (1–8). And not only their fate, but the fate of any prophet that gives them an answer. The only prophet who could accommodate himself to men like these would be one who was himself infatuated—perhaps as the result of some moral obliquity; and such prophets, like those who consult them, must bear their punishment. Only through true prophets and a true people can the better day come (9–11).

XIV. 12–23. The Righteous cannot Save the City, but only Themselves.—In spite of all Ezekiel's visions and warnings, the people still cherish the illusion that Jerusalem will be spared—if for no other reason, at least for the sake of the righteous to be found in it, on the principle of solidarity. Why might it not, like Sodom (Gen. 1832), be spared "for ten's sake"? In this very interesting and rhetorical passage, where Ezekiel develops the broad doctrine of individual responsibility, at which he has just hinted (10) and which he had touched upon before (316–21), he strikes away this illusion. When the judgment comes, he tells them—be it in the form of famine, wild beasts, or pestilence—the most godly men, for all their piety, will be able to deliver no one but themselves: not their families, not even a single member of them (20), far less their city or their land. As types of piety he chooses the names of men whose *stories* must have been familiar to his contemporaries (Noah, Daniel, Job) though the *books* named after the two latter had not yet been written (12–21). This dogmatic theory of strict individual retribution would seem to be difficult to square with the survival of a guilty remnant, such, *e.g.* as those who were deported later to Babylon after the fall of the city in 586 B.C. Ezekiel meets this undoubted difficulty by the suggestion that this remnant, by their corrupt lives, will show how thoroughly just the doom of the others was; and the exiles will have the grim comfort of witnessing this confirmation of the Divine justice.

XV. The Useless Vine (Jerusalem) is Doomed to Destruction.—We have seen some of the reasons why the illusion of the inviolability of Jerusalem was so hard to slay (chs. 12f.). Here we meet with another. The people believed themselves to be the darlings of Yahweh. Had not the great Isaiah (ch. 5) compared them to a vine, which had enjoyed His special nurture and care? Good, says Ezekiel, but remember how useless the vine is; why you cannot even make a peg out of its wood. While, as for the fruit of this particular vine—he passes over this in ominous silence—it has either none to show, or the foul fruit (of injustice and oppression) so stingingly denounced by Isaiah (5,7). Besides, it has already been burned at both ends—an allusion to the fall of Israel in 721 B.C. and the first deportation of Judah in 597 B.C.; and if useless when whole, how much more useless, if possible, when partially burnt! It is fit only for the fire and into the fire again it shall be flung—an allusion to the impending fall and burning of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

XVI. Jerusalem the Ungrateful, the Unfaithful.—Again Ezekiel returns to the indictment which justifies

the doom. This time it takes the form of a merciless exposure, in allegorical form, of her sins, which, from the beginning to the end of her history, constitute one unbroken record of black apostasy. Jerusalem (or Israel) is compared to an infant girl, abandoned immediately after birth, but saved, brought up, and married by Yahweh, whose care and love she rewarded with infidelities gross and innumerable. The idea is elaborated with a detail often offensive to modern taste, but the whole passage palpitates with moral indignation and religious passion, and is not seldom dashed with the bitterest irony.

1–14. Yahweh's Kindness.—Jerusalem (*i.e.* Israel), Ezekiel fiercely begins, was heathen from the first, child of Amorite and Hittite parents (names intended to represent the heathen predecessors of Israel in Canaan). With no prospect of a future for her, to say nothing of a distinguished future, Yahweh took loving care of her throughout the early centuries, and at Sinai entered into a (marriage) covenant with her, thereafter advancing her till in the days of David and Solomon she had reached not only power and prosperity but a certain international reputation.

15–34. Israel's Ingratitude.—This love Israel requited with the most incredible treachery, which bespoke a truly adulterous heart. She forsook her own loving God for others: (*a*) she tainted and degraded His worship by carrying into it the cruel and immoral rites practised in the worship of the native gods of Canaan upon the accursed high places (15–25), and (*b*) she (partly through political entanglements) deliberately adopted the worship of foreign gods of Egypt, Assyria, Chaldea (Babylonia), those empires whose secular power so profoundly impressed the shallow, susceptible heart of Israel. Her adulterous love for these alien cults had cost her both blood and money—the blood of her children slain in sacrifice (2025f.*) and by the sword of the invading enemy, and endless tribute to her foreign over-lords (26–34).

35–58. The Doom.—But the "harlot" Jerusalem would have to pay the yet heavier price of being stripped, stoned, and burned—an all too plain allusion to the siege and firing of the city (35–43). But the bitterest drop in Jerusalem's cup was to be told that she was not only as bad as her heathen mother, but worse than her rival sister Samaria (capital of the northern kingdom), worse even than the infamous Sodom to the south. They were righteous in comparison with her. (These places are mentioned because they are within the bounds of the ideal future kingdom whose centre will be Jerusalem.) But—and here hope begins to gleam through—one day the fortunes of Samaria and Sodom would be restored, and with them Judah too. A humiliating consolation for Judah the proud to be mentioned in company with Sodom, whose name she had erstwhile refused to take upon her lips. (In 57 for "Syria" read "Edom," which had exulted over the downfall of Judah; *cf.* Ps. 137.)

59–63. The Promise.—In the end Yahweh's purpose of grace triumphs. After her stern discipline, Israel recalls with shame the long story of her sin, and Yahweh recalls His ancient love for her, re-enacts the covenant never to be broken any more, and bestows upon Israel the place of religious supremacy. The people accept these tokens of forgiveness in ashamed and grateful silence. (61, Yahweh does what He does "not by thy covenant," *i.e.* not by reason of Israel's behaviour in the covenant relation, but of His own free grace.)

XVII. The Perfidious King.—Jerusalem, as we have seen, is to be punished for her guilty past and her perfidious people (16), but no less for her guilty present and her perfidious king. This truth is driven home in another allegory, here called a "riddle" and "parable," set forth in 1–10 and expounded in 11–21; and thus for the second time (12r–16) Ezekiel shatters the illusion of the stability of the king and the monarchy. For a second time, too, the figure of Israel as a vine is presented (15)—but from a different point of view.

Here is the allegory and the interpretation thereof. A magnificent eagle (Nebuchadrezzar) swooped down upon a stately cedar (Judah), plucked off the top of it (the aristocracy of Judah), and the topmost twig of all (king Jehoiachin), and carried them to a land of traffic (Babylon: reference is to first deportation, with which Ezekiel went in 597 B.C.). But the eagle took seed of the land (king Zedekiah), and planted it in Judah, which he intended should develop as a vine, luxuriant and prosperous, but twining with lovely branches towards him (to signify the humble dependence of Judah upon Babylon). But there was another eagle (Egypt), great too, but less magnificent than the former: and to this eagle the vine turned for nurture, though it was already being richly nurtured in the soil in which Babylon had planted it—the reference is to Zedekiah's revolt from Babylon, and appeal to Egypt. Of such perfidy the only end would be destruction: the eagle (Nebuchadrezzar) would tear up the vine by the roots, like the scorching east wind he would wither it, and the expected support of Egypt would prove to be a delusion. In plain words, the kingdom would be shattered, Zedekiah captured, many exiled, and many slain. The indignant passion that breathes through this oracle is roused by the fact that Zedekiah's perfidy towards Nebuchadrezzar was in reality perfidy towards Yahweh, whose name he had solemnly invoked when he took the oath of allegiance (19). (The passage finely interprets Nebuchadrezzar's political intentions, which were at first not to crush Judah, but to have in her a flourishing, grateful, humble, dependent.)

XVIII. The Principle of Retribution.—From many points of view the imminent doom has been abundantly justified. But on whom will it fall? on the innocent and guilty alike? This chapter proclaims that it will fall only on those whom it overtakes in a state of sin, and that it may therefore be avoided by turning in penitence to God. God is gracious as well as just, and man is free to turn—he is bound neither by his ancestry nor by his own past. The chapter is an extreme expression of individualism, in criticising which it has to be remembered (*a*) that it is a pioneer statement, and (*b*) that it is addressed to men who imagine that they are hopelessly implicated in the penalties incurred by the sins of former generations.

1–4. For after all, they were the generation that had participated in the reformation of Josiah; and it seemed to them that they were suffering for the unexpiated sins of his grandfather, Manasseh (2 K. 2326). They expressed their feelings in a proverb which suggested the irrationality and injustice of that; and Ezekiel meets them by denying from henceforth this principle of solidarity with the past, and by maintaining that the soul that sinneth—*it* and no other soul would die. No more would the son die for his father's sin, as had happened, *e.g.* in the case of Achan's children (Josh. 724) or Saul's (2 S. 216). The good would be spared in the judgment.

5–13. But who is the good? These verses describe him negatively as a man who refuses to take advantage of his fellows, and positively as one who will be ready

to help them in their need; but it is significant that Ezekiel includes, and even puts first, demands affecting worship. The good man must shun idolatry, and all participation in the sacrificial meals upon the high places (5–9). But the bad man, who fails to fulfil these religious and moral demands, will perish: his relationship to a good father will not save him from his doom.

14–18. Similarly a bad man's son, if he be himself a good man, will not be involved in his father's doom, but he will be spared in the judgment (14–18).

19–32. Similarly a man is not bound by his own past any more than by his ancestry; it is always possible for him to "turn"; and the God, who judges each man strictly according to his conduct, will nevertheless disclose Himself as gracious; for His deepest desire is not that the wicked should be punished, but that they should be converted and live—a truly evangelical utterance. The earnestness with which the prophet insists that the principles of the Divine retribution are right and equitable (25,29) shows that he is addressing men who strongly doubted it (19–29). He ends with a fine appeal for repentance and a new heart, and another proclamation of the grace of God (30–32). This concluding appeal shows that Ezekiel's conception of character and conduct is not so external as earlier verses might have led us to believe.

XIX. Dirge Over the Kings.—From a chapter which has the ring almost of dogmatic theology, we pass to one of pure elegiac poetry, in which Ezekiel deals a death-blow to the vain hopes reposed in the monarchy (*cf.* 12I–15, 17).

1–9. Judah the Lioness.—Mother Judah is compared to a lioness, and the kings are her whelps. 1–9 celebrates the sorrowful fate of Jehoahaz (2–4) and Jehoiachin (5–9), each of whom was carried into exile after a reign of only three months—Jehoahaz to Egypt in 608, Jehoiachin to Babylon in 597 B.C. The might of Judah and her kings is idealised in this "lament," and the fate of the monarchs is described in terms appropriate to the capture of a lion (4,8f.)—dangerous beasts were sometimes trapped in pits. (In 4 "heard of" should be "clamoured against," in 5 "waited" practically = waited in vain, but the word is quite uncertain. In 7 "knew" should perhaps be "ravaged.") The melancholy cadence of the last sentence is very fine—

> "That his voice should be heard no more
> On the mountains of Israel."

10–14. Judah the Vine.—The figure changes, as in Gen. 49S–12, from lion to vine, and the king whose destiny is foreshadowed is this time Zedekiah. Judah is described as a fruitful vine, one of whose mighty branches (Zedekiah) became a royal sceptre (11). But the vine was violently uprooted, hurled to the ground, withered by the fury of the scorching east wind—a plain allusion to the destruction of Judah by Babylon. It is to be noted, however, that the fire which consumed her issued from one of her own branches—a pointed allusion to the treachery of Zedekiah, at which Ezekiel has already expressed his horror (17I9). Thus no more than his predecessors will Zedekiah save the state: he and it will perish.

XX. The Wicked Past and the Blessed Future.—1–32. A Sketch of Israel's Early Idolatries.—It is now 590 B.C. Almost a year has elapsed since the last incident that was dated (81): and as the doom draws nearer, the prophet grows fiercer. This lurid sketch of Israel's ancient sins, which partly recalls ch. 16, was occasioned by a visit of some elders (*cf.* 81, 141), who put to him a question which though not recorded, may perhaps be inferred from 32. It seems probable that, in disgust and despair, the exiles may have been on the point of throwing over their allegiance to Yahweh who seemed so impotent, and adopting the worship and gods of the Babylonians. This gives Ezekiel the chance to denounce the wickedness and folly of Israel's idolatry, so ancient, so persistent, and so ruinous in its consequences (1–4).

Israel's idolatry is as old as Yahweh's choice of her. It goes back to Egypt. There He gave them a revelation, made gracious promises, and in return only asked them to abstain from Egyptian idolatry: but they refused, and, but for His name's sake (*i.e.* regard for His reputation, which would have suffered had His people been annihilated) He would have destroyed them (5–9). When Israel left Egypt and entered the wilderness, the same melancholy story was repeated. At Sinai Yahweh showed His favour by giving them certain laws (such as we find in Dt. or in the smaller Book of the Covenant, Ex. 20–23), obedience to which would have meant life and prosperity. The Sabbath is singled out for special mention—significant of the high place it received in exilic and post-exilic times. But Sabbath and laws were alike despised, and it was only Yahweh's pity and regard for His name that kept Him from destroying them (10–17). The second generation was no better than the first (18–27). They too profaned the Sabbath, spurned the laws, and indulged in idolatry, so that Yahweh, though He would not destroy them, determined to scatter them one day throughout the world (an allusion to exile). The strangest and most difficult utterance is in 25f. where Yahweh is represented as giving them statutes which were not good. The allusion appears to be to some such law as that of Ex. 1312, 2229, that the first-born must be offered to Yahweh, interpreted as a demand for child sacrifice (in spite of the provision that "the first-born of man" was to be redeemed). Elsewhere Ezekiel (1620) speaks with horror of the practice, and he cannot, any more than Jeremiah (731*, *cf.* Lev. 821*), have regarded it as *prescribed* by Yahweh, but, at the most, as permitted by Him, on the principle that the sin of idolatry involves such frightful misconceptions of the Divine nature, and carries such awful consequences in its train, and that behind all development, law, incident, is Yahweh (Am. 36). When the people emerged from the wilderness upon the promised land, the idolatries of Egypt and the wilderness were succeeded by the cruel and immoral idolatries upon the high places of Canaan. Such a people, idolatrous now as then, does not deserve and will not receive an answer from Yahweh through His prophet (28–32). (29 involves an unimportant play upon Hebrew words.)

33–44. The Restoration of the Future.—But after all, Yahweh has chosen Israel (5) for a purpose, and that purpose must not be frustrated; and despite the sin and darkness of the present, Ezekiel looks hopefully out to the future. But first there must be a sifting. Israel is to be gathered into the wilderness between Babylon and Canaan (35) and passed under the rod as the shepherd passes the sheep; there the rebels shall be left, but the good shall be brought to Canaan, and with self-loathing and penitent hearts they will offer on Mount Zion acceptable worship. Then Yahweh's gracious purpose will be fulfilled, and His power and His character will be recognised by Israel and the world alike.

XX. 45–XXI. 32. The Terrible Sword of Nebuchadrezzar.—Here again, as shortly before (chs. 18f.), a piece

of theological oratory is followed by a poem—this time a wild irregular dithyramb (esp. 218–17), the text of which is, unhappily, corrupt in places to the point of desperation. But perhaps its very perplexities reflect the tumult of the prophet's soul. The nearer the doom approaches, the more vividly does he conceive it.

XX. 45–49. He begins by announcing a supernatural conflagration in the south, which is to scorch the land bare. On Ezekiel's audience objecting to his allegorical description, he then speaks his mind with deadly plainness.

XXI. 1–7. The south land is Judah, and in particular Jerusalem, and the conflagration is the fire of war, or rather the *sword;* and the whole chapter has been well called *The Song of the Sword.* It is Nebuchadrezzar's sword, but it is even more truly Yahweh's, for He has drawn it, and it is destined to slay righteous and wicked alike. (Ezekiel sees that the fall of Jerusalem will involve this indiscriminate destruction, though this rather conflicts with his theory of strict individual retribution which he had so fully expounded in ch. 18.) The thought of this inexorable issue makes Ezekiel's heart faint and sore.

8–17. This awful sword will do its work well. It is sharp and shining, ready for the slaughter of Israel's princes and people, a great murderous sword to be brandished again and yet again. It will strike terror into every heart, whirling to the rear, to the right, to the front, to the left, wherever its edge has been appointed by the indignant Yahweh for slaughter. (10 and 13 defy translation.)

18–23. This deadly sword is making straight for Jerusalem. In an unusually interesting passage, Nebuchadrezzar is represented as reaching a point in his westward march from which two roads diverge, one leading to the capital of Ammon, the other to Jerusalem. Along which shall he move? In various ways he seeks to ascertain the will of his gods—by shaking two arrows, one marked Rabbah (Jer. 492*), the other Jerusalem, and drawing one out, by consulting his images, by inspecting the liver of an animal. These superstitions of Nebuchadrezzar were all overruled to advance Yahweh's purpose. The lot decided for a march upon Jerusalem, and though the infatuated inhabitants are represented as not greatly perturbed, the Babylonian advance is a stern reminder of Zedekiah's perfidy (1719), which they are coming to avenge.

24–27. At this point Ezekiel's emotion flames into white heat. He apostrophises the "wicked" Zedekiah, sees him stripped of his regalia, and announces for his kingdom utter ruin, until some worthy successor shall arise—even the Messianic king—to whom it will be given back.

28–32. Ammon, though spared for the moment (22), shall not escape. Despite plausible oracles to the contrary, the sword that cut so deep into Judah will cleave Ammon too (in 29 for "thee" read "it"). The Divine fury would be wreaked upon her through the brutish Babylonians; but unlike Judah (27) she would never rise again.

XXII. The Sins of the Classes and the Masses.—The doom which has just been described in such fiercely vivid terms contains only one allusion to the sins which justified it (2123f.). This chapter details those sins, and deals with the present as 20 had dealt with the past, incidentally letting us see what Ezekiel means by sin.

1–16. The Sin.—The evils denounced are largely social wrongs (*cf.* ch. 18), but it is significant that the low morality is traced to false religion—idolatry (3f.) and forgetfulness of God (12), cruelty, oppression of the poor and defenceless, immorality, abnormality in the marriage relationship, rapacity—these moral wrongs are associated here, as in ch. 18, with cultic misdemeanours, *e.g.* profanation of the Sabbath.

17–22. The Doom.—In the day of doom, now so near, the people from the country will pour for protection into Jerusalem, which, under stress of siege, will become as a furnace in which they shall all be melted by the fierce heat of the Divine anger. No refining process this, for they are all dross, every one, high and low alike.

25–31. Classes and Masses.—The princes (*i.e.* the court) are equally rapacious, the priests make no distinction between the holy and the common, the officials are rapacious and dishonest, the prophets whitewash defects which they ought to expose (*cf.* 1310ff.). But the common people are as bad as their leaders: they, too, wrong wherever they can. Not a good man among them all to save the city from destruction. (The first seven words of 25 should read simply "whose *princes.*")

XXIII. Fatal Alliance with Foreigners.—This is the third and last of the three great indictments (16, 20) which draw their material from the past rather than (as 22) from the present. Its underlying imagery is the same as that of ch. 16, but it differs from that chapter in dealing with the northern and southern kingdoms separately (*cf.* 1646) and in emphasizing political rather than religious entanglements, though of course foreign alliances did as a matter of fact involve the recognition of foreign gods, *i.e.* idolatry (7).

Samaria and Jerusalem, the capitals of Israel and Judah respectively, are described as sisters married to Yahweh (*cf.* Jacob with his two sister wives). Their names, Oholah and Oholibah, are significantly connected with the word for "tent" (*ōhel*), and probably suggest the tents associated with the false worship (1616). First is described Samaria's coquetry with the brilliant and powerful Assyrians—an allusion to king Menahem's tribute to Assyria about 738 B.C. (2 K. 1519). This introduction of Assyrian "lovers" to Israel eventually led to her destruction in 721 B.C. (5–10). Judah, who might have learnt the lesson, actually behaved worse, courting first the Assyrians (an allusion to Ahaz's appeal to Tiglath Pileser 735 B.C., 2 K. 167), then the Babylonians (11–21). She too will be stripped bare by the very lovers she had courted, she will have to drink the dreadful cup to the dregs (22–35). (Pekod, etc., in 23 are on the borders of Elam, E. of Babylonia.) Again the sisters' crimes are passed in review, especially their wanton invitations to foreigners with their pernicious political and religious consequences, and just judgment is pronounced upon them in terms of the cruelties perpetrated upon prisoners of war (25) and adulteresses (45)—a warning to the whole world. The allusion is chiefly to the impending fall of Jerusalem (Samaria had fallen over 130 years before).

40. paintedst thine eyes: Jer. 430*.

XXIV. The Last Message before the Fall of the City.—**1–14. The Rusty Caldron.**—We now reach the last message delivered by Ezekiel before the fall of the city; and, curiously enough, it was delivered on the opening day of the siege (2 K. 251)—an event of which Ezekiel must have known by his gift of second sight. In a probably acted parable, the city is compared to a pot filled with pieces of flesh (=the inhabitants), including choice pieces (=the leaders). But beneath the pot a huge fire is blazing, symbolic of the siege. Then, after boiling, the pieces are taken out in any order, symbolic of indiscriminate dispersion; but, as the pot is rusty,

it is set again empty upon the furious fire, to be cleansed of its rust by the flames. The rust is symbolic of the blood, shed in injustice and child sacrifice, and of the moral and ceremonial foulness of the people, already so often described. The blood, which there was no attempt made to hide, cries aloud, according to ancient Semitic ideas, for vengeance (Gen. 410*); and the vengeance falls in the shape of the terrible discipline thus symbolically described. (Probably the first clause of 12 should be deleted.)

15–27. Death of the Prophet's Wife.—But not only by word and symbol, but in the experience of personal sorrow, is Ezekiel a prophet and a sign to his people. The sudden death of his wife at this time, "the desire of his eyes," for whom he was forbidden to exhibit the customary signs of mourning, is an adumbration to the people of the impending loss of Jerusalem, and especially of the Temple, which was dear to them as his wife was to him—a loss too prostrating to be lamented in ordinary ways, but expressing itself in a certain stupefaction and a numbing sense of guilt. (17 alludes to mourning customs: instead of *men* should perhaps be read *mourning*. From 21 we learn that in the deportation of 597 B.C. some at least of the children were left behind.)

When the day came that a fugitive would arrive in Babylon with the news of the fall of Jerusalem, Ezekiel's reputation as a prophet would be vindicated, and he would be no more tongue-tied (*cf.* 3322).

XXV.–XXXII. Oracles against the Foreign Nations. Ezekiel's denunciations (1–24) are now over; with the news of the fall of Jerusalem his prophecies of restoration will begin (33–48). But before Israel is restored, those who are opposed to her, and to the Divine purpose which is so mysteriously bound up with her, must be cleared out of the way. Appropriately therefore, at this point come the oracles against the foreign nations—first the near neighbours who had insulted and harassed her, then those more distant and powerful. These oracles, however, were not *written* between the beginning and the end of the siege; some of them clearly imply the fall of the city (*cf.* 253). But they are appropriately inserted here, as preliminary to the restoration.

Oracles against Ammon (XXV. 1–7), Moab (8–11) Edom (12–14), Philistia (15–17).—All of these petty powers were ancient hereditary enemies of Israel. Their enmity dated back to the days before the monarchy, and in the recent disasters and sorrows of Israel had expressed itself in violent and malicious ways. The Ammonites had instigated the treacherous murder of Gedaliah, the Jew whom the Babylonians had appointed governor of Judah (Jer. 4014). The Edomites had behaved with savage malice in the day of Jerusalem's distress (Ps. 1377), as also had the Ammonites, who stamped and shouted for joy (Ezek. 253,6). The fate of them all is to be desolation and destruction—in the case of the Ammonites and Moabites at the hands of "the children of the east," *i.e.* the nomads of the Arabian desert; in the case of Edom, significantly enough at the hands of Israel herself: in the case of the Philistines the agent of the Divine vengeance is left vague. All these nations will thus be taught "that I am Yahweh," the mighty Yahweh, not the weak God they had taken Him to be, as they contemplated the fate of His people. The saying of Moab in 8 implies that Judah had claimed a certain pre-eminence (*cf.* Dt. 432ff.); in her noblest representatives she was beyond all question the spiritual superior of all her neighbours. (In 9 read "from the cities of its border to the glory of the land"; the three cities mentioned are all N. of the Arnon. 13, Teman in north, Dedan in south of Edom. 16, Cherethites (p. 56), a Philistine tribe.)

XXVI.–XXVIII. Oracle against Tyre. — From Israel's petty neighbours with their petty spite, Ezekiel turns to the great empires of Tyre (26ff.) and Egypt (29ff.). They too must go. In a passage of great literary power, which reveals the imaginative genius of Ezekiel, he describes the brilliance of Tyre, the range of her commerce, the pity and terror inspired by her (contemplated) fall.

XXVI. Siege and Destruction of Tyre.—Tyre is the incarnation of unrestrained commercialism; and, in the mind of Ezekiel her doom is justified by the malicious joy with which she hailed the fall of Jerusalem, whom, as "the gate of the peoples," she regarded as in some sort a rival, taxing, if not partially intercepting, the trade that passed between the south and Tyre (1–6). The agent of Tyre's destruction is to be Nebuchadrezzar, against whom she had rebelled. At this point there is a realistic description of an ancient siege; and, when at length the island city is taken, it will ring with the unwonted sound of chariot wheels and horses' hoofs, and be reduced in the end to a bare rock (7–14). (The "pillars" of 11 are probably those associated with the temple of Melkart, the god worshipped in Tyre. Even he could not save his city.)

Then the maritime states involved in the commerce of Tyre are finely imagined as moved by her fall to deep and genuine sorrow, which they express in a dirge (15–18); and, as the city sinks beneath the waves, the prophet follows her with his imagination in her descent to the great primeval wastes of the nether world, from which she is to rise nevermore (19–21). (In 20 instead of "and I will set glory" read something like "nor remain": *cf.* LXX.)

XXVII. The Dirge over Tyre.—The interest of the brilliant poem that follows is greatly enhanced by the description of the commerce of Tyre in a passage (9*b*–25*a*) remarkable alike for its textual difficulty and for its importance as a source for our knowledge of the trade of the ancient world. Tyre is compared to a gallant ship, of finished beauty, with equipments the finest and costliest, manned and piloted by the most skilful of sailors (1–9). In 5, Senir = Hermon. In 6, Kittim = Cyprus. In 7, Elishah possibly = Italy or Sicily. In 8, Zidon, N. of Tyre: Arvad, N. of Zidon: Gebal, between Zidon and Arvad.

Then follows (9*b*–25*a*) a gorgeous account of the commerce of Tyre, the varied commodities which were brought to her (as mistress of the seas), and the distant lands from which they came. In the description of the lands a certain order is observable: (*a*) the Mediterranean shores, (*b*) Eastern lands in three parallel lines drawn from south to north. Two verses (10f.) describe the mercenaries of Tyre. (By Lud and Put, if not also Persia in 10, are probably meant African peoples. Gammadim (11) is quite obscure. Tarshish (12) in S. Spain: Javan = Ionia or Greece: Tubal and Meshech (Ps. 1205*), S. and S.E. of the Black Sea. Togarmah (14) = Armenia. For Syria (16) read Edom. Note the products of Judah and Israel in 17. Minnith, an Ammonite town. Pannag, unknown, should perhaps be *donag* = wax. Helbon (18), slightly N. of Damascus. The first sentence of 19 should probably read, "From Uzal"—in S. Arabia—"came well-wrought iron." Dedan (20), S. of Edom. Kedar (21), N. of Arabia. Sheba (22), in S. Arabia. Raamah, possibly near Persian Gulf. Haran (23), in Mesopotamia, associated with Abraham. Canneh, site unknown. Eden on middle of Euphrates. Chilmad (23) unknown.)

With wares from all these far-off lands the gallant

ship (*i.e.* Tyre) is laden, and rowed out to the high seas, where she is wrecked by a mighty east wind (symbolic of Nebuchadrezzar). Very graphic is the description of the ship, her wares and company, engulfed in the heart of the sea (26–28). (In 28, "suburbs" perhaps = surrounding regions). Then the other sea peoples with whom Tyre traded, and who are themselves involved in her ruin, utter a dirge in expression of their amazement and sorrow (29–36).

XXVIII. Tyre's Fall from Heaven.—In a remarkable passage, Ezekiel now conceives the pride of Tyre as incarnate in her king. The detail is often obscure and difficult, reminiscent of a mythological background similar to Gen. 3. The commercial genius and success of Tyre flushed her with impious pride: she fancied herself divine. But her marvellous "wisdom" was only commercial wisdom; she had no instinct for the worship of anything but herself and her abounding prosperity: so the terrible Babylonians must come and lay them low in an unhonoured death (1–10). A dirge is then sung over the fallen genius of Tyre, impersonated by her king. Once he had walked in the garden of God, fair, wise, and resplendent, companion of the cherubs who guard the holy abode; but for his pride he was hurled out of Paradise—symbol of the ruin to which Tyre's commercial pride will bring her. (In 12 the meaning of "thou sealest up the sum" is quite uncertain, as also "tabrets and pipes" in 13. For "the anointed cherub that covereth" (14), which is more than obscure, should possibly be read "(set) among the cherubs was thy dwelling." The last clause of 16 should perhaps be read, "the cherubs with whom thou hadst converse, drove thee out, etc." *cf.* LXX. The "fiery stones" suggests the supernatural glories of the sacred mountain. [It should perhaps be mentioned that J. G. Frazer (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, i. 114f.) connects the walking "in the midst of the stones of fire" with the custom of the fire-walk, which may have been an amelioration of an earlier custom of burning alive, or, as is suggested in *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 1ff., "merely a stringent form of purification."—A. S. P.]—For "sanctuaries" in 18, perhaps "holiness." In 16–19 the conduct and fate of the king tend to be merged in that of the city.)

Zidon shares in the doom of Tyre (20–23), and their destruction is meant to prepare the way for the ultimate restoration of Israel, and the glory and "holiness" of Yahweh, which the restoration of Israel and the destruction of her enemies will so signally illustrate (24–26). These verses (24–26) really furnish us with the key to the whole section 25–32.

XXIX.–XXXII. Oracle against Egypt.—Next and last to be denounced is Egypt, the great rival of Babylon, and consequently the opponent of Yahweh's purpose. The separate oracles were written either not long before (29 1) or not long after (32 1) the fall of Jerusalem. An Egyptian army marched to the relief of the city during the siege (Jer. 37 5); probably 29 6 is a warning of the futility of this attempt, while 30 21 may definitely refer to its repulse by the Babylonians.

XXIX. 1–16. The Fall and Restoration of Egypt.—Pharaoh (who incarnates the genius of Egypt, *cf.* 28), Lord of the Nile, is compared to a crocodile (no unapt symbol of the clumsy strength of Egypt) caught and flung upon the wilderness (= the battlefield) to be devoured. This is the doom of his blasphemous pride (3); Israel will have good reason to learn the folly of trusting Egypt (1–7). (In 7 for "shoulder" read "hand" with LXX, and for "to be at a stand" read "to shake.") The real meaning of the allegory is at once made plain in 8–12. A sword (Nebuchadrezzar's: *cf.* 30 10) will work havoc and desolation throughout the length of the land, from Migdol (which should be read instead of "tower" in 10) in the north-east, to Seveneh (now Assouan) in the extreme south. Egypt's desolation and exile are to last, like Judah's (46) forty years: then she will be restored, but to a position of no political importance, so that Israel will be no more tempted to commit the "sin" of trusting her (13–16). (Pathros in 14 = Upper Egypt.)

XXIX. 17–20. Egypt and Tyre.—This little oracle, the latest in the book (570 B.C.), is one of the most remarkable. It is a practical admission that Ezekiel's elaborate prophecy of the ruin of Tyre (26ff.) had not been fulfilled; and it announces that the Babylonian soldiers, whose shoulders had been galled by the navvy work involved in the erection of a mole between the mainland and the island, and, in general, by the hardship of the siege, which is said by Josephus to have lasted thirteen years, would not go unrewarded. They had failed to win the spoil of Tyre—either because the siege was unsuccessful or because Tyre capitulated on very favourable terms—but in its stead, Ezekiel here promises them the conquest of Egypt, with the spoil which conquest assured. This promise further shows that Ezekiel's forecast of the ruin of Egypt, uttered sixteen years before (29ff.), had not yet been fulfilled. But the passage also shows the splendid candour of the prophet, in allowing these unfulfilled oracles to stand in his book; and this may fairly be regarded as proof that, in the mind of Ezekiel, they either had been or would be *essentially* fulfilled. For essentially the prophecies mean that there can be no permanent place in the world for a godless commercialism or for a policy blended of conceit and shuffling insincerity.

21. Possibly these unfulfilled oracles had discredited Ezekiel and again compelled him to silence. But in this, possibly his last utterance, he looks forward with joyful confidence both to his own future and that of Israel. (Horn = strength, prosperity.)

XXX. The Desolation of Egypt.—The interrupted denunciation of Egypt is resumed. The neighbours and allies will be involved in her ruin, which is to be effected by Nebuchadrezzar and his "terrible" army (1–12). (In 5, for "Put and Lud" see 27 10: for "mingled people" read "Arabians." For "Cub," read "Lub" = Lybians; and for the next clause read "the Cretans.")

The collapse of Egypt is then described in detail, the towns which are singled out for special mention being all of religious, political, or military importance (13–19). (In 13, the LXX omits the clause referring to "idols," and rightly reads "magnates" for "images." Noph (Is. 19 13*) = Memphis (near Cairo), capital of Lower Egypt. Pathros = Upper Egypt. Zoan (Is. 19 11*), on the second easterly arm of the Nile. No (Nah. 3 8*) = Thebes, capital of Upper Egypt. Sin = Pelusium, on eastern frontier. Aven should be On = Heliopolis. Pi-beseth = Bubastis, in Lower Egypt, like On. Tehaphnehes, a fortress near Pelusium. In 18, for "yokes" read "sceptres.")

The next oracle (20–26) announces that the threat has already been partially fulfilled. Nebuchadrezzar, who is really Yahweh's servant and wields Yahweh's sword (*cf.* 21 3) has already broken one arm of Pharaoh, so that it can no longer hold the sword—an allusion apparently to Egypt's unsuccessful attempt to relieve the beleaguered Jerusalem (*cf.* Jer. 37 5). All these experiences are designed to teach Egypt the power and character of Yahweh. (In 21, roller = bandage.)

XXXI. Fallen is the Mighty Cedar.—In this striking poem, Pharaoh (= Egypt) is likened to a cedar of sur-

prising height and beauty, fed by the waters of the deep (*i.e.* the Nile) and giving shelter to birds and beasts (*i.e.* protection to dependent peoples). For beauty, height, luxuriance no tree (=nation) could compare with it—it was the envy of all (1–9). (In 3 delete "the Assyrian," and read simply, "there was a cedar," etc. For "thick boughs" read "clouds" with LXX. In 4 for "the trees of the field," read "its soil.")

But the mighty Nebuchadrezzar, with his terrible army, will send it crashing with a blow, boughs and branches will be scattered over mountain and valley, those whom once it sheltered will sit in triumph on its ruins; and its fate will serve as a warning to others not to lift themselves haughtily (10–14). (In 12 watercourses=ravines. In 14 the trees=nations.)

15–18. Its fall would be widely mourned—by Lebanon, on which it grew, and by the waters, which nourished it. Others fainted away at the thought that the like might happen to themselves. The trees (*i.e.* the other dead nations) in the underworld would be "comforted" to find this mighty cedar (Egypt) sharing their fate. Thus would this incomparable tree—Pharaoh and his multitude—be brought down: like the unburied slain they would lie dishonoured in the underworld. (In 15 omit "I covered," and read, "I caused the deep to mourn for him." 16. "Hell," *i.e.* Sheol, the underworld. 17. "They that were his arm," read perhaps "his helpers." 18. Circumcision was important in Egypt: this explains the peculiar horror of their fate in Sheol.)

XXXII. 1–16. The Dirge over Pharaoh.—A dirge is now sung over Pharaoh, in which he is likened, as before (29$_3$), to a crocodile—brutal and turbulent; but Yahweh will catch him in His net, and hurl his huge dripping carcase over mountain and valley, to be devoured by beasts and birds. Pharaoh, the brilliant luminary (the figure changes here), shall be extinguished; and other nations, when they behold Egypt's fate, shall tremble at the thought that the like may happen to themselves. All this means in plain terms (11–15) that Egypt will be devastated by the king of Babylon. (2. The opening words of the dirge are obscure: either "thou didst liken thyself to a young lion, etc., but art only a river monster"; or "a young lion . . . is come upon thee." "Rivers" should perhaps be nostrils, and the reference to blowing water. 6 should perhaps read, "I will water the land with thine outflow"—blood being a correct gloss. 9, for "destruction" read (LXX) "captives." 14 means that the land, being desolated (15), will be absolutely still—it and its waters).

XXXII. 17–32. The Descent of Egypt to the Lower World.—This, the last oracle against Egypt, is unusually fascinating, whether we consider its sombre imagination, its literary power, or its religious importance. It describes the descent of Pharaoh and his multitude to the underworld, and the ironical welcome (*cf.* Is. 14 9f.) which they there receive from the heroes of the olden time. There appear to be two divisions in Sheol—one for those heroes who have been honourably buried, the other for such as the uncircumcised and those who have enjoyed no funeral rites. In that world the national distinctions of this live on. Significantly enough, seven nations are mentioned, four great and three small—Assyria, Elam (south of Assyria), Meshech and Tubal (*cf.* 27 13), Edom, the North (perhaps the Syrians), and Zidon—and each is in a place by itself, the graves of the people grouped round the grave of their king. The mighty warriors of old who went down to Sheol with their armour, and are still recognisable by their swords and shields (27), greet the newcomers with the words, "Descend ye, lie ye down with the uncircumcised" (21: so LXX). But the power of them all is departed: so terrible as they were in this world, they are terrible no more (*cf.* Is. 14 10): and Pharaoh is "comforted" (*cf.* 31 16) to find that they too are in the pit. The weird effect of the passage is heightened by the repetitions. (The last half of 20 is obscure. In 27 for "uncircumcised" read "olden time" with LXX; and for "iniquities" read "shields." In 32 for "I have put" read "he put.")

XXXIII.–XXXIX. Changes and Preparations Necessary for the Blessed Future.

Now that the security of Israel for the days to come is guaranteed by the destruction of the foreign nations, the mood of the prophet changes—the old "rebellious house" (25) gives place to "the children of my people" (33 2)—and he passes on to his programme of reconstruction. The turning-point is constituted by the definite announcement of the fall of Jerusalem brought to Babylon by one who had escaped (21). Ezekiel's gloomy threats, so long ignored or disbelieved, have at last been fulfilled; his prophetic reputation is confirmed; and he is now free to utter his message of hope and promise, to prepare his people, and to help them to prepare themselves, for the blessed future, with its restoration and reorganisation of Israel, which he so confidently anticipates. The first and fundamental item on his programme is the

Need of a Deepened Sense of Personal Responsibility (XXXIII.), and this alike for himself and his hearers.

1–9. He feels that he is responsible for them, and that they are responsible for themselves. He compares himself, as once before (3 16–21), to a watchman whose duty is to raise the alarm in case of impending danger; so it is his, in view of the crisis, to care for and warn individual souls.

10–20. But the people are despondent, stupefied by the news of the fall of the city (21), sullenly at last admitting their guilt, but believing themselves to lie under the irrevocable ban of their past. This is the mood which Ezekiel sets himself strenuously to combat. This he does by telling them (*a*) that God is gracious and yearns not for the destruction but for the conversion of the sinner; (*b*) that the important thing is not what a man has been, but what he is and what he allows himself to become; (*c*) that it is possible for him to "turn" and live, and that, when once he has been warned, the responsibility is his, so that it is idle to challenge the Divine ways as inequitable. In all this there is surely a very real gospel (*cf.* with the whole passage, ch. 18).

21–29. This message of comfort to the exiles stands in striking contrast with the word of doom announced against those who were allowed to remain in occupation of Judah after the fall of the city. News of this event, which reached the exiles six months after it took place, confirmed Ezekiel's predictions, established his reputation as a true prophet (30), and enabled him to declare his message from this time on without sense of restraint. Those in the homeland whom he denounces regarded themselves as the children of Abraham, and true heirs of the land. But their violent and immoral life (the mention of the "sword" in 26 perhaps points to their being implicated in the assassination of Gedaliah; *cf.* Jer. 41) shows that they are no true children of Abraham: and they will pay the penalty in another desolating invasion of the land (a threat fulfilled by the invasion of 581 B.C.; *cf.* Jer. 52 30).

30–33. A vivid picture is here presented of the popularity now enjoyed by Ezekiel, and of the pleasant

impression he made. But he is too earnest to be misled by these things; for, though the people listen, they do not heed. Lies are in their mouths (so LXX in 31) and their heart is set on gain: and once again they will learn how true his stern word has been.

XXXIV. 1–10. Importance of Good Government.—But besides moral excellence on the part of its citizens (33) a state needs good government. This chapter is a very severe indictment of the rulers or kings of Israel in the past, who are compared to shepherds—and the figure is maintained throughout the chapter—that have neglected or abused the flock. Governors should govern in the interests of the governed; but those "shepherds" had used their power to feed themselves and not the flock—they are even compared in 10 to ravenous beasts (notice "mouth"). It was this misgovernment that in part accounted for the miseries, the defeats, the exile of Israel.

11–16. Therefore these evil shepherds must be replaced by none other than Yahweh Himself, the great Shepherd of the sheep, who will lovingly tend them, and seek them out on the dark and cloudy day, and bring them back (*i.e.* from exile) to their own true pasture-land. (In 16 for "destroy" read, with LXX "watch over.")

17–22. But among the flock there were differences too, the strong (*i.e.* the rich) treating the weak with selfishness and brutality. This too will end.

23–31. In the coming days, while Yahweh will indeed be chief Shepherd, there will still be an earthly shepherd, to correspond to the old order of evil shepherds: in plain words, the monarchy will continue, but the monarch will have a real shepherd heart. His title, "my servant David," by no means implies the resurrection of the dead king of the olden times, but only a succession (or the first of a succession) of rulers continuing the Davidic line, or possibly even only one who will rule in the spirit and power of David. Instead of the divided kingdom, whose component parts (Israel and Judah) had run their parallel and sometimes hostile course for centuries, will be the united kingdom, under *one* shepherd, *i.e.* one king. Then will come the glorious Messianic days, the "covenant of peace" or welfare, whose leading features will be the fertility of the land, the extirpation of its wild beasts, the security of its people from native and foreign oppressors. (26. "My hill" = Zion. But perhaps we should read, "I will give showers of rain in their season.")

XXXVI. The Occupation of the Land.—Indispensable to the restoration of Israel is the possession of Canaan —Israel's land and Yahweh's land (35 10).

XXXV. The Destruction of Edom.—The land had at the time been threatened, if not actually overrun, by the Edomites (2; Mount Seir = Edom), between whom and Israel there had been from time immemorial a persistent hereditary feud (5; *cf.* Gen. 27 40). Possibly the land, including the old northern and southern kingdoms (10), had been given (12) by Nebuchadrezzar in return for the support Edom had rendered to the Babylonians at the siege of Jerusalem (Ps. 137). The restoration of Israel must, therefore, be guaranteed by the destruction of Edom (*cf.* 25 12–14). But this destruction is morally justified on three grounds: (*a*) by Edom's cruel and ineradicable antipathy to Israel (5); (*b*) by her occupation of Israel's soil and her implicit challenge of Yahweh (10); (*c*) by her blasphemous pride. Her penalty is, therefore, to be desolation, utter and irrevocable; and by her extinction the way is cleared for Israel.

XXXVI. 1–15. The Restoration and Renewal of Israel's Land.—This chapter is brilliant with hope and promise. First comes a fine apostrophe (1–15), tremulous with emotion (*cf.* 4), to the mountain land of Israel (contrast ch. 6). Mocked and desolated as it had been by the enemy, and especially by Edom, Yahweh, whose own honour has been involved in these insults to His land, solemnly vows that the enemy shall be overtaken by the doom which they had brought upon Israel (1–7). His favour, however, would restore Israel's mountain land, which, in the near future (8) would be more fertile, prosperous, and populous than ever before. Never again, as in the days gone by, would she devour her people (13) by war, or pestilence, or infertility (8–15). (For "to cast it out" in 5, read perhaps "to possess it.") At this point the vision of the renewed land glides naturally into a vision of the renewed people, thus preparing the way for ch. 37.

XXXVI. 16–38. The Cleansing and Renewing of the People.—This is a passage of peculiar interest and importance, carrying us as it does far into the mind and theology of Ezekiel. First, we are reminded that Israel's sins—of bloodshed (whether child sacrifice or judicial murder) and idolatry—had obliged Yahweh to drive them into exile. In this way they had "profaned His holy name among the nations," who, according to ancient notions, naturally regarded Him as a worthless God, because apparently weak and unable to protect His people. To vindicate His holiness, therefore, and to reassert His reputation, as it were, in the eyes of a world which misunderstands Him and fails to recognise the moral reasons for His temporary rejection of Israel, He decrees and arranges for her restoration to her own land. But the significant thing in Ezekiel is that He is said to do this not out of love for Israel, but for His holy name's sake, *i.e.* to vindicate His character which has been aspersed and misunderstood (17–23).

But for this restoration the people must be worthily prepared: (*a*) by the forgiveness of their sins—symbolised by the cleansing water (25); (*b*) by the gift of the new heart or spirit (*i.e.* disposition or nature), impressionable, responsive to the Divine appeal, obedient to the Divine demands (26f.). Then the whole country will be blessed with fertility; and this marvellous transformation of the situation, this expression of Yahweh's unmerited grace, has the double effect of leading Israel to loathe herself for her sins (31) and the surrounding nations to recognise the sublime power of Yahweh (35f.). With the population of the land reduced, and many in exile, so brilliant a prospect seemed remote enough; but to meet this mood of dejection, the prophet promises that in those days men will be as numerous as the sheep that flock into Jerusalem for sacrifice at the sacred festivals.

XXXVII. 1–14. The Resurrection of the People.—Those fair ideals, however, cannot abolish the melancholy reality. The truth is that the exiled people are as good as dead and in their graves (11f.). Over their despondent words the imagination of Ezekiel broods till once, in an ecstatic mood (1), he seemed to see a valley filled with bones, multitudinous, dry, and loosely scattered—for they have not even the coherence of skeletons—so that there seemed no promise or possibility of life. He hears a Divine voice—it is the voice of his own heart—asking, "Can these bones live?" and gradually it is borne in upon him that the resuscitation of the national life is not beyond the power of God. If the breath of the Divine life be breathed through it, then the people may yet rise to their feet. It is of deep significance that the Divine resuscitating word has to be spoken by the prophet

himself. This is historically true of the place of Ezekiel in the revival of Jewish nationalism, and profoundly suggestive also of the place of the modern preacher in national life. With weird dramatic power the quickening of the dead valley is described, step by step, until the once dry bones, brought together, clothed with flesh and vivified by the mysterious power of God, stand like an organised army—a telling symbol, as 12–14 explain, of the coming revival of Israel's national life, and her restoration to her own land. (The mystery of this powerful passage is heightened by the use of the same word in Hebrew for wind, breath, and spirit.)

15–28. But the nation, thus quickened and restored, must be divided no more into two kingdoms (Judah and Israel) as it had been since the rupture in 937 B.C. The unity, so dear to the prophet's heart, is symbolically indicated by joining one stick marked "Judah and the associated tribes" (*i.e.* Benjamin and Simeon) to another marked "Joseph, *i.e.* Ephraim and the associated tribes" of the northern kingdom. Just as there is to be one undivided kingdom, so there must be one king, ruling in the spirit and power of David, over a cleansed and obedient people, devoted to the true religion, and abhorring idolatry. The land will be theirs for ever and the dynasty everlasting; and the guarantee of the "covenant of peace" between Israel and her God will be the presence of His sanctuary in the midst of them, which would prove to the world at large that Yahweh had "sanctified" them, *i.e.* chosen them out of all nations and set them apart. (In 23, for "dwelling places," read, with LXX, "backslidings.' With 24 *cf.* 3423.)

XXXVIII. The Final Triumph of Yahweh and Establishment of Israel.—Now that Israel is regenerated and restored, and her nearer neighbours annihilated, her future security might seem to be guaranteed, and the power, "holiness," uniqueness, and Godhead of Yahweh abundantly and permanently vindicated. But another act in the great drama of revelation and redemption has yet to take place. The more distant heathen peoples must also be brought to the conviction that Yahweh is Lord. So they are represented—and in this Ezekiel is unique—as at some future day attacking the holy land and perishing to a man ingloriously. Thus Israel's future is permanently guaranteed and Yahweh's uniqueness vindicated.

XXXVIII. Gog's Invasion (1–9), Design (10–16), and Destruction (17–23).—Gog, of the land of Magog, seems from the names of the peoples that follow (*cf.* 2713) to represent the mysterious hordes of the north, and were probably suggested to Ezekiel by the Scythian invasion (*cf.* 393) of Western Asia about 630 B.C. He, with a confederacy of peoples from the extreme south (2710,14: Gomer=Cimmerians or Cappadocians), is summoned by Yahweh to swoop down upon the land of Israel, which has long since recovered from her desolation and is now enjoying security and prosperity. (In 8, "visited"="mustered for service.")

10–16. The security is pictorially suggested by the defenceless condition of the cities, which are without walls, bars, or gates. This is Gog's opportunity, and he comes against Israel with Arab slave dealers in his train (*cf.* 2715,22) and thoughts of plunder and destruction in his heart, lured all unwittingly by Yahweh to his own destruction, which will redound to the glory of Yahweh. (In 12, for "thine hand" read, with LXX, "my hand." In 13, for "young lions" read "traders" or perhaps "Cyprians." In 14, for "know it" read, with LXX, "bestir thyself.")

17–23. This experience is in fulfilment of earlier prophecies—Ezekiel may be thinking of prophecies like Zeph. 1, Jer. 3–6, with their intimations of Scythian invasion. Then, when those motley hordes were gathered on the soil of Israel, there would come a fearful earthquake and Yahweh would send every sort of terror (so, with LXX, should be read the first clause of 21)—the terrors being elaborated in 22—which would inspire those alien hosts with supernatural panic culminating in their mutual destruction. Thus would Yahweh's greatness and "holiness" be revealed before all the world.

XXXIX. 1–10. Gog's Destruction and Burial.—This chapter does little more than repeat, with variations, the message of the last. The slain hordes lie thick upon Israel's mountains and fields, to be devoured by beasts and birds. Yahweh, whose power is not limited to His own land, will send His destructive fire upon the enemy's land and his islands in the Black (or Mediterranean ?) Sea. This is the great day (8) of which the prophets have spoken, and its doings will convince the world of the uniqueness of Israel's God. So great would be the destruction that Israel, which was poor in wood, would find weapons enough of the invaders to burn as fuel for seven years. Thus the spoilers would be spoiled—a precious thought to later Judaism, as we see from the sanguinary and vindictive temper of the Book of Esther.

11–16. To cleanse the holy land from the defilement caused by the corpses of these heathen hordes, the common people were to spend seven months in collecting and burying them, in a place appointed for that purpose east of the Dead Sea; and after that, to ensure the absolute holiness of the land, permanent officials were to be appointed to go through it scrupulously marking every spot where even a bone was found—that it might be buried in the proper place, and the land cleansed of all defilement. (In 11 after "place" add, with LXX, "of renown." For "of them that pass through," read with different pointing "of the Abarim," *i.e.* some valley at the N.E. corner of the Dead Sea. For "it shall stop, etc." we should perhaps read, "and they—the Israelites—shall close (the mouth of) the valley." Hamon means multitude. In 14 omit "them that pass through." The first half of 16 is obscure.)

17–20. Ezekiel's imagination, never weary of contemplating the destruction of those alien hordes, now pictures them as a sacrifice, to devour which Yahweh invites the birds and beasts, who gorge themselves with their flesh and blood.

21–29. The Purpose of the Judgment.—The effect of this decisive judgment is to bring glory to Yahweh's name: for the world must now see that it is not His impotence but His horror of sin that accounts for the calamities and exile of His people. But now their redemption is complete: they will forget (rather than "bear" in 26) the shame of bygone days, and they will live secure and blessed in their own land for ever, because Yahweh has put His spirit within them. The way is now completely prepared for the reconstruction with which the book closes (40–48).

XL.–XLVIII. Religious Organisation of the People in the Messianic Days.

To a modern taste these chapters, crowded with architectural and ritual detail, may seem dreary and irrelevant: to Ezekiel they are the real climax of his book, the crown as well as the conclusion of all his literary and religious activity. The past had been stained with the record of innumerable sins against the holiness of Yahweh (16, etc.)—His ritual no less than His ethical holiness: that must be made for

ever impossible. As the God is holy, so must the people and the land be holy, and to a man of Ezekiel's priestly temper, that can be secured only by a definitely organised religious constitution and by a minutely prescribed ritual. Already we have seen how scrupulously the land was swept clean of whatsoever defiled it (39$^{11-16}$) after the terrific assault of Gog and his hordes: this is significant of the punctilious purity which must everywhere prevail, and most of all in the formal worship of the sanctuary. True, the people of the latter days will be in possession of the spirit (39^{29}); but spirit must express itself, and the expression must be correct. In this Ezekiel furnishes a very striking contrast to the severe spirituality of Jeremiah (*cf.* Jer. 3^{16}, 31^{33}).

Two considerations should be steadily held before the mind in pursuing one's way through the labyrinthine detail which seems to stand in so little real relation to pure and undefiled religion. (*a*) One is supplied by the very last phrase of the book—"Yahweh is there" (48^{35}). This is the name of the holy city whose Temple, worship, and ministers are described with so thorough and faithful a minuteness. He is *there*—there, and nowhere else with the same completeness, *i.e.* among the people whose whole life and worship and approach to God are regulated by the standards laid down by His inspired prophet. This broad principle explains and controls the detail, and helps us to approach it more sympathetically, when we see the faith and hope, the devotion and enthusiasm by which it is inspired. (*b*) This whole section, ordaining the conditions by which the people and priests may maintain the requisite holiness and so make it possible for their holy God to return and dwell among them, is most fully appreciated when it is seen as the happy counterpart of the stern chapters 8–11 with their vivid descriptions of the base idolatries of Israel, and the solemn departure of Yahweh which those idolatries had occasioned. The lurid past is gone, and already Ezekiel beholds the dawning light of the radiant future, when it may be said of the people, "Yahweh dwells among them," and of the city, "Yahweh is there." The uninviting detail is lit with the presence of the God who had once withdrawn because His holiness had been insulted, but who has returned to abide with His people for evermore, because they know and do His holy will, as thus revealed.

The section is of great importance in the criticism of the Pentateuch, and for the historical reconstruction of the development of OT. Without going into detail, suffice it here to say broadly that the legislation here sketched is an advance on Dt., and prepares the way for the more elaborate legislation of the so-called Priestly Code (P) embodied in the Book of Lev. and the cognate sections of Ex. and Nu. This entirely agrees with what we know of the dates of the other codes. There are excellent reasons for believing that the Deuteronomic legislation was promulgated in the seventh century B.C. (621) and the Priestly Code in the fifth. Ezekiel's sketch comes between—in the sixth: its date, to be precise, is 572 (40^{1}). It is his last legacy to his people, conceived in the maturity of his power, elaborated with superlative accuracy, instinct with practical wisdom, and destined to exercise an immeasurable influence over the subsequent religious development of his people. See further pp. 46f., 129, 131.

XL–XLIII. The Temple.—XL. 1–4. It is worthy of note that the sketch starts with the old familiar phrases "the hand of Yahweh was upon me" and "in the visions of God" (*cf.* 1$^{1-3}$). These phrases point to an ecstatic experience. It is highly improbable, though we need not say inconceivable, that the details of the sketch were flashed upon his inward eye in a trance. Doubtless for years his mind had been dwelling long and lovingly upon it; but there is nothing improbable in assuming that, in some sublime ecstasy, the vision rose before him as a whole, with all its parts compactly built together. It came to him on New Year's Day, when his heart would readily fill with hope and with thoughts of new beginnings. He seemed to be transported to the hill on which Jerusalem stood, only it seemed of far more than its natural height, and on it was the structure of the Temple, which itself looked like a city. He was accompanied by a supernatural guide, prepared to take the measurements of the building, and the prophet was instructed to declare to his people what he saw.

5–16. He is first struck by a thick wall encircling the Temple. Steps led up to the eastern gateway which pierced the wall, and on each side of which were three guard-rooms.

17–27. Through this he came into the great outer court, round which ran a pavement, with thirty chambers fronting on the pavement—probably for the use of the people in their celebration of the festal meals. On the northern and southern sides of the court there were gateways and guard-rooms similar to those on the east side.

28–37. From the south gate of the outer court he crosses to another court gateway (reached by a flight of steps) which leads to another court—the south gateway of the inner court, which, like that of the outer court, had also guard-rooms on either side; and on the east and north side of the inner court were gateways precisely similar.

38–47. By the (eastern ?) gate (and possibly also the northern and southern) of this inner court was a chamber in which the burnt offering was washed. There were also tables on which the animals were slain and other tables on which the instruments of slaughter were placed. At the south there was a chamber for the Levitical priests who had the general charge of the Temple, and at the north another for the Zadokite priests who had more particularly charge of the altar which stood in the middle of the inner court and in front of the entrance to the Temple proper. (In 44 for "chambers for the singers" read, with LXX, "two chambers.")

XL. 48–XLI. 4. This consisted of three parts: (*a*) the porch—with a pillar on either side of it—reached by a flight of steps (48f.; in 49, for "eleven" read, with LXX, "twelve"); (*b*) the nave or large inner room beyond it (the "holy place"), whose name, "temple," was often applied to the whole structure; (*c*) beyond that the mysterious "most holy" place (half the length of the "holy place"), where Yahweh dwells, and only the supernatural guide (but not Ezekiel) is permitted to enter (3f.).

XLI. 5–11. Round the north, west, and south sides were cells in three stories, thirty on each story, possibly for the accommodation of Temple furniture, gifts, etc.

12–14. Behind the Temple, at the extreme west of the whole area enclosed by the wall, was a large building, the purpose of which is not given—it may have been used for storage. The Temple building, with the ground immediately surrounding it, was 100 cubits (about 150 feet) square.

15–26. The interior of the Temple was boarded or panelled—no stone was to be seen—the walls were carved with double-faced cherubs and palm-trees. In front of the most holy place was a small altar of wood,

apparently to be identified with the table of the shew-bread (in olden times regarded as food for the God). Between the holy and the most holy place were carved doors with swinging wings. (The meaning of the words in 15 and 26 rendered "galleries and thick beams" is very uncertain.)

XLII. 1–14. On the northern (1) and southern (10) sides of the inner court and facing the Temple were two blocks of three-story buildings used as refectories (13) and dressing rooms (14, *cf.* 4419) for the priests.

15–26. The description of the Temple concludes with a summary of the principal measurements, according to which the whole enclosure is 500 cubits (*i.e.* 750 feet) square. According to 4812, the land beyond the Temple enclosure was holy; but naturally it was less holy than the courts and buildings which stood within it. The wall, therefore, marks the boundary between that which was holy and that which was relatively profane.

XLIII. 1–9. The description of the Temple is fittingly followed by an account of Yahweh's solemn entry into it—a passage which forms the real climax of the last section of the book, and is the counterpart to His equally solemn departure described in 1018ff. and 1122ff. Girt with splendour, He re-enters by the eastern gate through which He had departed, and from the midst of the Temple His voice rings mysteriously forth, declaring that there He will dwell for ever in the midst of Israel. But whereas, in the old days of the monarchy, palace and Temple had been contiguous, separated only by a wall, and the graves of the kings had defiled the Temple by their proximity to it, such profanations and defilements—no less than every trace of idolatry—must be absolutely removed; and *then* Yahweh would dwell with Israel for ever. (In 3, for "I came" read "He came.")

10–12. Ezekiel is then instructed to show his plan of the Temple to the people. The very sight of it is expected to inspire them with shame for their past; while, to preserve them from error in the days to come, further instructions are promised for the conduct of the service. Supreme sanctity is to attach to the entire summit of the Temple hill, no part of it being abandoned to any secular use whatever.

13–27. The Altar.—In a system of worship based upon sacrifice, the altar is of special importance: its dimensions (13–17) and consecration (18–27) are therefore elaborately described. Approached by steps (17), it consisted of four square stones, each smaller in breadth but greater in height than the one below it, ranging from a base of 27 feet square and 1½ feet high, to the "hearth" at the top (on which the victim was laid) 18 feet square and 6 feet high—thus preserving the proportion of two to three characteristic of the rooms of the Temple proper. Above the hearth were horns (13–17). The altar was consecrated by a seven day's sacrifice, offered by the Zadokite priests, who sprinkled with blood the horns and the border round about. Thereafter the regular sacrifices could be acceptably offered upon it.

XLIV.–XLVI. The Temple Officers and Festivals.

XLIV. 1–3.—From the inner court where he had seen the Divine glory and heard the mysterious voice (435f.) the prophet was led back to the outer eastern gate; but as Yahweh had crossed its threshold on re-entering the Temple (*cf.* 1 Sam. 55) it was for ever after to remain shut. Only the "prince"—*i.e.* the king of the Messianic days—was privileged to "eat bread before Yahweh," *i.e.* to partake of the festal meal, in the vestibule.

4–14. The Levites.—The regulations that follow are among the most important in the book, and they have played a great part in the critical rearrangement of OT literature and the consequent reconstruction of OT history (p. 129). The drastic character of the innovation about to be described is forcibly suggested by the solemn introduction in 5. In the past the menial offices of the sanctuary had been discharged by "aliens"—often probably prisoners of war—"uncircumcised in flesh" and therefore, from Ezekiel's point of view, also "uncircumcised in heart." That is an "abomination," to be tolerated no more within Yahweh's "holy" house. But who is henceforth to discharge those duties? "The Levites," Ezekiel answers; and by that he means those who had officiated at the worship of the high places, nominally no doubt a Yahweh worship, but in reality, and especially to a man like Ezekiel, idolatrous. When these country sanctuaries were declared illegitimate in the time of Josiah (2 K. 22f.) the new legislation permitted them to come to Jerusalem and officiate on equal terms with the priests of the Jerusalem Temple (Dt. 186–8). But this generous concession was thwarted by the intolerant attitude of the Jerusalem priests (2 K. 239). Ezekiel here solves the problem by admitting them indeed to the sanctuary service, but only to the humbler offices, such as the watching of the gates, the slaying of the sacrificial animals, etc. They could not offer sacrifice—that was the privilege of the priests alone. Thus, while formerly priests and Levites were synonymous and every Levite might be a priest, Ezekiel distinguishes sharply between them, and the distinction is presupposed throughout the priestly literature in the middle of the Pentateuch, which reflects the opinions and usage of the post-exilic Church, in this as in so much else influenced by Ezekiel. In other words he regards the position of the Levites at the Temple as a degradation imposed upon them as a penalty for their participation in the idolatrous worship of the high places. (6, "rebellious," recalls the stern tones of the first half of the book. In 7, for "they have broken" read, with LXX, "ye broke." In 8, for "set keepers" read, "set them as keepers." For "for yourselves" read "therefore," which introduces 9. 12, "lifted up mine hand," *i.e.* in oath.)

15–27. The Priests. (*Their duties.*)—The only officials qualified to bear the name or discharge the duties of priests—especially the duty of sacrifice—are the Zadokites, *i.e.* the descendants of the Zadok who had been appointed head of the Jerusalem priesthood by Solomon, when Abiathar, who had sided with Adonijah, was deposed (1 K. 235). Doubtless the Jerusalem priests were, in point of morality and religion, superior, broadly speaking, to the country priests (*cf.* 15), though the revelations in ch. 8 show that the Temple worship could be depraved enough; but the high prerogatives are here conferred upon them, just because of their connexion with Jerusalem. Their officiating dress, which was to be of linen, they had to change, before going out to the people in the outer court: otherwise the sanctity of the dress would have been transferred to the people with whom they came in contact, and rendered them unfit for secular occupations (Gen. 352*). Other restrictions follow touching the hair, drink, and marriage of the priests. It is significant that wine must not be drunk by a priest who is about to officiate, nor must he incur defilement by touching a dead body, except in the case of very near blood-relations. The wife, however, is excluded, as she is not a blood-relation, and the married daughter, as, by her marriage, she has passed into another family. In the suggestion of "uncleanness" involved by contact with the dead, we have probably an implicit protest against the worship of the dead (Lev. 52, Nu. 19*).

The duties of the priests (23f.), in addition to the offering of sacrifice, are to teach the people the distinction between that which is ritually clean and unclean, holy and unholy, to decide controversies, and to arrange for the festivals and the hallowing of the Sabbath. (In 26, for "is cleansed" read, with Syr., "has incurred defilement.")

28–31. The Priests. (*Their revenues.*)—Certain offerings are to be the perquisites of the priests, also—as they are the representatives of the Deity—the best of the first-fruits. Formerly the sin-offering and the guilt-offering had been paid to them in money (2 K. 12 16). The welfare of the people would depend upon their fidelity to the claims of the priests. The restrictions in 31 had formerly applied to all the people (Ex. 22 31). (In 28 for "an" read "no.")

XLV. 1–4. The Priests. (*Their estates.*)—A rectangular space, roughly eight miles by three, in the centre of which was the sanctuary, is to be reserved for the priests.

Immediately north of this was an area of similar extent for the Levites (5), and south of it lay the city with its adjacent territory, occupying an area of about eight miles by two (6)—the whole thus forming a square. East of this, stretching to the Jordan, and west to the Mediterranean, were the domains of the prince (6–8). (In 5 for "twenty chambers" read, with LXX, "cities to dwell in.")

9–17. The Prince. (*His duties and rights.*)—The ominous allusion in 8 to the oppression of Israel by her kings in the past leads Ezekiel to an earnest exhortation to have done with injustice and to maintain inflexible moral principles in civil and commercial life for the days to come. This was to be secured by standardising the weights and measures, so that it would be beyond the power of the reigning monarch to alter them in his own interests. "Five shekels shall be five (not less) and ten ten, and fifty shall be your mina." (So LXX Alex.) The "exactions" of 9 are such iniquitous expulsions as Naboth had suffered at the hands of Ahab (1 K. 21). The homer was about 11 bushels (dry measure) and 90 gallons (liquid measure): the shekel about 2*s.* 6*d.* (though its purchasing power was about ten times as great as now). The prince derived his revenues from a tax upon the people of 1 per cent. of oil, 1½ of wheat and barley, and ½ per cent of lambs; but from these revenues he had the obligation of providing for the offerings required in public worship. (In 15 for "fat pastures" read, with LXX, "families.")

XLV. 18–XLVI. 15. Festivals and Offerings.

XLV. 18–25. The Passover and Harvest Festivals.—The mention of the prince's responsibility for providing the festival offerings is appropriately followed by a description of the festivals themselves. And first the two half-yearly festivals—of the passover in the first month (*i.e.* in spring), and of the harvest or "booths" (it is here simply called the festival, 25) in the seventh. Each begins in the middle of the month and lasts for a week: while, to ensure the ceremonial purity of the sanctuary, which may have been endangered by error or ignorance, each of the festivals is preceded on the first of the month by a day of atonement (18–20). (In 20 read, with LXX, "on the first day of the seventh month.")

XLVI. 1–15. The Sabbath, New Moon, and Other Festivals.—On the Sabbath day, seven animals, besides meal and oil, were to be offered; on the new moon the offering was the same, with the addition of a bullock. The prince, who might not enter into the sacred inner court, watched the sacrifice being offered from his place at the threshold of its eastern gate (1–7). To prevent confusion the worshippers were obliged to leave the outer court by the opposite gate from that by which they had entered (8f.). It was the prince's duty to provide for the daily burnt offering. When, in addition to this, he made a free-will offering, the eastern gate of the inner court was opened for him, as on the Sabbath and new moon (11–15).

16–18. Crown Rights and Restrictions.—The prince was at liberty to gift part of his estate inalienably to his sons: but what was deeded to a courtier reverted to the crown on the year of release (*i.e.* the seventh year, *cf.* Jer. 34 14, or, less probably, the fiftieth year, *cf.* Lev. 25 10). The prince was not at liberty to appropriate, under any pretext, any of the land of the common people, as Ahab had seized the vineyard of Naboth (1 K. 21).

19–24. Kitchens for Priests and People.—To preserve the distinction between the less and the more holy there were two sets of kitchens for the boiling and baking of the sacrificial offerings—for the priests, at the north-west and south-west corners of the inner court, and for the people at the four corners of the outer court. (This section would appropriately follow 42 14. In 22, for "inclosed" read, with LXX, "small.")

XLVII, XLVIII. The Holy Land, its Beauty, Boundaries, and Divisions.

Now that the Temple and its worship, which are indispensable to the welfare of the land, have been described, Ezekiel directs his parting glance to the land itself, introducing his description with a beautiful and suggestive picture, particularly refreshing after the long stretch of minute ceremonial detail, of the life-giving stream that flowed from the heart of the sanctuary. The clearness and keenness with which the prophet's imagination is working, comes out in the frequent repetition of the word "Behold."

XLVII. 1–12. The River of Life.—From under the threshold of the Temple the prophet, led by his supernatural guide, is startled to see water trickling out and flowing past the altar eastwards, growing deeper and stronger as it flows, in the direction of the Dead Sea, into which it finally falls. On the banks of the river were trees both fair and fruitful, which yielded food for the hungry, and healing for the sick; to all the desert region through which it flowed it brought beauty and life, and the life which it brought to the waters of the Dead Sea was abundantly evidenced by the shoals of fish, which recalled the teeming life of the great (Mediterranean) sea. The eyes of the prophet's faith can see even the fishermen with their boats and nets, all the way from Engedi on the middle of its western shores to Eneglaim on the north. Only the salt swamps and marshes in the neighbourhood of the sea would remain unaffected, in order that salt in the future might be as abundant as now. This splendid imagination vividly suggests the beneficent and life-giving influences that will stream forth from the Church of God upon the sick and famished souls of a dead and arid world. (In 8, "into the sea, etc." should read "into the salt waters.")

13–20. Boundaries of the Land.—The northern boundary was to run from a point on the Mediterranean a little north of Tyre eastward in the direction of Damascus, the eastern boundary would stretch along the sea of Galilee, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea to a point a little to the south, the southern boundary ran from this point west to the Mediterranean, which naturally constituted the western boundary. No land was included east of the Jordan. As Levi did not count (44 28), the number twelve was made up by

reckoning Joseph (13) as two tribes—Ephraim and Manasseh. (Many of the places named in this list are unidentified.)

21–23. The Law of the Alien.—For the purposes of the allotment, resident aliens who had families were to be reckoned as native Israelites.

XLVIII. The Tribal Allotments.—The holy city, Jerusalem, with its environments is significantly regarded as the true centre, geographical no less than religious, of the country; but, as in point of fact it really lay in the southern half, the prophet, in his ideal allotment of the land, makes a concession to geographical fact by putting seven tribes to the north, arranged in parallel strips, viz. Dan, Asher, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Reuben, and Judah (1–7), and five to the south, Benjamin, Simeon, Issachar, Zebulon, and Gad (23–29).

9–22. The Sacred Reservation.—Between Judah and Benjamin lay the sacred reservation, a piece of land about eight miles square. The northern part—roughly eight miles by three—was reserved for the Levites; the middle part, of the same size, in the centre of which was the Temple, was reserved for the priests. In the middle of the southern part—roughly eight miles by two—lay the city, about a mile and a half square, with a strip of land ("suburbs") round it, devoted to general city purposes: while east and west of the city up to the bounds of the sacred square reserve, were the communal lands devoted to agricultural purposes. The population of the city was to be made up out of all the tribes, and therefore symbolic of Israel's unity (8–20). The territory between Judah and Benjamin east and west of the sacred reserve, *i.e.* as far as the Mediterranean on the one side, and the Jordan and the Dead Sea on the other, was to be reserved for the prince. This position would give him a certain association with the sacred reserve, and provide him with materials for the Temple offerings. (This paragraph amplifies 45¹–8.)

30–34. The Gates of the City.—On each of the four sides of the city, which was about six miles in circumference, were three gates, named after the twelve tribes of Israel.

35. The Name of the City.—The name of the city, *Yahweh is there*, finely suggests the great protecting Presence which inspires all her activity and worship, and brings the prophet's intricate description to a most stately and impressive close.

DANIEL

By Professor H. T. ANDREWS

INTRODUCTION

The Traditional View maintains that the Book of Daniel was written by Daniel himself, and is therefore a contemporary record of the events which it records. This view, though it was challenged by Porphyry the Neo-Platonist (died A.D. 303), practically held the field till the end of the eighteenth century, when Corrodi boldly advanced the modern theory which has won the support of such distinguished scholars as Eichhorn, Gesenius, Bleek, Ewald, Wellhausen, Cheyne, Driver, Charles, G. A. Smith, to mention but a few. In fact, it may be said that no OT scholar of any repute now maintains that the Book was written by Daniel.

The Reasons for the Abandonment of the Traditional View.—The grounds upon which modern scholarship abandons the view that the Book was the work of Daniel may be stated as follows: (1) The Book never claims to be the work of Daniel. It is true that the first person, "I Daniel," frequently occurs, but this need not imply that Daniel composed the Book. The same phenomenon is found in Ecclesiastes, where the writer speaks in the character of Solomon, "I the preacher was king over Israel in Jerusalem." Nobody to-day seriously maintains that Ecclesiastes was written by Solomon. The use of the first person is a common literary device employed to give vividness to the narrative. (2) The Book is never quoted or alluded to in Jewish literature before the second century B.C. The silence of Ecclesiasticus (*c.* 190 B.C.), which mentions in its list of worthies Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve Minor Prophets, but says nothing about Daniel, is very significant. Its author could scarcely have missed the opportunity of recording the heroic deeds of Daniel if they had been known to him, nor would he have been likely to say, "Neither was there a man born like unto Joseph" (49¹⁵), since the life of Daniel presents many parallels to the career of Joseph. The earliest references to the Book of Daniel are found in the Sibylline Oracles (*c.* 140 B.C.), the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (109–107 B.C.), and the First Book of Maccabees (*c.* 100 B.C.). It seems to have been quite unknown, therefore, before the latter half of the second century B.C. (3) The place which the Book occupies in the Canon of the OT is equally decisive. The Jewish Canon is composed of three divisions: (*a*) The Law or Pentateuch, (*b*) the Prophets (including the earlier historical books), (*c*) the Hagiographa, *e.g.* the Psalms, Wisdom Literature, etc. Now if Daniel had been a contemporary record, it must have held a place in the second division of the Canon, which was not completed till the second century B.C. The fact that it belongs to the third division proves conclusively that it was of later origin than the date at which Daniel is presumed to have lived. (4) The writer's knowledge of the period in which Daniel lived is full of inaccuracies, whereas his prophetic sketch of the history of the third and second centuries B.C. is remarkably correct. If the traditional view were right, we should certainly find the reverse. The writer would have been accurate in recording the history of his own time, but his knowledge of the succeeding centuries was bound to have been hazy and indefinite. Among the most flagrant historical mistakes many be mentioned—(*a*) The description of Belshazzar as the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar (5¹, 7¹, 8¹). As a matter of fact Belshazzar was neither king of Babylon nor son of Nebuchadnezzar (5¹*). (*b*) Darius the Mede is described as "receiving the kingdom" after the conquest of Babylon (5³¹, 9¹). As Driver says (CB, p. 53), "There seems, however, to be no room for such a ruler: for according to all other authorities, Cyrus is the immediate successor of Nabuna'id, and the ruler of the entire Persian Empire" (see also 5³¹*). (*c*) The assumption that the court language at Babylon was Aramaic (2⁴). (*d*) The statement that Jehoiakim was transported in the *third* year of his reign (1²*). For further inaccuracies, see Cent.B, p. 36, CB, pp. 47–56. (5) The language of the Book points to a late date. It is not easy to make this point clear to those who are unacquainted with the original languages in which the Book was written. Briefly stated, the facts are these: (*a*) A number of Persian words are used (fifteen at least). That these words "should be used as a matter of course by Daniel under the Babylonian supremacy or in the description of Babylonian institutions before the conquest of Cyrus, is in the last degree improbable" (Driver, p. 57). (*b*) Three *Greek* words are used, and it is not at all likely that these words were known in Babylon as early as 550 B.C. (*c*) A large section of the Book is written in Aramaic (p. 36), and the particular type of Aramaic used betrays signs of a later date. [See in reply to R. D. Wilson's strictures Driver's addenda to his IOT⁹, pp. xxxiv–xxxviii.—A. S. P.] (*d*) The Hebrew, in which the remaining portions of the Book is composed, is also characterised by later forms and constructions. The whole argument from style is well worked out by Driver, CB, pp. 56–63.

The Real Date of the Book.—The grounds upon which modern scholars maintain that the Book was written during the Maccabean period may be stated thus: (1) It reaches its climax in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, whose attack upon the Jewish religion in 168 B.C. produced the Maccabean revolt. Antiochus is the "little horn" of 8⁹ "which waxed exceeding great toward the south and toward the east," and the "king of fierce countenance understanding dark sentences," of 8²³. (2) The survey of history in 11 concludes with a long description of the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes. The earlier periods are dismissed in single sentences, but the description of Antiochus is full and vivid and extends over twenty-four verses, showing that the writer's main interest is in the great persecution

initiated by him. (3) The general teaching of the Book seems to have as its object the encouragement of the Jewish people to remain loyal and faithful in a time of stress and trial. The stories of Daniel and "the three young men" are obviously intended to convey a message of hope to men who are placed in a similar situation. Directly we place the Book in the Maccabean period it becomes luminous and clear. If we date it in the Babylonian period, its meaning is dark and unintelligible. It is incredible that Daniel should have taken so little interest in the doings of his contemporaries, and that the whole point of the Book should have been directed towards events which happened 400 years after his time. (4) The traditional view is out of harmony with the general spirit of Hebrew prophecy. The prophets spoke of their own age. When they uttered predictions about the future, those predictions were, as a rule, couched in vague language. Their message to their own age was definite and specific. Their message to the future was far more hazy and indistinct. To date the Book of Daniel in the Babylonian period is therefore to make the prophet unique and an exception to the general rule. To place it in the Maccabean age is to bring it into line with the rest of prophecy. (5) The modern view is the only theory which accounts for the point at which the Book stops. The writer is most exact in his details of the persecutions, but he makes a serious mistake in 8¼ in estimating the length of time which would elapse before the re-dedication of the Temple, and he describes only the beginning of the Maccabean campaign. He foretells the death of Antiochus, but he is quite wrong about the place and circumstances (11⁴⁵). Now supposing the Book to belong to the Babylonian period, it is impossible to explain why his statements should be absolutely exact up to a certain point, and after that point has been reached should contain errors. Supernatural foresight which enabled the prophet to foresee the future clearly as far as 167 B.C. ought also to have been able to carry him to 164 B.C. Why does his forecast lose its accuracy in the final years? The traditional theory has no answer to that question, but the modern view has an explanation which exactly fits the facts. The Book of Daniel, according to its hypothesis, was written between the years 167–165 B.C. In the main, therefore, it is describing events that had happened and were happening before the writer's eyes (see p. 48).

The Historical Situation (see p. 607).—The Book of Daniel was written, as we have seen, to encourage the Jews to be loyal to their faith in the face of the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes. Antiochus was king of Syria from 175–164 B.C., and Palestine, which had been subjected by his predecessor Antiochus III in 202 B.C., was part of his dominion. The policy of Antiochus Epiphanes was to conquer and hellenise as much of the world as possible. Palestine, and especially Judæa under the High Priest Onias III, had hitherto stubbornly resisted all attempts to introduce Greek ideas and customs. One of the first steps which Antiochus took was to depose Onias and appoint Jason (p. 581), who was much more amenable to his wishes, as his successor. Under the leadership of Jason, a Greek gymnasium was set up in Jerusalem, and the priests encouraged the people to take part in the games. In 171 Menelaus offered Antiochus a huge sum of money for the office of High Priest, and Jason was accordingly deposed in his favour. The money was obtained by plundering the Temple treasury. Onias III protested against this act of sacrilege, and suffered martyrdom in consequence. In the following year, a rumour reached Jerusalem that Antiochus had fallen in his campaign against Egypt, and on the strength of it the Jews attempted to reverse his policy. The rumour, however, turned out to be false, and Antiochus took swift vengeance. There was a massacre in Jerusalem in which vast numbers lost their lives. But this was only the beginning of the tragedy. In 169 B.C., Antiochus, foiled by the opposition of the Roman Empire in his attempt to conquer Egypt, determined to complete the subjugation and hellenisation of Palestine. He surprised Jerusalem by a sudden attack, and established his forces within the Temple precincts. The most cherished principles of the Jewish religion, *e.g.* the observance of the Sabbath and the rite of circumcision, were pronounced illegal. The Jewish worship and sacrifices were abolished, and the sacred books destroyed. And as the crowning profanation on Dec. 15th, 168, a heathen altar was set up in the Temple itself in honour of a pagan god, "the Abomination of Desolation" as it was called, and as if this were not a sufficient horror a few days later swine were sacrificed upon it. It is no wonder that the Jews were stung to rebellion. An insurrection broke out, headed by Mattathias and his five heroic sons, and they, after a long struggle, eventually regained for the Jewish people their freedom of worship. It was just at this crisis, and immediately after the outbreak of the rebellion against Antiochus, that the Book of Daniel was written. It sprang, as Ewald says, "from the deepest necessities and the noblest impulses of the age." It is the appeal of a true patriot to his people to remain firm and unmoved in the faith in spite of suffering and even martyrdom. The comfort and inspiration which it brought to the Jews in their hour of trial secured it an imperishable place in their literature, and it was handed over to Christianity as a priceless legacy.

The Historical Survey in the Book.—Though the Book of Daniel deals specifically with the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, yet as the scene is laid in Babylon about 550 B.C., it has to traverse the intervening centuries before its objective is reached. Ch. 11, for instance, gives a brief outline of the history of nearly four hundred years, 550–167 B.C. The same period is also pictorially represented in the vision of the "Colossal Statue" (2), the vision of the four beasts (7), and the vision of "the man and the he-goat" (8). 9, with its explanation of Jeremiah's "seventy years," covers the same stretch of history. To understand the allusions in the Book, therefore, the reader must be familiar with the general trend of history during the centuries which it covers. It is divided into the following periods, and the most significant dates may be tabulated thus:

I. The Babylonian Period

605 B.C. Battle of Carchemish, in which Nebuchadnezzar overthrew the Egyptian power.
604 B.C. Commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's reign.
561 B.C. Death of Nebuchadnezzar.
561–559 B.C. Reign of Amel Marduk (Evil-Merodach).
559–556 B.C. Reign of Nergal-Sharezer (Neriglissar).
555–538 B.C. Reign of Nabuna'id, the last of the Babylonian kings.

II. The Persian Period

538 B.C. Conquest of Babylon by Cyrus.
538–529 B.C. Reign of Cyrus.
529–522 B.C. Reign of Cambyses.
522–485 B.C. Reign of Darius (Hystaspis).
485–465 B.C. Reign of Xerxes (called Ahasuerus in the OT).

465–425 B.C. Reign of Artaxerxes.
425–331 B.C. Various comparatively unimportant kings.

III. The Greek Period

331. The Conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great.
323. The death of Alexander, followed by the division of the empire.
301. The struggle between Syria and Egypt for the possession of Palestine, and the victory of the latter, with the result that Palestine becomes a province of Egypt till 202.
202. Conquest of Palestine by Antiochus III.
176. Antiochus Epiphanes becomes King of Syria. Deposition of the High Priest, Onias II.
171. Attempted revolt of the Jews. Antiochus plunders the Temple and instigates a massacre of the Jews.
169. Antiochus, foiled in the attempt to conquer Egypt by the opposition of the Roman Empire, wreaks vengeance upon Jerusalem and attempts to suppress the Jewish religion. A heathen altar is set up in the Temple.
167. Revolt of the Jews.
165. Recovery of Jerusalem. The cleansing and rededication of the Temple.

The list of kings of the two empires during the Greek period is as follows:

A. Syria: The Seleucidæ

Seleucus I. 312–280.
Antiochus I, Soter. 279–261.
Antiochus II, Theos. 261–246.
Seleucus II, Callinicus. 246–226.
Seleucus III, Ceraunos. 226–223.
Antiochus III, The Great. 223–187.
Seleucus IV, Philopator. 186–176.
Antiochus IV, Epiphanes. 175–164.

B. Egypt: The Ptolemies

Ptolemy I, Soter. 322–285.
Ptolemy II, Philadelphus. 285–247.
Ptolemy III, Euergetes. 247–222.
Ptolemy IV, Philopator. 222–205.
Ptolemy V, Epiphanes. 205–182.
Ptolemy VI, Philometor. 182–164.
Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, joint ruler with Philometor. 170–164.
Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, sole king. 164–146.

Literature; *Commentaries:* (*a*) **Driver** (CB), Charles (Cent.B); (*b*) **Bevan**, Prince, Wright, *Daniel and his Critics* (conservative); (*c*) Hitzig (KEH), Meinhold (KHS), Behrmann (HK), **Marti** (KHC); (*d*) Farrar (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*; Wright, *Daniel and his Prophecies*; Deane, *Daniel* (Men of the Bible).

I. Daniel at the Court of Nebuchadnezzar.—This introductory chapter describes the circumstances which brought Daniel to Babylon, introduced him into the Court, and gained him favour with the king. The writer's purpose is to enforce the duty of loyalty to the Law and the principles of religion, and he illustrates his point by describing Daniel's refusal to "defile himself with the king's meat and wine" (8). There can be little doubt that his object in this chapter is to appeal to the Jews of his own day to resist the attempts of Antiochus Epiphanes to compel them to eat forbidden food. Daniel is held up as an example to the Jews of the Maccabean age.

Nebuchadnezzar (the name is more correctly spelt Nebuchadrezzar) was king of Babylon from 604 to 561 B.C. (pp. 60f.). Under his rule Babylon reached the summit of its power. The picture of the splendour and prosperity of his empire which is drawn in Dan. 2 37f., 4 10–12, 5 18–20 is borne out by inscriptions and references in the historians. His decisive victory in 605 B.C. (a year before he ascended the throne) over the rival world-power of Egypt at the battle of Carchemish made the Babylonian Empire supreme. His reputation, however, rests not so much upon deeds of war, as upon his architectural achievements. The question in 4 30, "Is not this great Babylon which I have built?" is no rhetorical expression, but represents sober fact. Nearly every cuneiform document now extant dating from his reign treats of the building and restoration of the walls, temples, and palaces of his beloved city of Babylon. The best account of his work is to be found in the celebrated "India House Inscription" (see *Records of the Past*, iii. 104–123). Another well-authenticated fact is the keen interest which he took in religion. Some of the prayers in the "India House Inscription" breathe the true spirit of devotion. A good illustration is given by Driver (CB, p. 26).

1. In the third year: there is considerable difficulty with regard to this date. Jehoiakim reigned from 608 to 597 B.C. Accordingly, as is definitely stated in Jer. 25 1, Nebuchadnezzar did not come to the throne till the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim. It has been suggested that the invasion of Palestine was an incident in the campaign against Egypt, and took place just before or just after the battle of Carchemish in 605, when Nebuchadnezzar was commanding the Babylonian army for his father. But this theory seems definitely excluded by the fact that statements made by Jeremiah in the fourth and fifth years of Jehoiakim's reign imply that the Babylonian attack on Jerusalem was still in the future (Jer. 25 1, 46 2, 36 9). The error seems to be due to the writer's mistaken opinion that 2 K. 24 1, "Jehoiakim became his servant for three years," referred to the first three years of his reign.—**2. the land of Shinar:** Babylonia. The term occurs nine other times in the OT (Gen. 10 10, 11 2, 14 1, Jos. 7 21, Is. 11 11, Zech. 5 11), and is probably an archaism, the origin of which is uncertain.—**the house of his god:** omitted in the LXX and probably an interpolation. Translate "He brought them (*i.e.* the captives) into the land of Shinar, and as for the vessels he brought them into the treasure-house of his god." According to 2 Ch. 36 6 Jehoiakim himself was carried "in fetters" to Babylon, but 2 K. makes no reference to this, and our Book has no allusion to it.—**his god:** Merodach or Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon. In the "Inscription" he is described as "the great Lord," "king of the heavens and the earth," "supreme governor." The only reference to him in the OT is Jer. 50 2.—**3. even of the seed royal.** This translation implies that the selected youths belonged to the royal or noble families of Israel. The rendering of AV, "and of the seed royal," makes the sentence refer to Babylonian princes, etc.—**4. well-favoured:** good-looking.—**Chaldeans:** the term is used in two senses in Daniel. (1) In the ethnic sense (5 30, 11 1), to denote a powerful race who lived in the SE. of Babylonia, and subsequently became the dominant power in the country (pp. 58–61). (2) To denote the "wise men" or religious leaders of Babylon. "Babylon," as Driver says, "was the land of magic," and the Chaldeans were the chief exponents of the magic art. An ancient writer describes them as "a caste with a fixed tradition," and says that "they devote their lives to philosophy, enjoying a reputation for

astrology." They were experts in the art of divination and the interpretation of dreams. For a good account of the Chaldeans see Driver, CB, p. 12.—**6f.** Proper names in ancient times generally had a religious significance. The names of the four Hebrew youths indicated their connexion with the worship of the God of Israel. Daniel means "God is my judge"; Hananiah, "Yahweh hath been gracious"; Mishael, "Who is what God is?" Azariah, "Whom Yahweh aids." At the court of Babylon other names were substituted having reference to the Babylonian religion. Belteshazzar probably means, "Bel protect his life," Bel being one of the most important Babylonian deities (see Jer. 50$_2$); Shadrach probably, "The command of Aku," Aku being the name of the Semitic Moon god; Meshach, "Who is what Aku is?" Abed-nego, "Servant of Nebo," Nebo being the Babylonian god of wisdom and literature.—**8. defile himself**: the Jews were always most scrupulous in keeping the law of clean and unclean meats (pp. 202 f.). To partake of the "king's meat" would have involved the risk of eating (*a*) what was forbidden by the Jewish Law; (*b*) what had not been slaughtered according to the provisions of the Law; (*c*) what had been offered to idols. The food question was always a problem to Jews in foreign lands. Josephus, for instance, tells us that when he went on an embassy to Rome, he and his fellow-deputies lived on fruit and nuts to avoid the risk of defilement.—**steward**: the translation of a technical term, Melzar, which is found only in this chapter. The exact functions of the Melzar are uncertain. The AV is wrong in regarding the word as a personal name.—**12. pulse**: the Heb. word denotes all kinds of vegetable food, and is not restricted to what is technically known as "pulse."—**17. learning and wisdom**: "literature and science" would more nearly convey the sense of the original.—**20. magicians and enchanters.** The extent to which magic was practised in Babylon may be gathered from the fact that no less than six different words are employed in Daniel to describe the diviners: (*a*) "wise men," (*b*) enchanters, (*c*) magicians, (*d*) Chaldeans, (*e*) determiners (of fate), (*f*) sorcerers (see Driver, CB, p. 15).—**21. the first year of Cyrus**: 538 B.C. Daniel is therefore said to have lived at the Babylonian court for about sixty-seven years, from 605 B.C. to 538 B.C. In 10$_1$, however, a vision is said to have come to Daniel in "the third year of Cyrus."

II. Nebuchadnezzar's Dream.—We enter in this chapter into the region of Apocalyptic (pp. 431–435). The colossal image, which forms the centre of the king's dream, is in reality a pictorial representation of the world's history during three and a half centuries. The message for the writer's own age lies in his confident prophecy of the speedy advent of the Messianic kingdom (44) which is to follow upon the defeat and destruction of Antiochus Epiphanes.

1–13. The Forgotten Dream.—Nebuchadnezzar, troubled by a dream which had escaped him, calls his magicians and orders them to recover it and explain its meaning. When they declare their inability, he issues orders that they are to be put to death.

1. in the second year: this statement seems to be in conflict with 1$_5$,$_{18}$, which imply that Daniel spent three years in training. Driver suggests that the discrepancy can be explained thus: We know that Babylonian kings did not count the year of their accession as the first year of their reign, but regarded the second year as the first. In that case, the second year mentioned here would be the third, and it is quite possible that the dream may have occurred at the end of this year, and so after Daniel's period of education was ended (CB, p. 17). For other suggestions see Cent.B, p. 14.—**2. magicians, etc.**: 1$_{20}$*.—**4. in the Syrian language**: *i.e.* in Aramaic (*mg.*). From this point to 7$_{28}$ the Book is written in Aramaic. The statement seems to assume that Aramaic was used in the Babylonian court for official communications, but this is very improbable. Many scholars suppose that the words are not genuine, but were originally a marginal note to indicate that the Aramaic part of Daniel commenced at this point, which afterwards crept into the text.—**9. there is but one law for you**: your fate is irretrievable.—**till the time be changed**: *i.e.* till the king's attention is diverted to other affairs.

14–24. Daniel Volunteers to Explain the Dream.—To save the magicians from their doom, Daniel offers to tell the king his dream and prays to God to make the thing clear to him.

14. Arioch: Eri-Aku ("Servant of the Moon-god," see on 1$_7$), an old Sumerian (p. 51) name which, according to Sayce, was not in use in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. It occurs in Gen. 14$_1$, whence many scholars think our author derived it.—**captain of the guard**: lit. "captain of the slaughterers or butchers." The same expression occurs in Gen. 37$_{36}$, 39$_1$, 2 K. 25$_8$, Jer. 39$_9$.—**18. the God of heaven**: this title for God is often found in post-exilic literature, especially in Ezra and Nehemiah. It indicates, as Charles suggests, "the growing transcendence of Jewish thought concerning God."—**20–23. Daniel's hymn of praise.** This hymn emphasizes (*a*) the might, (*b*) the wisdom of God, especially the latter. The might of God is illustrated in 2$_1$ by His influence in history. "He changeth times and seasons," *i.e.* the course of history does not run smoothly. There are constant crises and changes, empires are overthrown, new forces arise, and all these are due to the intervention of God.—2$_{1b}$–$_{23}$ describes the wisdom of God. God is the source of all light and knowledge, and it is because of this that he has made clear to Daniel the king's dream.

25–35. Daniel Declares the Dream to the King.—By the inspiration of God Daniel is enabled to describe to the king his forgotten dream. In this dream the king had seen the image of a colossal man, which was of surpassing brilliance. The head was made of gold, the upper part of the body of silver, the lower part of bronze, the legs of iron, the feet of iron mixed with clay. As the king watched, a stone "cut without hands" smote the image and smashed it in pieces. The stone then grew till it became a mountain and filled the whole earth.

27. soothsayers: lit. determiners of fates, *i.e.* fortune-tellers. For the prevalence of magic at Babylon, 1$_{20}$*.—**28. in the latter days**: lit. "at the end of the days," or, as we should say, "at the close of time."—**29. thy thoughts came**: the thoughts must be distinguished from the dream. The king was probably pondering over the future destinies of his kingdom, wondering what the future would bring for it, and the dream took shape as a weird and fantastic answer to his musings.—**31. excellent**: surpassing. The word is used here in its old English sense.—**34. stone was cut out**: *i.e.* from the mountain (see 45).

36–49. The Interpretation of the Dream.—According to Daniel's interpretation the colossal statue is a pictorial representation of the course of history. Four empires succeed each other and are finally destroyed by a fifth which is of Divine origin (not made with hands), and ultimately dominates the world. We can identify these empires with practical certainty, and the identification proves that the statue depicts the history of 450 years, roughly speaking from 600 to

150 B.C. It will be observed that, according to the figure, history degenerates through this period. The gold becomes silver, the silver brass, and the brass iron. The golden empire is undoubtedly the Babylonian. Nothing could exceed the unstinted praise which the writer lavishes upon Nebuchadnezzar (37f.). The silver kingdom is that of the Medes, which the Book of Daniel interposes between the Babylonian and Persian Empires. The brass kingdom is that of the Persians, which was established by Cyrus in 538. The iron kingdom is the Greek, which was set up by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. The two feet represent the two divisions of the Greek kingdom, *i.e.* the kingdom of the Seleucidæ over Syria and Babylon, and the kingdom of the Ptolemies over Egypt, which date from the beginning of the fourth century. The author of Daniel, writing about 168, looks forward to a speedy advent of a fifth or Messianic kingdom, which is to destroy the other kingdoms and sift them like "chaff on the summer threshing floors." Four of the kingdoms, therefore, belong to the past, the fifth is the ideal kingdom of the future. It will be observed that the nearer the writer comes to his own day, the more specific are the details which are introduced into the picture.

37. Note the description of the glories of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. He is described as "king of kings," and (38) his rule extends over the whole of the habitable world.—**39. another kingdom:** the Median.—**third kingdom:** the Persian.—**40. fourth kingdom:** Macedonian or Greek. Charles thinks that this verse is corrupt and suggests that it ought to run, "And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: for as iron breaketh in pieces and shattereth all things, so shall it break in pieces and crush the whole earth."—**41. a divided kingdom,** *i.e.* the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, who divided Alexander's empire between them, the former representing the iron, the latter the clay.—**44f.** The description of the ideal or Messianic kingdom, the advent of which in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes is to overthrow the other empires and control the destiny of the world.—**46. worshipped Daniel.** Neither the English word "worship" nor the Heb. original in this passage necessarily implies the payment of Divine honours, though both are used with that connotation. Yet the mention of "the oblation and sweet odours" seems to imply that the writer intended the word to be taken in that sense. If it were not for 46*b* we should be justified in assuming that the term "worship" meant no more then than it does in the formula of the Prayer Book, "with my body I thee worship."—**47** suggests that the homage paid to Daniel was in reality paid to God.—**48. chief governor:** most scholars suppose that each class of the "wise men" had its own head, and that the title here used implies that Daniel was made governor or prefect of them all.—**49. in the gate of the king:** remained attached to the court of the king.

III. The Golden Image and the Fiery Furnace.—Nebuchadnezzar made a colossal image of gold and commanded the people to worship it. The three friends of Daniel refused to comply with the order. The king thereupon had them thrown into a burning fiery furnace "heated seven times hotter" than usual. But the fire had no power to consume them, and there appeared walking by the side of the three men in the midst of the furnace a fourth whose aspect was like "a son of the gods." The message of this chapter to the men of the Maccabean age is obvious. The devotion and fidelity of the three heroes who faced the fiery furnace rather than prove traitors to their God is held up as an example to those whom Antiochus Epiphanes was tempting to betray their Lord, and their marvellous rescue is held up as a Divine deliverance, and an illustration of the fulfilment of the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah: "When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned: neither shall the fire kindle upon thee" (Is. 43$_2$).

1. image of gold: this phrase does not necessarily mean that the statue was made of solid gold. Probably it was composed of another material coated or overlaid with gold.—**threescore cubits:** 90 feet.—**six cubits:** 9 feet, a cubit being 1½ feet.—**the plain of Dura:** it is impossible to identify this plain. The best suggestion is that it was connected with a small river, named the Dura, which entered the Euphrates some six miles S. of Babylon. Near this river many mounds have been discovered, one of which, a rectangular brick structure, may possibly have been the foundation on which the statue was placed. But this, of course, is pure conjecture (see Driver, CB).—**2.** The particular functions of the different officials cannot be easily distinguished. Some of the words, *e.g.* "satrap," belong to the later Persian period, and are therefore plainly an anachronism.—**5. sackbut:** "trigon," a triangular four-stringed instrument of the nature of a harp. The term "sackbut" is misleading, for a "sackbut" is a wind instrument resembling a trombone, while there is little doubt that the word used here denotes a stringed instrument.—**psaltery:** also a stringed instrument resembling an inverted triangle in shape.—**dulcimer:** the character of this instrument is probably better described by the *mg.* "bagpipe."—**8. Chaldeans:** whether the term is used here in its technical sense of "wise men" or "magicians," or in its ethnic sense cannot be determined (see on 14).—**14. Is it of purpose:** both Driver and Charles prefer the AV, "Is it true?"—**17. If it be so:** there is general agreement that this translation is wrong; but opinions differ as to what should be substituted for it. Driver, following *mg.*^{2}, reads, "If our God whom we serve is able to deliver us, He will deliver us." But Charles objects that this rendering suggests that doubts had entered into the minds of the three young men. He proposes therefore to follow the Versions, "For there is a God, whom we serve, who is able to deliver us."—**21. hosen . . . tunics . . . mantles:** translate, "mantles . . . trousers . . . hats."—**23f.** Between these two verses the LXX inserts the Apocryphal "Song of the Three Children."—**25. a son of the gods:** the AV translation, "the son of God," is wrong. The phrase simply means a heavenly being or angel.—**27. hosen:** mantles, as in 21.—**28. changed:** frustrated.—**30. promoted:** prospered.

IV. This chapter takes us again into the realm of Apocalyptic. Nebuchadnezzar dreams a fresh dream. This time he sees a gigantic tree, the top of which reached to heaven, full of leaves and fruit. Suddenly a holy one appears from heaven, and cries the command, "Hew down the tree, strip off the branches, but leave the stump in the ground." That the dream refers to some individual is clear, for the "holy one" continues, "Let his portion be with the beasts. Let his heart be changed from a man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him." Daniel, who is summoned to interpret the vision, informs the king that the dream refers to himself. He is the tree which is soon to be cut down. For his pride madness will overtake him, and his portion will be with the beasts of the field for seven years.

There are two difficulties about this chapter, the one connected with the form, the other connected with

the subject-matter. The form differs in the Heb. and the LXX. In the Heb. the story is told in the form of an edict issued by the king. "Nebuchadnezzar the king unto all peoples." The LXX, on the other hand, omits 1–3, which introduces the edict, and begins with 4. Charles prefers the LXX (Cent. B, p. 37). There is a much greater difficulty with regard to the subject-matter. The king's madness takes the form of lycanthropy, *i.e.* the sufferer imagines himself to be an animal. We have considerable evidence that such a disease was known in ancient time (CB, p. 58), but there is not a shred of testimony to show that Nebuchadnezzar ever suffered in this way. If the affliction lasted for seven years, the silence of the Inscriptions is inexplicable. Probably the author is embodying a floating tradition. We know from Eusebius that Nebuchadnezzar is said to have imprecated the same fate upon Cyrus, whom he foresaw in a vision to be the destined overthrower of his empire. The words ascribed to him by Megasthenes, from whom Eusebius quotes, are, "Would that some whirlpool or flood might destroy him or else that he might be driven through the desert where wild beasts seek their food and birds fly hither and thither." Many scholars think that our author has transferred to Nebuchadnezzar the doom with which he threatened Cyrus, but the evidence is obscure. The motive of the chapter is obvious. If God struck down Nebuchadnezzar in the zenith of his power, he can bring a similar downfall upon Antiochus Epiphanes. It is a significant fact that Antiochus was sometimes called Epimanes (madman) instead of Epiphanes (illustrious).

1–4 and **6f.** are omitted in the LXX.—**8. according to the name of my God:** this phrase assumes that the word Belteshazzar is derived from Bel, a Babylonian deity, but the more correct interpretation of the term regards the first three letters as part of the word *balatsu*, "my life." The writer, therefore, makes the king a victim of a false etymology.—**spirit of the holy gods:** the king here speaks as a polytheist, though elsewhere in the chapter (3, 34f.) he uses the language of monotheism.—**10. a tree in the midst:** *cf.* the vision of the cedar of Lebanon to which the glory of Assyria is likened (Ezek. 31₃–14).—**13. a watcher:** this term is used to denote a class of angels who were always on the watch to carry out the commands of God. The term frequently occurs in the Apocryphal literature, especially in the Book of Enoch.—**a holy one:** also a title for an angel. Both terms refer to the same individual.—**15. let his portion:** the metaphor is here changed, and the remaining words of the description apply to the person designated by the tree, *i.e.* the king, and not to the tree itself.—**16. seven times:** seven years.—**17. the demand:** lit. the matter. Charles translates, "the word of the holy ones is the matter in question."—**22.** For this description of Nebuchadnezzar's power, *cf.* 23₇f.—**16. they commanded:** *i.e.* the watchers.—**the heavens:** *i.e.* God (*cf.* Lk. 15₁8,21).—**27. break off thy sins:** lit. redeem thy sins.—**righteousness:** almost equivalent to "good works" (*cf.* Mt. 6₁). The idea suggested here, as often in the Apocrypha, is that sin may be atoned for by good works.—**a lengthening of thy tranquillity:** or, "a healing of thine error" (*mg.*).—**34. At the end of the days:** after seven years.—**35. army of heaven:** hosts of heavenly beings.—**those that walk in pride:** sums up the point and moral of the whole chapter.

V. Belshazzar, who is represented as king of Babylon, makes a great feast, using the vessels which his father had brought to Babylon from the Temple at Jerusalem. During the feast the fingers of a man's hand are seen, writing on the wall. Daniel explains the handwriting and tells the king that his days are numbered and that his kingdom is to be given to the Medes and Persians. That night the king is murdered and Darius the Mede assumes the throne. The motive of the chapter is again quite plain. Nebuchadnezzar's act of sacrilege has its parallel in the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes; and the fate of Belshazzar is depicted as an encouragement to the persecuted Jews of the Maccabean age. The chapter raises some very serious historical difficulties (see notes on 1 and 31).

1. Belshazzar the King.—In the Book of Daniel Belshazzar is represented as king of Babylon just before its conquest by the Persians in 538 B.C. Nothing is said as to the length of his reign, though "the third year" is mentioned in 8₁. Belshazzar is also described as the son of Nebuchadnezzar. But these statements appear to be erroneous. The statements of historians and the evidence of the Inscriptions make it abundantly clear that the name of the king at the time of the conquest was Nabonidus or Nabuna'id, and that Belshazzar was his son. Some scholars have supposed that Belshazzar was associated with his father in the rule of Babylon, but we have no evidence to prove this theory, and the Inscriptions, by always describing him as the king's son, seem to make it impossible. Moreover Nabuna'id was entirely unconnected with the dynasty of Nebuchadnezzar, so that unless we resort to the purely imaginative hypothesis that he married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, it is quite impossible for the statement that Belshazzar was the son or grandson of Nebuchadnezzar to be true.—**made a great feast:** this agrees with the statements of Herodotus and Xenophon that a great feast was being held on the night in which Babylon was destroyed.—**2. gold and silver vessels:** see 1₂.—**his father:** 1*.—**4.** The LXX adds, "But the eternal God they praised not who hath power over their spirit."—**5. the part of the hand:** the palm or hollow of the hand.—**6.** The brightness of his face grew pale from fear.—**7. third ruler:** the term is not found elsewhere. Driver translates, "shall rule as one of three."—**10. the queen:** probably the queen-mother, *i.e.* the wife of Nebuchadnezzar. For the influence exerted by the wife of a former king, see 1 K. 15₁3, 2 K. 10₁3, 24₁2, Jer. 13₁8, 29₂.—**12. shewing of dark sentences:** declaring of riddles.—**dissolving of doubts:** loosing of knots, probably contains a reference to magic spells, releasing from spells (*cf.* 16).—**18–24.** A description of the glory of Nebuchadnezzar's rule (*cf.* 23₇f., 4₁0–12), his overweening pride, and the punishment which God inflicted on him (see 4).—**21. his heart was made:** an allusion to the madness which befell Nebuchadnezzar (see introduction to 4).—**25. Mene:** there is a good deal of difficulty with regard to (*a*) the original form of the inscription, (*b*) the interpretation of the words. In reference to (*a*) it will be observed that the Upharsin of the inscription becomes "Peres" in the interpretation. (*b*) The words are generally explained as meaning "Counted, counted, weighed and pieces." The objection to this is that "tekel" and "peres" are substantives and not verbs. Another suggestion, which is widely accepted, regards the terms as names of three weights, "a mina, a mina, a shekel and a half mina" (a mina contained 50 or 60 shekels). It is supposed that the mina means Nebuchadnezzar, the shekel Belshazzar, the half-mina or Peres, the Persians. The interpretation suggested by Daniel is connected with the derivation of the words "mene," numbered; "tekel," weighed; "Peres," divided; the form of the word naturally suggested Persians.—**Upharsin:** the connexion with Peres may be thus explained: U is

the connecting particle "and," and pharsin is the plural form of Peres.—**30. the Chaldean king:** the king of Babylon.—**31. Darius the Mede:** the introduction of Darius is one of the most serious historical inaccuracies in the Book. Darius is described as king of Babylon after the Persian conquest. In 6 he is depicted as an absolute sovereign dividing the kingdom into satrapies and appointing governors. In 91 he is called "the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans," preceding Cyrus in this position (628). There is no historical warrant for these statements. We know that Cyrus became king immediately after the fall of Babylon. There is absolutely no room for Darius between the expulsion of Nabuna'id and the accession of Cyrus. Some authorities have identified Darius with Gobryas (of which the name may be a corruption), who is said to have commanded the attacking army at the siege of Babylon, and as viceroy of Cyrus to have taken over the government of the city, appointing governors, etc. Gobryas never, however, held the position assigned to Darius in our Book.

VI. Daniel in the Den of Lions.—After giving an account of the reorganisation of the empire by Darius after the fall of Babylon, this chapter describes a conspiracy formed against Daniel by the princes, which resulted in his being thrown into a den of lions for refusing to obey a decree which forbade prayer to God. Daniel is found alive and unhurt the next morning. His accusers are thrown to the lions and instantly devoured. Darius then issues a decree commanding the whole world to honour the God of Daniel. The purpose of the chapter is obviously to strengthen the Jews in their resistance to the demands of Antiochus Epiphanes.

1. 531*.—**satraps:** we have no outside evidence in support of this statement. According to Herodotus the Persian Empire was first divided into twenty satrapies by Darius Hystaspis (522–485 B.C.).—**4. as touching the kingdom:** in the work of his administration.—**6. assembled:** render, "came tumultuously" (*mg.*).—**7.** *mg.*, "that the king should establish a statute" is better.—**8. altereth not:** "passeth not away." For an illustration of the statement, see Est. 119, 88.—**10. three times a day** (*cf.* Ps. 417). The specified hours of prayer were: (*a*) the time of the morning burnt offering, (*b*) "the ninth hour," *i.e.* 3 P.M., (*c*) sunset.—**before his God:** the Jews were accustomed to speak of praying "before" God rather than "to" Him. — **11. assembled:** Driver translates "came thronging"; Charles, "kept watch upon."—**18. instruments of music.** The meaning of the Aramaic word is uncertain. Some scholars translate "concubines" or "dancing girls."—**24. had the mastery of them:** or "fell upon them."—**25–27.** This edict of Darius may be compared with the proclamations of Nebuchadnezzar in 329 and 41–3.—**26. stedfast:** enduring, immovable.—**Cyrus the Persian:** the conqueror of Babylon in 538 B.C. His reign lasted till 529 B.C. (see 121, 101).

VII. The Vision of the Four Beasts.—From this point onwards the Book becomes purely apocalyptic. The vision of the four beasts is parallel to the vision of the image in 2. The beasts rise out of the sea. The first is a lion with eagle's wings, the second a bear, the third a leopard, the fourth a nameless and terrible creature with ten horns. Among the ten horns of the fourth beast there arises another "little horn" with the eyes of a man, which destroys three of the other horns. At this point the scene changes. A "great assize" is being held by "the ancient of days." The fourth beast is slain. The other three are dispossessed. A human figure appears and receives an everlasting kingdom. The rest of the chapter (17–28) gives a partial interpretation of the vision. The four beasts are four kings (or kingdoms) which succeed one another and are followed by the kingdom of the saints. The fourth beast, in which the interest of the chapter mainly centres, is described as a conquering kingdom; the ten horns are ten kings; the "little horn" is an eleventh king which overthrows three of the other ten, and persecutes the saints for three and a half years (a time, times, and half a time). But the little horn is doomed to destruction, and its overthrow will be followed by the reign of the saints in an everlasting kingdom.

The interpretation of the vision has afforded opportunity for infinite conjecture and given rise to endless ingenious theories. We may dismiss at once all interpretations which regard the fulfilment of the vision as still in the future. "The four kingdoms" and "the ten horns" obviously refer to facts which were within the writer's ken. The best and most generally accepted explanation to-day is the following.

The four beasts represent the same four kingdoms as the different parts of the colossal image in 2. The lion is the golden kingdom, *i.e.* the Babylonian Empire. The bear is the silver kingdom, *i.e.* the Median Empire, which the Book of Daniel wrongly interposes between the Babylonian and the Persian. The bear is the bronze kingdom, *i.e.* the Persian. The fearsome, nameless beast is the iron kingdom, *i.e.* the Greek Empire. An alternative explanation which is found current in early Jewish and Christian literature regards the fourth kingdom as the Roman and omits the second, *i.e.* the hypothetical Median Empire, in the above arrangement, but this suggestion fails to commend itself to the majority of modern scholars.

The ten horns represent the kings of the Greek Empire. The best arrangement is as follows: (1) Alexander the Great; (2) Seleucus I, 312–280 B.C.; (3) Antiochus I, 279–261 B.C.; (4) Antiochus II, 261–246 B.C.; (5) Seleucus II, 246–226 B.C.; (6) Seleucus III, 226–223 B.C.; (7) Antiochus III, 222–187 B.C.; (8) Seleucus IV, 186–176 B.C.; (9) Heliodorus; (10) Ptolemy VII, 170–146 B.C. Some scholars omit Alexander the Great and add Demetrius Soter.

The little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes, the arch-persecutor of the Jews, against whom the Maccabeans revolted. The three horns which were "plucked up" were probably Seleucus IV, Heliodorus the usurper, and Demetrius I, all of whom seem to have been overthrown by Antiochus Epiphanes, though the evidence is not conclusive in the case of Demetrius.

1. Belshazzar: 51*. **2. the great sea:** usually supposed to be the Mediterranean, but probably here used of a mythical sea.—**4. The first beast:** the Babylonian Empire, described as a lion with eagle's (or vulture's) wings, thus combining the characteristics of the noblest of quadrupeds and one of the most majestic of birds.—**the wings were plucked:** probably an allusion to the madness which came upon Nebuchadnezzar (see 4) and gave him "a beast's heart" (416). His recovery is alluded to in the following phrase, "a man's heart was given to it."—**5. another beast:** the hypothetical Median Empire which our Book inserts between the Babylonian and Persian rule. It is compared to a bear, to indicate its inferiority to the lion-like Babylonian Empire.—**it was raised up on one side:** as Driver suggests, the phrase is probably intended to refer to the aggressiveness of the bear. "It is pictured as raising one of its shoulders so as to be

able to use the paw on that side."—**three ribs:** an allusion to the prey which it had seized, probably a reference to three countries which had been subdued.—**6.** The third beast, a leopard, represents the Persian Empire.—**four wings** may refer either to the agility of the Persian Empire and the swiftness with which it swooped down upon its victims, or the extent of the empire, which reached to the four quarters of the earth.—**four heads:** the four Persian kings, Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes.—**7. the fourth beast:** the Greek Empire. The Book of Daniel is always specially severe on the Greek Empire.—**the horns:** ten kings; see introduction to the chapter.—**8. another horn:** Antiochus Epiphanes.—**three . . . horns:** see introduction to the chapter.—**eyes of a man:** implying keen insight and power of observation.—**mouth, etc.:** Antiochus is reputed to have been notorious for his boastful utterances.

9–14. The scene changes, and we have now a picture of a "great assize" in heaven, executing judgment upon the kings and empires referred to in the previous verses.

9. thrones were placed: for the angels who assisted the Judge.—**ancient of days:** the same expression is found elsewhere with the meaning of "an old man." We must not read into the words the conception of eternity. What Daniel sees in the vision is not the Eternal God, but God in the form of an aged and venerable man.—**white . . . wool:** these metaphors are intended to portray the purity of God.—**wheels:** the throne is depicted as a chariot of fire. There is a very similar description of the throne of God in the Book of Enoch. "From underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire . . . the flaming fire was round about him and a great fire stood before him."—**11. the beast was slain:** *i.e.* the fourth beast, Antiochus Epiphanes.—**to be burned with fire:** *i.e.* in the place where the dead are finally punished.—**12. the rest of the beasts:** the Babylonian, Median, and Persian Empires.—**13. like unto a son of man:** the AV was wrong in translating "like the Son of man," and thus suggesting that the passage referred to the "Son of man" of the Gospels. The phrase simply denotes a figure in human form. There is no reference to the Messiah. In the interpretation of the vision in 18, this phrase has no place at all. The kingdom that is here given unto "one like unto a son of man" is in 18 given to "the saints of the Most High." There must be, therefore, some equation between the two expressions. The explanation is probably as follows: The four kingdoms which have been destroyed are represented in the form of beasts because of their rapacity and cruelty. The ideal kingdom which is to be established is represented under the figure of a human being, "a son of man," to denote that it would be free from all the brutal qualities and characteristics which had marked previous empires. As Driver says, "Humanity is contrasted with animality; and the human form, as opposed to the bestial, teaches that the last kingdom will be, not like the Gentile kingdoms, a supremacy of brute force, but a supremacy ostensibly humane and spiritual" (CB, p. 104). The new kingdom is described as coming "with the clouds of heaven," to distinguish it from the other kingdoms which "came up from the sea." They are from below, it is from above.—**15. in the midst of my body:** lit. the sheath (*mg.*). The body is here regarded as the sheath or receptacle of the soul.—**19–22** recapitulates the description of the characteristics of the fourth beast (9–12, 18).—**21. made war with the saints:** an allusion to the attack of Antiochus upon the Jewish people.—**25. change the times and the law:** Antiochus attempted to abolish the feasts of the Jews and the ordinances of the Law.—**a time and times and half a time:** a time is a year, and the whole phrase, therefore, denotes 3½ years, the period during which the persecution under Antiochus lasted, from 168–165 B.C.—**26. the judgement:** *i.e.* the court of judgement.

VIII. The Vision of the Ram and the He-goat.—This chapter gives an account of another vision which came to Daniel in Shushan. Near the river Ulai a ram with two horns is seen pushing invincibly westward and northward and southward. Suddenly from the W. a he-goat appears, attacks the ram, and breaks his horns. Then, the he-goat "magnified himself exceedingly." The "notable horn" between his eyes is broken and four other horns spring up to take its place. Out of these four horns proceeded another, a little horn, which moved towards the E. and the S. and attacked the land of Palestine, exalting itself against God, desecrating the Temple, and abolishing the sacrifices for 2300 days.

The interpretation of the vision which is given by Gabriel to Daniel is exceptionally clear, and leaves no manner of doubt that it refers to the events of the Maccabean age. The ram with the two horns represents the two kingdoms of Media and Persia. The he-goat is the Greek Empire, the first horn representing Alexander the Great, and the four later horns the four kingdoms into which the empire subsequently split up. The little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes, "a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences." The attack on the Jewish religion is clearly described, and the promise given that God will deliver His people.

1. Belshazzar: 5*1*.—**at the first:** refers to the vision of the four beasts in 7, which is dated two years previously.—**2. Shushan the palace:** the citadel of Susa (Neh. 1*1*, Est. 2*1*,5). Susa was the capital of Elam, and was situated on the river Eulæus, directly N. of the head of the Persian Gulf. It is described by Xenophon as the "winter residence of the Persian kings." Its citadel was renowned for its strength. As the city was destroyed in the reign of Assurbanipal (668–626 B.C.) and not restored till the time of Darius Hystaspis (521–485 B.C.) there is some doubt as to whether the citadel was in existence at the date implied by this chapter.—**Elam:** the province or district E. of the lower Tigris and N. of the Persian Gulf (Jer. 49*34–39*).—**Ulai:** Eulæus (modern Karûn), one of the three rivers which flows into the Persian Gulf from the mountains on the N. Driver, however, thinks it was probably a large artificial canal connecting two of these rivers.—**3. the ram:** a symbol of power and energy (Ezek. 39*18*). Of the two horns the lower represents the Median Empire, the higher which "came up last" the Persian.—**5. he-goat:** used metaphorically to describe a ruler or leader (Is. 14*9* (*mg.*), 34*6*; Ezek. 39 18), representing here the Greek Empire.—**on the face:** an exaggerated but pointed description of Alexander's conquests.—**touched not the ground:** such was the speed of the he-goat that he seemed to be flying without touching the ground, a reference to the rapidity of Alexander's triumphant progress.—**notable horn:** Alexander the Great.—7 describes the downfall of the Persian Empire before Alexander.—**8. great horn was broken:** refers to Alexander's tragic death at the summit of his power in 323 B.C.—**four notable horns:** *i.e.* the four kingdoms into which the Greek Empire was divided: (*a*) Egypt, (*b*) Asia Minor, (*c*) Syria and

Babylonia, (*d*) Macedonia and Greece (*cf.* 11₄).—**9. a little horn:** Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.) whose oppression caused the Maccabean rising.—**glorious land:** Palestine (*cf.* 11₁₆, ₄₁).—**10. the host of heaven:** the stars. This attack on the heavenly bodies is a symbolical way of describing Antiochus' attempt to destroy the Jewish religion.—**11. the prince of the host:** *i.e.* God.—**burnt offering:** refers to Antiochus' desecration of the Temple and the suppression of the sacrifices.—**12. and the host was given:** the meaning of this clause is very uncertain. Driver renders, "A host was appointed against the continual burnt offering with transgression," and explains it thus: "Antiochus had recourse to violence and set up an armed garrison to suppress the sacred rites of the Jews." RV means, "A host (*i.e.* an army of Israelites) was given over to it (the horn, *i.e.* Antiochus) together with the burnt offering through transgression" (*i.e.* the apostasy of the disloyal Jews).—**14. two thousand three hundred:** 1150 days. The desecration of the altar lasted from the 15th of Chislew 168 B.C. to the 25th of Chislew 165 B.C., or 3 years and 10 days. The number of days reckoned in a Jewish year at this time is uncertain, but the range of possibilities for this period lies between 1090 and 1132 days, and in any case the number falls short of the prophesied 1150. Some scholars think that the 1150 days is reckoned not from the actual destruction of the altar, but from the date of the edict of Antiochus. Others hold that the Book was written within this period, and that the 1150 days or 3½ years was, therefore, a genuine prediction, which was only approximately fulfilled.—**17. the vision belongeth to the end:** to the writer the events of the Maccabean rising were to be followed by the end of the world.—**19. in the latter time of the indignation:** when the wrath of God shall be manifest at the end of time.—**20–22.** 3–9*.—**23. understanding dark sentences:** "a master of dissimulation, able to conceal his meaning under ambiguous words" (Driver).—**24. not by his own power:** *i.e.* either (*a*) by the permission of God, or (*b*) by his intrigues.—**25. broken without hand:** by act of God.—**26. shut up the vision:** keep it secret.

IX. This is one of the most puzzling chapters in the Bible, and no little ingenuity has been expended upon its interpretation. Jeremiah had spoken of a punishment which was to befall the king of Babylon "when seventy years are accomplished" (Jer. 25₁₂). Daniel, puzzled by the prophecy, inquires of God what the seventy years signified. The answer given is that the "seventy years" refers to seven weeks of years, *i.e.* 490 years, and is divided into three periods of 49, 434, and 7 years respectively. The first period will be the interval between the utterance of the prophecy and the commencement of the work of restoring the city and the advent of the "anointed one." The second period of 434 years covers the time of restoration, and at the end of it an anointed one would be cut off, and a time of desolation would ensue. During the last period of seven years, persecutions would arise, and for half the time the sacrifices would be suspended. No interpretation has yet been suggested which entirely meets the facts. The two most popular explanations are as follows:

(1) **The Modern View.**—Following the analogy of the interpretation of the other prophetic elements in Daniel, most modern scholars think that the 490 years are to be found in the period which begins with the date of Jeremiah's prophecy (587 B.C.) and ends with the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in 164 B.C. Many of the details of the narrative fit this explanation, *e.g.* the cessation of the sacrifices under Antiochus for 3½ years (27). The most serious difficulty lies in the fact that the period 587 B.C. to 164 covers only 423 years and not 490, so that there are 67 years unaccounted for. The only possible reply is to argue that the mistake is due to the writer's lack of sufficient chronological data. Josephus makes similar mistakes, and the Hellenistic writer, Demetrius, over-estimates a similar stretch of history by about the same amount (73 years); see Driver, p. 147.

(2) **The Traditional View** maintains that the passage contains a prediction of the advent and the death of Christ, the abolition of the Levitical sacrifices, and the fall of Jerusalem. The reading of the AV affords some support for the theory. Phrases like "unto the Messiah the Prince," "Messiah shall be cut off," naturally suggest to the ordinary reader the birth and death of Christ. But when we look more closely into the passage, it becomes clear that this interpretation will not bear examination. (*a*) It is extremely doubtful whether the term "Messiah" really represents the meaning of the original. The RV translates "the anointed one," and if we adopt its punctuation there are two "anointed ones," the one appearing at the end of the 49th year, the other "cut off" at the end of the 483rd year. (*b*) Upon this reasoning the period would commence (see Driver, p. 144) at 458 B.C., the date of Ezra's mission, which would form a good beginning, though it does not seem to be definitely connected with the rebuilding of the city, but there is no event at 409 to mark the break between the first two epochs. (*c*) It is impossible to explain the phrase in 27 which states that the anointed one "made a covenant for one week" (seven years). The ministry of Jesus lasted only for three years. (*d*) The narrative implies that the sacrifices were only suspended for 3½ years. The interpretation implies their complete and total abolition. (*e*) There is no hint that a period of 40 years, the time between the Crucifixion and the destruction of Jerusalem, is to intervene between the Messiah's overthrow and the final *dénouement*. The date of the destruction of Jerusalem falls completely outside the range of the 490 years. For these reasons the traditional view is now generally abandoned by modern scholarship, and the first theory almost universally adopted.

1. Darius: 5₃₁*.—**2. Jeremiah the prophet:** the reference is to the prophecies in Jer. 25₁₁f., 29₁₀. Daniel is distressed by the apparent failure of these prophecies and seeks to discover an explanation.—**4–19.** According to Charles, a later interpolation containing the confession of Daniel. This prayer was evidently written by a Palestinian Jew (see 7 and 16), and does not, therefore, maintain the point of view assumed in the rest of the book, where the writer is supposed to be living at the court of Babylon. There is little originality in the prayer, and many of its phrases are borrowed from other parts of the OT.—**11. written in the law of Moses:** *cf.* Dt. 29₂₀.—**13. as it is written:** *cf.* Dt. 28₁₅, 30₁.—**20–26.** The explanation of Jeremiah's prophecy.—**21. being caused to fly swiftly:** the meaning of the original is obscure; *mg.* gives an alternative rendering, "being sore wearied," but neither translation is satisfactory. If "fly swiftly" is correct, this is the earliest reference to the later popular conception that angels possess wings.—**24. seventy weeks:** this phrase gives the new principle upon which Jeremiah's prophecy is to be reinterpreted. The 70 years are to be regarded as 70 weeks of years, *i.e.* 490 years. This verse describes in general terms what is to happen during this period.—**seal up:** con-

firm or ratify.—**anoint the most holy:** it is doubtful whether this phrase is masculine or neuter (*cf. mg.*). Driver thinks that it refers to the Temple or altar.—**25. from the going forth:** *i.e.* from the utterance of the commandment by Jeremiah.—**unto the anointed one:** scholars are divided as to the person referred to in this phrase. Driver favours Cyrus, who is called "the anointed" in Is. 45₁. Charles thinks it refers to Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, the first high priest after the restoration (Ezr. 3₂).—**threescore and two weeks:** this verse should undoubtedly be connected with the following clause as in RV, and not with the preceding sentence as in AV. It means "weeks of years, *i.e.* 434 years.—**with street and moat:** many scholars accept an emendation which enables us to translate, "with square and street." Jerusalem is to be rebuilt on a larger scale and with broader streets than before.—**26. the anointed one be cut off:** the meaning of this phrase is far from clear, but most modern scholars think it refers to Onias III, who, in 175 B.C., was deposed from the high priesthood by Antiochus Epiphanes (p. 523).—**shall have nothing:** this is, as Charles says, "a questionable reading of an uncertain text." As the words stand, they mean that Onias, after his deprivation, was left in abject poverty.—**the people of the prince:** refers to the soldiers of Antiochus.—**his end:** *i.e.* the death of Antiochus. Charles translates, "The end shall be with a flood," and connects with the following verse, making these words introduce the events of the last week.—**27.** (a most difficult verse) **he shall make a firm covenant:** if the reference is to Antiochus, as seems absolutely certain, the words can only mean that "he made a covenant with apostate Jews in order to secure their help in extirpating the Jewish religion." Some scholars emend the text and translate, "the covenant shall be annulled for the many," *i.e.* there shall be a period of general apostasy.—**one week:** 7 years.—**half of the week:** the 3½ years during which the sacrifices were suspended by Antiochus (*cf.* 7₂₅, 8₁₄).—**upon the wing of abominations:** another difficult and obscure phrase. As it stands, it can only be explained on the analogy of Ps. 18₁₀, "and he (*i.e.* Yahweh) rode upon a cherub and did fly." Many scholars, however, prefer to emend the text and translate "in its stead," *i.e.* in place of the sacrifice. "In its stead shall be the abomination that maketh desolate, *i.e.* the heathen altar set up by Antiochus (1131*).—**and even unto the consummation:** the best rendering of the last clause is that of Driver, "and that until the consummation and that which is determined be poured upon the desolation," *i.e.* the abomination will continue until doom is poured out upon Antiochus.

X. Introduction to the Final Vision.—The last three chapters of Daniel form a unity and describe the final vision. 10 is introductory. A "shining" being appears to Daniel near the "great river" and tells him that he has been sent in answer to his prayers. The guardian angel of Persia had tried to intercept him, but Michael the protector of Israel had come to his assistance.

1. third year of Cyrus: 535 B.C., the latest date in the Book.—**4. the great river:** elsewhere (*cf.* Gen. 15₁₈) the Euphrates is described in this way, and as the Hiddekel, *i.e.* the Tigris, was 50 miles from Babylon, Charles thinks the name of the river is an interpolation.—**5. gold of Uphaz:** the word "Uphaz" occurs only in Jer. 10₉, and no place of this name is known. Most scholars think that the word is a corruption of the more familiar Ophir.—**6. beryl:** LXX reads, "chrysolite," *i.e.* the topaz. Compare with the description of the angel here that of the risen Christ in Rev. 1.—**13. the prince of the kingdom of Persia:** "prince" is not here the title of an earthly ruler, but refers to the guardian angel (Is. 24₂₁f.*). Each nation was supposed to have its own guardian angel, so also in the phrase, "one of the chief princes," *i.e.* one of the chief guardian angels (Is. 24₂₁*, Mt. 18₁₀*).—**remained with the kings:** Charles adopts an emendation which makes much better sense, "I left him alone there with the prince of the kings of Persia."—**16. like the similitude:** *i.e.* an angel in the form of a man.—**20. prince:** guardian angel, as in 13.

XI. The Final Vision.—This gives a summary of history from the beginning of the Persian era to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The references to the earlier part of it are brief, but more details are given when the prophet reaches the period of the Greek supremacy, especially with regard to the relations between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ.

1. This verse really belongs to 10, and should be taken as the final clause of the preceding paragraph.—**first year of Darius:** the mention of Darius is exceedingly difficult, as 10₁ dates the prophecy in the third year of Cyrus. The LXX reads Cyrus instead of Darius.—**confirm and strengthen him:** *i.e.* Michael, not Darius. If the translation is right, Daniel is represented as coming to the assistance of Michael in his contest with the other angels. But the LXX reads, "confirms and strengthens me." Charles emends 10₂₀*b*–11₁f. thus: "When I go forth, lo, the prince of Greece shall come, and there is none that holdeth with me against these, but Michael your prince, who standeth up to confirm and strengthen me. But I will tell thee that which is inscribed in the writing of truth. Behold, there shall stand up, etc."—**2. three kings:** probably Cyrus (538–529 B.C.), Cambyses (529–522 B.C.), Darius Hystaspis (522–485 B.C.).—**the fourth:** Xerxes (485–465 B.C.) who invaded Greece. An account of the immense wealth and power of Xerxes is given by the Greek historian Herodotus (vii. 20–99).—**stir up:** an allusion to the well-known expedition of Xerxes against Greece.—**3. a mighty king:** Alexander the Great.—**4. his kingdom shall be broken:** an allusion to the division of Alexander's empire after his death (8₈*).—**not to posterity:** Alexander left no children to succeed him, and the son born after his death was murdered before he reached manhood.—**5. the king of the south:** the king of Egypt, Ptolemy I. The two chief divisions of the Greek Empire were (*a*) Egypt, which was ruled by the Ptolemies, (*b*) Syria, which was governed by the Seleucidæ. The following verses give an account of the relations between these two empires.—**one of his princes:** Seleucus, the founder of the rival empire.—**he shall be strong above him:** Seleucus shall be stronger than Ptolemy.—**6. they shall join themselves:** refers to the attempt of Ptolemy II (285–247) and Antiochus II to form a matrimonial alliance between the two empires.—**the king's daughter:** Berenice. Ptolemy II, in order to bring the long and disastrous wars between Egypt and Syria to a close, gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus II, on condition that he divorced his wife Laodice, and upon the understanding that if Berenice had a son, he should unite the two empires.—**she shall retain:** the arrangement did not succeed. After the death of Ptolemy, Antiochus dismissed Berenice and took back his previous wife, Laodice.—**neither shall he stand:** Antiochus was murdered by Laodice.—**she shall be given up:** Berenice was put to death at the instigation of Laodice.—**they that bought her:** *i.e.* Berenice's attendants.—**he that begat her:** Ptolemy II, but Charles emends the text and reads, "her son."—

7. out of a shoot: Ptolemy III, Berenice's brother.—**come with an army:** Ptolemy III, in order to avenge his sister, invaded Syria, seized Seleucia the fortified port of Antioch, and overran the country. He was obliged, however, to return to Egypt, before his conquest was complete, in order to quell a rebellion, but he took back immense spoil and booty.—**9. He shall come:** Seleucus II. After the murder of Antiochus, his successor, Seleucus Callinicus, invaded Egypt but was defeated (240 B.C.).—**10. his sons:** *i.e.* the sons of Seleucus II, Seleucus Keraunos who reigned for three years (226–223 B.C.), and Antiochus III, generally known as Antiochus the Great (223–187 B.C.). The two are joined together, though the former never made an attack upon Egypt. The campaigns alluded to are those of Antiochus the Great.—**shall come on:** many MSS. read, "shall attack him."—**his fortress:** probably Gaza, the strongest fortress in the S. of Palestine.—**11. he shall set forth:** this sentence is very ambiguous, and may mean *either* he (Antiochus) will raise a great army and it will be given into his (Ptolemy's) hand, *or* he (Ptolemy) will raise a great army and it shall be put under his command.—**12.** Read *mg.* "The multitude" refers to the army of Antiochus.—**his heart:** Ptolemy's.—**shall not prevail:** Ptolemy failed to follow up his victory.—**13.** This verse refers to an attack made by Antiochus upon Egypt twelve years later (205 B.C.). In the meantime Ptolemy Philopator had died and been succeeded by his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a boy of five.—**at the end of the times:** a reference to the interval of twelve years since the previous campaign.—**14. may stand up:** this phrase includes Antiochus, Philip of Macedon his ally, and certain rebellions which are said to have broken out in Egypt at this time.—**children of the violent:** certain turbulent spirits among the Jews who assisted Antiochus in his campaign against Egypt.—**to establish the vision:** to fulfil the prophecies.—**15. well-fenced city:** Sidon, which was captured by Antiochus.—**16.** He (Antiochus) that cometh against him (Ptolemy).—**the glorious land:** Palestine (*cf.* 89).—**17. upright ones:** read *mg.*, which is based on the text of the Versions, "shall make equitable conditions." Owing to the intervention of the Romans, Antiochus was unable to invade Egypt, and was compelled to make terms with Ptolemy.—**the daughter of women:** his daughter Cleopatra.—**to destroy it** (*mg.*): the real motive of the marriage was to obtain a hold over Egypt.—**but it** (*mg.*) **shall not stand:** the plan did not succeed. Cleopatra took the part of her husband rather than her father.—**18. turn his face to the isles:** to the coast-lands of Asia Minor, referring to Antiochus' expedition into Asia Minor and Greece.—**a prince:** *i.e.* a commander (*cf. mg.*); Lucius Cornelius Scipio, who defeated Antiochus at the battle of Magnesia, is intended.—**19***b*. refers to the murder of Antiochus in 187 B.C. by the inhabitants of Elymais, in revenge for his sacrilege upon the Temple of Bel.—**20. one:** *i.e.* Seleucus IV (187–175 B.C.)—**shall cause an exactor:** these words are supposed to refer to an attempt by Seleucus to plunder the Temple in Jerusalem (2 Mac. 21).—**within few days:** after an inglorious reign of twelve years, Seleucus IV was murdered, as the result of a plot formed against him by his chief minister, Heliodorus.—**21. a contemptible person:** Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164). The rest of the chapter is a description of Antiochus, who is regarded as the villain of the piece.—**they had not given:** Antiochus was not the natural heir. The throne should have passed to Demetrius, the son of the previous king.—**in time of security:** or "unawares" (see 825 and 1124).—**by flatteries:** Antiochus made himself very popular with the people of Antioch. An inscription was discovered at Pergamum in 1885 recording a vote of thanks passed by them to Eumenes, king of Pergamum, and Attalus his brother, for the assistance which they had rendered to Antiochus in obtaining the crown. It is printed in CB, p. 207.—**22.** The attack of Antiochus upon Palestine.—**prince of the covenant:** the high priest, Onias III, who is called "the anointed one" in 926.—**23. with a small people:** an allusion probably to the paucity of the friends and supporters of Antiochus.—**24. the fattest places:** the meaning is obscure. The phrase is generally taken to refer to fertile districts of Palestine or Egypt, but some scholars emend the text and render, "assail the mightiest men of the province."—**25.** The reference is to the first Egyptian campaign of Antiochus in 170 B.C.—**king of the south:** Ptolemy Philometor, who was defeated by Antiochus near Pelusium.—**26. they that eat:** the defeat of Ptolemy was largely due to the disaffection of his friends.—**27. they shall speak lies:** after the defeat of their king, the Alexandrians raised his brother Ptolemy Physcon to the throne, whereupon Antiochus pretended to take Ptolemy Philometor under his protection.—**28.** On his return from his first Egyptian campaign Antiochus attacked Palestine.—**the holy covenant:** the Jewish religion.—**29. he shall return:** *i.e.* to Egypt, an allusion to the second Egyptian campaign in 168 B.C., which resulted in disaster for Antiochus.—**30. ships of Kittim:** Kittim (Nu. 24$_{23}$f.*) is the name of a town in Cyprus, but the expression was used by Jews to denote any maritime people in the West. Here it refers to the Roman navy, which, under the command of C. Popilius Lænas, compelled Antiochus to withdraw from Egypt.—**have indignation:** baffled in his attempt upon Egypt Antiochus invaded Palestine again.—**that forsake the covenant:** *i.e.* renegade Jews.—**31. arms shall stand:** an armed force will attack at his instance.—**profane the sanctuary:** refers to Antiochus' attack upon the Temple (see 1 Mac. 1$_{29}$ff.).—**the abomination that maketh desolate:** *i.e.* the heathen altar which Antiochus built over the altar of burnt offering (see 1 Mac. 154). This expression is quoted in the NT (Mt. 24$_{15}$, Mk. 13$_{14}$).—**32. such as do wickedly:** the apostates.—**but the people that know:** *cf.* 1 Mac. 162, "And many in Israel were strong, and they chose to die rather than eat unclean meats or profane the covenant."—**33. they that be wise:** the pious Israælites who were loyal to their faith.—**fall by the sword, etc.:** a reference to the various forms of persecution.—**34. many shall join:** Charles, using the LXX as his basis, emends, "and there shall join them many in the city and many in their several homesteads," *i.e.* the country districts.—**35. some of them:** *i.e.* some of the leaders would suffer martyrdom, but the effect would be to refine and purify the rest of the people.—**36. exalt himself above every god:** the later coins of Antioch bore the inscription: "Of King Antiochus God made manifest."—**the indignation:** the wrath of God (see 819).—**37. the gods of his fathers:** Antiochus abandoned his own national cult for the worship of the Greek deities.—**the desire of women:** the context shows that the phrase must refer to some deity, probably to the Phœnician god, Tammuz (pp. 631f., Ezek. 814*), whose worship was extremely popular in Syria (see Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 446ff.).—**38. the god of fortresses:** probably the Roman deity, Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom Antiochus erected a magnificent temple at Antioch.—**39. And he shall deal . . . strange god:** many scholars emend this difficult sentence, "And he shall procure for the fortresses of strongholds *the people* of a strange

god," and think that the sentence refers to the heathen soldiers and colonists settled by Antiochus in the fortress at Jerusalem.—**40.** At this point history ends and prophecy begins. The rest of the chapter relates to the future. As Driver says (CB, p. 197), "The author draws here an imaginative picture of the end of the tyrant king, similar to the ideal one of the time of Sennacherib in Is. 10$^{28-32}$." In this verse there is a forecast of a successful campaign against the "king of the south," *i.e.* Ptolemy Philometor.—**41. the glorious land:** Palestine (16).—**Edom:** three countries will escape attack, *i.e.* Edom, Moab, and Ammon.—**43.** The conquest of Egypt is to be complete, so that even the border peoples, the Libyans on the W., and the Ethiopians on the S. will be subdued.—**44. tidings:** as in the case of Sennacherib, the victorious career of Antiochus is to be interrupted by news of insurrections in his own land.—**45. between the sea and . . . mountain:** the prophecy supposes that Antiochus will die in Palestine somewhere between the Mediterranean and Mt. Zion. As a matter of fact, he actually died at Tabæ in Persia.

XII. follows immediately upon the preceding paragraph, and there should be no break between the two chapters. 1–3 forms the ending of the revelation which the angel makes to Daniel, and describes the deliverance of Israel and the resurrection of the just.—**1. at that time:** at the overthrow of Antiochus.—**the great prince:** the guardian angel of Israel (*cf.* 10$^{13, 21}$).—**in the book:** *i.e.* the book of life (*cf.* Ps. 69^{28}, Rev. 3^{5} *et passim*).—**2.** The doctrine of the resurrection. The OT has no very clear or definite teaching about the future life. The idea of a resurrection appears first in a national sense (Hos. 6^{2}, Ezek. 37$^{1-14}$). The resurrection of the individual is first enunciated in a post-exilic passage in Is. 26^{19}*, where it is expressly limited to Israelites. The present passage is the earliest in which the resurrection of the wicked is definitely taught. Even here it is not universal (*cf.* the phrase "many of them that sleep").—**everlasting life:** this is the first occurrence of this phrase, which, however, is frequently found in Apocryphal literature.—**3. wise:** does not refer to intellectual gifts but rather to moral stability (*cf.* 11^{33}, 38). The martyrs and leaders of the people in its time of trial are here promised a counterbalancing "weight of glory," to use the phrase of Paul.—**4.** The closing of the vision.—**many shall run to and fro:** this is usually taken to mean "run to and fro in the book," *i.e.* diligently study and appropriate its teaching. Charles, however, thinks the text is corrupt and on the basis of the VSS translates, "many shall apostatise and evils shall be multiplied upon the earth."—**5–13.** Conclusion. The vision of the two angels who answer Daniel's inquiry as to the duration of the troubles.—**5. other two:** *i.e.* angels. —**the river:** 10^{4}*.—**6. one said:** *i.e.* one of the angels.—**to the man:** the angel described in 10^{5}f.—**7. a time, times, and an half:** 3½ years (see 7^{25}, 8^{14}).—**8.** Daniel fails to understand the answer and asks again, "What shall be the final issue?" but in 9 is refused any further explanation.—**10.** 11^{35}*.—**11. continual burnt offerings . . . abomination:** 11^{31}*.—**1290** days seems to be another way of describing the 3½ years. In 8^{14} the number of days is given as 1150. How the discrepancy is to be explained is uncertain. Charles thinks that the numbers in 11f. are later glosses. —**12.** Why the 1290 is increased by 45 days or 1½ months, is not easy to explain. All that can be said is, that while the 1290 days are supposed to witness the cessation of the "abomination," 45 more days are expected to elapse before complete blessedness is restored to Israel.

HOSEA

By Canon G. H. BOX.

The Prophet and his Time.—Hosea, the son of a certain Bĕ'eri,[1] belonged to the Northern Kingdom (*cf.* 7$_5$, "our king"), where his public life as a prophet was apparently spent (the localities mentioned in the Book belong exclusively to N. Israel; *cf.* 1$_4$, 2$_{15}$, 6$_8$ff., 12$_{11,14}$). It is true that occasional reference is made in the prophecies to the sister-kingdom of Judah, but a large proportion of these is due to Judæan revision (see next column), and in any case they do not suggest more than a secondary interest on the part of the prophet in Judah's fortunes. When Hosea first began to prophesy, Jeroboam II (*c.* 782–743 B.C.), the last great king of N. Israel, was still upon the throne (*cf.* 1 2–9, and notes), but his reign was drawing to its close. The period of anarchy that followed, marked by a series of revolutions and short reigns, is vividly reflected in the second part of Hosea's book (*cf.* 7$_7$, 8$_4$, 10$_3$). It is obvious that the fall of Samaria and the extinction of the Northern Kingdom in 722 B.C. will mark the *terminus ad quem* for the prophet's activity. But, as there is no mention of the alliance of Pekah with Rezin of Damascus, and the Exile is always spoken of as something future, it is probable that no single part of Hosea's prophecies dates from after 735 B.C. His prophetic activity probably fell within the years *c.* 750–735 B.C.[2]

As regards Hosea's personal life, the narrative contained in 1 and 3 gives us some details of his married life. The different interpretations which have been placed on these accounts are discussed in the introductory notes. Here it will suffice to say that Gomer bath Diblaim was a real person, and not an allegorical figment. Whether she was already—as the narrative seems to say—a woman of loose life before her marriage with Hosea, or became so afterwards, is disputed. If 3 be parallel and not supplementary to 1, some important consequences will follow in the interpretation (see notes). In any case the wife referred to in 3 must be identified with the Gomer of 1. Duhm's view, that Hosea, like Jeremiah, belonged to a priestly family, is pure conjecture.

Hosea's prophetic activity fell within a critical period of Israel's history. The long interval of quiescence on the part of the Assyrian power, which enabled Jeroboam II to extend his dominions (*cf.* 2 K. 14$_{25,28}$), came to an end with the accession of Tiglath-pileser III (the "Pul" of 2 K. 15$_{19}$*) in 745 B.C. (reigned till 727 B.C.). This monarch actively intervened in Syria in 742 B.C., besieging Arpad (742–740), and conquering the district of Hamath (2 K. 14$_{25}$*, Is. 10$_9$*, Am. 6$_2$*). Shortly afterwards (in 738 B.C.) he mentions, in an inscription, that he received tribute from numerous princes of Syria and Asia Minor, among whom are included Rezin of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria. From 2 K. 15$_{19}$ it appears that Tiglath-pileser actually invaded the territories of Israel during Menahem's reign, and had to be bought off with tribute. Menahem seems to have belonged to the pro-Assyrian party in Israel, while Pekah, who conspired against Menahem's son and successor, Pekahiah, doubtless represented the anti-Assyrian faction. It was against the anti-Assyrian coalition of Syrian States organised by Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus that Tiglath-pileser marched in 734 (or 735), which resulted in the death of Pekah, and the loss of the northern districts of Israel (*cf.* 2 K. 15 29f.). The siege of Samaria followed in the latter part of the reign of Shalmaneser IV (727–722), the city being captured and the Northern Kingdom brought to an end by Shalmaneser's successor, Sargon, in 722 B.C. (See further pp. 58f., 70.)

The Text and Integrity of the Book.—As will be apparent from the notes, the text is in places very corrupt. We must often resort to conjectural emendation, and reach only a possible approximation to the original text. Nevertheless the general thought and tenor of the oracles is sufficiently clear. Some obscurity has been produced by the grouping together of detached pieces which are not logically (or chronologically) connected.

The Book, in its present form, has undoubtedly undergone some revision and interpolation. In particular the hand of a Judæan editor (or editors) is manifest in certain passages. 1$_7$ is clearly an interpolation; in 4$_{15}$*a* (text corrupt), 5$_5$ (last clause a gloss), 6$_{11}$*a* (a gloss), 8$_{14}$ (a later addition), 10$_{11}$ (delete *Judah*), 11$_{12}$ the reference to Judah is, for various reasons doubtful, while in 6$_4$ (possibly also 8$_{14}$) 12$_2$, *Judah* seems to have been substituted for an original *Israel*. In 5$_{10-14}$* and 1$_{11}$ it is probably original, though 1$_{11}$ belongs to a possibly interpolated passage. From 1$_7$ (*cf.* also 4$_{15}$), which takes a favourable view of Judah, it has been inferred that an early Judæan revision (soon after 701 B.C.) was made, while the other passages, which represent Judah as equally guilty with Israel, may point to an exilic or post-exilic revision.

The radical criticism of Marti would deny also the Hoseanic character, not only of 1$_{11-2}$ but also of 2$_{13b-23}$, 3 (the whole), 5$_{15-6_3}$, 11$_{10}$f. and 14$_{1-9}$, mainly on the ground of an assumed incompatibility of the idea of a restoration with the doom and destruction pronounced on the nation. This view is discussed in the section on the Theology. Of the passages referred to, 10$_{11}$f. and 14$_9$ may be regarded as post-exilic additions. In parts also the text appears to have been heavily glossed (*cf.* 2$_{11}$, 4$_{15-19}$, 6$_{11}$, 7$_{16b}$, 8$_1$, 9$_{17}$, 10$_{4,12}$, 11$_{10}$f., 12$_{4}$f.,$_{12}$f., 13$_{15b}$).

The Origin and General Character of the Book.—The Book falls into two main divisions, chs. 1–3 and 4–14.

[1] According to Jewish tradition this Bĕ'eri was the author of Is. 8$_{19}$f.

[2] The reference to Shalmaneser IV (727–722 B.C.) in 10$_{14}$ is probably a gloss (see note). The Jewish kings mentioned in 1$_1$ are due to a Judæan editor.

The fragmentary character of the oracles contained in 4–14 is evident, as is also the imperfect and corrupt condition of the text in many passages. Nor does any definite chronological sequence seem to have been observed in the arrangement. In 1–3, it is true, the theme is well developed, but even here the traces of an editor's hand are apparent, and the present arrangement is not free from difficulty. Ch. 1 is written in the third person, 3 in the first. We may perhaps infer that the prophet left notes of his discourses, which have been utilised by an editor. Possibly a friend or disciple, with the aid of such material and from personal recollections and with help from other disciples, compiled the present Book in its original form. This was subjected to later (Judæan) revision and expansion (see above). The original editor will have been responsible for ch. 1 as well as for the compilation and arrangement of the Book generally; and there is every reason to believe that his work faithfully reflects the spirit of his master.[1] The general character of the oracles is individual and subjective in a high degree. They reflect a warm, sensitive and emotional temperament and respond to quick changes of mood. The theme is rarely developed at length, though the thought is never thin. Hosea's oracles are the work of a poet, deeply moved by passionate religious conviction, and fired with a profound love for his wayward and misguided people.

The Theology of the Book.—Hosea's one name for God is Yahweh—the personal name that summed up all for which Israel's God stood to His people. Yahweh was Israel's maker and God (8^{14}, 9^{1}) who had redeemed the people from Egypt (11^{1}), had trained and nurtured them (11^{3}), and had been their God ever since the Egyptian time (12^{10}). It was He who had given the new-born nation a land (9^{3},^{15}) and the priests a law (4^{6}). All their institutions—their sacrifices (8^{13}), their prophets (6^{5}), and the monarchy itself—of right belonged to Yahweh, and ought to reflect and express His will. To Hosea God is primarily the God of Israel, who out of an act of pure grace chose Israel to be His people (11^{1}). Not that the prophet is blind to the larger aspects of Yahweh's power; when He chose to put it forth, it was absolute (*cf. e.g.* 2^{2}off.); but, as has been well remarked,[2] "Hosea had the conception which gave . . . its just strength to every particularist movement like Pharisaism. What interested him was no theoretical monotheism, framed in the interests of a theory, and therefore apt, like many products of the intellect, to become barren. What engrossed all his thoughts was the historic religion which had made his nation what it was, which had given it a different genius from all the other nations among which it lived, and the loss of which would mean the loss of a great thing from the world. He did not speak of a God who was Lord of heaven and earth, but of One who had come into contact with this people, who revealed Himself through the deeds which had made the people's history and through the institutions which moulded its life. He believed that Israel in an unique way knew Yahweh, and that this knowledge was in itself the proof of the greatness of His love for it." Hosea's indictment of Israel as he knew it was determined by his ideal conception of the relation that ought to exist between Yahweh and His people. They owed everything to Yahweh—their nationality, land, law, prophets; and He asked in return simple loyalty, But from their very first entry into the land, Israel, Yahweh's bride, had proved disloyal. They had consecrated themselves to Baal (9^{10}). The supreme sin of Israel, which tainted the whole life of the nation, was the mixed cultus. To this fundamental disloyalty—the Baal worship (p. 87)—the debasement of the entire national life was due. The monarchy, the priesthood, all the institutions of the national life, shared in the degradation; they were what a corrupt Israel had made them.

The cultus popularly practised in Israel was probably syncretistic in character; the worship of Yahweh being mixed with that of the local Ba'alim. But even their worship of Yahweh was, in the prophet's eyes, heathen in character. Their religious instincts had been perverted, there was no *knowledge of God* in the land (4^{1}), and the "bastard" people were incapable of a real repentance. The national life was rotten through and through, and, therefore, the corrupt State must be swept away. "Israel shall be swept out of the land, without king or priest, sacrifice or law. It cannot dwell in the Lord's house (*i.e.* Palestine) while its heart is not His." But this doom could not be the end. His own domestic tragedy had taught Hosea the infinite possibilities of outraged love. This lesson he applied to Yahweh's relations with His faithless bride, Israel. By an act of free grace Yahweh could re-establish the broken bond between Himself and Israel. The doom pronounced is irreversible—the State must come to an end. But the people is not to be annihilated. They are to suffer exile, cast out of the Lord's house (*cf.* 9^{17}, 12^{9}, 3^{4}). They are to be set back to the same conditions in which they were at first when Yahweh made them a nation. The doom is from Yahweh, and has a disciplinary purpose. In exile the people shall learn to give up their reliance on foreign powers and false worship. Then the relation between them and Yahweh shall be re-established.

If it is recognised that Hosea's conception of the Divine punishment is that of a discipline, not that of an irrevocable ruin, then the chief objection urged against the authenticity of the latter part of ch. 14, and the other passages which suggest the possibility of restoration, disappears. This idea is, in fact, inherent in Hosea's whole thought, and it is significant that Nowack, who, at first, held the view that Hosea's message ended in a prospect of unrelieved gloom, has since reconsidered his position, and now allows the presence of a pedagogic factor.

It has been held that Hosea rejected the monarchy *in toto*, as an institution essentially inconsistent with loyalty to Yahweh. It is doubtful, however, whether this is so. The prophet is more probably referring to the puppet-kings and usurpers of the time when he wrote, and implicitly contrasting them with the earlier members of the royal house. It is true, however, that there is no reference to the Messianic hope in the Book.

Literature.—For literature on all the Minor Prophets, see General Bibliographies. *Commentaries:* (*a*) T. K. Cheyne (CB), R. F. Horton, *Minor Prophets*, vol. i. (Cent.B), F. H. Woods and F. H. Powell, *The Hebrew Prophets for English Readers*, vol. i.; (*b*) Harper (ICC); (*c*) A. Wünsche (1868). *Other Literature:* W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*[2]; J. J. P. Valeton, junr., *Amos en Hosea* (1894); J. Bachmann, *Alttestl. Untersuchungen*, pp. 1ff. (1894); P. Volz, *D. Ehegeschichte Hoseas*, *Zeitschrift f. Theol.* (1898), p. 321ff.; J. Böhmer, *D. Grundgedanken d. Predigt Hos. Zeitschr. f. Theol.* (1902), pp. 1ff.; J. Meinhold, *D. heilige Rest*, vol. i. (1903); A. C. Welch, *The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom*, ch. v. (1912); M. Buttenwieser, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 240ff. (1914).

[1] There is no reason to suppose (with Grätz and Volz) that the two parts of the book are derived from different authors.
[2] Welch, p. 111.

PART I., I.–III.—These chapters form a distinct section consisting of two narrative pieces, mainly in prose (1₂–2₁ and 3), which narrate the story of the prophet's unhappy marriage with Gomer; and a prophetic discourse, in which the lessons to be deduced from his own domestic experience are applied to the nation (2₂–₂₃). 1₇ is probably an interpolation, while 1₁₀–2₁ is, at least, out of order. Steuernagel suggests that 1₁–₉ and 3 are really parallel narratives, one, written by the original editor, being in the third person (1₁–₉), while the other, written in the first person, is the work of the prophet himself (3), each describing the prophet's marriage. If 3 be read immediately after 1₉ the sections will gain in coherence.

I. 1. Title.—The title which was prefixed to the whole Book is due to an editor or editors. The mention of the Jewish kings, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah—only one of whom, Uzziah, can have been contemporary with Jeroboam II (*c.* 782–743 B.C.)—must be due to a post-exilic editor. An earlier heading can be detected in 2*a*.

I. 2–9. Hosea's Marriage: a Parable of Yahweh's Relations with Israel.—The prophet receives a Divine command to "take" (*i.e.* marry) "a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom." The reason given for this startling procedure is that "the land" (*i.e.* the land of Israel) "doth commit great whoredom departing from the LORD." Hosea obeys and takes as his wife *Gomer bath Diblaim* (? "daughter of fig-cakes"), who bears three children to him. These are given symbolical names: the first, a son, is called Jezreel, a prophetic name pointing to the coming of vengeance on the house of Jehu[1] for the massacre at Jezreel of Ahab's house (2 K. 10₁₁); the second a daughter and the third a son, bearing the names Lo-ruhamah ("uncompassionated") and Lo-ammi ("not my people"), in token of Yahweh's rejection of Ephraim.

2*a*. Render "the beginning of Yahweh's speaking by (or *to*) Hosea." The clause is abrupt, and may have stood at the head of the Book before the title in 1₁ had been added: "Here beginneth the prophecy of Hosea."—**4.** Hosea regards the massacre of Ahab's family by Jehu unfavourably (contrast 2 K. 10₃₀).—**Jezreel:** see 2₂₁f.*—**7.** Probably a post-exilic interpolation. The exception of Judah from the doom pronounced upon Israel is obviously out of place in a prophecy otherwise dealing with Israel exclusively.

The old interpretation of 1₂–₉, which regarded the prophet's marriage as pure allegory, may rightly be dismissed. Gomer is the name of a real person. But can the narrative be accepted literally? By some scholars (Volz, J. M. P. Smith, Toy) the language descriptive of Gomer is taken literally. Hosea, according to this view, was commanded to marry a woman of notoriously profligate life. "Hosea was not led blindfolded by Yahweh into a marriage that was to break his heart and wreck his life. On the contrary, he married a woman of evil reputation with his eyes wide open." The Divine command had a higher purpose in view—to bring home, by a startling parable in action, the unfaithfulness of Israel to her Divine spouse, Yahweh (*cf.* Is. 20₂ff., Ezek. 22₉ff.). The parable was intended to reflect the existing situation in Israel, from the Divine standpoint. By most the language is interpreted proleptically. When the prophet married Gomer she was a pure maiden (this symbolises Israel's early faithfulness to Yahweh (*cf.* 11₁, Ezek. 16), but she afterwards became profligate. Brooding over the tragedy of his married home-life and still yearning with love to redeem the fallen Gomer, Hosea is led to see a Divine lesson in it all of Yahweh's unconquerable love for faithless Israel.

[1] Jeroboam II, whose son Zechariah was the last of Jehu's kin to reign, must still have been on the throne when Jezreel was born.

I. 10–II. 1 (= Heb. 2₁–₃). A Promise of Restoration.—The children of Israel are destined to be increased in numbers indefinitely, and instead of being called (1₀ *mg.*) "Ye are not my people" they shall be called "children of the living God." Judæans and Israelites shall assemble, and under one head go up victoriously "from the land" (see below), and on the same battlefield (Jezreel), which has witnessed the utter defeat of present-day Israel, shall enjoy a glorious triumph. Then the ominous names, Lo-ammi ("not my people") and Lo-ruhamah ("uncompassionated") shall be reversed.

10. *Cf.* Gen. 22₁₇, 1 K. 4₂₀, Is. 48₁₉.—**11.** What is meant by **go up from the land**? Either (*a*) from the holy land to conquer foreign lands; or (*b*) from different parts of the holy land to Jezreel for battle—then the meaning would be "shall gain the mastery of the land" (*cf.* Ex. 1₁₀); or (*c*) from the land of exile to Palestine (*cf.* Jer. 3₁₈, Ezek. 37₂₁). The "day of Jezreel," as the name Jezreel suggests, means the day when Yahweh once more sows His people in their land.—**II. 1. brethren** and **sisters:** read with LXX, "brother" and "sister."

The whole passage is clearly out of place, and may be a later insertion. Still the language is not inharmonious with Hosea's diction, especially if "go up from the land" can mean "gain the mastery over the land." Further, the conception of north-Israelites and Judæans marching together under one head suggests a date prior to the downfall of the Northern Kingdom (722 B.C.). Many scholars think that the section should follow 2₂₃. A better suggestion is that 3 was originally intended to follow immediately on 1₂–₉. Then the promise of restoration, ethically conditioned, would follow on 3₄f.

II. 2–23 (Heb. 2₄–₂₅). In this discourse, which seems to be based upon and imply the narrative in 1 and 3, the prophet sets forth the unfaithfulness of the people and land of Israel to her Divine husband, Yahweh. Israel had played the harlot in going after other lovers (the local Baalim) for gifts (the fertility of land, flocks, etc.); the consequent punishment will end in her return to her first husband. The section sub-divides at 13; the first part (2–13) predicts severe punishment, and the second (14–23) contains a promise of restoration following amendment.

2–13. In urgent tones Yahweh bids the Israelites (her sons) "plead" with their mother (*i.e.* the land and people as a whole) on account of her unfaithfulness. She has destroyed the moral relation of wife to her Divine husband, and the children are hers but not His—their mother has played the harlot, she has sold herself for gifts, bread and water, wool and flax, oil and drinks. The new generation has grown up ignorant of His true character; they are no longer His people, nor can He compassionate them as His children. His experience with Israel is exactly parallel to the prophet's own bitter experience with his wife. Unless the profligate mother puts away her whoredoms (*i.e.* the foreign cultus) she shall be put to open shame (stripped naked) and perish as a homeless wanderer in the wilderness (2–5). She will discover by bitter experience that her lovers (the Baalim) cannot guarantee the material blessings for which she has pursued them; Yahweh will withhold these, and teach her by the discipline of siege, famine, and poverty to return to her first husband (6–13).

14–23. In the last calamity of all, exile from the

land figured by the wilderness, Yahweh will again woo her as a lover, as He had done in the desert when she was young and innocent. There she will respond, as in the Exodus, and be once more blessed (14f.). Heathen worship shall be abolished, and the names of the heathen Baalim shall be banished from remembrance (16f.) A "new covenant," which will include in its scope all living creatures, shall banish strife from the earth (18); Israel shall be betrothed to Yahweh a second time "in righteousness" (19f.), and the new era of loyalty shall be marked by rich abundance both in crops and men. Heaven will respond to the longing of earth for fertility; Israel, in accordance with the name Jezreel ("whom God soweth," 22 *mg.*), shall be sown anew in the promised land (*cf.* Jer. 31 27f.), and the names Lo-ruhamah ("uncompassionated") and Lo-ammi ("not my people") shall no longer apply to to the regenerated people (21–23).

2. A brazen, shameless countenance and exposed breasts betoken the harlot (*cf.* Jer. 33). The "whoredoms" of Israel, in Hosea's eyes, mean the cultus, which he regards as not in any sense a real worship of Yahweh, though associated with Yahweh-worship. The heathen elements attaching to it make such service worthless.—**3.** It was, apparently, part of the punishment of an adulterous wife in old Israel to be stripped and exposed naked, before being executed (*cf.* Ezek. 16 38ff.). So here Israel (the land) shall be stripped bare (made into a wilderness). Note that the figures of the land and the children of the land interchange.—**5.** The old popular religion of Canaan attributed the fertility of the land to the local deities (the Baalim). The Israelites, without ostensibly giving up the worship of their national God, had lapsed into this worship. Hosea regards this mixed cultus as pure heathenism.—**6.** Read, "her way" (LXX), *i.e.* Israel's false cultus, which Yahweh will impede by rendering it ineffective and impotent. For the figure *cf.* Job 323, 198, Lam. 37,9.—**8.** *Cf.* Dt. 713, 1114, 1217. Read *mg.*; but this clause is probably a later addition.—**10. and now:** render "and so" (*'attā* denoting logical consequence; *cf.* 57, 103). The Baalim (her lovers) are helpless in sight of her shame.—**11.** Note the joyous character of the ancient feasts.—**12.** Vines and figtrees were the choicest products of Canaan.—**13. the days of the Baalim:** *i.e.* the festival days devoted to Baal-worship (the mixed cultus). In 13*b* follow *mg.*, but render "sacrificed" for "burned incense."—**14. wilderness:** a figure for exile; or it may be meant literally of the Arabian desert through which Israel must again return to the promised land from exile.—**15.** Some scholars omit "from thence" and read, "and I will make the valley of Achor," etc. The reference will then be not to blessings in the wilderness, but in Canaan itself, where Israel shall again enjoy abundance. The valley of Achor ("troubling"), so named because of an unhappy episode at the first entry into the land (Jos. 726), shall become a starting-point of hope at the return from exile.—**16.** As Wellhausen points out, the title **Baali** ("my husband") was not applied by the Israelites to Yahweh, though He was called the "Baal" ("the owner") of the land. The application of "Baal" to Yahweh at all was objected to in later times, and proper names containing it were altered (*e.g. Ishbaal* became *Ishbosheth*). See Nu. 3238*, 1 S. 1447–51*, 1 K. 1632*. Read, perhaps (*cf.* LXX). "she shall call upon her husband, and shall no longer call upon the Baalim."—**17. Baalim:** a generic term for the various local deities, which have their own proper names.—**18.** *Cf.* Job 523, Lev. 266.—**for them:** read, "for her."—**them:** read, "her."—**break:** read perhaps, "cause to cease"; *cf.* Ezek. 3425.—**19f.** Read the third for the second person throughout. After exile, which dissolves the first betrothal, Yahweh effects a second and eternal one. Render: "Yea, I will betroth her unto me with righteousness . . . with faithfulness and the knowledge of the Lord." These qualities make up the new covenant by which the betrothal is effected, and they are bestowed by Yahweh.—**21f. answer:** *i.e.* "meet with satisfaction," "gratify" (*cf.* Ec. 1019). In the Messianic time harmony reigns between heaven and earth, man and nature, under the Divine impulse. Jezreel is the name of the new Israel, sown by God (*cf.* 23, "and I will sow her unto me"); it is an easy variant of Israel. Note how the prophet brings out the manifold significance of the name, which in the first instance is that of a place where a crime was committed (the massacre of Jezreel), but later becomes the rallying-spot and personification of the new and transformed Israel.

III. 1–5. The prophet, bidden yet again to love a woman, who is loved by another and is an adulteress, in this respect imitating Yahweh's love for His unfaithful people, buys her out of slavery and subjects her to a purifying seclusion (1–3). In the same way Israel shall be deprived for a time of her civil and religious institutions (? in exile), in order to return later under Yahweh, a purified and happy people. The reference is still to Gomer, though this is denied by Marti, who regards the piece as a later addition to the Book.[1] According to the usual interpretation, after her unfaithful conduct had led to her repudiation by her husband, Gomer had sold herself voluntarily into bondage to one of her paramours. The prophet, however, who has been led to see in his domestic tragedy a parable of God's relation with Israel, is taught to forgive and redeem his wife by seeing God's readiness to forgive and redeem His people. As already mentioned, Steuernagel regards the narrative as Hosea's own account of his marriage to Gomer, and as parallel to—not a sequel of—1 1–9. In this case omit "yet" in 31.

1. The imperative "love" is suggested to the prophet by Yahweh's love of His disloyal people. Read (changing Heb. points), "a woman loving another." Obviously Gomer is meant. To suppose that the prophet was commanded to marry another adulteress (so apparently Marti) destroys the point of the application of Yahweh's love of Israel. The raisin-cakes (p. 99) were such as were offered sacrificially at vintage feasts (especially at the great autumnal feast of ingathering; *cf.* Is. 167). Such cakes were a regular feature of ancient cults (*cf.* Jer. 718). There is a touch of sarcasm in the reference to the Israelites' love of such offerings (of which they partook). The *mg.* is not probable in either case.—**2.** The redemption price in money and kind was about the price of a slave (30 shekels; *cf.* Ex. 2132).—**an half homer of barley:** LXX reads "a bottle of wine."—**3. so . . . thee:** read, "I will not go in unto thee."—**4.** Gomer in seclusion, corresponds to the exiled nation. King and prince are perhaps parallel to husband and lovers. The sacred pillar (*maṣṣēbā*) was the mark of a holy site, and hence is coupled with sacrifice (p. 98). For **ephod** and **teraphim** see pp. 100f. Note that all these adjuncts of the Yahweh-cultus in N. Israel are referred to, apparently, without blame.—**5. and David their king:** omit.

PART II., IV.–XIV. A series of addresses which give a summary of Hosea's prophetic teaching. The period

[1] Marti thinks the interpolator understood 1 allegorically, and regarded 1f. as referring to Judah, and 3 as to Israel (the Northern Kingdom).

presupposed seems to be the time of anarchy which followed the death of Jeroboam II (*c.* 743 B.C.). But there is no reason to suppose that the sections are arranged in chronological order. In 4–8 Israel's guilt is emphasized, in 9–11^{11} the punishment, and in 11^{12}–14 both lines of thought are continued, the whole being rounded off with a brighter picture (14). As, however, the oracles are essentially independent it is best to treat them separately. The text is in places very corrupt.

IV. 1–19. The Utter Corruption of the Nation Traced to Irreligion.—(The text of 15–19 is hopelessly corrupt. Marti regards 3 as an insertion and 5, 6*a* as foreign to their present context.) The complete lack of "knowledge of God in the land" (*cf.* 46, 54, 63) has, as its inevitable consequence, widespread moral corruption—yet let none reprove, for "the people is as the priestling and the prophet as the priest" (4 emended). In the present text an apostrophe to the priesthood follows, which is denounced for its profligacy, and profanation of the sacred office. Punishment shall overtake both the priesthood and the misguided people, who are the victims (5–11). A vivid and terrible picture follows of the immoral worship, and its devastating effects on morals generally (12–14). In the present corrupt text of 15ff. Judah is warned not to follow Israel's evil example, and the consequences of obstinate idolatry and shameless sin are set forth.

2. swearing and breaking faith belong together, *i.e.* false swearing.—**blood toucheth blood:** *i.e.* one act of bloodshed quickly follows another.—**3.** The verse breaks the connexion between 2 and 4, and introduces the idea that all nature is appalled at the crimes of Israel, and suffers in consequence (*cf.* Is. 24^{3}–6).—**4.** The last clause requires correction. Marti's has been given above. Others read, "but my striving is with thee, O priest" (*wĕ immekhā rîbî ha-kohen*), thus leading to the address in 5f.—**5. thy mother:** *i.e.* either the society to which thou belongest, or the nation. Marti (omitting 5 and 6*a*; note, second person in 5f. changes to third in 6) reads 6*b*, "Because they have rejected knowledge I also reject them from being my priests, and (because) they have forgotten the law of their God, I also will forget their children."—**7. I will change:** read with Targ. and Pesh. "they changed."—**8. sin:** *i.e.* according to the older interpretation, sin-offering. In order to multiply such offerings the priests encouraged the people to sin. But by "sin" the cultus generally may be meant; the priests for their own purposes encouraged the people's delusion that by multiplying offerings they were pleasing Yahweh (*cf.* 8^{11}, Am. 4^{4}).—**12. stock:** render "tree"; **staff** should perhaps be "twig." The tree-cultus (p. 100) practised in old Israel may be referred to (*cf.* Gen. 12^{6}, Dt. 11^{30}, etc., and the frequent reference to high places "on every hill and under every green tree"). This tree-cultus is referred to in 13; oaks and terebinths were specially sacred. Through them oracles were sought, and near the sacred trees sacrifices were offered, and the rites of sacred prostitution practised.—**burn incense:** render "offer sacrifice."—**15–19.** Text corrupt. Judah in 15*a* can hardly be right. 16*b*, 17 may be a gloss.—**18.** Render: "their carousal over, they indulge in harlotry."—**19.** A figure for exile: the Assyrian tempest shall sweep them away.

V. 1–9. Priests and Rulers are Bringing the Nation to Ruin.—Judgment is declared against (1 *mg.*)[1] the priests and ruling class because they have ensnared the people (by encouraging the mixed cultus) at the sanctuaries—Mizpah (in Gilead probably), Tabor and Shittim (2 corrected text) are mentioned as the scenes of such worship. A "spirit of whoredom" in the literal sense of the word (*cf.* 4^{12}) animates them, and the brazen pride with which they pursue their evil course condemns them. When Israel and Judah fall—as fall they must—they will seek in vain to propitiate Yahweh with sacrifices from their flocks and herds; He has withdrawn Himself from a generation who are not His, but bastards (1–7). Suddenly the alarum of war is heard (8), Ephraim's doom and desolation are certain (9).

2*a*. Join to end of 1. Read, "and the pit of Shittim have they made deep." It continues the metaphor of the snare and the net, they are trapped in the pit.—**rebuker:** render, "scourge."—3*b*. Probably a gloss (*cf.* 6^{10}).—**5.** Either (*a*) Israel's vainglorious pride testifies openly against him and condemns him, or (*b*) Israel's pride may be Yahweh; the former is preferable. Their overwhelming pride in the cultus is meant (*cf.* 7^{10}). Marti omits the last clause.—**7. strange children:** a generation that has no real knowledge of Yahweh. The last clause may be explained: "Any month may bring news of war"; but the expression is strange. Marti emends, "Now shall the destroyer devour them, and their fields shall be devastated."—**8. Beth-aven:** a satirical name for Bethel (*cf.* Am. 5^{5}).—**After thee, Benjamin** (*mg.*): probably the ancient war-cry of the clan. Benjamin in the far south is alarmed, as well as the north.

V. 10–14. Here the immoral cultus is no longer the subject, but the inner moral corruption of the state and its leaders. The parallelism of Judah and Ephraim in this section is remarkable, but seems to be original.[1] Judah's political leaders are specially singled out as examples of fraudulent dealing, and shall incur the Divine wrath. N. Israel (Ephraim) also suffers oppression, the whole social fabric is rotten, because the people have wilfully followed after "vanity" (*mg.*). Internal decay has set in in both kingdoms (after the death of Uzziah and Jeroboam II) (10–12). Too late both peoples recognise the desperate case of the body politic, and resort to Assyria for aid (king Jareb, *i.e.* king Pick-quarrel,[2] is a nickname for the king of Assyria), but without avail; Yahweh Himself is their adversary (13f.).—**10.** Land-grabbing on the part of the rich in Judah is specially denounced in Is. 5^{8}, Mi. 2^{2} (*cf.* Dt. 27^{17}).—**13.** If **Jareb** is a name for the king of Assyria, the reference may be to Menahem's tribute to Assyria in 738. This will also be the case if "great king" or "exalted king" (*cf.* LXX) be read. Wellhausen reads, "and Judah sent to king Jareb." The reference would then be to Ahaz in 734.

V. 15–VI. 3. Israel's Confession and Penitence.—Yahweh, speaking in His own person, declares that He will return to His place (*i.e.* to heaven; *cf.* Mi. 1^{3}), there to await Israel's penitence (15). When trouble comes they will eagerly seek Him. Then follows (6^{1}–3) a light-hearted confession of sin by the people, coupled with expressions of assurance that their God will forgive and help them. Many scholars regard this section as an addition by a later hand, intended to mitigate the unrelieved gloom of what precedes. But nothing in the style or language suggests that the piece is not by Hosea. Batten thinks it represents the confession and penitence of the purified people who will emerge from the judgment. Others regard the confession as a light-hearted one, put into the mouth

[1] If RV text be right, the priests are referred to as those who administer justice (so Welch).

[1] Marti changes *Judah* throughout to *Israel*: *cf.* also Welch, p. 268, n. 18.

[2] So G. A. Smith.

of the people, which (in 64ff.) Yahweh rejects. Welch suggests that the prophet is quoting (in 61–3) a temple-song (used at one of the great festivals), which he uses as a sort of text for comments that follow. 64 is then the immediate continuation of 63.

V. 15. LXX inserts "saying" at the end (*cf. mg.*).—**VI. 1.** *Cf.* Is. 37.—**2. After two days . . . the third day,** *i.e.* after an undefined but short interval. Marti thinks that the return from the Exile is referred to.—**3. his going forth,** etc.: read (rearrangement of Heb. consonants), "as soon as we seek him we shall find him."

VI. 4–VII. 2. Israel's Moral Condition Hopelessly Corrupt.—The shallow expressions of loyalty by the fickle people mean nothing, and cannot avert Yahweh's inevitable judgment. He looks for real loyalty, not for a hollow ritual of sacrifices (4–6). Examples of the anarchy and crime that prevail, involving even the priests in the charge of murder and immorality, are given, demonstrating Israel's utter corruption, Judah also (11*a*, if this is not a gloss) being involved (7–11*a*). Every attempt to heal the disease only reveals how deep-seated and universal it is (6 11*b*–7 2). The section appears to be composed of three originally independent fragments (6 4–6, 7–11*a*, 6 11*b*–7 2).

VI. 4. Judah: Marti and Nowack read "Israel."—**goodness:** render "love," *i.e.* either love to God (loyalty to Yahweh) or love of neighbour.—**5.** read (*mg.*) **light:** *i.e.* lightning. Such prophets as Elijah and Elisha are meant.—**6.** *Cf.* 1 S. 15 22.—**mercy:** render "love" (*cf.* 4*).—**7. like Adam:** a place-name is required. Read either "in Adam" (*cf.* Jos. 3 16) or perhaps "in Admah" (11 8). Some place where there was a sanctuary may be referred to.—**8. Gilead:** a town of this name is perhaps referred to in Jg. 10 17, here as another centre of the cultus.—**9.** The sanctuary at Shechem is a den of thieves, the priests being the thieves, and the victims the pilgrims. Some incident well known to contemporaries may be alluded to.—**lewdness:** render, "enormity."—**10. In the house of Israel:** read, "in Bethel" (*cf.* 10 15, Am. 5 6).—10*b*. Read, "there Ephraim hath played the harlot."—**11** may be a gloss. The following words: "When I would heal Israel," are omitted by Wellhausen. He begins the section at, "The iniquity of Ephraim is discovered."—**VII. 1.** Read, "entereth into the house" (*cf.* LXX).—**spoileth:** read *mg.*

VII. 3–7. Wickedness Encouraged in High Places.—King and princes gladly share in the prevailing wickedness—adultery, drunkenness—and the court itself is the scene of treachery, conspiracy, and assassinations. The text is corrupt, and contains allusions to events of the details of which we are ignorant.

3. Read with a slight emendation (*yimshēḥû*): "In their wickedness they anoint kings, and in their falseness princes" (*cf.* 8 4).—**4.** Read, "they are like a glowing oven"—a figure for lust. Read 4*b* (? a gloss on 6), "whose baker ceaseth from kneading," etc.—**5.** Perhaps the king's birth- or coronation-day is meant. 5*b* (probably corrupt) as it stands can only mean that the king made "scorners" his associates.—**6.** Text corrupt. Read, "their inward part is like an oven," and for "baker" read "anger" (*mg.*), omitting "whiles they lie in wait" as a gloss.—**7.** The root-cause of the political and social unrest is the people's passion and irreligion. With the murder of king Zechariah (2 K. 15 10), the period of anarchy, depicted by Hosea, began.

VII. 8–VIII. 3. Political Decay the Outward Sign of Israel's Moral Decay.—The attempts to cure national ills and secure safety by foreign aid, instead of by turning to Yahweh, are foredoomed to failure; Yahweh Himself frustrates them and will bring the misguided people to punishment and ruin (8–12). Their doom is sealed, for they have been disloyal to Yahweh; they do not turn to Him with a true heart, but use heathen devices (cut themselves, 14 *mg.*, see p. 110) when they appeal to Him. Their shallow hearts are incapable of real and acceptable repentance; therefore their "princes shall fall by the sword," and "this shall be their derision in the land of Egypt" (13–16). The inevitable judgment is devastating war, which their appeals to Him shall not avert (8 1–3).

8. mixeth himself: *i.e.* dissipates his national strength and character by intermingling with the Gentiles. Another possible rendering is "withereth away among," etc. The **cake** is the flat, round cake of bread, which was baked on hot stones or ashes (*cf.* 1 K. 19 6), and which, if not frequently turned, would be burnt. It may be an emblem of a country half ruined by war, or of the people's fickle and inconstant character and achievement (*cf.* our "half-baked").—**9.** The signs of national decreptitude are unheeded.—**10.** Perhaps a gloss; *cf.* 5 5.—**11.** The inconstancies of national policy are another mark of weakness (the reference need not be to rival Egyptian and Assyrian parties in Israel). Note the striking and original figure.—**12.** By seeking foreign alliances they walk into a net.—**I will chastise . . . heard:** read, "I will bind them because of their wickedness" (*cf.* LXX).—13*b*. Better as an indignant question: "And I—should I redeem them when," etc.—**14. upon their beds** is difficult (text probably corrupt): "On account of their . . ." is required.—**assemble themselves:** read as *mg.* and *cf.* 1 K. 18 28, Dt. 14 1.—**15.** Omit "taught and" (*cf.* LXX).—**strengthened their arms:** *cf.* 2 K. 14 27.—16*a*. *Cf.* 11 7. Read perhaps, "return to the Baal" (or Baalim).—**for . . . tongue:** *i.e.* their insolence towards God (but text doubtful). The rest of 16, if genuine, must refer to some unknown incidents.—**VIII. 1***a*. Lit. "to thy palate the cornet!" (God addresses the prophet).—**an eagle:** the Assyrian may be meant.—**2.** Omit "Israel" with LXX.

VIII. 4–14. Israel's Unsanctified National Life.—Man-made kings, like man-made gods (the calf of Samaria), are impotent; Israel sows the wind and shall reap the whirlwind; the sources of the national life are withered, and the nation ceases to count (4–8). Resort to foreign aid only further diminishes its vital forces (8–10). Multiplication of altars only multiplies sin; the rites of an unholy cultus can but hasten the Divine punishment (11–14). Probably 14 is an addition, and there may be glosses besides.

4. Hosea is the first prophet to denounce the gold and silver "calves" under which form Yahweh was worshipped in N. Israel (*cf.* 1 K. 12 28ff.).—**5.** Read, "I have cast off."—5*b*, 6*a* may be a later addition. The connexion is improved by the omission.—7*b*. Better, "Hath it grown up? (then) it hath no shoot nor bringeth forth fruit" (so Wellhausen, G. A. Smith). The assonance is original. The general idea, expressed under the metaphor of sowing and reaping, is that futile and unprofitable conduct brings ruin at the end.—**8.** Israel has already, within a few years of the death of Jeroboam II, dissipated its national prestige. Marti and Nowack transpose "like a wild ass alone by himself" from 9 to 8, and (reading "Ephraim" for *pere*), render, "Israel is swallowed up, Ephraim isolated."—**as a vessel,** etc.: *cf.* Jer. 22 28, 48 38.—**9***f*. It is difficult to extract coherent sense from MT. With the transposition of 9*b* (see above), and slight emendation (*miṣraim*, "Egypt," for "Ephraim" and "scatter"

for "gather"), 9f. will run: "For they—they are gone up to Assyria; to Egypt—have given love-gifts. (Though they give [such] among the nations now will I scatter them) and they shall soon cease to anoint kings and princes" (*cf.* LXX). Marti regards the bracketed clause as a gloss.—**11.** Omit the first "to sin."—**12. my law . . . precepts:** read, "the multitude of my laws" (directions)—not the written Law in the later sense.—**as a strange thing:** render, "as those of a stranger."—13*a*. Text obscure. Read, perhaps "Sacrifices they loved—and did sacrifice; flesh, and did eat," etc. The sacrifice and feasts of the cultus are dear to the Israelites, but not to Yahweh.—**14.** Probably an addition. For 14*b*, *cf.* Am. 14*.

IX. 1–9. The Joyless Discipline of Exile.—The delirious joy of the popular nature-religion shall soon be exchanged for the sorrows of exile. In her own land Israel had treacherously ascribed to the Baalim the crops given by Yahweh; therefore, in a strange land, she shall lose all opportunity of sacrificing to Him. Their bread shall be "as the bread of mourners," unoffered and unconsecrated in Yahweh's Temple; and what will they do for festivals? Egypt shall be their grave, and all their wealth destroyed in the day of visitation (1–7*a*). If the prophet (Hosea) is "mad" this is explained by the universal sin against Yahweh, and the universal enmity against His prophet (7*b*, 8). The nation's guilt is indeed profound, and shall incur inevitable punishment (9).

1. joy: read "exult not" (LXX).—By **hire** (*i.e.* harlot's hire; *cf.* 214) is meant the material gifts which the Israelites look for as the reward of the Baal-worship.—**2. shall not feed:** read "shall ignore," and for "her" read "them" (LXX). They shall not enjoy the harvest (*cf.* Am. 511).—**3.** Egypt and Assyria symbolise lands of exile (*cf.* 711, 89,13). The foreign land is unclean because it is impossible to sacrifice to Yahweh in it (*cf.* Am. 717); there can be no more joyful sacrificial meals in Yahweh's house.—**4. neither . . . mourners:** read "nor prepare for him their sacrifices. Like the bread of mourners shall their bread be." By "the house of the LORD" is meant any of the numerous sanctuaries, which were nominally dedicated to the worship of Yahweh.—[4*b*, **5.** ? a gloss.]—**6. they . . . destruction:** read "they shall go to Assyria." Their cherished possessions (pleasant things) in Palestine shall become a waste.—7*b*. Here a new verse should begin. It is the prophet's reply to the reproach of his hearers that he is "mad."—**8f.** The text appears to be corrupt. 8*a* may mean "Ephraim acts the spy with my God" (G. A. Smith), but this is doubtful. 8*b* may refer to persecution encountered by the prophet. Then join 9*a* to 8, reading "they have made a deep pit for him" (*i.e.* they have plotted against the prophet). The rest of 9 may be an addition (? made up from 109 and 813; so Wellhausen). For the crime of Gibeah *cf.* Jg. 19.

IX. 10–17. The Nemesis of an Impure Worship (*cf.* 411–14).—Israel in unspoilt youth had appeared to Yahweh "like grapes in the wilderness," but at the very first of the Canaanite shrines which they reached, Baal-Peor, they polluted themselves (10). The consequent nemesis was barrenness [1] (11).—"their root is dried up" (16) should be inserted (Wellhausen) between 11 and 12. If children are brought up to die prematurely (12), or are destined to slaughter (13), let Yahweh rather only doom them to barrenness (14). The centre of all this iniquity is the cultus at Gilgal, and because of it they shall be driven "out of mine house" (*i.e.* Yahweh's land), unloved; all their princes are rebels, they are rejected and doomed to exile (15, 17).

10. The sin of Baal-Peor (*cf.* Nu. 25) was continued in the impure cultus.—**shameful thing:** a substitute for "Baal" (216*).—**11.** The name Ephraim suggests a bird's pinions (*'ăbārim*). Their glory, *i.e.* their abundant population, shall take wings and fly.—12*a*. **though:** render "even if."—12*b*. ? a gloss.—**13.** The text is corrupt. It may be restored (*cf.* LXX) somewhat as follows: "Ephraim I have seen like a man, who maketh his sons a prey, Yea Israel himself hath led forth to the slaughter his sons!" (so Marti, *cf.* Wellhausen).—**14.** A despairing interjection by the prophet. Let Ephraim be doomed to barrenness rather than rear children only for slaughter.—**15.** In Gilgal (*cf.* 415), one of the most famous sanctuaries of the cultus, "the corruption of the northern kingdom had its focus" (Cheyne). Had it been the scene of human sacrifice (*cf.* 13 as above)?—**all their princes are revolters:** there is an assonance in the original, "all their rulers are unruly" (*cf.* Is. 123).—**17.** ? a gloss.

X. 1–8. God's Annihilating Judgment on the Mixed Cultus.—With the land's abounding prosperity Israel has multiplied altars in the service of the mixed cultus; these Yahweh will destroy (1f.) Their puppet-kings they shall find utterly impotent (3), and their idle, lying words, which never result in performance, shall yield a bitter crop of judgment (4, ? a gloss). Samaria (*i.e.* the northern kingdom) shall find the "calves of Beth-Aven" (Bethel, *cf.* 415, 58 *) a source of terror rather than of help, their glory departed, and the idols themselves ignominiously carried off to Assyria (5f.). Samaria's king shall drift helplessly to doom, and the "high places of Aven," source of Israel's sin, shall be destroyed, and the deluded people left helpless and despairing (7f.).

1. Read perhaps, "whose fruit is (or was) lovely."—**goodness:** read "prosperity" (*mg.*).—**2.** Marti thinks this a late gloss.—**divided:** *i.e.* in the cultus. Are they serving Yahweh or the Baal? Or render, "their heart is false" (the cultus is no true worship of Yahweh at all).—**be found guilty:** LXX reads, "be desolated" (Heb. *yāshōmmû*).—**he:** *i.e.* Yahweh.—**shall smite:** lit. break the neck of, perhaps with reference to the horned ox-head placed on the corners of altars.—**3.** No legitimate king reigns, only a usurper.—**for . . . Lord:** ? a gloss (Marti).—**4.** The verse (? a gloss, Marti, Nowack) answers the question, "What can he do for us?" Render, "speak words, swear falsely, make covenants and (emended text) turn justice to gall" (Jer. 814*). The words "in the furrows of the field" may be an insertion from 1211.—**5. calves:** read "calf."—5*b*. Read, "for him shall they mourn, his people and his priestlings, they shall wail for his glory that it is banished from him."—**6.** Render, "Yea himself (*i.e.* the calf) they shall transport," etc.—**Jareb:** *cf.* 513*.—**because . . . counsel:** read, "of his idol." The source of Ephraim's shame is not so much false politics as the false cultus.—**7.** Render "like a chip (*cf.* *mg.*) upon the face of the waters."—**8.** Read, "the high places of Israel" (omitting "of Aven the sin" as a pious gloss on "high places").—8*b*. *Cf.* Lk. 2330, Rev. 616.

X. 9–15. Israel must Reap the Ruin he has Sown.—From the days of Gibeah Israel has sinned, and never progressed since (9, but see notes); Yahweh comes to punish them, and gather the peoples against them (10). Israel like a well-broken-in heifer loves to

1 There is a play on the name Ephraim (fruitful). The "fruitful" has become unfruitful.

thresh; but the harder tasks (ploughing, harrowing) must precede before the crops can be gathered; the discipline must precede the joy of harvest (11; 12 is perhaps a gloss). But Israel has ploughed wickedness and reaped disaster, the "tumult of war" shall arise in his midst, bringing destruction upon the fortresses, the land and her children ruined, and their king swept away (13–15).—The text in parts is very corrupt.

9. from the days of Gibeah: the reference is probably to Benjamin's sin described in Jg. 19. Wellhausen objects that this was not the sin of Israel, but only of a single tribe, and interprets of the establishment of the monarchy at Gibeah. But it is doubtful whether Hosea regarded the setting up of the monarchy as the fount and chief of Israel's sins. Marti, with large omission, reads: "As in the days of Gibeah, there is war against the children of iniquity."—**10. When it is my desire . . . against them:** read, "I am come to punish them and gather the peoples against them."—The last clause is probably a gloss; read, "through their punishment (*cf.* LXX) for their two transgressions," *i.e.* not the cultus and the kingdom, but the two calves at Bethel and Dan.—**11.** Read, "but I have made the yoke pass over her fair neck" (Heb, *he'ĕbharti 'ol 'al*).—Judah (between Ephraim and Jacob) can hardly be right. Read, "I will yoke Ephraim that he may plough Jacob," etc.—12*a* may be rendered, "Sow to yourselves righteousness, and," etc.—13*b*. **for . . . men:** probably a gloss.—**way:** read **chariots** (LXX).—**14. among thy people:** read, "in thy cities.—The clause "as Shalman (Shalmaneser IV) spoiled Beth-arbel in the days of battle" refers to some incident unknown (probably a gloss).—**15.** Read (LXX), "So will I do to you, O house of Israel, because of your great wickedness; in the storm shall the king," etc.

XI. 1–11. The Divine Father's Love for Israel.—In Israel's youth Yahweh loved him, and called him from Egypt to be His son, but he proved disloyal, sacrificing to the Baalim (1f.). Yet it was Yahweh who guided and protected him as a father, and healed him in sickness (3). The figure now changes (but see notes). Yahweh has treated Israel as a humane master who gently leads and eases the yoke for the tired team of oxen (4). The ungrateful son must return to Egypt—be exiled; his cities shall be given up to the sword, because of incurable idolatry (6f.). Here the prophet movingly expresses Yahweh's love for His people: "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim?" How devote Israel, loved from youth, to destruction? And yet must not the annihilating judgment take its course? Does not Yahweh's holiness inexorably demand it? (8f.). But there shall be a return from exile (10f., post-exilic).

1. Render "called (him) to be my son" or (reading *lô b'nî*) "called to him, my Son: LXX "called his sons" ("and since Egypt I have been calling his sons," Marti). Israel's sonship dates from the Exodus (*cf.* Ex. 4 22).—2*a*. Read (LXX), "But the more I have called to them, so much the more have they departed from me."—2*b*. Render "sacrifice," "burn" (present tenses).—3*b*. Marti and Nowack read, "But they knew not that I carried them, that I healed them from sickness." Yahweh is the good physician (*cf.* Ex. 15 26).—4*a*. **man:** perhaps "kindness" (*ḥesed*) should be read (parallel to love).—4*b*. The text is uncertain (the yoke is not placed on the jaws, but on the neck). Read (*cf.* LXX), "And then I became to him as a man-smiter; I turned against him (*'ālāw*) and overcame him" (so Marti).—**5.** Omit "not" (*lô* transferred to end of 4). As places of exile Assyria and Egypt are employed indifferently in Hosea.—**6.** Text corrupt. Read probably, "And the sword shall consume in his cities, and devour in his fastnesses."—**7.** Very corrupt. No satisfactory emendation has been proposed.—**8.** Admah and Zeboim play the same rôle in Hosea as Sodom and Gomorrah in Amos and Isaiah (*cf.* Am. 4 11, Is. 1 7–10). According to tradition they belonged to the five cities of the plain (*cf.* Gen. 10 19, 14 2,8, Dt. 29 23).—**9.** Render, "Shall I not execute?" "Shall I not return?" etc.—**and I . . . city:** (*mg.* is impossible) read probably, "and shall I not extirpate" (Heb. *w'lō 'abhā'ĕr*)? [If construed absolutely (I will not execute, etc.), the verse is a promise of mercy. But this hardly suits the clause about God's holiness; holiness demands severe purgation.]—**10** depicts the return from exile; it is doubtless a post-exilic gloss.—**make them to dwell in:** read, "bring them back to."

XI. 12–XII. 14 (=Heb. 12 1–15). **Ephraim's Infidelity Traced from the Beginning.**—This is one of the most difficult passages in Hosea. In the text Judah also is mentioned; but this may be due to a later hand. 12f.,12f. are probably additions. The chapter-division is wrong in EV and right in the Heb. Israel's sins of treason and deceit as it were surround Yahweh (nor has Judah been faithful). Ephraim loves (see note) wind, symbol of worthlessness and violence, heaps up falsehood and fraud, and faithlessly enters into covenant relations with Assyria and Egypt (11 12–12 1). Yahweh has a controversy with Israel (so read for "Judah" and omit "also"), and will punish Jacob (2). Israel has the faults of his ancestor who defrauded his brother in the womb, and in manhood even strove (*mg.*) with God (3; see 4–6*).[1] He even practises the deceits of Canaan, and cheats in order to become rich (7f.). But Yahweh will disappoint these degraded ambitions, and bring him again (as at the first) into the wilderness (9f.). He has been warned often enough of the impending calamity (10); Gilead and Gilgal, famous centres of idolatry, shall be overtaken by the ruin (11). Some further references to Jacob (12f.) are probably later additions. The continuation of 11 is seen in 14, in which Yahweh pronounces the final justification of Ephraim's doom.

XI. 12*b*. Probably a Judæan addition. The text is here out of order (see LXX). Read perhaps, "But Judah is still known (*i.e.* trusted; reading *yāduʿa* for *rād*) with God and faithful to (with) the Holy One." If original the clause must be taken as an indictment of Judah. Render then, "And Judah is yet wayward (*cf. mg.*) with God, and yoked with the *Qᵉdēshim*" (sacred prostitutes: reading *niṣmād* for *ne'ĕmān*).—**XII. 1. feedeth on:** ? "loveth" (or possibly "herdeth").—**wind** symbolises what is vain, unsubstantial, with implied reference to Egypt ("east wind" to Assyria, *cf.* 13 15, Job 15 2, 27 21).—**he . . . multiplieth:** read, "they multiply." For "desolation" read "vanity," and at end "and they carry." Oil was precious (*cf.* Dt. 8 8) and so appropriate for a costly present (*cf.* Is. 30 6).—**3. took . . . by the heel:** *i.e.* attacked at the heel, overreached. 3*b* may be regarded as contrasted with 3*a* (by way of praise), and as an addition. But this is unnecessary. Render "contended with God" (*cf.* Gen. 32 24ff.).—**4–6.** Perhaps a later expansion, designed to mitigate the hard judgment on Jacob in 3; 4*a* is probably one gloss, 4*b*–6 another (the theophany at Bethel, *cf.* Gen. 35 9ff.), 6 forming the glossator's hortatory conclusion addressed to con-

[1] 12 3–6 is regarded by Welch as quoted by Hosea from a temple song current at Bethel (so also 6 1–3).

temporaries.—**4. us:** read "him."—**6. wait:** render "hope."—**7.** Render (*cf. mg.*) "Canaan—the balances of deceit, etc."—**oppress:** read (*cf. mg.*), "overreach" (Heb. *la'aqōb*, play on Jacob).—**Canaan** here means commercialised Ephraim.—8*a* gives Ephraim's reply, he has become rich.—8*b* is the prophet's retort. Read, "All that he has amassed shall not suffice for the guilt he has incurred" (LXX).—**9.** Perhaps out of place; the logical connexion is difficult.—9*a* = 13*4a*.—**from:** render, "since."—**the solemn feast** is difficult. The feast of the desert was Passover, not Tabernacles. Read (?) "thy youth."—**10. I have used similitudes:** corrupt. No satisfactory emendation has been proposed.—**11.** Text in disorder. Read, "In Gilead" (*cf.* 6*8**) "they have practised iniquity; in Gilgal (9*15**) they have sacrificed to demons: (so) also shall their altars become stone-heaps," etc. [The logical connexion with 10 is difficult to trace. Marti thinks 10 an insertion.]—**12f.** Probably a gloss (? by the same hand as 4–6), to show the providential care of God in the life of Jacob and in the Exodus.—**12.** *Cf.* Gen. 29 13–30.—**13. a prophet:** *i.e.* Moses (*cf.* Dt. 18*15*, 34*10*).—**was preserved:** *i.e.* in the wilderness wanderings.—**14.** Text hopelessly corrupt. After **anger** a threat of punishment may have followed.

XIII. 1–16 (=Heb. 13*1–14*1). **Facilis descensus Averno.**—Israel has persistently lapsed into the Baal-worship and idolatry, and therefore shall be swept away "as the chaff" (1–3). Yahweh has brought him up from Egypt, protected him in the wilderness, and given him plenty, yet he has forgotten Him (4–6), therefore He is against them "as a bear bereaved of her whelps." Israel's ruin is self-imposed (7–9) and his kings are powerless (10f.). Ephraim has cherished his sin as a priceless treasure; the crisis of his fate has come—a last opportunity of regeneration—but he is impotent to seize it (12f.). Shall Yahweh, even now, ransom him from death? He cannot; the punishment must go its inevitable course (14). The hurricane of the Divine wrath shall blast and spoil Samaria's land and "pleasant vessels"; because "she hath rebelled against her God," she must suffer all the horrors of war (15f.).

1. When Ephraim spake, there was trembling cannot be right, but no satisfactory emendation has been proposed.—**exalted himself:** read, "was prince."—1*b* expresses Hosea's conviction that Israel's strength had been sapped and destroyed by Baal-worship.—**2. understanding:** read, "model" (*cf.* LXX). Perhaps "gods" (Heb. *'elōhîm*) should be inserted in last clause (*cf.* 14*3*). Then render, "They say of them 'gods' (*i.e.* they call them gods), sacrificing men kiss calves" (*cf.* 1 K. 19*18*). But text is uncertain.—**3. they shall . . . away:** perhaps inserted from 6*4*. For the figure of the chaff, *cf.* Is. 17*13*, Dan. 2*35*.—**out of the chimney:** render, "from the window."—**4. from:** render "since." The allusion is to the Exodus.—**shalt know:** read *mg.*—The LXX inserts here a passage like the creation passages in Amos (Am. 4*13*, 5*8*f., 9*5*f.).—**5. I did know thee:** read, "I shepherded thee" (LXX) (*cf.* beginning of 6).—**6.** *i.e.* "The more they were fed the more they gorged themselves; and the more they gorged themselves the more their heart was uplifted." The last clause may be an addition; *cf.* Dt. 8*14*, 32*18*.—**7. watch:** render, "leap" (G. A. Smith); or read, "I am sleepless (Heb. *'eshqōd*, *cf.* Jer. 5*6*).—**8. as a bear,** etc. (*cf.* 2 S. 17*8*, Lam. 3*10*).—**the caul** is lit. the enclosure (of their heart), *i.e.* the heart. Read, "and lions of the forest shall devour them there" (LXX).—**9.** Read (*cf.* LXX), "I will destroy thee, O Israel—who can help thee?"—**10. in all . . . judges:** read, "and all thy princes that they rule thee?"—**of whom . . . princes:** may be an addition (*cf.* for the words 1 S. 8*6*).—**11.** Hosea thinks primarily of the puppet-kings, usurpers of the moment; not of the older line of princes. Render as presents, "I give," etc. **12. bound up:** in a bag as a precious treasure (*cf.* Job 14*17*).—**13.** The crisis of Ephraim's fate has arrived—shall a new and better time be born out of the accumulating troubles of the present? The child's weak will imperils the birth (notice change of figure from mother to child). The sense intended is given by *mg.*, "At the right time (read *ka'ēth*) he standeth not in the mouth of the womb" (*cf.* Is. 37*3*).—**14.** Render as questions, "Shall I ransom . . . redeem?" In the clause "O death," etc., the question is rhetorical. "Where are thy plagues? Here with them!"—**repentance:** render "compassion." Note the application in 1 Cor. 15*55*.—**15f.** reads like an appendix to preceding.—**15.** As Ephraim is here not a single tribe but the whole northern kingdom, "among his brethren" cannot be right. Read, perhaps, "Though he (*i.e.* Ephraim) flourish among the reed-grass (reading *'aḥû*) the east wind (*i.e.* Assyria) shall come up." The word rendered "flourish" (*maphrî*) is a play upon "Ephraim."—**the breath . . . wilderness:** ? a gloss on "east wind."—**the . . . vessels:** probably a gloss. The subject is no longer the wind, but the Assyrian.—**16.** Read *mg.*

XIV. 1–9 (Heb. 14*2–10*). **Israel's Repentance and Yahweh's Forgiveness.**—The section begins with a passionate appeal to Israel to repent and confess his sin (1f.). A promise of amendment (spoken by Israel) follows—he will no longer put his trust in foreign alliances and idols (3). Yahweh now assures Israel of forgiveness; His anger is turned away, and the regenerated people shall "blossom as the lily" (4–7). Ephraim repeats his renunciation of idols, and Yahweh answers graciously, the dialogue being continued (8). A final exhortation, added by a later hand, urges that the book should be laid to heart (9). Some scholars regard the whole chapter as a later addition intended to mitigate the severe conclusion of 13. It is argued that the ideas expressed, and the lack of emphasis on ethical requirements, are out of harmony with Hosea's thought. Moreover Hosea demands not a confession of "words" (14*2*), but an amendment of deeds (*cf.* 4*1*ff.). But style and language are certainly compatible with his authorship, and the other objections disappear if the section is addressed to the regenerated Israel which will have survived the nation's downfall. On this view its present position will be original (so Buttenwieser).

1. thou hast fallen: if the regenerated community is addressed, the ruin of the old state lies behind them. —**2. words:** a confession of sin rather than an animal sacrifice—**and accept . . . lips:** read, "and let us receive good (*i.e.* from thee) that we may render the fruit (LXX) of our lips" (*i.e.* pay our vows for the blessings received). For "fruit of the lips," *cf.* Is. 57*19*. —**3. we will not ride upon horses:** *i.e.* "will not enter into relations with Egypt," the supply of horses was dependent upon Egypt (*cf.* 1 K. 10*28*). The expression was, perhaps, traditional in this sense (*cf.* Is. 30*16*). The new community will no longer rely on Assyria and Egypt.—**for . . . mercy:** perhaps a gloss (Marti). —**4. I will heal their backsliding:** regarded as a disease (*cf.* Jer. 3*22*).—**freely:** Yahweh's love of Israel is not grounded on any sufficient merit in the people.—**for . . . him:** ? a gloss (note change from "them" to "him").—**5.** For figure of the refreshing dew, *cf.* Pr. 19*12*, Is. 26*19*; and for blossoming "as the lily."

cf. Ecclus. 39 14.—Render " and strike his roots (deep) as Lebanon " (or perhaps read " as the cedars," seeing that " as Lebanon " occurs at end of 6).—**6.** The olive tree, which is green both summer and winter, is a figure for Israel, as in Jer. 11 16.—**The smell of Lebanon:** *i.e.* from its cedars (*cf.* Ca. 4 11).—**7.** Read, " They shall return and dwell under my shadow, they shall live well-watered (*cf.* LXX) as a garden, and be famed (reading *weyizzākĕrû*) as the wine of Lebanon."—**8.** Read, " Ephraim—what has he to do any more with idols ? I respond and will give him an habitation " (God being the speaker). Some assign the last clause to Ephraim as speaker. But the whole verse may be regarded as spoken by God, who is compared to an evergreen fir-tree, which refreshes by its shadow and sustains by its fruit (read, " his fruit ").—**I have . . . him:** render, perhaps, " I have afflicted and (reading *wa'ăashsherennû*) will make him blessed " (so Welch).—**9.** A post-exilic addition. The hortatory tone is like that of Proverbs; *cf.* Pr. 1 5, 15 19.

JOEL

By Professor W. L. WARDLE

Our direct evidence concerning the author is limited to the assertion in 1₁—which there is no reason to distrust—that he was the son of Pethuel (LXX Bethuel). But we may infer from the book that he was a man of Judah, and the keen interest displayed in the Temple—thrice is the cessation of the daily sacrifices mentioned—suggests that he was not improbably a priest. The style is polished, with a fine appreciation of the art of suiting sound to sense, and the prophecy is embellished by numerous quotations from earlier writings. The period of origin is fairly clear. The Syrians, Assyrians, and Babylonians, who fill the background of earlier prophecy, are no longer in view. There is no mention of a separate kingdom of Israel. Judah is a small community dwelling in Jerusalem and the country immediately surrounding it. It would seem that the Temple is rebuilt and the city walled. The references to the scattering of Yahweh's people among the nations, the parting of the land, and the passing through of strangers, can surely be adequately explained only by reference to the Babylonian Captivity and Exile. It follows then that the book is post-exilic. The reference to the Ionians (3₆, "Grecians"); the numerous literary coincidences with other OT writers in which the debt seems to lie on Joel's side, though some may be commonplaces of prophetic thought and imagery; the fact that Apocalyptic seems to be at a more advanced stage than in Ezekiel, approaching more nearly to the fully-developed type of later times; all point in this direction. We may assign as date the early years of the fourth century B.C.

The immediate occasion of the book is the devastation of the land by great hordes of locusts, which has caused misery to man and beast, and even brought the daily sacrifices to an end through lack of the necessary material. The prophet's first aim is to call a national fast of humiliation and intercession. In his magnificent description of the invading locusts he slightly idealises them under the figure of an army, and suggests that they may portend the approach of the "Day of Yahweh." In the gracious answer of Yahweh to the intercession, which constitutes the latter part of the book, the thought passes more and more from the immediate trouble to the Day of Yahweh with its miraculous blessings for His people and punishment for their oppressors. (It is right to say that an increasingly strong current of critical opinion would separate from the book all the apocalyptic references, assigning them to an interpolator who worked them into the original writing of Joel. This view is supported by arguments which are certainly plausible though they fall short of cogency.) The theology is not marked by any great originality. Suffering is punishment for sin. But Yahweh is not a vengeful deity; rather is He compassionate. Stress is laid upon the relation of the community rather than of the individual to Yahweh. The attitude to the cultus is far different from that of Amos or Isaiah. The ritual appealed strongly to Joel. But he was no believer in a hypocrisy which could combine iniquity with solemn assemblies. His "rend your heart and not your garments" has become a classic protest against such sin. He fails to rise to the supreme height of universalism reached in Jonah. Perhaps the most striking feature in the theology is the vivid painting of the Day of Yahweh.

Literature.—For literature on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies. *Commentaries:* (*a*) **Driver** (CB); (*b*) **Bewer** (ICC); (*c*) Merx, Haller (SAT).

I. 1. A Short Superscription.

I. 2–II. 17. A Description of the Plague of Locusts, and a Summons to an Assembly for Confession and Intercession.

I. 2–4. The Unprecedented Character of the Plague.—No living Jew has experienced so terrible a plague: it will be talked of in generations yet to come. The locusts have eaten the land absolutely bare.

2. ye old men: might also be rendered "ye elders," *i.e.* officials; but the words are probably a later insertion.—**4. palmerworm, locust, cankerworm, caterpiller:** neither of the suggestions in *mg.* is probable. The names, which may be rendered "shearer," "devastator," "lapper," "finisher," are different names for "locust," each expressing its destructive power.

I. 5–12. The Distress Caused by the Plague.

5–7. The wine-bibbers—no censure is implied; they are mentioned first because of the contrast between their accustomed merriment and the tears they are bidden to shed—are summoned to arouse from their drunken sleep and bemoan the devastation of the vineyards. The many-mouthed host of invaders (for "nation" *cf.* Pr. 30₂₅f.) has wrought such destruction that it is likened to a ravening lion. Vine and fig-tree are stripped bare, so that the twigs splinter and the branches gleam white.

[**6b.** The comparison with lions' teeth (Rev. 9₈) is very apt, for in proportion to its size the teeth of the locust are enormously strong, and have a saw-like edge.—A. S. P.].—**7. barked:** rather "splintered."—**made it clean bare:** *i.e.* vines and fig-trees collectively; the inedible or unattractive fragments were **cast away**, rejected.

I. 8–12. The land is bidden to mourn as bitterly as a maiden mourning her betrothed, dead ere the marriage day. For—most terrible consequence of the famine caused by the locusts—no corn, wine, or oil can be had for the daily sacrifice, which is interrupted. Such a suspension, which seemed to snap the link between Yahweh and His people, occurred during the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, and was regarded as an appalling omen. The land and its tillers alike bewail (read *mg.* 11) the blasting of corn and fruit. In a word, all joy is vanished.

8. husband: a betrothal with the Jews is counted

as marriage.—**9. the Lord's ministers:** possibly emend to "the ministers of the altar."—**10.** Contains several word-plays.—**dried up:** the verb is the same as that rendered **be ashamed** (11) and **withered** (12); of persons it means "to stand abashed," of things "to fail, miscarry."

I. 13–20. A Call for a Fast and Solemn Intercession.—The prophet bids the priests, clothed in the garb of mourners, come into the Temple and lament night and day. Let them institute with the appropriate ritual a fast, and summon a solemn gathering of the community. The awful plight of the land suggests the thought that the locusts are but harbingers of the dreaded Day of Yahweh (Am. 5¹⁸–²⁰). Nothing less can be portended when the joyous sacrifices are interrupted by the blight and drought which have destroyed vegetation, and brought hunger and thirst to the cattle so that even they appeal dumbly to Yahweh.

15. Shaddai (*mg.*): this rare title for Yahweh is chosen for the sake of assonance with **destruction** (*shodh*); it is perhaps equivalent to the Babylonian Divine title, "šadua"="my Rock."—**16. meat:** render, "food."—**17–18***a*. Heb. is very difficult, containing many strange forms. Possibly, using suggestions from LXX, emend to "The mules stand abashed by their mangers; waste lie the store-houses, broken down the barns, because the corn has failed; what have we to put in them!"—**18. made desolate:** *cf.* the English use of "desolated" in the sense "appalled."—**19. I:** probably emend to "they."—**wilderness:** not a barren desert, but more like what we understand by "steppe" or "veldt."—**20. the water brooks are dried up:** this seems to show that the blight and scorching heat are additional woes, and not simply a poetical description of the havoc wrought by the locusts.

II. 1–11. Let the Alarm be Sounded, for the Locusts are Precursors of the Day of Yahweh.—Speaking in Yahweh's name the prophet bids the priests sound the alarm from Mt. Zion, that all the community may realise that the dreaded Day of Yahweh is approaching. All the mountains, which dawn covers with light, are covered with blackness by the unprecedented hordes of locusts (Ex. 10¹–²⁰*). The land they have traversed is left bare as though fire had scorched it, a dreary waste; and so fast do they eat into the fertile country before them that it seems as though they were a flame licking up what comes in its way. Like horses in appearance (Rev. 9⁷)—the resemblance about the head and mouth has often been remarked—they are like them too in the speed of their onrush. The rustling of their wings as they fly over the mountains—unavailing barriers—is like the rattling of chariot-wheels or the crackling of flames in the stubble. As the dreaded army draws nearer men are fear-stricken. Like warriors charging they storm the walls of the towns, keeping ordered ranks. With perfect discipline they advance, opening as they come to obstacles, and closing up when they have passed them. Through the open or latticed windows they penetrate. The locust plague is accompanied—here the poetic passes into the preternatural—by earthquake, darkness of eclipse, and storm, whereby the Day of Yahweh should be inaugurated. The locusts are Yahweh's host, mighty to do His bidding, before whom He thunders, because they usher in the dreaded Day that none may endure.

2. as the dawn: a new sentence begins here—"Like dawn, spread upon the mountains is a great people." [The shimmering of the sun's rays on their wings resembles the dawn.—A. S. P.]—**3. none:** render "nothing." **5.** [The first metaphor describes the noise made as they fly, the second the noise they make while they feed.—A. S. P.]—**on the tops of the mountains:** to be taken with what follows and not with **chariots.**—**6. the peoples:** read, "hearts."—**are waxed pale:** rather, "grow crimson," a rarer result of fear.—**7. break not their ranks:** Heb. is dubious; read "bend not their paths."—**8. weapons:** literally "missiles," but probably here covers all obstacles to the onward march of the invaders.—**11. camp:** render "host."

II. 12–17. Even Yet Humiliation and Repentance may Avert the Worst.—But even now, though the calamity is so serious that it seems to be the precursor of the Day of Dread, Yahweh bids the people turn to Him with sincere repentance, for which a ritual of humiliation is the symbol, not the substitute. So gracious and full of forgiveness is He, reluctant to inflict even the evil which is but deserved chastisement, that He may at this late hour change His purpose ("relent" rather than "repent"), and remove the locusts, so that once more the land may yield corn and wine for the sacrifices of the Temple, its greatest felicity. Once again then Joel rings out the command that the solemn horns should sound the summons, and the whole community join in the service of intercession. None is so old or so young as to be excused from participating. Even the bridegroom—whom the law of Dt. 24⁵ exempted from liability to military service—and his new-made bride must appear. The priests as spokesmen for the people must plead passionately with Yahweh for the recall of the marauding locusts, lest the nations round about should taunt Israel with the powerlessness of her God to help her.

16. chamber, closet: *i.e.* nuptial chamber, bridal pavilion.—**17. between the porch and the altar:** the porch at the east end of the Temple (*cf.* 1 K. 6³) and the great altar of burnt offering.—**that the nations should rule over them:** *mg.* is to be preferred; a slight emendation would yield "for a by-word among the nations."

II. 18–III. 21. Yahweh's Gracious Response to the Prayer of Intercession.

II. 18–27. The Locusts shall be Destroyed and the Inhabitants of the Land Rejoice in Renewed Prosperity.—2¹–²⁴, which seems to interrupt the speech of Yahweh, may be misplaced. Certainly 25 would follow well on 20, and the change to the third person for Yahweh is striking. But in prophecy the interchange between the words of Yahweh and the words of the prophet—regarded as one and the same—takes place so constantly that the existing order may be correct. The appeal of the people brings about a revulsion of feeling in Yahweh; His own land must not be brought to ruin, and He relents. Its fertility shall return in such abundance as to satisfy His people and shut the mouths of those who mock at their distress. The horde of locusts shall be dispersed into the deserts; a wind shall drive its advanced ranks into the Dead Sea, and, veering round, its rear into the Mediterranean. Taking the standpoint of the new prosperity the prophet bids the land rejoice in Yahweh's wondrous working. The beasts, who had mourned in the time of desolation, are to take heart, and the inhabitants to rejoice in the food which Yahweh has granted in token of the restoring of right relations between Him and them. He gives also the spring and autumn rains as aforetime (so reading with VSS at the end of 23 for "in the first month"). Field, vineyard, olive garden, shall yield beyond the capacities of storehouse and press, and all the damage done by the horde of locusts Yahweh had sent shall be repaired. These blessings shall be a sacramental symbol to the people, assuring them of

Yahweh's continued care; never more shall they be humiliated before the nations.

20. northern army: Heb. simply "northerner." Usually locusts did not enter the country from the north; so it would seem that the word, having become an apocalyptic term (*cf.* Jer. 1$_{14}$, Ezek. 38$_{6,15}$, 39$_{2}$) is used without strict etymological significance, and means no more than "precursor of the Day of Yahweh." —**and his stink shall come up:** a gloss on the following clause, which contains a rare word.—**because he hath done great things:** out of place here, and probably an accidental repetition from 21.—**22. strength:** *i.e.* fruit.—**23. the former rain in just measure:** accepting the LXX text, render "food as a sign of righteousness," where "righteousness" has a sense that it sometimes bears, "the existence of correct relations between the people and Yahweh."—**25. years:** we should hardly gather from the rest of the book that the locust plague had lasted more than one year; but the damage done, since seed would be destroyed, might extend into following years. A slight emendation would give "rich fruits." For the locust names, *cf.* 14*.

II. 28–32. The Portents of the Day of Yahweh.—The deliverance from the locusts is but a harbinger of the time coming when Yahweh will impart His spirit to all Jews—for to such the context evidently restricts "all flesh"—so that without distinction of age, sex, or social position, they shall have the ecstatic vision and utterance which mark the prophet—"all Yahweh's people shall be prophets." The earth shall be filled with the bloodshed of war, and from burning cities shall columns of smoke ascend; the very luminaries shall be dark and lurid at the approach of the dread Day of Yahweh. But from its terrors all the worshippers of Yahweh shall escape.

28. spirit: the divine life-energy. For the conception *cf.* Nu. 11$_{29}$.—**32. shall call on the name of the Lord:** rather, "does call." The expression, meaning "to invoke Yahweh," is the technical one for describing the worshippers of Yahweh. It is these, whom Yahweh calls—not such as in terror call to Yahweh for help—who shall be saved.

III. 1–8. Yahweh will Recompense with Punishment the Nations that have Oppressed His People.—In that Day, when Yahweh will restore the fortunes of His people, He will bring into the "Valley of Jehoshaphat" all nations, and there confront them, as defendants in a law-court, with the charge that they have parcelled out His land among colonists and dispersed His people into far countries, selling them into slavery for contemptuously small sums which they have expended upon the satisfaction of their lusts. Especially the Phœnicians and Philistines are named. Acting thus were they, asks Yahweh, repaying a grudge they had against Him? Or were they injuring Him without provocation? (read *mg.* in 4). In either case swift shall be His vengeance. Not content with robbing His people of their treasures they have sold their persons to the Greek slave-traders. Yahweh will gather again His people from exile, and deliver their oppressors into their power. The Jews will sell them to the Sabeans, who will dispose of them to a nation still more remote: such is Yahweh's pronouncement.

1. bring again the captivity: many more Jews remained in exile in distant lands than came back at the "Return"; possibly, however, the phrase had become proverbial in the sense "restore the fortune."—**2. the valley of Jehoshaphat:** no actual valley will suit the description, which is largely imaginative; the name is chosen because of its meaning, "Yahweh judges."—**plead with:** in the legal sense, maintain a cause against. The word is from the same Heb. root as the latter part of Jehoshaphat.—**4. what are ye to me:** rather, "what were ye for doing to me?"—**5. temples:** the word may equally well be rendered "palaces"; the reference is not exclusively, if at all, to the vessels of the Temple.—**6. that ye might:** Heb. delights to represent the inevitable consequence of an action as though it were deliberately designed.—**8. sell into the hand of:** a regular phrase for "deliver into the power of."—**Sheba:** the Sabeans were a wealthy trading people of SW. Arabia (1 K. 10*).—**to a nation:** rather "for a nation." The Sabeans, like the Phœnicians, are middlemen. Observe the exactness of the recompence.

III. 9–17. A Challenge to the Nations to Appear in the Valley of Judgment to Meet their Doom.—Returning to the idea of 2, Joel represents Yahweh as bidding the heralds make proclamation among the nations, challenging them to perform the religious rites used to initiate a campaign, and to advance against Him. Let them put their utmost strength into the battle, converting the implements of peace into weapons of war (contrast Is. 2$_{4}$), and playing the hero even to the feeblest man amongst them. Let the warriors haste and present themselves in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where Yahweh will execute judgment upon them. Under two figures the judgment is expressed: the nations are like ripe corn, which the angel reapers are bidden cut, or grapes filling the press, ready for them to tread. Multitudes await their fate in the Valley of Decision—another name for "Valley of Jehoshaphat" (*cf.* 2*)—in Yahweh's Day of Doom. The heavenly bodies grow murky, while the thunder of Yahweh's voice is heard as the roar of the lion springing upon its prey. Yet amid all these convulsions Yahweh will assure the safety of His people, and thus they shall be convinced that He is their God, dwelling in their midst, for never again shall the heathen oppressor defile the soil of Jerusalem.

9. come up: a technical military term for movements of offence.—**10. spears:** rather "lances."—**11. thither cause . . . Lord:** a very obscure clause, possibly a gloss on "tread ye" (13). As the text stands, the "mighty ones" must be Yahweh's angels.—**13. the fats overflow:** strictly speaking, the "fat" or "vat" is the lower receptacle into which flows the juice trodden out in the press, though it is sometimes used loosely for the press.—**14. Multitudes:** the Heb. word is mimetic, suggesting the murmur of a thronging crowd.

III. 18–21. The Future Felicity of Judah Contrasted with the Desolation of her Oppressors.—In that golden age when Yahweh shall dwell in Zion miraculous fertility shall transform the land, covering it with vineyards and pastures. The watercourses, now treacherous because in the heat they become dry beds of sand, shall then be brimming with perennial streams. From the Temple shall issue a spring which shall pass through the Wady of the Acacias. Egypt—the oldest of Judah's oppressors—and Edom—most bitterly hated of her later foes—shall be destroyed and become desert: but Judah shall be inhabited for ever, and Yahweh shall dwell eternally (so render "dwelleth") in Zion.

18. valley of Shittim: rather, "Wady of the Acacias." Probably not the name of a definite gorge, but typical; the place-names of this chapter are of the same kind as those used by Bunyan. Acacias grow in arid regions. *Cf.* for the whole conception, Ezek. 47$_{1-12}$, upon which it is based.—**19. because . . . land:** a gloss.—**21.** Possibly we should read, "And I will avenge their blood (which) I have not avenged," but the clause seems to be a gloss.

AMOS

By Professor MAURICE A. CANNEY

Amos is the earliest of those OT prophets who sought to preserve their prophetic utterances in the form of a book. For there is no good reason to doubt that a large part of our book was committed to writing in the lifetime of the prophet, either by himself or at his dictation. The superscription (1^{1}) is of later origin; but the date seems to be substantially correct, since it is confirmed by the evidence of the book itself as to the general historical background. Allowing time for the prosperity of Jeroboam II's reign to develop into a state of luxury and licence such as Amos describes, the book in its original form may be assigned to about 760 B.C.

Amos tells us that he was not a prophet by descent and profession, but a shepherd. He was one of those men who, while pursuing their ordinary vocation, suddenly become conscious of a Divine mission. The call probably came to him in the form of visions, such as are described in 7$^{1-9}$ and may have formed the first part of the original book. In any case, the call came, and, although himself a Judæan (7^{12}), it was to the Northern Kingdom that he felt impelled to deliver his message. There is nothing to show that he ever ministered as a prophet in Judah. The references to Judah are perhaps later insertions. We learn from 7$^{10-17}$ that Amos went to Bethel to prophesy, and was interrupted there by Amaziah, the priest of Bethel. This may account for his determination to preserve his utterances in writing. He would seem to have returned to Tekoa and there to have written down or dictated his message.

Professor G. A. Smith describes Amos as "a desert shepherd with the nomad's hatred of buildings and scorn of luxury" (*Early Poetry of Israel*, 1912, p. 41). If this were a correct description, we should have to allow for some exaggeration in the picture of Israel's foibles and vices. But it is not necessarily correct. Cultured nations have been known to raze to the ground beautiful and precious buildings without hating them. Amos was rather a keeper of sheep, who stood in close touch with Nature and drew lessons from her which dwellers in cities seldom or never learn. He had predecessors, but he developed a religion of his own which was far in advance of his age and is still, in large measure, an ideal. He had a passionate love of justice and right; a Divine hatred of wrong and oppression. Sham piety and senseless luxury ever denote a denial of righteousness and justice.

The text of the book has, on the whole, been well preserved. It reproduces the prophet's utterances very much in the form, if not the order, in which they were spoken. Only the original book has been edited, and in the process rearranged and to some extent expanded. As to the later date of a number of passages (*e.g.* 1$^{1f.}$,9$^{f.}$,11$^{f.}$, 2$^{4f.}$, 3^{1,7,13}, 4^{11,13}, 5$^{8f.}$, 6$^{2,9f.}$, 9$^{5f.,9-15}$) there is agreement among a number of eminent scholars. We ought not, indeed, in a text that reveals so many marks of genuineness lightly to assume that passages presenting difficulties are secondary or spurious. The caution and moderation of such scholars as S. R. Driver and G. A. Smith are therefore much to be commended. At the same time, more recent commentators like Riessler and Ehrlich have strengthened the case against several passages. Rather elaborate reconstructions or rearrangements have been attempted by Harper, Duhm, Baumann, and Riessler. Those of the first three are metrical. Riessler's, which is the most radical, is not. As regards metre, it may be questioned whether the prophets often employed it deliberately. The gift of prophecy is akin to that of poetry. The prophets were impelled to speak and write in terms that were poetical. Often, no doubt, their sentences framed themselves in a fashion that was almost metrical; so much so, indeed, that it is possible by pruning and trimming to adapt them to regular types of metre. But the result of such adaptation is in substance and form probably something very different from what the prophets spoke or wrote.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* For those on all the Minor Prophets, see General Bibliographies. (*a*) **Driver and Lanchester** (CB), Edghill (West. C); (*b*) Mitchell (*Amos: An Essay in Exegesis*); **W. R. Harper** (ICC); (*c*) Guthe in Kautzsch HS^{3}, P. Riessler; (*d*) McFadyen. *A Cry for Justice. Other Literature:* Meinhold and Lietzmann (*Der Proph. Amos: Heb. u. Gr.*); G. A. Cooke (Intro. to Edghill's Comm.); Oesterley, *Studies in the Greek and Latin Versions of the Book of Amos.* See also the articles in the Bible Dictionaries, the discussions in Introductions to OT (Cornill, Driver, Gray, Box), and A. S. Peake, *The Religion of Israel*, 1908.

I. 1f. Superscription and Motto.—In the present form of the book we find prefixed to the oracles, probably by a post-exilic editor, some brief particulars as to the person of the prophet, the date of his ministry, and the key-note of his message. The prophet belonged to the Southern Kingdom. He was one of the shepherds of Tekoa (mod. *Tekū'a*), a high-lying town, 6 miles S. of Bethlehem (p. 31)—certain shepherds (*nōḳĕdīm*) who bred or tended a peculiar kind of sheep having short legs and ugly faces but valued highly for their choice wool (*cf.* for their stunted growth the Arabian proverb "viler than a *nakad*," and see Chenery, *Assemblies of Al Ḥarîri*, i. 452f.). Mesha, king of Moab, is described as a breeder of this kind of sheep (2 K. 3^{4}).

The prophet received his Divine messages, or rather beheld them (1^{1}) in prophetic vision (*cf.* Nu. 24^{4,16}), in the reigns of Jeroboam II (782–743 B.C.) and Uzziah (*c.* 782–737 B.C.). More precisely the period is said to have been "two years before the earthquake." But neither here nor in Zech. 14^{5} (*cf.* Josephus, *Ant.* IX. x. 4) do the references to this earthquake help us to determine the precise date of the prophet's activity. Though he belonged to Judah, he was

chiefly, if not entirely (so apparently 11), concerned about the Northern Kingdom (" concerning Israel ").

What in a few words is the key-note of the prophet's utterances, the motto of his book ? This is given in 2, words adopted and adapted by the post-exilic editor from Jl. 316. When a lion roars, the sound portends a rush upon its prey ; when the thunder peals, the crash heralds the havoc of a storm. So, when Yahweh, from His earthly abodes, roars from Zion and thunders from Jerusalem, the smiling pastures (*cf.* Jl. 222, Ps. 6512) of the shepherds will darken and fade (mourn) and the beautiful hills of Carmel (*cf.* Is. 352, Jer. 5019, Ca. 75) parch with fear.

1. Translate " who was one of the shepherds of Tekoa."—2*a* is subordinate to 2*b*. Translate, " whenever Yahweh roars . . . the pastures of the shepherds will mourn," etc.

I. 3–II. 5. The Sins of Israel's Neighbours.—According to the present arrangement the prophet begins by arraigning Israel's neighbours. This arrangement may not be original. Yet it is quite likely that he deliberately chose to make a denunciation of the sins of Israel's neighbours lead up gradually to a sudden and even sterner denunciation of the sins of Israel itself. Whether his original denunciations included those of Philistia, Tyre, Edom, and Judah is another question. The present series is confused. A more natural order would be : Aram, Ammon, Moab, Israel (see below). The sins of such peoples are illustrated by certain typical examples.

I. 3–5. Damascus.—It is Yahweh who speaks by the mouth of the prophets. The mention of Damascus, the capital of the Aramaean or Syrian kingdom, would at once arrest attention, for until recently Israel had been engaged in a severe struggle (p. 69) with this kingdom (Damascus stands here for the whole region). Damascus, then, had committed sins (lit. rebellions) not once or twice or thrice, but again and again (three, yea, four). It might look as though an earlier threat of punishment had been forgotten by Yahweh and the sentence of doom revoked. But such was not the case (" I will not turn it back," a formula repeated in 6,9,11,13, 21,4,6). For it is typical of the brutal crimes of the Syrians that they threshed Gilead " with sharp threshing instruments of iron (or basalt)." When this barbarity was perpetrated is not known. It may have been done by Hazael when he conquered Gilead in the reigns of Jehu and Jehoahaz (2 K. 1032f., 133,7 ; for the same kind of barbarity *cf.* 2 S. 1231, Pr. 2026). But in any case, in punishment of their brutality Yahweh (4) will send fire (a symbol of war ; *cf.* Dt. 424, Jg. 920) into the house of Hazael, *i.e.* the dynasty founded by that usurper (2 K. 815), and it shall devour the palaces of Benhadad, *i.e.* Hazael's son and successor, Benhadad III (2 K. 1324). The inhabitants (5) of the valley of Aven, the broad plain that stretched between the two ranges of Lebanon and Hermon (*cf.* Jos. 1117 ; the Coele-Syria of the Greeks, modern *el-Bekā'*), will be cut off from their pleasant abode. The same fate will befall the rulers of " those who hold the sceptre " at Beth-eden (*mg.*), probably the Assyrian *Bît-adini*, a district on both sides of the Euphrates about 200 miles NNE. of Damascus. Damascus itself will suffer ; its defences, depicted as the " bars " which secured the gates of the city (*cf.* Dt. 35, Nah. 313), will be broken. Then the people of Syria (Aram), or those who are left of them, will go into exile to Kir, that is, to their original home (97). 2 K. 169 also tells us that the Syrians were deported to Kir, after Tiglath-pileser IV had attacked Damascus and slain Rezin, its king (732 B.C.). Its situation is unknown. It is possible that the name should be pronounced Kor, and has some connexion with the Karians mentioned by Arrian (III. viii. 5) along with the Sittakenians (Winckler, *Forsch.*, ii. 254ff.).

3. threshing instruments : boards armed underneath with bits of stone or iron (Thomson, i. 150ff. ; Driver, pp. 130, 227).—**4. palaces :** we must not be misled by the word, which sometimes means " fortress " or " citadel " (1 K. 1618).—**5. the inhabitant :** *mg.* may be correct, " him that sitteth."—**Aven :** LXX has On for Aven (lit. wickedness, idolatry). On is the Egyptian name for Heliopolis in Egypt, and in Ezek. 30 17 it is pointed Aven. Possibly the name On was applied also to Baalbek in Syria, since this too was called Heliopolis as being another centre of sun-worship. —**holdeth the sceptre :** or possibly, " upholds the people " (lit. the tribe, another meaning of *shebeṭ* ; *cf.* LXX).

I. 6–8. Philistia.—Philistia was another name to strike terror. The country is well represented by Gaza (6), the southernmost and largest city of the Philistines (p. 28), an emporium of trade and the centre of the slave-traffic. A typical instance of brutality is found in the carrying away of a " whole deportation " to deliver it (or them) over to Edom. The reference may be to some raid in which the Philistines procured slaves for the Edomites to sell again. But Edom may, as elsewhere, be a mistake for Aram, and the reference may be to some episode in Hazael's campaign (2 K. 1218 ; so Orelli). Three more Philistine cities (p. 28) are mentioned (7f.) as representatives of Philistia : Ashdod, Gr. Azotus, a strong fortress-city 21 miles NNE. of Gaza, on the caravan-route between Gaza and Joppa ; Ashkelon, on the coast, about half-way between Gaza and Ashdod ; and Ekron, the northernmost of the five chief cities of the Philistines, about 12 miles NE. of Ashdod.

I. 9f. On Tyre.—Possibly an exilic or post-exilic insertion. The mention of the Phœnicians would not evoke such hostile feelings, but they too had repeatedly perpetrated crimes that called aloud for punishment. The whole land is here represented by its chief city, Tyre. Tyre is charged with committing a sin similar to that of Gaza. But the Tyrians simply " deliver up (or over) " the captives to Edom (or to Aram ; see on 7). It is added that they " did not remember the covenant of (between) brothers," possibly the league between Hiram and Solomon (1 K. 512, 913f.), but more probably some later alliance formed with other Phœnician towns.

I. 11f. Edom.—Edom in later times was regarded as a bitter foe. In the time of Amos it was hardly a name to strike terror. Still, certain acts of cruelty may well have given it a bad name. The Edomites, after the migration from Mesopotamia, inhabited originally the mountainous region extending from the SE. shore of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Akabah. Here (11) Edom is accused of having pursued his brother with the sword and of having " stifled (lit. destroyed) his compassion (or pity)." His anger tore perpetually and his wrath raged for ever (see below). The statements hardly seem to fit any period before the Exile. The hostility of the Edomites became marked and effective at the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. (Ps. 137 7, Lam. 421f.). 11f. may therefore be an exilic or post-exilic addition. Teman seems to have been a district, and apparently Bozrah was a city of some importance.

11. Translate, " and his anger did tear perpetually, and his wrath rage for ever."

I. 13–15. The Ammonites.—The Ammonites were old

enemies. Originally they had pressed Israel from the S. and E. as the Aramæans had done from the N. Then they occupied the territory E. of the Jordan from Jabbok to the Arnon. Jephthah defeated and David completely overthrew them (Jg. 11 32, 2 S. 12 31). According to Amos, their warfare, at least on one occasion, was characterised by great cruelty. They ripped up the pregnant women of Gilead in order to exterminate their enemy (13). Such barbarous practices are referred to elsewhere in the OT (2 K. 8 12, Hos. 13 16, Nah. 3 10, etc.). Amos foresees that the Ammonites will meet with the punishment they deserve. Rabbah (14) their capital (*cf.* 2 S. 11 1, 12 26,29, Jer. 49 2*), a city about 25 miles NE. of the N. end of the Dead Sea, will suffer the ravages of war. The war-cry of the enemy, the wild cry of attack or the triumphant shout of victory, will be heard. The onrush and onslaught of the enemy will sweep on with a crash like the tempest in times of tornado. So great will be the overthrow that Milcom (so read for "their king" in 15), the national god of the Ammonites, will be carried away into captivity.

II. 1–3. Moab.—With Moab the prophet concludes his list of Israel's foes. When Israel arrived on the E. of the Jordan, the Moabites inhabited the high tableland E. of the Dead Sea, whither they had been driven recently from the N. of the Arnon by the Amorites (*cf.* Jg. 11 25). They were subdued by David, and again by Omri; but in the reign of Ahab they regained their independence under their king Mesha (2 K. 3 5ff.*). As in other cases, the prophet gives here a typical instance of Moabite cruelty. If the text is correct (see for suggested emendations, ICC) the Moabites are accused of burning the bones of a king of Edom "into lime" or "for lime." In other words, they reduced the body to ashes by burning it, or they deliberately burned it in order to make use of the ashes for plaster. No other record of this event has been preserved; but in either case, an act of monstrous desecration is implied. For such acts, the fire of war (2) will come upon Moab and will devour the palaces or strongholds of Keriyyoth (Jer. 48 41, and the Moabite Stone, lines 10–13). Moab will perish amid the din of battle, with the triumphant cry of the enemy and the blast of horns ringing in her ears. Thus will Yahweh cut off (3) the ruler (lit. judge) from the midst of her.

II. 4f. Judah.—The genuineness has been questioned by a number of scholars. It is urged that the thought and language are characteristic of the late prophetic school. If the passage is genuine, Judah is reproached (4) with having rejected the "direction" or "instruction" of Yahweh (Is. 1 10*) and with having failed to keep His "decrees." If it is a later addition, the reference will be to Yahweh's "law" and His "statutes." Judah has been led astray (4) by its lying gods (Heb. "lies"), the false deities after which their fathers went. Therefore the purging fire (5) will spread even to the palaces or strongholds of Jerusalem.

II. 6–16. The Sin and Doom of Israel.—Suddenly the prophet turns and confronts Israel. The benighted heathen nations have sinned and must be punished. What of Israel, God's chosen people? Why, just because they have been chosen and more privileged, failure to act up to their responsibilities and privileges deserves greater condemnation! Of this failure the prophet proceeds to give typical examples, and announces a punishment more severe even than that of Israel's neighbours. The Israelites (6) sell as slaves honest, unimpeachable men who refuse to bribe their judges, and poor men who incur trifling debts to the value of a pair of sandals. They "trample to the dust of the earth the head of the poor" (7*). The rich and powerful callously crush the poor, and obstruct or divert from its natural course the simple path of the humble (*cf.* Job 24 4). To such cruel oppression they add the sin of unchastity. Contempt for the rights of others goes hand in hand with sexual wrong; and a debased form of religion panders to the passions of the senses. Father and son resort "to a girl" (so MT), in other words, to a Temple prostitute (technically known as a *kĕdēshāh*, "consecrated woman," Hos. 4 14, *cf.* 2 K. 23 7). Beside the altars of the sanctuaries which they frequent (8) they iniquitously spread themselves on garments taken in pledge, or (slightly correcting MT) "they spread out garments taken in pledge." They pile sin upon sin, holding back unlawfully the poor man's plaid (*cf.* Ex. 22 25–27, Dt. 24 12f.). And in what they are pleased to call the house of God they drink the wine of those who have been fined unjustly. All this they do in spite of the fact (9) that it was Yahweh who destroyed the Amorites, *i.e.* (as often in E) the warlike inhabitants of Canaan, from before them. These powerful giants Yahweh had destroyed root and branch. Yahweh then describes what He had done before this, how He had brought them safely through the wilderness (10) and then (11) how He had chosen some of their sons as prophets and others as men separated and consecrated to God (Nazirites, pp. 103, 105, Nu. 6*, Jg. 13 5*). But the Israelites (12) had corrupted the Nazirites and silenced the prophets.

All this has Israel done. What will Yahweh do now? The punishment is announced in 13–16. The Israelites have crushed their poorer brethren. Yahweh in turn will crush them (13, but see note) by complete overthrow and exile. They may be swift of foot (14), but there shall be no "place of flight." The strongest shall not be saved by his strength; the most valiant shall not escape. Neither weapons (15), nor the greatest swiftness of foot, nor even horsemanship shall avail to deliver them. In his headlong flight the most stout-hearted of warriors (16) shall fling away everything that impedes him, all the possessions or accoutrements on which he prides himself.

7. that pant . . . poor: *i.e.* who covet even the dust strewn on the heads of the poor. Two other translations are possible. "Who long for the dust of the earth (earthly possessions) over the heads of (at the expense of) the poor." Or "Who long for the heads (the persons) of the poor together with the dust of the earth (their land)." But it is perhaps better to punctuate *hash-shâphîm*, "Who trample to the dust of the earth the head of the poor" (*cf.* LXX).—**13. If** RV is correct, the verb rendered "press" is an Aramaism. Perhaps we should translate, "Behold, I will make you groan in your place, as a cart groans that is full of sheaves" (*cf.* Aquila). A slight emendation has been suggested: "Behold, I will make it (the ground) totter beneath you, as a cart tottereth," etc.

III.–VI. Fuller Statement of Israel's Sin and Doom.—There are three main sections, each beginning "Hear ye this word" (3 1, 4 1, 5 1).

III. 1–8. Israel's Responsibility and the Prophet's Obligation.—Amos, after addressing "the children of Israel," includes Judah by adding "the whole family," unless this is a gloss, as it may be, since the inclusion of Judah here seems inappropriate. Yahweh had selected Israel for special notice and favour. On that account its apostasy and sin were all the more deserving of punishment. The law of cause and effect applies here as elsewhere. When two walk "in accord" (so Ehrlich, comparing Gen. 22 8), the reason is that they have made an appointment (*mg.*). When

a lion roars, it is because he scents the prey. When a young lion growls from his lair, it is because he has made a capture. When a bird falls on the ground, it is because a boomerang has struck it. When a trap springs up from the ground, it is because it has caught something. When a horn is blown in the city, it is because there is some cause for alarm. And when some calamity befalls a city, it is because Yahweh has caused it. In like manner when the prophets speak, it is because Yahweh has revealed His secret to them (7 may, however, be a gloss). So Amos' own speaking and prophesying are due to the same law of cause and effect.

3. except they have agreed: LXX for *nō'ādu* implies *nōdā'u*, "unless they know each other." This would give the words a more general application. But for safety two men journeying through a desert may agree to walk together without knowing one another.—5*a*. Translate, "Will a bird fall to the earth (omitting *paḥ* here with LXX), when there is no boomerang for it?" *Moḳesh* here probably denotes a boomerang such as we find depicted on Egyptian monuments (so Marti; see W. Max Mueller, *Asien und Europa*, 123f.).

III. 9–15. Guilt and Doom of Samaria.—The prophet proceeds to apply the lesson. The peoples are summoned to proclaim the fate that has befallen (9*) the castles of Ashdod and those in the land of Egypt, and then to assemble and witness the sins of Samaria. From the mountains of Samaria, the city presents a spectacle of great turmoil and deep-rooted oppression. And the reason is (10) that the ruling classes have no proper sense of what is right or "straightforward." Wrong thought brings wrong doing, and wrong doing inevitably brings punishment. Therefore an adversary will succeed in encompassing the land and will be the means of bringing low the proud and rich potentates. Amos knew by experience that when the lion attacks the sheep, often all that can be saved is two legs or the piece of an ear (Gen. 31³⁹*, Ex. 22¹³). In like manner the Israelites who dwell in Samaria and pride themselves on their possessions will escape with nothing more than the corner of a couch or the Damascus-cloth of a divan (see below). If 13 is genuine the prophet introduces a reference to Judah; but the verse is perhaps secondary. When the day of reckoning comes (14) the punishment will extend to the altars or altar (so Guthe) of Bethel, because Bethel was the centre of Israel's false worship. False worship and selfish luxury are bosom friends. They must die together. An end will be put to the superfluous houses of the rich.

9. Translate with Ehrlich, "Proclaim concerning (the fate of) the castles in Ashdod and concerning (the fate of) the castles in the land of Egypt." If the usual interpretation (RV) is adopted, "Assyria" (so LXX) should probably be read for "Ashdod"; this gives a better parallel.—**11.** Translate, "an enemy shall come round about the land," reading *ṣar yesōbhēbh* or *ṣ. sōbhēbh*).—**12***b*. The word translated "sit" may equally well mean "dwell." The word translated "silken cushions" is *demeshek*. This is probably a mistake for *dĕmesek*. The Arabic *dimaks* probably has nothing to do with Damascus, but that is no reason why the word here should not denote some kind of covering material manufactured in Damascus. Translate with Ehrlich, "So shall the children of Israel who dwell in Samaria escape with the corner of a couch or with the Damascus-cloth of a divan."—**13.** The people addressed are apparently the same as in 9.—**15***b*. 1 K. 22 39 implies that a "house of ivory" was something very exceptional. Ehrlich is perhaps right, therefore, in reading "houses of (in) Bashan" (*hab-bāshān* for *hash-shēn*).—**great:** rather "many" (*mg.*).

IV. 1–3. The Women of Samaria.—Like Isaiah (Is. 3¹⁶–4¹), Amos turns to denounce the extravagant and wicked frivolity of the women of the upper classes. He is not necessarily charging them with responsibility for the sins of the men; from those to whom much has been given (by Divine favour) much is required. The idle and pampered women of Samaria are described as "kine of Bashan" (*cf.* Dt. 32¹⁴, Ps. 22¹²), or, as we should say, prize cows. They gratify their fads and fancies at the expense of the poor, since extravagance always involves injustice. The prophet may not intend to charge them with drunkenness, but rather, as Ehrlich suggests, with inducing their husbands to rob and wrong their poor neighbours in order without much trouble to procure the water which they demand. The punishment is to come by war, and in war it is the women who suffer most. 2*f*. is very difficult, owing probably to textual corruption, but the general meaning is clear. The women who have strutted about so proudly and chosen their steps so fastidiously will one and all (even the last of them) be dragged along by means of hooks through the first breach that occurs in the wall, and will be hastened (lit. thrown or hurled) to Harmon.

2. Translate "even the last of you with fish-hooks." Fish-hooks may, of course, mean hooks like fish-hooks. The allusion may be to the Assyrian practice of leading captives by hooks or rings.—**3.** The form for "cast yourselves" is irregular. A slight change gives, "ye shall be cast."—**Harmon** has not been identified; perhaps Armenia (*har-minni*, *cf.* Jer. 51²⁷) was originally intended.

IV. 4–13. Israel's Denseness.—What is the real cause of conduct that merits such punishment? At the root of all the evil is a sham religion, a religion which in its mere formality and gross corruption has degenerated into a blasphemous hypocrisy. Come to Bethel! says the prophet (4). And do what? Why, simply rebel (against Yahweh)! It is useless to multiply religious observances and to invent new rites, to sacrifice every morning instead of once a year, to pay tithes every three days instead of every three years, and to invent new rites such as that of burning cakes of leavened bread (5) as a thank-offering. The futility of such sins has been demonstrated again and again (6–11). By way of warning and punishment, Yahweh had sent various calamities. He had sent hunger ("cleanness of teeth") and famine (6). He had withheld the rain-showers, which are welcomed in March and April; and had thus threatened the harvest, which falls a few months later, in May and June (7). When this happened (7), the fields would become parched (frequentative tenses), and people, lacking even water sufficient to quench their thirst, would stagger from various cities (two or three cities; an indefinite number) to some other city, seeking water in vain. He had sent blasting and mildew to devastate gardens and vineyards, and the locust (lit. the "shearer") to devour the fig-trees and olive-trees. He had sent a pestilence (10). This is described as "after the manner of Egypt," *i.e.* of the Egyptian kind, or "by the way of Egypt," *i.e.* a pestilence which spread from Egypt. We learn from inscriptions that such pestilences visited Western Asia in 765 and 759 B.C. He smote the young men with the best of their horses (see below). He brought destruction like that of Sodom and Gomorrah (11). In spite of all such visitations, Israel refused to turn from its evil ways and return to Yahweh. Therefore (12) He is about to take further

measures; and the prophet warns the people to prepare to face its God. In 13 is added a short hymn or doxology which is perhaps a late insertion. The Almighty Creator declares to men His thought (lit. meditation), He who maketh "dawn and darkness" (so LXX).

4. We may translate, "And bring your sacrifices in the morning, your tithes on the third day."—**5. and offer . . . leavened:** better, "and burn (*cf. mg.*) some leavened bread as a thank-offering." Usually the leavened bread was not burned. Marti thinks that there had grown up the practice of throwing cakes of leavened bread into the flames as a thank-offering.—**7c.** Translate, with Marti, "One field would be rained upon, and the field which I did not rain upon (reading *'amṭir*) would be dried up."—**9. the multitude . . . devoured:** translate, "I laid waste (reading *heḥĕrabti*), your gardens and vineyards; and your fig-trees and your olive-trees the locust devoured."—**10. and have carried away your horses:** MT has (*cf. mg.*), "together with the captivity (or captives) of your horses." But the word for captivity or captives (*shĕbhī*) is never used of animals. I would suggest *ṣĕbhī* for *shĕbhī*: "the best (beauty) of your horses."—**11. I have overthrown some among you:** better, "I have brought an overthrow among you." The word is always used in reference to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.

V. 1–17. The Impending Punishment.—The prophet gives his next few words the form of a dirge (*kīnah*, 1). This (2) is characterised by the peculiar *kīnah-metre*, consisting of three beats or stresses followed by two. In the prophetic vision Israel appears as already overthrown irretrievably. She lies forsaken on the ground, and nothing can raise her. How she has come to this pass is explained in the following verse (3). Her army is almost annihilated in war. This must inevitably happen if Israel will not take warning, but there is still time to seek Yahweh and live (4). Let the corrupt worship at Bethel and Beersheba be forsaken (5), for "Gilgal shall taste the gall of exile" (G. A. Smith), and Bethel ("the house of God") shall become (Beth) aven" ("the house of idols," Harper). If Yahweh is still forsaken (6), He will burst forth like an unquenchable fire against Israel (represented here as the House of Joseph and as Bethel). The prophet then seems to add a description of the House of Joseph. But it is better to place 7 after 9, prefixing the words "Alas for!" 8f. then comes in more suitably as a description of Yahweh, who is mentioned in 6. He it is (8) who made the Pleiades and Orion, and turneth "deep darkness" into morning and darkeneth day into night, etc. Warning is next given to those who pervert or dethrone justice and righteousness, and (19) hate and abominate anyone who reproves them. The prophet then reverts to Israel's oppression of the poor. Those who trample down and rob the poor (11) will never inhabit the luxurious houses they build for themselves; they will never enjoy the wine of the delightful vineyards they plant. Their crimes are manifest to Yahweh (12). They afflict the righteous, take bribes, and thrust aside the poor when these present themselves at the place of justice (Job 54*, Ps. 1275*). One who has an insight into the days of calamity that are coming would prefer to keep silent (this is preferable to the usual interpretation that in times so evil the prudent will keep silent). The prophet pauses, hesitating to describe the catastrophe, and before he proceeds to do so, he utters another call to repentance (14f.). The description follows in 16f. On all sides shall be heard the sounds of wailing and lamentation for the dead.

3. to the house of Israel: omit, as mistaken insertion from 4.—**5.** Harper thinks that by *'āven* (see *mg.*) we are to understand Beth-aven.—**8. the Pleiades** (Heb. *kīmah*) **and Orion** (Heb. *kesīl*). In Arabic *kūmat* means "a heap." This suggests that Heb. *kīmah* denotes a cluster of stars. This cluster is usually understood to be the Pleiades. M. A. Stern and others, however, think that another term, *'ayish* (*cf.* Job 3832), denotes the Pleiades (see EBi., *s.v.* "Stars"). In that case *kīmah* may, as Stern suggests, denote Canis major with its bright star Sirius. The root of the word translated "Orion" perhaps denotes primarily, "to be thick, fat." Orion seems to be thought of as a dull-witted, obstinate giant. Since the word *kesīl* means also "fool," it is thought that there is some allusion to a myth in which a giant strove with God and was chained to the sky for his impiety.—**9.** Render perhaps, "Who causeth (LXX 'distributeth') destruction (reading *shebher* for *shodh*) to burst forth upon the strong, and brings (reading *yābhī'*; *cf.* LXX) ruin upon the fortress."—**16.** Or "and the husbandmen shall summon to mourning" (so Harper).

V. 18–27. Israel's Delusions.—The prophet resumes the subject of Israel's delusions, how she disregards the essential conditions of real welfare. In 18–20 he deals with a peculiar example of this, the conception or rather misconception of "the day of Yahweh." The current belief was that when "the day of Yahweh" dawned, He would surely vindicate His people and punish their foes. Amos urges that this belief is a serious and unfortunate mistake, and conceives "the day of Yahweh" as a day of reckoning for His own people. "What good will it do you? Yahweh's day is a day of darkness and not light" (Harper). The prudent course would be at once to seek God and live. Simply to long and pray for the day of Yahweh is to flee from one danger and fall into another which may be more deadly (19). After disposing of this peculiar delusion, the prophet denounces again (21–27) a merely formal observance of religious rites and ceremonies. These are really hateful and despicable to Yahweh, if they are combined with a denial of justice and righteousness in everyday life (24). When Israel wandered in the wilderness forty years, she received remarkable tokens of Yahweh's care and favour. And yet there was no elaborate ritual, or, if there was, it could not in the circumstances be practised (25). (24f. may be regarded as a parenthesis.) 26 is supposed to resume the denunciation of vain or false worship and 27 to indicate the penalty. 26 is difficult. RV seems to assume that the reference is to the past, and that Siccuth and Chiun were idols. But these two words are probably the names of an Assyrian deity, and should be read *Sakkuth* and *Kêwān*. The verse will then refer to the future, and is not so much a further denunciation of false worship as a prediction of what will happen to the Israelites and their idols. In that case it should be regarded as an editorial insertion. Sakkut and Kaiwān are Assyrian by-names of the god Saturn, and are found together in Assyrian texts. If 26 is deleted, 27 pronounces the penalty incurred by false piety. Therefore—because of such idle practices—I will carry you away into exile.

20. even very dark, and no brightness in it: Kent, "yea, murky darkness, without a ray of light in it."—**21.** Translate, "I hate, I despise your pilgrim feasts" (*cf.* Ar. *ḥajja*, "to make a pilgrimage to Mecca," "and I will not accept (lit. 'smell') with acceptance) your festivals" (*'ăṣārāh* here a synonym of *ḥāg*, not a technical term as in Dt. 168, Lev. 2336).—**23. viols:** render "harps."—**24.** Better, "and let right roll on

like waters, and righteousness like a perennial stream." —**26. Yea, ye have borne, etc.:** rather, "yea, ye will bear." The "star of your god," or better, "your star-god," is probably a gloss. Riessler, following LXX, would read *melek* for *malkekem* ("your king"). This gives Sakkuth-melek, for which he compares Adar-melek and Anam-melek in 2 K. 17$_{31}$.

VI. 1–7. The Luxury of Israel's Rulers.—Extravagance in ritual often indicates a perverted sense of what constitutes a true philosophy of life. The price of luxury is far greater than men realise. The prophet now contrasts the careless luxury of the rich with the misery that is soon to overtake them (*cf.* 8–14). The reference to Zion in 1 has been suspected, on the ground that Amos preached exclusively to the Northern Kingdom. But a slight changes gives: "Woe to those that are at ease in (their) pride" (so Ehrlich). Woe to the rulers of the people in Israel and Samaria, "the men of mark" of Israel, "the first of the nations." Consider the fate of other nations (Is. 10$_9$*, 2 K. 18$_{33-35}$, 19$_{12}$f.). Look (2) at Calneh, Hamath, and Gath! 2 is regarded by some scholars (*e.g.* Kent) as a later addition, because these cities were not destroyed till after the days of Amos. Hamath was not taken until 720 B.C.; Calneh (if it be the same as Calno) was not conquered much before 701. But the identification of Calneh (*cf.* Is. 10$_9$; possibly the *Kullani* of Assyrian inscriptions, a place in the N. of Syria) is very doubtful; and, as Ehrlich says, Hamath may have suffered severely from other foes long before its conquest by Sargon. Hamath (2 K. 14$_{25}$*) was an important town on the Orontes, about 100 miles N. of Damascus and S. of Arpad. Gath, the identification of which is uncertain, was the fifth of the chief Philistine towns (*cf.* 1$_8$). It was destroyed at a later date (2 Ch. 26$_6$). The prophet asks: Are ye better than these kingdoms, or is your territory larger than their territory (see below)? What right have ye to expect to escape their fate? Ye who refuse to contemplate the day of calamity; who are installed by violence; who (4) lie upon beds of ivory and sprawl (so translate) on couches; who feed on dainty lambs and stalled calves; who (5) improvise idly to the sound of the harp and like a David compose "all sorts of melodies" (so Nowack, slightly emending text); who drink bowls of wine and use the most costly ointments. Woe to such triflers! They cannot spare a thought (6) for "the ruin of Joseph" (*cf.* Nah. 3$_{19}$). But (7) now the revelry of the sprawlers shall come to an end. They have prided themselves on being the first of the nations. Therefore they shall now march into captivity at the head of captured peoples!

2. Read, "Are ye better?"—Read, "or is your territory larger than their territory" (*gĕbulekem miggĕbulām*).—3. Oettli reads "sceptre" (*shēbeṭ*).—5. Better, "all sorts of melodies (*kōl* for *kĕlê*).

VI. 8–14. The Miserable Fate of these Rulers.—Yahweh solemnly declares (8) that the pride (*mg.*) of Jacob, the vainglory which has displaced true glory, has become an abomination to Him. There follows a difficult section, 9f., which does not suit the context very well and may have been added by a scribe. It seems to describe the horrors of a siege or plague. So terrible is the scourge that in a house where there are ten men none may escape (9). A kinsman (*mg.*), whose privilege it is to burn sacred spices in honour of the dead (*cf.* Jer. 34$_5$, 2 Ch. 16$_{14}$), visits the house with some friends to carry away the bones (10). Calling to a friend who has penetrated farther into the house, he asks: "Have you any more there?" and receives the answer "No." Then he says "Hush!" Yahweh is angry and has brought a terrible punishment. Let us beware of even mentioning His name. The mere mention of it might excite Him to even greater wrath. 11 is more in the line of thought of 8. Yahweh commands destruction. The great houses of the rich will be reduced to fragments; the smaller houses of the poor, which can hardly escape the blow altogether, will suffer rents (for word, *cf.* Is. 22$_9$). The unnatural perversity of Israel must bring an inevitable punishment (12). Do horses run upon rocks, or does one plough (the rocks) with oxen? (but see below) No. Why, then, does Israel do something equally perverse, turning right into poison and the fruits of righteousness into wormwood? Why, again, is she so perverse (13) as to boast of a power (*karnayim, cf.* Jer. 48$_{25}$) that is worthless, "a thing of naught"? To punish her, Yahweh is bringing against her a nation (Assyria) which will make her suffer (14) from her furthest northern limit to the "wādy of the Arabah" (*cf.* 2 K. 14$_{25}$) or the "brook of the willows" (reading *hā-'ărābīm, cf.* Is. 15$_7$) in the S., probably the Wādi el-Achsā.

10. even he that burneth him: the Hebrews did not burn the dead, unless they were criminals or enemies (Jos. 7$_{25}$, 1 S. 31$_{12}$). The reference must, therefore, be to the burning of spices (Jer. 34$_5$, 2 Ch. 16$_{14}$); but even this is rather forced. Ehrlich thinks that *u-mĕsārepho* is to be read *u-mĕsappero*, "and the one who removes him" (*sāphar* = Ar. *safara*, "to sweep" a house). Others emend the first three words of Heb. more radically. Marti either, "and a family of scant number shall be left," or "and the remnant of his (*i.e.* Jacob's) family are few." He would read further, "the dead" (*mēthīm*) for "the bones."—**12.** Read with Michaelis, *'im-yēhārēsh babbākār yām*, "or is the sea ploughed with oxen?" though we should expect *hay-yām*.—**13.** It has been suggested that the words translated "a thing of nought" and "horns" may be proper names (*cf.* Marti): "Who rejoice because of Lodebar, who say, 'Have we not captured Karnaim by our might?'" In that case the reference is to two towns (*cf.* 2 S. 9$_4$f., 17$_{27}$, 1 Mac. 5$_{26}$, Gen. 14$_5$) on the E. of the Jordan which may recently have been taken by the Israelites. Ehrlich interprets only the second expression as a proper name. The Israelites rejoiced greatly over the recovery of a town (Karnaim) which was of no importance.

VII. 1.–IX. 8. Visions of the Prophet Amos.—This section contains a series of visions, interrupted by a historical passage (7$_{10-17}$). The visions are described and then interpreted as symbolical illustrations of apostate Israel's fate.

VII. 1–3. The Vision of the Locusts.—On one occasion the prophet saw (1) and behold, Yahweh formed locusts at the beginning of the coming up of the "late spring grass" (*leḳesh*, RV "latter growth"), the grass brought on by the late spring rain (*malḳosh, cf.* Jl. 2$_{23}$), and further described here as coming up "after the king's shearing" or "after the king's mowings." The king's mowings may mean (*cf.* Driver) that the mowings were taken as tribute by the king. (Ehrlich takes it to mean "national mowings.") The locusts were beginning to work havoc (2). Then, "when they would have wholly devoured the herbage of the land," the prophet interceded with Yahweh, who relented (3). Thus 1–3 seems to refer to a physical calamity, a plague of locusts (*cf.* 4).

1. he formed locusts: read perhaps (*cf.* LXX), "and behold, a brood of locusts" (or, "of a locust-swarm," *cf.* Nah. 3$_{17}$).—**and, lo, it was the latter growth:** apparently a gloss. If original, read *yelek* (LXX) for *leḳesh*: "and behold, there were mature young

locusts."—**2. when they . . . land:** translated as above. But read probably, "and when they were making an end of devouring" (*wa-yehi hu' mekalleh lĕ'ĕkōl*).

VII. 4–6. The Vision of Fire.—Another time the prophet saw a fire-phenomenon. Yahweh (4) "called down a fire to punish" (or judge). This devoured the great deep (Gen. 16f.*), whence came the rivers and fountains, and would have devoured "the tilled land," when the prophet interceded (5) and Yahweh relented (6).

VII. 7–9. The Vision of the Wall.—The third vision is more difficult. The prophet saw (7) "and behold, Yahweh stood by a wall of *'anak*, and in His hand *'anak*." *'Anak* is usually translated "plummet." By a wall that had once been found perpendicular, a plummet-wall, Yahweh stood with a plummet in His hand. What exact significance (8) had this plummet? Yahweh is tired of relenting; He will simply apply the plummet to His people, and once for all destroy an edifice which is no longer worthy to stand. Kent's omission of the first *'anak* is an improvement: "And behold the Lord was standing behind a wall, with a plumbline in His hand." Other Semitic languages seem to favour the view (so Marti) that *'anak* may denote a hard or heavy kind of metal, possibly lead or steel. Marti translates, "Thus the Lord showed me, and behold one standing on a wall of steel with steel in his hand." Amos beholds a man unconquerable, equipped with iron and sword (7), and Yahweh explains (8) that this man is about to turn his sword against Israel, because he cannot again spare her. In the utter devastation of the country, Israel's places of worship will be laid low (9).

8. The plummet is usually explained as "a crucial moral test" (Driver). Ehrlich, however, explains it as a figure for the execution of judgment (*cf.* 2 K. 21¹³, Lam. 2⁸).

VII. 10–17. Effect of Amos' Public Utterances.—A historical episode is here interposed. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, interrupts the work of Amos, charging him, by twisting his words, with conspiracy (10). So revolutionary is he that "the earth (*not* the land) cannot bear all his words." Really he had spoken not of "Jeroboam" but of "the house of Jeroboam." There is perhaps a note of scorn in the word "seer" (almost equivalent to visionary). Amos had better flee to Judah and earn his bread and prophesy there. Amos retorts that he was no professional prophet. He had earned his bread by tending sheep and cultivating fig-mulberries (rather than sycomore trees). In Syria these did not grow in such high and cold regions as Tekoa, but the pasture-grounds and gardens of its shepherds may well have extended on the E. down to the Dead Sea (*cf.* G. A. Smith). Amos refuses for the moment to be silenced (16), and does not leave Amaziah without a word of warning and denunciation (17f.). His own wife will become a prey to the outrages of a powerful enemy; and the priest and his people will be led into captivity.

14. For "herdman" (*bōḳēr*) Marti and others would read "shepherd" (*nōḳēd*) as in 1¹*.—The fig-mulberry was common in parts of Palestine. The fruit had to be nipped or punctured to release an insect and thus render it eatable.

VIII. 1–3. The Vision of the Basket of Summer Fruit.—The account of the visions is now resumed. This time the prophet sees a basket of summer fruit (1), and Yahweh explains (2) that the summer fruit (*ḳayiṣ*) symbolises the end (*ḳēṣ*) of the people of Israel. Thus we have a play upon words (as in Jer. 1¹¹f.). In that day (3) the songs in the palace (*not* temple) shall be turned into wailing. There shall be dead bodies everywhere, and these shall be cast away in silence without burial. This scene of the dead demands dead silence.

3. And the songs of the temple shall be howlings: lit. "and the songs of the palace shall wail." Read with Hoffmann and others, *shārōth* for *shīrōth*, "and the singing women of the palace shall wail." Translate, "A multitude of carcases."

VIII. 4–14. Development of the Theme of 3.—This section, which re-echoes 2⁶–8, has been regarded as a conglomeration of rather loosely-connected fragments (*cf.* G. A. Smith). The prophet addresses himself to those who persecute and destroy the needy and humble (4), the ruthless and godless rich who regard holy days and Sabbaths as tiresome interruptions of business and as troublesome reproaches to their guilty conscience (5), who traffic in the lives of the poor (see 2⁶) and tamper with the very staff of life (6). Such men and such deeds Yahweh will never forget or forgive (7). The very ground will shudder at them and suffer an earthquake, swaying upwards like the Nile, rolling, and sinking again like the river of Egypt (8). The sun will disappear at noon, and darkness reign instead of daylight (9). The expressions are figures of speech, and do not necessarily imply an earthquake and eclipse in the days of Amos. Joy (10) shall be turned into lamentation and mourning like the mourning for one's dearest one (so Ehrlich, *not* for an only son). The end of all this will be the most bitter distress. The words of Yahweh have been despised and rejected. The time will come (11) when men will seek as feverishly to hear "the word (read as sing.) of the Lord" as they seek to find food and water in time of famine and drought. And they will seek in vain (12). Of this thirst the fairest maidens and the youths will pine away (13), who (14) used to swear by the guilt (false worship) of Samaria and say, "As liveth thy God, O Dan!" They used to take an oath by the God of Dan and by the pilgrimage-route to Beersheba.

4. Read, "ye that crush" (*cf.* 2⁷).—**6. the refuse of wheat:** a similar expression, the "sweepings of corn," occurs in an old Aramaic inscription from Nirab, near Aleppo (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, i. 1902, p. 193).—**7.** Translate "the pride of Jacob."—**8. troubled:** rather "tossed" (lit. "driven," *cf.* Is. 57²⁰).—**12.** It is perhaps better to translate, against the accents, "And from the north even to the sun-rising shall they run to and fro, seeking," etc.—**14. the sin of Samaria:** the sin (*'ashmath*) or guilt here is usually taken to be the calf worshipped at Bethel (*cf.* Hos. 8⁵, 10⁵,⁸). But it has become probable that the reference is to a god 'Ashîma. The Elephantine papyri (p. 79) speak of a deity, 'Ashem-bethel, worshipped by the Jewish military colony in Upper Egypt (5th cent. B.C.); and we know that the Hamathites worshipped a god 'Ashîma. Translate, therefore, "by 'Ashîma of Samaria" (so Edghill).—**As the way of Beersheba liveth:** the Muhammadans swear by the pilgrimage to Mecca, but there is no other instance of this kind of oath in OT. Perhaps *dōdĕka*, "thy darling," should be read for *derek*. Here Hoffmann takes it to denote a special patron-god: "As liveth thy patron, O Beersheba!"

IX. 1–8. The Vision of an Avenging God.—The last vision impresses upon Amos the anger and omnipotence of the supreme ruler and judge. Yahweh is seen (1) stationed by or over the altar (*i.e.* of Bethel) or over an altar. The agents of His vengeance are bidden by the prophet to smite the Temple. The command goes forth to "cut them (the pillars) off at the top of all of them." Those who escape the shattering of the

Temple (" the last of them ") will fall by the sword. There will be no escape for them either in the superhuman heights and depths (2) or in the terrestrial thickets and caves of the almost inaccessible heights of Carmel (3), or in the bottom of the sea. The serpent, that terrible monster which was supposed to have its home in the sea (*cf.* Gen. 1 21, Is. 27 1, 51 9f.), will rout them out there and bite them, even if they could escape the eye of Yahweh. This time not even captivity (4) will serve as a substitute for death. For Yahweh's kindly regard for His people is to give place to relentless punishment. There follows (5f.) a kind of doxology (*cf.* 4 13, 5 8f.), which hardly suits its present context and is held by many scholars to be a later addition. Yahweh, the God of Hosts, it is who by a touch convulses the earth (8 8). He is the Creator of the heavens, the earth, and the waters of the sea (6). The usual interpretation of the next verse (7; see Driver and Kent) makes Yahweh say that Israelites, Ethiopians, Philistines, and Aramæans are all equal in God's sight. This is too " beautiful and evangelic " (Horton) to be the correct interpretation (*cf.* especially 3 2). A more plausible interpretation is offered by Ehrlich. Yahweh says, " Are ye not (in your behaviour) to me like Cushites ? " In other words, your apostasy has become second nature. You can as little change your ways as the Ethiopian can change his skin. The rest of the verse may then be explained thus: You think I am bound to you by a covenant that cannot be annulled. But have I not brought also the Philistines from Caphtor (Egyptian *Keftiu*, Crete and the whole of the neighbouring district; see Macalister, *Philistines*) and the Aramæans from Kir ? The last clause of 8 would seem to have been added by a later scribe.

5. For the Lord, the God of Hosts: take this, with Ehrlich, as the subject to " Yahweh is his name " (6), all that intervenes being a description of the subject.—**and it shall rise up wholly like the River** (*cf.* 8 8): Riessler would read *ka-yĕ'or kil'ayim* (*cf.* Bab. *killalân*, Ar. *kilâ*), " and it shall rise up like the Double River," *i.e.* the Euphrates-Tigris.—**6. his vault:** *i.e.* the vault of the heavens. But the word might be translated " his band " (phalanx), as in 2 S. 22 5. So Ehrlich, who thinks that the reference is to the earthly elements, of which one, water, is mentioned immediately.—**7. and the Syrians from Kir:** *cf.* 1 5*. For " from Kir " (*mik-kīr*) Riessler would read " from Haran " (*mi-ḥārān*; Haran in Mesopotamia, *cf.* Gen. 11 31).

9–15. The Restoration of God's People.—This section is probably a post-exilic appendix to the book. The point of view has changed, the fate of Israel being quite different from that contemplated in the rest of the book, and the ideas reflecting the mind of a much later Jewish community.

Yahweh will destroy, but He will not utterly destroy (*cf.* end of 8, if genuine). Israel must be sifted and scattered among the nations (9). But it shall be like the sifting of corn in a sieve. The chaff is scattered, but the compact grains (rather than " least grain ") remain. The guilty indeed must suffer (10), and it is useless to say " Disaster shall not touch or befall us " (so translate with Kent). But for the faithful remnant a glorious day is dawning (11), the happy Messianic age, in which Israel will be reunited to Judah, as they were united in the happy days of old. Yahweh will repair the ruin " in order that those over whom my name is called may inherit the remnant of Edom and all the nations " (12; so translate with Ehrlich). In this glorious Messianic age seedtime and harvest will follow in rapid succession, and the harvests be wonderfully rich and abundant (13). The exiles shall return and enjoy a happiness and prosperity (14) that shall not again be interrupted (15). This is the promise of Yahweh, says the prophet, who has become again " thy God."

13. the plowman shall overtake the reaper: Ehrlich reading *wĕ-nāgas*, " the plowman shall press the reaper." The plowman will press the reaper to finish his work, that he may start plowing the field again.—**sweet wine:** the word denotes " either must or wine made by a process in which fermentation was artificially arrested " (ICC on Jl. 1 5).—**and all the hills shall melt:** Riessler would add, " with milk " (*ḥālāb*), comparing Jl. 4 18.—**14. And I will bring again the captivity of:** or, " and I will turn the fortune of ": more literally " restore the restoration of."

OBADIAH

By Professor H. WHEELER ROBINSON

The Book of Obadiah follows that of Amos in the Hebrew Canon, perhaps because of the reference to the dispossession of Edom in Am. 8¹², since Edom forms the principal subject of this, the shortest book of the OT. The name it bears means "Servant of Yah" (Yahweh), but nothing is known of this prophet, save what may be inferred from the book itself. This clearly falls into two parts, viz. 1–14, 15*b*, and 15*a*, 16–21, which are distinct in style and subject-matter; in the former, Edom is addressed in the second person singular, on the occasion, apparently, of some contemporary disaster, whilst the latter addresses Israel in the second person plural, and is concerned with the approaching "Day of Yahweh", and its judgment of the nations in general, though including Edom.

The Edomites occupied the mountainous district on both sides of the Arabah, *i.e.* the ranges of Mount Seir, south of the Dead Sea. (The inaccessible position of Petra, with its neighbouring rock-dwellings, 50 miles S. of the Dead Sea, is apparently noticed in 3.) They were traditionally regarded as the descendants of Esau (Edom, Gen. 36¹), *i.e.* they consisted of tribes closely related to the Hebrews, though this did not prevent frequent strife between the two nations. Thus, in 586, when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar, the Edomites assisted the Babylonians, an action keenly resented by the Judæans (Ezek. 35, Ps. 137, Lam. 4²¹) and denounced in the present prophecy (10–14). The Edomites subsequently occupied S. Judæa, and were ultimately dispossessed of their former territory by the Nabatæan Arabs ("the men of thy confederacy", 7). The occasion of the earlier part of this prophecy is doubtless some such Nabatæan invasion, resulting in a "desolation" of the land, such as is described in Mal. 1²–5 (*c.* 450 B.C.). The earlier half of the fifth century is, therefore, the probable date of 1–14, 15*b*. The keynote of the passage is given in its closing words, "as thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee". The disaster, whatever it was, is interpreted along the narrowest lines of prophetic nationalism, as a Divine judgment on Edomite hostility to the people of Yahweh.

At some later date, which cannot be defined with any precision, this earlier prophecy was enlarged by the addition of an eschatological appendix, viz. 15*a* (to "nations"), 16–21 (probably also by the insertion of 6, 8f.). Here Judah is told that its own time of suffering is past, and that of the nations is due. The reunited Judah and Israel shall finally destroy the Edomites and resume possession of the lost territory, northwards and eastwards, as well as southwards.

The first five verses of the prophecy occur again almost identically in Jer. 49¹⁴–16,9. This has been explained by the supposition that both prophets are drawing from a common (pre-exilic) original. The supposition is not necessary, if, as is likely, Jer. 49⁷–22 is later in its present form than Jeremiah himself. It is more likely that the passage is original in Ob. 1–5 (where it occurs more naturally), and that it was thence reproduced in Jer. 49¹⁴–16,9. There is also some connexion between Obadiah and Joel (*cf.* Ob. 17 and Jl. 2³²), where, again, the originality lies with Obadiah.

Literature. — *Commentaries:* For those on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies; (*a*) Perowne (CB); (*b*) **Bewer** (ICC). *Other Literature:* Articles on Obadiah by Selbie (HDB), W. R. Smith and Cheyne (EBi), W. R. Smith and H. W. Robinson (EB¹¹), and the article on Edom by Noeldeke (EBi). Duhm, *The Twelve Prophets* (Intro. and Trans.).

1–14, 15a. The Deserved Downfall of Edom.—The prophet declares that interpretation of current events which Yahweh has revealed to him. Other nations are combining against Edom (1) and Yahweh will make their combination successful (2; the perfect tenses are "prophetic"). Edom has been confident in the inaccessibility of his mountainous land (3; see Intro. and read with VSS "making high his habitation"), but vainly does he build (his nest) on high (for the **eagle**, see on Jer. 4¹³). This is no passing raid, for the work of the foe will be thorough (insert "only" after "steal" in 5, to bring out the contrast; for the reference to the gleaning, perhaps suggested by the number of Edomite vineyards, *cf.* Dt. 24²¹). The secret treasures stored in mountain caves will be stolen (6, which may be a gloss from Jer. 49¹⁰; note change of person). The trusted allies (see Intro.) will drive the Edomites from their land (7 *mg.*; "prophetic" perfect). The last two clauses of 7 yield no sense here, the Heb. of the former being "thy bread they put a net"; 8f. seems to have been added, with the appendix, to unite the earlier prophecy with the idea of the "Day of Yahweh" prominent in the later (for **Teman**, see on Jer. 49⁷, possibly the source of 8). These Edomite disasters are a penalty for the conduct of the Edomites when Jerusalem was destroyed (10, see Intro.). Edom stood aloof (11 *mg.*), nay, even laid hands on Judah's property, and intercepted fugitives (12–14). Hence retribution (15*b*).

15a, 16–21. The Judgment of the Nations.—The "Day of Yahweh" approaches; Judah has already drunk her cup of suffering (*cf.* Jer. 25¹⁵, 49¹²), and now the other nations shall drink destruction. Mount Zion shall be a sanctuary, and the house of Jacob (here for "Judah") shall recover what has been lost (17). Judah shall be joined by the restored northern kingdom (the house of Joseph), and together they shall utterly destroy the Edomites (Esau, 18; for the contrast of Jacob and Esau, *cf.* Mal. 1²–5). The territories to be recovered in S. and N. are indicated (19f.). Judah in Zion shall be reinforced by the help of the restored Israel (the **saviours** of 21) against Esau, and the "Messianic" kingdom shall be established (**Zarephath** on coast, between Tyre and Sidon, *cf.* 1 K. 17⁹); **Sepharad**, since the Persian period a name for Asia Minor, particularly Phrygia; **this host**, 20, may be a corrupt form of Halah (*cf.* 2 K. 17⁶).—19 seems to have been expanded by glosses, and Marti suggests as its original form, "And they (*i.e.* the united Israel and Judah) will take possession of the Negeb and the Shephelah, and the fields of Ephraim and Gilead." In 20, we should probably read, "shall possess the Canaanites", the Heb. being impossible as it stands.

JONAH

By THE EDITOR

This book has been commonly regarded as a true story from the career of Jonah, the prophet of whom we read in 2 K. 14$_{25}$. The marvel of Jonah's adventure with the fish was naturally selected for ribald mockery by enemies of the Bible, who, had they had even an inkling of insight into the true meaning of the book, might have shrunk from thus profaning the Holy of Holies. The advocates of a rigid theory of inspiration were in this way often diverted from a right estimate of the book to undue emphasis on a trivial issue, some being even so ill-advised as to make belief in the marvel of the fish a test of orthodoxy. From these foolish misunderstandings we turn to investigate the real significance of the book. We shall then be better qualified to interpret the detail of the fish.

The Second Isaiah had set it forth as a chief part of Israel's mission to be a light to the Gentiles, proclaiming the knowledge of Yahweh. For this Israel's wonderful discipline had been intended. But on its return from exile, instead of accepting this missionary ideal, it had jealously shrunk into itself, become hard, narrow, and exclusive. The heathen had come to be viewed as an evil and hostile power, whose contact brought defilement and whose destruction or subjugation would be one of the brightest elements in the Messianic salvation. Against this flinty-hearted Judaism, which saw in the heathen only fuel for the fire of Yahweh's wrath, the Book of Jonah is a protest of the most beautiful and most powerful kind, calling on Israel to accept the mission appointed to it and save the Gentiles by the proclamation of the truth.

Why the author fixed on Jonah as the prophet whom he should use to point his moral is not clear. That Jonah ever went on such a mission is highly improbable. It would be out of harmony with what we know of the religion of Israel at the time, nor can we easily imagine that an unknown Hebrew prophet would meet with such amazing success. Nor does it seem to be probable that the author of our book knew of any tradition in which Jonah played the part here assigned to him. Apparently, then, he is not using a prophetic legend to convey his moral, but the story is purely imaginative. For a reason that will appear later he had to place his story in the pre-exilic period. If, then, he wished to attach his book to the name of a historical character, Jonah served his purpose perhaps as well as anyone. In 2 K. 14$_{25}$ we learn that he foretold the conquests by which Jeroboam II restored Israel's territory. He might therefore fitly stand as the representative of a patriotism which exulted in the overthrow of Israel's heathen enemies. Moreover, very little was known about him, so that imagination had nothing in the way of facts to contend with. But to the author Jonah embodies the temper of Israel against which the book is a protest, and it is perhaps simplest to take his narrative as a parable in which Jonah stands for Israel. Jonah means "dove," and the custom which became common in the later period of referring to Israel as a dove had probably already arisen. If Jonah represents Israel, Nineveh represents the heathen world. And Nineveh was chosen rather than any other of the early empires for good reasons. It was the capital of the Assyrian Empire, which stood on the page of Israelitish history as the monstrous embodiment of cruelty and violence, stained with unnumbered crimes against humanity. It was therefore to all appearance the most hopeless of mission fields, the one from which Israel might have most excuse for shrinking. The feeling entertained for Nineveh is especially clear in the prophecy of Nahum. And with the prediction of doom the author to some extent sympathises. He is no weak sentimentalist, but, with all his wonderful charity, a stern ethical teacher asserting the great principle of retribution. He does not gloze over the wickedness of Nineveh, but is so conscious of it that Jonah's message is: "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed." Naturally all the details of the story do not bear a theological significance, but the author has often contrived to use the details in a very suggestive way.

The book is not a unity, for the psalm put into Jonah's mouth (2$_{2-9}$) is an insertion. It is so out of harmony with Jonah's situation that the writer himself cannot have inserted it. Apart from this the book is a unity, although it may have suffered from slight interpolations or transpositions. We have no certain indications to fix its precise date; the fourth or third centuries provide us with the most likely period.

Literature.—For books on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies. *Commentaries*: (*a*) Perowne (CB); (*b*) **Bewer** (ICC). Other literature: Kalisch, *Bible Studies*; Schmidt, *Jona*; Simpson, *The Jonah Legend*.

I. 1–II. 1, 10. Jonah vainly Seeks to Evade the Mission to which God Appoints Him.—Jonah is bidden by Yahweh to proclaim judgment on Nineveh for its sin, but he hurries in the opposite direction, to Tarshish (p. 381). Why he refused to proclaim such congenial tidings appears only in the sequel (4$_{2}$). In a very striking way the author indicates the intellectual limitation of Jonah's conception of Yahweh. "He rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord." Three times the phrase occurs, and where every word is meant to tell, the repetition is significant. It is true that Jonah believes that Yahweh can destroy or save Nineveh, and he even confesses Him as "the God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land." But this formal confession of monotheism was cancelled by the localising of Yahweh, which made it possible for the prophet seriously to contemplate getting away from Him, if he only went far enough. This state of mind was characteristic of Judaism,

which, asserting monotheism, yet by its particularism really denied it. Jonah cannot, however, get away from Yahweh, who sends a storm, so that the ship is in peril. The description of the sailors is very significant. They are representatives of the heathen world. When the storm threatens to break their vessel, they act up to the measure of the religion they possess, and each cries unto his god. At the same time they do their utmost to save the ship by sacrificing its wares. Jonah had, before the storm broke, gone into the innermost part of the ship, and while the heathen were praying and working he was fast asleep. The captain, like the crew, is deeply religious, and is amazed that in such straits any should neglect to pray. The character of the sailors comes out also in their treatment of Jonah. It would not have been surprising if, in harmony with ancient superstition, they had inferred at once the stranger's guilt, and sought to save their lives by casting him into the sea. But they become convinced of it only when the lot has fallen upon him. When they learn the nature of his sin they are terrified, and since he is the prophet of so powerful a God, they ask him what they must do. In Jonah's answer, bidding them cast him to the waves, we are tempted to see the one redeeming feature in his career; but it would probably be a mistake to lay stress on it. It was necessary for the development of the story that Jonah should be thrown into the sea, and the author would be unwilling to represent the sailors as taking the initiative in this. Jonah recognises that his plan of escape from Yahweh has failed, but Sheol may furnish a refuge he has not been able to find in Tarshish. Even after they have learnt that Jonah must be cast into the sea, they refuse to do it except as a last resource. They strain every nerve to get to land, but the tempest increases, and their efforts to save the prophet prove unavailing. But before they carry out his bidding they pray to Yahweh that He will not lay innocent blood to their charge, and indicate that it is only in obedience to His clearly expressed will that they sacrifice the prophet. The sea at once grows calm when Jonah has been cast into it, and the sailors fear Yahweh exceedingly, and sacrifice to Him and make vows. In this way the writer impresses two lessons on his reader. One is the high moral and religious excellence that exists in the heathen world, the other is the readiness of the heathen to turn to Yahweh. Against this background the character and conduct of Israel stand out in most unattractive colours. It may further be pointed out that the writer is in line with earlier prophets when he suggests that the political convulsions which overwhelmed other nations in the victorious advance of Assyria and Babylon occurred on account of Israel.

When Jonah is cast into the sea, Yahweh instructs a great fish to swallow him. Here we may touch the mythological conception of the dragon of the lower ocean. But this is of no moment for the general idea of the book. The episode of the fish is clear enough when we remember that Jonah is Israel and compare Jer. 51 34,44. There it is said that the king of Babylon has swallowed Israel like a dragon, and again that Yahweh will compel Bel to disgorge that which he has swallowed. In other words, the story of the fish represents the Exile and the Restoration. In exile Israel prays to Yahweh and is released from captivity.

5*b*. Marti brings out the contrast with the sleep of Jesus during the storm on the lake (Mk. 4 35–41): "Jonah was tranquil since he thought he was far from God's hand, Jesus confident since He knew Himself to be hidden in God's hand."—**9. I fear:** read perhaps "I am fleeing from."—**17. prepared:** render "ordered."

II. 2–9. Thanksgiving for Deliverance.—This psalm is a thanksgiving for deliverance from peril, and therefore, if spoken by Jonah, should have followed 2 10. The description, however, is quite unsuitable to Jonah's condition; it is that of a man who has been in imminent danger of drowning but has been rescued. Yahweh answered him when he called in distress from the belly of Sheol. Yahweh had flung him into the depth, he was submerged by His billows. He thought himself banished from God's presence, never to behold His holy Temple. The seaweed formed a turban for his head, he sank to the roots of the mountains, yet Yahweh has brought him back from the pit. When his life seemed ebbing away, he remembered Yahweh, and his prayer reached Him in the Temple. Worshippers of idols forsake their refuge, but he will offer sacrifice to Yahweh with thanksgiving, and pay what he had vowed in his peril.

2. Ps. 18 6, 120 1.—3*c*. Ps. 42 7.—**4.** Ps. 31 22.—4*b*. Read "How shall I look."—6*b*. Very uncertain, Van Hoonacker and Bewer read "the land whose bars are everlasting bolts."—7*a*. Ps. 142 3, 143 4.—7*b*. Ps. 57, 18 6.—8*b*. Marti reads "forsake their refuge."

III. The Ninevites Repent at the Preaching of Jonah.—When the prophet is bidden a second time to carry God's message to Nineveh, he knows that it is useless to disobey. Accordingly he takes the tidings that in forty days Nineveh will be destroyed. So huge was the city that three days would be spent in passing through it. Jonah advances one day's journey into the city and then announces its doom. His message meets with instant belief from the whole of the Ninevites. The king leaves his throne, strips off his royal robes, and sits in sackcloth and ashes. A great fast is proclaimed for man and beast, and all alike are covered in sackcloth. They cry fervently to God, and turn from their evil ways and the violence of their hands, in hope that God will repent of His fierce anger. And in consequence of their penitence they are not destroyed. It was probably a secondary aim of the book to show that predictive prophecy was not absolute but conditional.

4. LXX reads "Yet three days." Several accept this, but probably MT is original. After this verse Winckler inserts 4 5. This may be correct, since we should expect Jonah not to wait for the fortieth day in the city, but to leave it earlier.

IV. Jonah's Intolerance Rebuked and God's Mercy Vindicated.—God's clemency to Nineveh made Jonah very angry. It was not, as we might be tempted to suppose, that he felt his professional credit as a prophet to be ruined by the failure of his prediction. The mischief lay deeper than that. For it was patent enough even to the Ninevites that the message left a loophole of escape, and might have for its object to bring them to repentance. While the prediction had failed, its failure was the highest tribute of success to the prophet's mission; there was no cause for wounded vanity in the case of a man who had converted a whole city; and Jonah's reproach to God is not that in His incalculable caprice He has sent him on a fool's errand and made him ridiculous in the sight of the heathen. He suffers from a darker disease than wounded vanity, and has suffered from it all along; it was the ruthless and unrelenting hate of the heathen which made him dread that after all he would not see them destroyed. It is at first sight

surprising that Jonah should refuse to take a message of destruction to Nineveh, the hated oppressing city. In the complaint he addresses to God, which the author calls a prayer (*cf.* Lk. 18¹⁰⁻¹²), he gives the reason. With wonderful daring the writer represents the prophet as flinging God's mercy in His face as responsible for the refusal of the mission. "Was not this my saying when I was yet in my country? Therefore I hasted to flee unto Tarshish: for I knew that thou art a gracious God, and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy, and repentest thee of the evil." No message could have given greater pleasure to this savage fanatic than that with which he was entrusted, had it not been for the feeling that he could not depend upon God to carry it out. Had Yahweh been a God after Jonah's own heart, then he would have joyfully undertaken the mission, with the blessed assurance that the doom he announced would be carried out to the letter. But He fell below Jonah's exacting standard of what the God of Israel ought to be. He was not only a stern and righteous God; softer elements were in His nature, and it was only too probable that, just when the prophet was about to slake his thirst for vengeance on the heathen, God would dash the cup of satisfaction from his lips. In his bitter disappointment Jonah felt that death would be better than to live any longer in a world governed by such a God. Yahweh does not, at this stage, reason with him. He asks him only if he does well to be angry, leaving him to ponder the question whether there might not be more to be said for the Divine action than he had yet surmised.

But while he is thus grieved and angry, he has not completely abandoned hope. He may have taken Yahweh's question, Doest thou well to be angry? as an encouragement not to despair of the destruction of Nineveh. However forlorn the hope, still he cherished it; and although he leaves the city that he may no longer be contaminated by contact with it, he stays near enough to see what may happen to it. And now God tries to bring home to him the nature of his conduct. He prepares a gourd, which springs up with magical swiftness, affording a grateful shelter to the prophet, and lifting him out of his depression. And then as swiftly it perishes, smitten by a worm. Having thus stripped him of his shelter, God exposes the prophet to a sultry east wind, and the sun beats on his head. Fainting under the heat, he prays once again that he may die. Then once again God asks him if he does well to be angry. But this time the anger which he asks him to justify is not anger that Nineveh had been spared, but anger that the gourd has been destroyed. This time Jonah, conscious of the justice of his cause, replies that he does well to be angry even unto death. The contrast between the prophet's tenderness for himself and his ruthlessness towards Nineveh is effective in the highest degree. His indignation is aroused equally by his own exposure to physical discomfort and the rescue of a vast population from destruction. And yet we catch a glimpse of the stirring in him of a better human feeling. His vexation at the loss of the gourd was, no doubt, mainly the self-pity of an almost wholly self-centred man. He was one of those in whom humanity has been almost killed out by religion. But Yahweh's word, "Thou hast had pity on the gourd," hints that Jonah was not wholly an egoist. The untimely fate of the gourd had moved some pity for it in his breast. And from this God starts in His effort to lift the prophet into sympathy with His higher point of view. The gourd had been but a transient interest in the prophet's life. For one brief day it had given him its shelter. Yet even this had been enough to kindle some feeling of affection in his heart. And it was for a gourd which owed its being to no labour of his and had not grown under his watchful care. And if such was his feeling for the gourd, what must be Yahweh's feeling for Nineveh? It was a great city, of no mushroom growth, but rooted far back in history, with a large part to play in the plans of God. And with so long a past and so vast a place in the Divine government of the world, its interest for God was not faint and evanescent, but keen and lasting. He had watched over its growth and shaped its ends, and was it credible that its sudden disappearance should arouse no emotion within Him? And quite apart from its long history was its present condition. Its teeming multitudes were not for God as they were for Jonah, one indistinguishable mass. Each individual soul was as vivid and real to Him as the gourd was to Jonah, and the object of far deeper emotion. For while Jonah had no part in the creation of the gourd, nay, had not even tended its growth, each inhabitant of Nineveh had been the direct creation of God's hand, had lived in His love, had grown under His fostering care. If the whole people meant nothing to Jonah, each single individual meant much to God. If they must be destroyed, it must be only when all means to save them had been tried, and in spite of the pang God felt in their death. And if it might be urged that the Ninevites had sinned beyond forgiveness, yet the judgment Jonah longed for was utterly indiscriminate. In that city there were more than six score thousand children who had not come to years of moral discernment, and were therefore innocent of the crimes of Nineveh against humanity. "And also much cattle," the author adds in one of the most striking phrases of the book. It was possible even for Paul to ask, "Is it for the oxen that God careth?" But this writer knows of a pity of God from which not even the cattle of the Ninevites were excluded.

With artistic reticence the author says nothing as to the effect of God's words on Jonah. Such effect could not be measured by any reply he might make in his petulant and exasperated mood. Nor if he was silenced by God's unanswerable argument would his bitter prejudice be all at once convinced. It was a case which had to be left to time and meditation. Yet there was another and deeper reason why the writer broke off the story at this point. As Jonah corresponded to Israel, so these words of God to him corresponded to the Book of Jonah itself. And it was still uncertain what would be its effect. It remains to the author a question of deepest interest whether Israel will accept his call to cast aside its hate of the heathen, recognise their readiness to welcome the truth, and accept the mission long before assigned to it to preach the knowledge of Yahweh to the Gentiles. The future alone can solve it, and how it was solved is a matter of history. It might, no doubt, be fairly urged that the writer was unduly optimistic, that the heathen world was not ready for the truth, and would not eagerly welcome it if it came. Yet not only was his the nobler error, but it was nearer the essential truth, as the progress of Christianity abundantly proved. And the author stands beyond question among the greatest of the prophets, by the side of Jeremiah and the Second Isaiah. That out of the stony heart of Judaism such a book should come is nothing less than a marvel of Divine grace.

MICAH

By Professor H. WHEELER ROBINSON

The prophet Micah is mentioned in connexion with the most memorable incident in the life of Jeremiah (Jer. 26 18f.). When Jeremiah was in grave danger because of his prophecy of the destruction of the Temple and the desolation of Jerusalem, certain elders reminded the princes that there was a precedent for such prophecy in the case of "Micah the Morashtite (who) prophesied in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah." They quoted the verse now known as Mi. 3 12, and pointed out that, instead of killing Micah, Hezekiah humbled himself before Yahweh. This testimony gives us the approximate date and the most memorable feature of Micah's prophetic activity. With it agrees, in part, the (editorial) note prefixed to our "Book of Micah", which says that he prophesied in the days of Jotham (739–734), Ahaz (733–721), and Hezekiah (720–693). With it also agrees the essential character of the first three chapters, which culminate in the verse quoted so effectually a century later.

The life of Micah had for its political background the relation of the vassal states of Palestine to the great Assyrian empire, though of this (unlike his older contemporary, Isaiah), Micah had nothing directly to say. In 721 the last vestige of independent existence was taken away from the northern kingdom of Israel; numbers of the inhabitants were deported, and replaced by foreign settlers, the capital city, however, not being destroyed. Samaria joined in a rebellion of Syrian states in the following year, and may also have been concerned in the events which led to the campaign of Sargon against Ashdod in 713–711, or that of Sennacherib against Jerusalem in 701. The prophecies of Micah include a reference to the coming destruction of Samaria (1 5f.) and an anticipation (1 10ff.) of the invasion of the Shephelah (on the western slopes of Judæa, p. 31), the climax of which, as we have seen, is the destruction of Jerusalem (3 12). These indications suggest the years shortly before 701 as the most probable date of Mi. 1–3, though some scholars think that the reference to Samaria implies a date prior to 721. In any case, the emphasis of Micah falls on the sins and punishment of Jerusalem and Judæa, to which the fate of Samaria is little more than introductory. Except for 2 12f., and possibly 1 7, the first three chapters of the present "Micah" are wholly devoted to this topic, and form a unity.

The remainder of the book (4–7) falls into two clearly marked portions. The subject of 4f. is the restoration and exaltation of afflicted and scattered Israel; this presupposes an exilic or post-exilic date for the different passages composing these two chapters (except, possibly, 5 10–14). Such promises of consolation came to be added quite naturally to the stern denunciations of the pre-exilic prophets, in order to relieve their gloom and apparent harshness, after the blow had fallen. In fact, the opening verses of this section (4 1–3) have been used twice over in this way, for they have been appended also to the denunciation of Jerusalem in Is. 1 (see Is. 2 2–4). In regard to Mi. 6f., forming the third portion of the book, the evidence is conclusive only as to 7 7–20, which is devoted to Israel's confidence in deliverance through Yahweh; this is closely akin to many psalms, and is clearly of post-exilic date. On the other hand, the section 6 1–7 6 urges the necessity of spiritual religion (6 1–8), and describes the commercial dishonesty of Jerusalem and its penalty (6 9–16), and the violence, corruption, and disloyalty which have invaded social relationships. As far as subject-matter goes, these passages might have been written by Micah; the first can hardly be proved to be later than the seventh century, *i.e.* the reign of Manasseh. But, as compared with the undoubted work of Micah in 1–3, there is in them considerable difference of tone; "instead of Micah's sharp and forceful sentences, we have here a strain of reproachful tenderness and regret" (Driver, IOT[8], p. 333). The position of these passages in the book as it now stands would suggest that anonymous prophecies, written somewhat after those of Micah, and rightly felt to be not unlike his in their subject-matter, were added to the book at a much later date.

Our conception of the historic Micah must, therefore, be drawn from the first three chapters of the book. He is called the Morashtite (1 1, Jer. 26 18), as being a native of Moresheth-Gath (1 14), a place not identified (p. 32), but somewhere in the "Shephelah", and perhaps near Eleutheropolis (see G. A. Smith's description of the district, ExB., *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. pp. 376ff.). His detailed knowledge of the Shephelah (*cf.* 1 10ff.), and his evident sympathy with its inhabitants, are what we might expect from one born there. Whilst his contemporary, Isaiah, moving in the higher circles of Jerusalem, interpreted and estimated the national life from within, the countryman Micah looks on the social conditions of his age from a more detached point of view. He brings his unsophisticated mind and his vigorous convictions to bear upon the agrarian injustice of his own neighbourhood (2 1–2), and upon the evils of the capital cities, Samaria and Jerusalem (1 5). His sympathies justify for him the title, "the prophet of the poor"; he is keenly sensitive to the wrongs of the peasant-proprietor's eviction (2 1f.) and of the breaking up of his home (2 9). Not less keen is his antagonism to the men of place and power guilty of abusing their trust, whether they are oppressive rulers (3 1–3), self-interested prophets (3 5), or hireling priests (3 11). Against these men he has nothing to set but the consciousness of a non-professional prophet's inspiration (*cf.* Am. 7 14f.); but this is adequate to transfigure the moral judgment of his own conscience, and to make it the declaration of Yahweh to His people (3 8). He shrinks from no consequence of his convictions; if Yahweh hates all this social injustice,

Yahweh will destroy the city wherein it centres and that city's Temple (312).

When we review the " Book of Micah " as a whole, three passages are likely to stand out from the rest. The first is Micah's refusal to infer from the possession of Jerusalem and the Temple the necessary presence of Yahweh among His people (311f.). In this he carries the teaching of other eighth-century prophets to its logical issue, and anticipates the warning of his greater successor, Jeremiah. The second is the parallel demand of a like-minded prophet not far removed from Micah's time, for the moral and spiritual emphasis of true religion (66–8), a passage which continues and summarises, in ever-memorable words, the fundamental principles of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and of Micah himself. The third is the prophecy concerning David's Bethlehem, as the birthplace also of that future descendant of David who is destined to be the shepherd of Israel (52,4)—a prophecy finding, through its NT application, a fulfilment so rich, and so far transcending the Messianic hope of the OT.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* For those on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies; (*a*) Cheyne (CB); (*b*) **J. M. P. Smith** (ICC). *Other Literature:* Articles on Micah by Nowack (HDB), W. R. Smith and Cheyne (EBi), W. R. Smith and H. W. Robinson (EB[11]); Driver in IOT, ch. vi., § 6.

I. 1. The (editorial) **superscription** to the prophecy (1–3) of Micah of Moresheth-Gath (114) assigns it to the period 739–693, but, as stated in the Introduction, the date is probably a little before 701. The subject, " Samaria and Jerusalem ", is correctly given, though the chief concern of the prophet is Jerusalem and Judah.

I. 2–9. The Judgment of Israel.—The nations of the earth are summoned to take warning from the Divine judgment to be executed on Israel. Yahweh comes forth from heaven (His " holy temple "; *cf.* Hab. 220, Is. 6315, Ps. 114), and down (*cf.* Ex. 1911) upon the heights (Am. 413), His presence being revealed as by earthquake shock (*cf.* Is. 2419) and volcanic eruption (2–4). The moral rebellion of the northern kingdom is concentrated in its capital, Samaria, and that of the southern in Jerusalem. Samaria shall be utterly destroyed, its site becoming a place for vine-growing, its foundations bared, its idols broken and burned (5–7). Because of this judgment, the prophet goes mourning, barefoot and cloakless (2 Sam. 1530, Is. 202) and loudly lamenting (Job 3029), because the irretrievable disaster to Samaria extends to his own land, to Jerusalem, the " gate " (*i.e.* the centre of the life) of Judah (8f.; see Introduction for historical occasion).—**5.** Read " sin ", both for " sins ", and for " high places ", with VSS.—**7** may be interpolated, since it breaks the connexion.—**the hire of an harlot** seems to be figuratively used of religious infidelity to Yahweh, as in Hos. 212; it denotes the produce of the land regarded as the gift of the Baalim; the idols, etc. derived from such wealth are called **hires**, and their material will pass to the service of other heathen deities in the hands of the conquerors. Some, however, refer to the actual prostitution of Dt. 2318.

I. 10–16. The Dirge on Israel's Downfall.—This is a difficult and corrupt passage, playing on the names of towns and villages which are chosen for their assonances or their ominous suggestions, in a way impossible to translate; *cf. mg.* for Aphrah and Achzib. See G. A. Smith's map for Shaphir, Mareshah, Lachish and Adullam, other sites being unknown. " Tell not our sorrows to the Philistines (*cf.* 2 S. 120; Gath was probably near to Ekron) or to the Phœnicians " (reading, after LXX, " in Accho ", *i.e.* Ptolemais, for " at all ")· The towns of the Shephelah are then variously pictured in their sorrows during the progress of the invader (*cf.* Is. 1028–32); their inhabitants wallow on the ground, are led into captivity, shut up, have their city razed (Beth-ezel; text obscure) anxiously await news, prepare to flee in chariots, surrender (Zion must give up her daughter, Moresheth-Gath, with a " parting-gift " *i.e.* a marriage-dowry; *cf.* 1 K. 916), become like a brook that fails (Achzab, Jer. 1518), pass into possession of the foe, shelter fugitive leaders (the " glory of Israel " in the cave of Adullam; *cf.* 1 S. 221f.). Let Zion then go mourning for her lost daughter-towns, with shaven head (Am. 810, Dt. 141; the neck and head of the griffon-vulture, 16*mg.*, are featherless). Much in this dirge is uncertain or unknown, *e.g.* the reference to Lachish (13), as the beginning of sin to the daughter of Zion, to explain which both idolatry and political dependence on Egypt have been suggested.

II. 1–11. Social Injustice and its Penalty.—The prophet denounces those for whom might is right (Ps. 364; " and work evil " seems a thoughtless scribal addition), who acquire property by illegal or inequitable process (Is. 58). Against such plans Yahweh declares His own—to bring " this family " (*i.e.* Israel as a whole, Am. 31) under the foreign yoke (Jer. 2712). A lament shall be made over Israel, whose land shall be given to the heathen (4; *mg.*[1]; but text is doubtful here, and often to end of 8). The unjust shall no longer acquire land in Israel (so, perhaps, 5, where " by lot " should be " upon an allotment "; *cf.* Ps.16 5f.). Those who are rebuked sneer at the prophetic message: " Talk not ", so they talk, " they shall not talk of these things " (BDB; *cf.* Is. 3010, Am. 212, 510), " their reproaches are unceasing " (6, *mg.*[2]). In *7a*, these evildoers appear to express their (false) confidence in Yahweh's patience; in *7b*, 8, they are answered that Yahweh is with the upright, not with the oppressors of the innocent; but the text is corrupt and obscure, and requires considerable emendation to make it even plausible (see, *e.g.* Smith, ICC). These men evict widows (*cf.* Is. 102), and rob their children of their share in Yahweh's land and worship (" my glory "). Now, they must themselves go forth, the land no longer being their resting-place; because they have defiled it (*cf.* Zech. 132), they shall be destroyed (10 *mg.*).—**11** (connecting with 6, rather than with its own context, and probably a gloss) declares that the false prophets (*mg.*) who promise prosperity have the popular ear (rather than Micah, who denounces the evil-doer).

II. 12f. A Promise of Restoration.—This is a later insertion in Micah's prophecy, analogous to **4**, and presupposing the Jewish exile and dispersion. Yahweh will shepherd (Ps. 231) the remaining flock of Israel (N. and S.) into the fold (of Palestine); their numbers will be shown by the noise of their return. Yahweh will break through the barrier of their present captivity, " like the ram of the flock " (J. M. P. Smith), and will lead them out through the gate so made, as their king.—**12. of Bozrah** means rather " into a fold ".—**13. their king** refers to " the Lord ", by Heb. parallelism (*cf.* Is. 3322). The perfects of this verse are prophetic.

III. 1–8. The Unjust Rulers and False Prophets of Judah.—Micah first addresses those whose official duty it is to " know " justice, *i.e.* sympathetically, and declares that in fact they love its opposite, and cruelly oppress (*cf.* Is. 315) those they govern. In their (coming) distress, Yahweh will not heed them (*cf.* Is. 115). Micah then turns to the false prophets, whose utterances are dictated by self-interest, and proclaims

against them, instead of the well-being they have foretold, the darkness of the " Day of Yahweh " (Am. 518), when there shall be no response to the diviners, and they shall go mourning. In contrast with them, Micah declares that Yahweh's Spirit has given him the inner qualities of independent strength and of justice, which underlie true prophecy, and are seen in the rebuke of sin.—**2. pluck off their skin, etc.:** the description is, of course, figurative.—**5.** J. M. P. Smith aptly compares the test of disinterestedness applied to prophets by the *Didache*, 11 3–6.—**7. cover their lips:** a sign of mourning (*cf.* Ezek. 24 17,22, Lev. 13 45).—**8.** *Cf.* Micaiah ben Imlah in 1 K. 22 ; " by the Spirit of the Lord " is perhaps a gloss, though a correct one.

III. 9–12. False Confidence issuing in the Destruction of Jerusalem.—Micah again addresses the rulers, who have founded the prosperity of the capital on violence and injustice (9f. ; *cf.* Jer. 22 13ff.). The sentence of the judge, the oracle of the priest, the divination of the prophet, are dictated by gain, not God ; yet they flatter themselves that all is well, since Yahweh is in their midst (being visibly represented by His dwelling-place, the Temple ; *cf.* Is. 1 10ff., Am. 5 21ff., Jer. 7 4). But Yahweh will lay Jerusalem in ruins, and the Temple-mount shall become a mere wooded hill-top. As Micah began (1 5), so here he ends his prophecy on the keynote of the sin of the capital city. For the vivid impression left even a century later by this unprecedented conclusion, see Intro.—**12. high places:** " height " (sing. with LXX).

IV. 1–5. Jerusalem the Metropolis of the World's Religion.—The general character of this passage shows that it is later than Micah's time, *e.g.* the post-Deuteronomic conception of the Temple, so different from that of the previous section, and the kinship with the ideas of Deutero-Isaiah. The first three verses are found also in Is. 2 2–4* ; in both cases, this later prophecy has been inserted to soften the harshness of preceding threatenings. In the Messianic future (" the end of the days " ; *cf.* Jer. 23 20, Hos. 3 5, etc.), Mount Zion shall be (supernaturally) made (physically) loftier than all other mountains, that the nations may stream to it as their religious centre. They will exhort each other to this pilgrimage (*cf.* Zech. 8 22, 14 16f., Jer. 3 17, Ps. 87) that they may become Yahweh's disciples. Yahweh will thus become the recognised arbiter of the world, and there shall be universal peace (contrast Jl. 3 10, and *cf.* 1 K. 4 25, Zech. 3 10). 5 (*mg.*) seems a gloss on this glowing, never-realised vision, and says in effect, " We, at any rate, will be loyal to Yahweh, whatever other peoples do."—**1. But** should be " and ". With the idea of the miracle *cf.* Zech. 14 10, and note the feeling of Ps. 68 16 ; such transformations of nature belong to the Messianic cycle of ideas (*cf.* Is. 40 4) Ezek. 47 1ff., Zech. 14 4ff.).—**2. of :** lit. " out of ", for **the law** read *mg.*—**3. reprove,** as *mg.*

IV. 6–V. 1. Exile and Restoration: Israel's Victory over the Nations.—The reference to the Babylonian exile (10) shows that the passage is not earlier than the sixth century, Micah himself being concerned with Assyria, not Babylon. The sequence of thought is not clear, and it has been suggested that 9f. should precede 6–8 ; 11ff. is apparently a distinct prophecy, describing a siege of Jerusalem which is eschatological rather than historic (*cf.* Ezek. 38f.). The paragraph opens with a prophecy of the restoration of the " Messianic " remnant (analogous to 2 12f.), the people being pictured as a lame, outcast, and suffering flock (*cf.* Zeph. 3 19). Jerusalem, restored to her ancient sovereignty, is the " tower " of the flock (*cf.* 2 Ch. 26 10), *i.e.* the watch-tower of Yahweh, its shepherd. In 9f. the daughter of Zion is described as going forth from her leaderless city into homeless exile (the absence of a human rather than of the Divine king-counsellor seems intended, though *cf.* Jer. 8 19). Her sorrows are compared, as often (*cf.* Jer. 4 31) with those of a travailing woman ; yet Yahweh shall rescue her from her captivity. In 11ff. there is an apocalyptic vision of the final gathering of heathen forces against Jerusalem, eagerly seeking to desecrate her (by forcing their way in) ; but, in reality, Yahweh has gathered them for Zion to destroy them utterly, goring them with her horns (Dt. 33 17), threshing them with her hoofs (25 4), and " devoting " their possessions to Yahweh (*cf.* 1 S. 15 3 *mg.*). For the figure of the threshing-floor, here employed, see Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, pp. 538ff. The closing verse of the paragraph (5 1) is obscure ; as it stands, Zion is the " daughter of troops ", and is bidden to oppose the besiegers, who have insulted Israel's king, here called " judge ", as in Am. 2 3 (for **smite . . . upon the cheek**, see 1 K. 22 24, Job 16 10). Marti and others follow Wellhausen's easy emendation of the first clause, viz. " Now cut thyself grievously " (*i.e.* in sign of mourning ; *cf.* Dt. 14 1, p. 110), and regard the verse as a gloss on 4 10.

V. 2–9. Messianic Anticipations.—This paragraph, like the last, seems to consist of several separate prophecies, viz. 2–4, describing the emergence of a triumphant Davidic ruler ; 5f., deliverance from the " Assyrian " through leaders raised by the people ; 7–9, the multitude and irresistible might of the remnant of Israel. All these seem to be post-exilic, though some, taking " Assyrian " literally, refer the second to Micah. The clan of Ephrathah (to whose district Bethlehem belongs ; *cf.* Ru. 4 11, 1 S. 17 12, Jos. 15 59, LXX), though insignificant in numbers and standing, yet (because Bethlehem was the home of David 1 S. 20 6) is to be the source of the future ruler of Davidic ancestry (Am. 9 11, Ezek. 34 23f., Is. 9 6f., 11 1ff.), which goes back to ancient days (2, both *mgg.* ; " goings forth " means " origin "). He shall stand firm (4 ; *cf.* Is. 61 5), pasturing his flock in peace, strong by Yahweh's aid. 3 is a later insertion in this prophecy, interrupting 2 and 4, and intended to connect it with the Messianic (not the true) interpretation of Is. 7 14* ; Yahweh, it is said, will give up His people to their foes until the birth of the Messiah (here identified with the Davidic king), and until the return of the " residue " or remnant (probably, as Wellhausen says, a reference to the " Shear Yashub " of Is. 7 3).—The second passage, 5f., is artificially linked to the first in the RV by the insertion of " man ", to which nothing in the Heb. corresponds ; " this " should refer to what follows, *i.e.* the way in which peace shall be secured from the " Assyrian ". Against the invasion of this (not identified) oppressor, the people will raise up plenty of princely (5 *mg.*) leaders, who shall " shepherd " the enemy's land, and bring deliverance. **5. Assyrian** is a term applied to many later oppressors of Israel, *e.g.* Lam. 5 6, Ezr. 6 22, Zech. 10 11 ; *cf.* Herod. vii. 63.—**palaces** should be " land ", with LXX.—The Heb. idiom, **seven . . . and eight** means " a (full) seven, yes, eight if needed," *i.e.* an ample, though indefinite, number ; *cf.* Ec. 11 2.—**6. the land of Nimrod:** a name for Assyria (see Gen. 10 8–12). The first " he " in 6 should probably be " they ".—The third passage, 7–9, which is similar to 2 12, 4 7, presupposes the wide dispersion of the Jews, and perhaps belongs to the Persian period. Israel shall be as numerous as the drops of dew and rain, which fall on the grass in an abundance independent of man (so Marti *cf.* Hos. 1 10 ;

or may the comparison be between the swift passing away of the dew and rain, as in Hos. 6₄, and the rapid gathering of the scattered Jews from all the nations ?). Israel shall be as irresistible as a lion among the flocks. May she utterly destroy her foes ! (but probably this should read " thine hand is lifted up, etc.," a conviction, rather than a wish).

V. 10–15. The Purging of Israel.—Some modern commentators, *e.g.* Wellhausen and Nowack, refer this to Micah ; if so, it would anticipate the Deuteronomic denunciation of the " pillars " and " Asherim " (Dt. 7₅, 12₃) ; but the general character of this Divine intervention, to secure a community purified from warfare and idolatry, rather suggests a post-exilic date, when similar references to Asherim, etc., continued to be made (*e.g.* Is. 27₉). Yahweh will remove from Israel its means of warfare (Zech. 9₁₀, Hos. 14₃ ; *cf.* Is. 2₇), that it may depend on Himself alone ; He will bring to an end its sorceries (*i.e.* magical use of spells and mixtures) and its soothsayers (lit. " murmurers "). He will destroy images (Is 17, Jg. 17₃, Hos. 11₂, Dt. 12₃), stone pillars (Gen. 28₁₈, Dt. 16₂₂, Is. 19₁₉), and wooden posts (Asherim, Dt. 16₂₁, Jer. 17₂), with their associations of heathenism. Outside Israel, He will take vengeance on the disobedient heathen (*cf.* Is. 60₁₂ ; this verse, introducing a new subject, may be a later addition) —**14. cities** should probably be " idols," an easy emendation, for the sake of the parallelism.

VI. 1–8. Popular *v.* Prophetic Religion.—The classical summary of prophetic religion in 8 is introduced by the figure frequently employed (Hos. 4₁, 12₂, Is. 3₁₃, 43 ₂₆, Jer. 25₃₁) of a legal controversy between Yahweh and His people. Possibly this figure did not originally precede 6–8, as the terms of the address " O man ! " are broader than we should expect if Israel had been addressed. The period of Manasseh's reign, *i.e.* the seventh century, is usually felt to be the most suitable for this passage ; that Micah wrote it, however, seems, on the whole, improbable (see Introduction). Yahweh bids the prophet represent Him before the mountains, which are personified as the witnesses of Israel's redemptive history, and as the present court of appeal (1). The prophet accordingly addresses them, and will argue (rather than " plead ") Yahweh's cause (*cf.* Is. 1₂, Dt. 32₁). Yahweh asks (through His prophet) on what grounds His people have deserted Him, who has not wearied them (*e.g.* with the demands of a costly ritual ; *cf.* Jer. 7₂₂ff., Is. 43₂₃). On the contrary, He has ever deserved their gratitude, as by the deliverance from Egypt, the gift of leaders (Ps. 77₂₀, Ex. 15₂₀ ; *cf.* Nu. 12 1ff.), the prevention of Balaam's curse (Nu. 22₁ff., its objective power, if uttered, being here admitted, *cf* Gen. 9₂₅*), the crossing of the Jordan (" from Shittim unto Gilgal ", Jos. 3₁–4₂₀), all of them examples of His interventions (" righteous acts " ; *cf.* Ps. 103₆, 1 S. 12₇) on behalf of Israel, which ought to be remembered (Dt. 8₂). The (individualised) people ask how by their worship they may win the favour (*cf.* 1 S. 10₃, Ex. 23₁₅) of the God of the height (of heaven, Jer. 25₃₀), whether by sacrifices wholly burnt for Him (Lev. 1₉), by well-grown calves (Lev. 9₃), by vast numbers of rams (Gen. 22₁₃; (*cf.* 1 K. 8₆₃), or quantities of oil (Gen. 28₁₈, Lev. 2₁ff.), or, as a supreme and outstanding act of devotion, the sacrifice of a man's own child to atone for his sin ? To this inquiry, the prophet answers that Yahweh's will is known, and within man's power to perform (Dt. 30₁₁–₁₄) ; it is for man to practise justice (Am. 5 ₂₄), kindness (Hos. 6₆) and humility (Is. 6₅, *cf.* 57₁₅ ; " the primary religious virtue in the OT " (Cheyne). This closing verse may be taken as the best epitome of the religious morality and the moral religion of the OT ; for a fuller statement of the meaning of justice and kindness in the social relationships of the Hebrews, see the not less noble *apologia* in Job 31. The present passage also illustrates the characteristic attitude of the pre-exilic prophets towards sacrificial offerings ; these are not so much condemned as subordinated to the moral and spiritual condition of the offerer.— **2. the foundations of the earth** are here the mountains themselves, or their bases, set in the midst of the world-sea ; for the Heb. ideas on this subject, see article " Cosmogony " in HDB, and *cf.* Ps. 18₇, Dt. 32₂₂. —**4. the house of bondage** is Egypt (Jer. 34₁₃) ; for the constant appeal to the initial act of redemption, the deliverance from Egypt, which is the historic basis of OT religion, *cf.* Am. 2₁₀, Is. 63₁₁, Jer. 2₆, Hos. 11₁, 13₄.—**7.** On child-sacrifice Jer. 7₃₁* ; it is said to have been offered by Manasseh himself (*cf.* 2 K. 21₆).

VI. 9–16. Commercial Dishonesty and its Punishment.—This rather corrupt passage is quite distinct from 6₁–8. It may have been written by Micah, and forms a parallel to his denunciation of agrarian dishonesty in 2₁ff. But it might equally well belong, *e.g.* to the time of Mal. 3₅ (*c.* 450) in respect of the sins which are denounced and the threat of their punishment. Let Jerusalem listen to Yahweh, who asks concerning the wealth of the wicked, and the dishonest means by which it has been acquired (Dt. 25₁₄, Pr. 20₁₀, Am. 8₅). He will punish these sins by the sufferings of famine (Lev. 26₂₆, Dt. 28₃₈ff.), and by plunder and slaughter at the hands of an enemy. The foe shall intervene between the sowing and the harvest, between the pressing out of the oil from the olives (Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 207) and its personal use (Ru. 3₃), between the treading of the grapes (Is. 16₁₀, 63₂) and the joy of drinking the wine. These are the consequences of such unjust conduct as that of Ahab towards Naboth ; the result is the desolation of the city and the scorn of the peoples (LXX for " my people ").—**9. hear ye the rod** yields no good sense ; read with Wellhausen and others, after LXX and Targum, " Hear, O tribe, and the assembly of the city."—**wisdom will see thy name** also yields no sense, and is probably a gloss ; the LXX suggests that its original was " Wisdom is it to fear thy name."—**10. abominable** means " accursed " (*cf.* Dt. 25₁₆). Omit " yet ", as a corrupt fragment of the emended clause in 9, and read " Can I forget " for " Are there ". The **ephah** was a dry measure of about a bushel.—**11.** VSS read " Shall he (*i.e.* anyone) be pure ".—**13.** The perfects are prophetic ; read, perhaps, " I will begin to smite ", with LXX.—**14. humiliation** and the *mg.* are guesses for the unknown Hebrew word, which LXX renders " it will be dark."— **16. statutes** means " customs " (*cf.* Jer. 10₃, *mg.*) ; the historical reference is apparently to 1 K. 21, as typical of the Omri dynasty, rather than to the offences against Yahwistic religion condemned in 1 K. 16₂₅,₃₀f.

VII. 1–6. Contemporary Violence, Corruption, and Disloyalty.—This passage is distinct from the preceding, though the same introductory remark applies to it ; in tone, however, it seems to come nearer to certain Psalms (*cf.* Ps. 12₁f.). Zion laments that the pious and upright man has become, through violence, as rare in her midst as the fruit in the garden or vineyard after the ingathering ; men plot against their fellows as the huntsman against his prey (Ps. 10₈f.).—3 is corrupt ; the general meaning appears to be that the powerful secure their interests through the bribery of dishonest judges, but the Hebrew of the first and last clauses cannot be translated. In 4 (where the impossible **worse than** supplied by RV should be " like ")

these evil men are compared with thorns, both for their harmfulness and their destiny (2 S. 23$_6$); the "Day of Yahweh" (Am. 5$_{18}$, etc.), foretold by His watchmen-prophets (Is. 21$_6$, Jer. 6$_{17}$, Hab. 2$_1$) will bring confusion upon them (text uncertain). So evil are the present times that the closest ties of intimacy and affection are unreliable (5 *mg.*); the natural authority of parents over their children (Ex. 20$_{12}$, 21$_{15,17}$, Dt. 21$_{18}$ff.) is disregarded, and the unity of the household (Gen. 17$_{27}$) is lost.—**1.** *Cf.* Is. 24$_{13}$; for **the firstripe fig** as a delicacy, see Is. 28$_4$; read the clause as *mg.*, but **soul** means "appetite".—**2. earth** should be "land".—**6.** Note the different application of the words in Mt. 10$_{35}$f.

VII. 7–20. Israel's Confession of Faith.—This undoubtedly post-exilic utterance of Israel's confidence in Yahweh's delivering intervention falls into three portions, probably once distinct, viz. 7–10 (the time of Messianic deliverance will come); 11–13 (Jerusalem will be repeopled); 14–20 (Yahweh will renew His kindness to Israel). The first and third of these have numerous affinities with the Psalter; the second, by its anticipation of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, dates itself between 586 and 444 B.C. Israel proclaims her confidence in the deliverance (**salvation**) from her heathen oppressors which is about to come from Yahweh (Pss. 5$_3$, 130$_{5b}$, 25$_5$). Let not the foe prematurely rejoice (Ob. 12), for Israel "falls to rise" ("when," both times, should be "though"), and Yahweh will turn her present darkness into light (Is. 9$_2$, 58$_{10}$). Yahweh's wrath (inferred from national calamities; *cf.* 2 K. 23$_{26}$) is due to the sin which Israel now confesses (Ps. 51$_4$ff., Is. 42$_{24}$f.), and the time will come (Ps. 103$_9$) when Yahweh will Himself vindicate His people. Then Israel shall be satisfied with vengeance (Ob. *passim*) on the foe who mocked Israel's God (Pss. 79$_{10}$, 115$_2$, Jl. 2$_{17}$). When the walls of Jerusalem are rebuilt (*cf.* 2 K. 25$_{10}$), the boundary (11 *mg.*) of Israel's territory will be enlarged (Is. 26$_{15}$, 33$_{17}$; *cf.* Zech. 2$_4$), and the Jews, now dispersed throughout the world, will return (Ezek. 34$_{13}$, Is. 27$_{12}$, Ps. 107$_2$; the "river" is the Euphrates (*cf.* Dt. 1$_7$); the references to "sea" and "mountain" are general). The whole earth (not "land") shall be laid waste (Is. 24$_4$f.) because of heathen sin (11–13). Yahweh is invoked to shepherd (*cf.* 2$_{12}$) with His club (Ps. 23$_4$) His chosen flock, now isolated on the wooded hills of Judæa in the midst of a fertile land denied to them; let Him restore their lost pasture-grounds (Jer. 50$_{19}$). Yahweh promises to parallel the miracle of the Exodus, so that the heathen shall be struck deaf and dumb (Job 21$_5$, 40$_4$), and prostrate themselves humbly before Yahweh (Ps. 72$_9$, Is. 49$_{23}$). Israel declares the uniqueness of Yahweh, and glories in His loving-kindness (Ps. 103$_3$); He will trample upon Israel's sins, and render faithfulness and kindness (Ex. 34$_6$) to the descendants of the patriarchs (here named as epitomising Israel) according to His promises (Gen. 22$_{16}$ff., 28$_{13}$, etc.).—**14. heritage** (*cf.* Dt. 32$_9$). Read "garden" for **Carmel** (its literal meaning), and for the contrast implied *cf.* Is. 32$_{15}$, last clause, the same word being there rendered "fruitful field"; Jer. 4$_{26}$ *mg.* In 15, we should probably emend to "Shew unto us".—**18.** *Cf.* Ex. 15$_{11}$, Ps. 77$_{13}$; the comparison with other gods survived into post-exilic monotheism.—**19.** There is no exact parallel to the figure of "trampling" upon sin, but *cf.* Gen. 4$_7$, Ps. 65$_{3a}$, where sin is personified as man's enemy.

NAHUM

By Professor A. R. GORDON

In Nahum we meet with a new type of prophecy. The earlier prophets announced the coming of judgment on Israel; he sounds the knell of Nineveh the oppressor.

Since attention was called by Bickell to the acrostic form of ch. 1, it has become increasingly recognised that 1$_{2-10}$ is part of a late eschatological Psalm, charged with the thought of Yahweh's vengeance over His foes. The succeeding verses are a mass of almost inextricable confusion. It seems evident, however, that 1$_{12f.,15}$, 2$_2$ contain a prophecy of hope and comfort, belonging to the Judaistic age, while the genuine prophecies of Nahum begin with 1$_{11,14}$, 2$_{1,3ff.}$ Two such prophecies may be distinguished, the first a pæan over the approaching fall of Nineveh, the second emphasizing the certainty and nearness of the end.

The name Nahum signifies "consoler." He is described as an Elkoshite, most probably from the Elkosh near Eleutheropolis, on the SW. border of Judah. The date of his prophecies can be brought within sufficiently narrow limits. The allusion to No-Amon (3$_{8ff.}$*) presupposes the downfall of that city in 663 B.C., while the lower limit is fixed by the destruction of Nineveh itself about 607 (p. 60). It seems most natural to date the book just before the latter event. As Wellhausen aptly says, "Apart from Herodotus, it would never have occurred to anyone to doubt that the prophecy of Nahum coincides with the downfall of Nineveh."

The brilliance of Nahum's style is universally acknowledged. The rush and sweep of the language, the vividness of description, the swift dramatic effects, and the elegiac verse with its fine tonal harmonies stamp him as one of the masters of poetic speech. From the religious point of view he may stand below the greatest, his flashing utterances being inspired rather by a fiery hatred of the enemy than by concern for Judah's moral and spiritual good. We are not to regard him, however, as a thoughtless patriot of the class denounced by Jeremiah. There is a genuine passion for humanity in the book. With Nahum, indeed, religion is virtually the equivalent of humanity. Yahweh is the champion of the outraged and helpless; and the impending fate of Nineveh is hailed as the fit reward for the cruelties perpetrated by that ravenous monster on all the nations.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* For those on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies. (*a*) **Davidson**; (*b*) **J. M. P. Smith** (ICC), Haupt; (*c*) Plessner, Happel. *Other Literature:* articles by Kennedy in HDB and Budde in EBi, Gunkel in ZATW, 1893, pp. 223ff. and G. B. Gray in Exp., 1898, pp. 207ff.

I. 1. Title.—On the name and home of Nahum, *cf.* Introduction.

I. 2–10. The Avenging Wrath of Yahweh.—Yahweh is a jealous and vengeful God—sensitive to the honour of Himself and His people—who marcheth through whirlwind and storm to save them from the enemy. Before His presence sea and rivers dry up, Bashan, Carmel, and Lebanon wither, the mountains quake' and the earth itself is upheaved. How then can mortal man face the glow of His anger? To such as trust in Him He is a stronghold in the day of trouble; but His adversaries He thrusteth into darkness, taking not vengeance twice, but making a full end of them and all their devices. Though for a time He may remain silent, He is storing up wrath against them; and all of them shall be mown down like thorns, or burnt in the fire as stubble.

2b (the N stanza) ought clearly to follow 9*a*, while 3*a* is an interpolation (from Ex. 34$_{6f.}$) modifying the severity of the opening words. The B stanza is found in 3*b*, the description of Yahweh's march through storm and tempest.—**4.** Bashan, Carmel, and Lebanon were proverbial for fertility and foliage.—**6. are broken asunder:** rather, "are kindled" (transposing the middle letters).—**7f.** Using suggestions from the Versions, render somewhat as follows: "Yahweh is good unto those that wait for Him—a stronghold in the day of trouble. He knoweth such as take refuge in Him, and in the overflowing flood He delivereth them. A full end doth He make of them that rise up against Him, and His enemies He driveth into darkness."—**9.** Transposing the clauses (as the alphabetical scheme demands) read, "He taketh not vengeance twice on His foes (LXX), but an utter end He doth make (of them). What then do ye devise against Yahweh?"—**10.** The text here is hopelessly tangled and corrupt, but with certain changes and omissions of letters (noted in Kittel's text) the following sense may be extracted: "Like thorns cut down are they all, As dry stubble they are burnt in the fire" (*cf.* Is. 33$_{12}$).

I. 12f., 15, II. 2. Comfort for Judah.—Now that the days of Yahweh's contention with His people are over, He will afflict them no more, but will break the yoke of the enemy from off their shoulders, and will burst their bonds asunder. Already their eyes may behold on the mountain-tops the feet of the herald bringing tidings of salvation. Let Judah then celebrate her feasts and fulfil her vows in confidence; for no more shall Belial pass through her midst, but Yahweh will restore the vine-tree which the spoilers have despoiled and whose branches they have ruined.

12. Here, too, the text is almost desperately corrupt. A plausible emendation yields, "Now that the days of my contention are full, they are past and gone; if I have afflicted (humbled) thee," etc.—**15. Belial** (*mg.*): the personification of wickedness (Dt. 13$_3$*, Ps. 6$_{12}$*).—**II. 2.** For *g°on*, "pride," the context practically demands *gephen*, "vine" (*cf.* Ps. 80$_{8ff.}$).—Jacob here = Judah, and Israel = the north land (*cf.* Is. 43$_1$, 44$_1$, etc.).

I. 11, 14, II. 1, 3–13. The Fall of Nineveh.—11, 14. In days gone by there went out of Nineveh one that planned villainous devices against Yahweh and His

people. Now Yahweh has given commandment that his name shall be blotted out, his grave dishonoured, and the temple of his gods robbed of its images.

11. The reference is clearly to Sennacherib.—**Belial** (*mg.*): *i.e.* malicious destruction (15*).—**14. that no more of thy name be sown:** in other words, that Sennacherib's family and nation may be brought to a common end.

II. 1, 3–10. In a passage of amazing power the prophet describes the irresistible march of the destroying army against Nineveh, despite his ironical commands to mount guard on the rampart, watch well the road, strengthen the loins, and brace might to the utmost. With blood-red shields and scarlet tunics the assailants dash through the streets and broadways approaching the capital, their war-chariots flashing like torches and darting as lightning, while their nobles speed on to the wall, set up the mantlet, throw open the river-gates, and plunder the once proud city amid universal panic, anguish, and despairing flight.

1. He that dasheth in pieces: lit. the smasher or hammer (Cyaxares and his Medes, p. 60).—**3. made red:** probably painted (a widespread custom among primitive peoples).—**in scarlet:** the characteristic colour of soldiers' tunics, in the ancient East (*e.g.* Babylonia, Persia, and Sparta) as well as among ourselves.—**4.** The closing words are highly doubtful. Read perhaps, "the chargers quiver," in mad excitement (LXX). —The streets and broadways (*rᵉhoboth*) are, of course, those of the suburbs of Nineveh (*cf.* the Rehoboth-Ir associated with Nineveh in Gen. 10 11).—**5.** The reading is again evidently at fault. By a clever emendation Duhm secures the following text: "Straightforward their nobles gallop along their courses."—**mantelet:** lit. "covering," probably a movable penthouse to cover the approach of the siege-parties.—**6. The gates of the rivers:** where the mountain stream Choser and its canals entered the city.—**is dissolved:** "melts away" (in terror).—**7. Huzzab:** an obscure word, on which no light has yet been shed. The reference, however, is to the Queen, who is led out of the city dishonoured, her maidens passing with her into captivity, mourning like doves (*cf.* Is. 38 14, Ezek. 7 16, etc.), and beating upon their breasts.—**8.** "From of old": a clear result of dittography (p. 42). Render simply, "And Nineveh (is become) like a pool (reservoir) of waters fleeing (fast ebbing) away"—a fine simile for a city quickly emptied of its inhabitants.—**9.** A dramatic address to the conquerors.—**10.** The desolation of the ruined city is depicted in a series of startled exclamations, "Emptiness, void, and waste!"

II. 11–13. Where now is the den of lions, whither the old lion used to retreat with his lionesses and cubs, filling it with the plunder of the nations? Behold, Yahweh is against that haunt of cruelty, and will burn it with fire, and destroy the lionesses and their cubs together by the sword.

11. For *mir'eh*, "feeding-place," read probably *me'arah*, "cave." The den of lions is Nineveh, to whose ruthless ferocity the records of Assyrian kings bear witness on every column.—**13.** For *rikbah*, "her chariotry," read probably *ribtsek*, "thy lair," and for *mal'akhek*, "of thy messengers," *mill·bhothayik*, "from thy lionesses."

III. A fresh Picture of the End of Nineveh.—1–7. Woe to that city of blood, full of lies and rapine, where the prey never ceased, nor was any end to the booty! Now nothing is heard in her but the crack of the whip and the rumbling of wheels, the gallop of steeds and the dashing of chariots, with cavalry at the charge, while the sabres flash and the spears glitter, and underneath men stumble over corpses unnumbered. And all this is the fitting punishment of that mistress of harlotry, who fascinated the nations by her charms, and drew them into her chamber of death. Yahweh is against her, and will expose her like an harlot, and make her a gazing-stock to the nations, unwept for, unpitied, and dishonoured.

2f. A series of vivid exclamations: "Hark! the sound of the whip," etc.—**4. selleth:** rather "deceiveth," "beguileth."—**5f.** The regular punishment of the harlot (*cf.* Jer. 13 22ff., Ezek. 16 33ff., etc.).

III. 8–10. Nineveh boasted of her strength, but she was no better placed than No-Amon, with the Nile around her for rampart, the whole strength of Egypt and Ethiopia her defence, and Put and the Libyans as allies, who yet passed into captivity, amid all the horrors of siege and storm.

8. No-Amon: Homer's "hundred-gated Thebes," the capital of Upper Egypt, captured by Ashurbanipal in 663 B.C. (*cf.* Intro.). The original magnificence of the city is borne witness to by the splendid ruins of Karnac and Luxor.—Removing a slight redundancy, read "That sat (in stately pride and confidence) on the Nile-streams, her rampart the sea (*i.e.* the broad Nile) and the waters her wall."—**9. Put and Lubim:** Hamite nations near Ethiopia (Gen. 10 6,13), that served as Egyptian mercenaries (Jer. 46 9).—**10.** Description of the usual fate of a captured city (*cf.* Lam. 4).

III. 11–19. Even so Nineveh shall be made drunk with the cup of God's wrath, and faint and staggering shall seek refuge from the enemy. Her outer fortresses shall fall like first-ripe figs (Is. 28 4*) into the mouth of the destroyer, the gateways that barred the approach to the capital shall fly open at the touch of fire, her defenders shall prove weak as women, and despite all efforts to repair the breaches the whole city shall sink beneath the flames. Her people may be numerous as the locust-swarms that encamp on the garden walls in the day of cold; but they shall vanish as completely as these same swarms when the sun shines out. And while the people are scattered over the mountains, the king and nobles shall sleep their last sleep, amid manifestations of triumphant joy from all who hear the tale of doom.

11. be hid: rather "faint away" (with change of one letter).—**13. the gates of thy land:** the mountain-passes where (like the Greeks at Thermopylæ) they might have made a heroic stand against the invading foe.—**14. go into:** rather (reading *bosi* for *bo'i*) tread, trample the clay (for bricks).—**lay hold of the brick-mould** (*mg.*): viz. to shape the bricks for their places in the wall.—**16f.** The text is both corrupt and filled out with glosses identifying the locust-swarms with the merchant-princes, nobles (?), and scribes (or marshals) of Nineveh; but the general sense is somewhat as above. On the camping and flight of locusts *cf.* Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, pp. 418f.—**18.** Read, "Ah! how do thy shepherds (leaders) slumber, thy nobles sleep (the sleep of death)!" The omitted phrase, "the king of Assyria," is an explanatory gloss to "thy shepherds."

HABAKKUK

By Professor A. R. GORDON

The Book of Habakkuk opens with a complaint regarding the oppressions of the wicked (1$^{2-4}$), and foretells the coming of the Chaldeans as ministers of Divine justice (1$^{5-11}$); then with startling abruptness the Chaldeans are denounced as the oppressors of the righteous (1$^{12-17}$), and, after renewed complaint to Yahweh, answered by the promise of a speedy end to the trouble (2$^{1-4}$), a series of Woes is hurled at their heads (2$^{5-20}$), the book closing with a splendid poetical description of Yahweh's march from Sinai to help His people (ch. 3).

Various efforts have been made to force these inharmonious elements into unity: the denial of the predictive character of 1$^{5-11}$ (Davidson, Stonehouse); the placing of these verses after 2^{4}, the oppressors being then identified with the Assyrians (Budde) or the Egyptians (G. A. Smith); and Duhm's remarkable *tour de force*, the alteration of Kasdim to Kittim (the Cyprians or Greeks), the prophecy being thus directed against Alexander the Great. Recognising the arbitrary nature of all such attempts, Wellhausen and other scholars regard 1$^{5-11}$ as a fragment of an older prophecy woven into the texture of Habakkuk, while Marti resolves the book into four separate congeries of texts. The present writer accepts the theory of an older prophecy; he is inclined, however, to extend this prophecy to cover the whole of 1$^{2-11}$, as well as the nucleus of the Woes in ch. 2 (the denunciation of avarice, cruelty, and drunkenness in general), and to find in its author a like-minded contemporary of Jeremiah (*c.* 608 B.C.). The genuine prophecy of Habakkuk is then most naturally assigned to the middle of the exile (560–550), an assumption borne out to a certain extent by the Hebrew tradition which associates Habakkuk with Daniel (*cf. Bel and the Dragon*, *vv.* 33ff.), as well as the Babylonian complexion of the name, which has been identified as that of a garden plant. The Prayer is an independent eschatological Psalm, excerpted from some late Jewish collection. (See p. 47.)

With Habakkuk we enter still more decisively the pathway of question and complaint already struck by Jeremiah. For this reason he has been called "the prophet as sceptic" (G. A. Smith). But, whatever doubts assail him, faith remains the dominant note of his prophecy. In the NT his great words (2^{4}) are cited as the bed-rock of Christian life; he is equally the father of Protestant freedom.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* For those on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies. (*a*) **Davidson** (CB); (*b*) Ward (ICC), **Stonehouse**; (*c*) Reinke, Happel, Peiser, **Duhm**. *Other Literature:* articles by Driver in HDB and Budde in EBi, also Budde, Exp. 1895, pp. 372ff.; Stevenson, Exp. 1902, pp. 380ff.; Peake, *Problem of Suffering in OT*, pp. 4–11, 151–171.

I. 1. Title.—On the "seeing" of an oracle, *cf.* Is. 2^{1}, etc.

I. 2–4. Complaint against Yahweh for His Tolerance of Wrong-doing.—In bitter remonstrance with Yahweh, the prophet asks how long he must cry "Violence!" and look on wretchedness and trouble, robbery, strife and contention, the failure of justice and the general paralysis of law, while Yahweh remains silent, indifferent, or powerless.

2. violence: probably the burden of the cry.—**3. iniquity . . . perverseness:** rather "wretchedness" or "misery" . . . "trouble."—**4. law:** moral "direction" or instruction from Yahweh.—**slacked:** lit. "benumbed," "paralysed."—**compass about:** *i.e.* circumvent in his plans, and impede in his rights.

I. 5–11. The Chaldeans as Ministers of Divine Justice.—In His answer Yahweh directly addresses the evil-doers, warning them that He is about to work a work in their days they would never have believed: He is raising against them the fierce and dreaded power of the Chaldeans, who are already carrying destruction to the ends of the earth, swooping from afar like eagles on the prey, gathering captives like the sand, scoffing at kings and princes, carrying fortresses with a rush, and making their strength a god.

5. For *baggoyim*, "among the nations," read *bog dim*, "ye evil-doers" (LXX).—**I work** (ptcp.): *i.e.* I am just about to work.—**6. bitter and hasty:** rather, "fierce and impetuous (vehement)."—**7.** Omitting *mishpaṭo* ("their judgment") as explanatory gloss, and reading *she'th*, "destruction," for *s'ethо*, "his dignity," translate "out of him (them) goeth destruction."—**8. evening wolves:** with their hunger whetted to its keenest edge.—**8b.** Render perhaps, "Onward their horsemen bound; they come from afar" (*cf.* Jer. 50^{11}).—**9.** The middle clause is untranslateable, and its sense wholly uncertain.—**10. heapeth up dust:** for a siege-mound.—**11.** With a slight change in the verb read, "Then he sweepeth along like the wind, and maketh his strength a god."—The prophet here seems to combine features drawn from current report of the Chaldeans with others suggested by the Scythian invaders of Josiah's reign (*cf.* Jeremiah's Scythian songs).

I. 12–17. Remonstrance over the Inhumanity of the Chaldeans.—The execution of Divine judgment raises fresh questions: Why should the Holy One, whose eyes are too pure to look on evil, appoint as minister of justice a people still more faithless and corrupt than its victim? And why should He make the nations like leaderless swarms of fish, to be swept into the net, and gathered up in the seine (drag-net), then emptied out and slaughtered, while the oppressor in brutal joy offers sacrifice to his nets?

12. Read probably, "Yahweh, my Holy God, that diest not?" (*cf. mg.*).—The second part of the verse should also perhaps be taken interrogatively, "Was it thou that didst ordain (appoint) him for judgment?"—For *tsur*, "Rock" (which reads very awkwardly), Duhm suggests *tsir*, messenger or minister:

thus, "and established him as a minister of chastisement."—**14. creeping things:** rather, "swarming things" (Gen. 120*).—**16.** The conqueror deifies his weapons of war (*cf.* Herodotus' account of Scythian sacrifices to the scimitar, iv. 59f.).—**17.** The word *tamid*, "continually," should probably go with the first clause, "Shall he be ever emptying his net, to slaughter nations unpitying?"

II. 1–4. The Oracle from Yahweh.—Unable to explain the mystery, the prophet stations himself on his watch-tower, and looks for the revelation of God's purpose. Soon the oracle comes, and he is asked to write it on tablets plainly, that one may read it running: "Behold, the soul of the wicked shall faint in him, but the righteous shall live by his faithfulness (his loyalty to God and His promises)."

1. I will stand, etc.: an imaginative representation of the prophet's mission as *tsopheh*, watchman (*cf.* Is. 21 6ff.).—For *'ashib*, "I shall return (answer)," read *yashib*, "He will return" (Syr.).—**2.** "That one may run while reading it": *i.e.* that one may read it at a glance.—**3.** Translate, "Though the vision may still wait (may have to wait a little longer) for the appointed time, yet it panteth (straineth) toward the end, and will fail not."—**4.** The first half of the verse is clearly corrupt. The most satisfying solution is to read *'ullephah*, faint, for *'uphphelah*, is puffed up, and to take "not upright" personally as equivalent to "the wicked man" (*cf.* translation above).

II. 5–20. Woes on the Evil-doer.—**5f.** Woe on the insatiable conqueror, who treacherously gathers to himself the heritage of all the nations, only to be the victim of their bitterest maledictions.

5. As Davidson acknowledges, all efforts to educe sense must fail with the present text. A few slight changes yield the following: "Ah! proud and treacherous man, haughty and never satisfied, who enlargeth his desire as Sheol, and like Death is never satisfied," etc.—**6. parable:** rather "taunt-song" (*cf.* Nu. 2127).—**taunting proverb:** lit. "a satire, even riddles" (dark sayings, with a sting in them, working out their curse upon their victims).

6–8. Woe to him that amasseth what is not his, and runneth up debts on pledge. Soon shall his victims awake and torment him, even all whom he has spoiled shall turn and spoil him.

6. "How long?" a marginal note which should be omitted.—**pledges:** rather debts on pledge.—**7.** The word *nosheckim* means both biters and payers of interest (lit. biters from the capital sum).

9–11. Woe to him that hath built his house on evil gains, and by cruel and oppressive means. Though he have set that house high as an eagle's nest, he has only brought shame upon it, besides forfeiting his own life. The very stones and beams will take up the cry of vengeance for the blood that is shed.

10. consulted: rather, "planned" (the result being regarded as the deliberate intention of the act).—**11. answer:** *i.e.* re-echo the cry for justice.—On the sympathy of inanimate objects with the victims of oppression *cf.* Job 3138.

12–14. Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and foundeth a city on crime. In such case shall not the peoples toil but for the fire (labour at what must soon be destroyed), and weary themselves for naught?

13f. The context is awkwardly broken by the citation from Is. 119, introduced by the formula, "Behold it is (these words are) from Yahweh of Hosts."

15–17. Woe to him that maketh his neighbour drunk, filling his land and cities with bloodshed and violence. To him also shall the cup pass round: he too shall be made drunk, and his glory turned into shame and ruin.

15. The text is somewhat confused. Read perhaps, "Woe . . . drink, from his glowing cup (or, the cup of his wrath) to utter drunkenness, that he may look on his shame." As applied to the Chaldeans, this must be understood of the violence that laid the nations prostrate, powerless, and disgraced (*cf.* Is. 5117, Jer. 2515ff.).—**16f.** The oppressor is to be paid back in his own coin: the devastation he has wrought in mountain, field, and city will overwhelm himself.—For *he'arel*, "be uncircumcised," read *hera'el*, "stagger" (LXX).—**cover:** overwhelm.—Read, "the havoc thou hast made of cattle shall dismay thee" (*cf.* *mg.*). Such ruthless destruction of forest, city, and cattle is amply attested by the Assyrian monuments.

18–20. Woe on the senseless idolator, who bids the wood and dumb stone rise and teach him. It may be finely overlaid with gold and silver, but there is no breath in it. As against this vain show, Yahweh dwells in His holy Temple, claiming the reverent adoration of all the earth. Him alone let men worship and serve.

18. the teacher of lies: rather, "the lying oracle" (in reference to the image itself).—**the maker of his work:** probably just "its maker" (*yotsero*).—**20. silence:** the reverential hush that befits the near presence of the Divine.

III. The Prayer of Habakkuk.—**1. Shigionoth:** probably plural of *shiggaion* (Ps. 71, p. 373). But LXX reads *n'ginoth*, "on the stringed instruments" (*cf.* Ps. 41, 61, etc.).

2. The poet has both heard of and seen Yahweh's doings in days gone by, and prays Him anew to reveal His saving power to His people.

For *yarethi*, "I was afraid," read *ra'ithi*, "I have seen" (LXX), to be taken with the following words: thus, "I have seen Thy work, O Lord."—**in the midst of the years:** *i.e.* in the present era (without waiting for the final judgment).—Read probably, "make Thyself known" (LXX Syr.).

III. 3–16. In answer to his prayer, Yahweh comes from Sinai, riding on His victorious chariots, surrounded by glory and splendour, His bow uncovered and His quiver filled with shafts, making the mountains to sink low and the earth itself to quake, the floods to roar, and the sun and moon to forget their shining, piercing the head of the enemy, while He brings salvation to His people. So awful is the sight that the poet's whole frame trembles, his lips quiver, and his footsteps shake beneath him; he cannot restrain his sympathies even for the enemy that invades his fatherland.

In the original the tenses vary between imperfect and descriptive perfect (the future being conceived as already present in imagination). It is better, therefore, to render throughout by the graphic present.

3. Teman: on the NW. of Edom.—**mount Paran:** between Sinai and Kadesh-Barnea.—**praise:** rather, that which calls forth praise, *i.e.* God's splendour or majesty.—**4.** Read probably, "Like fire is the brightness beneath him."—**rays:** lit. "horns" (*cf.* Ex. 3429).—Read "at His side" (*mg.*).—**hiding:** or, veil.—**5.** Read, "Before Him marcheth Pestilence; at His feet (behind Him) stalketh Plague (or Fever)."—**6.** With one or two slight changes (partly suggested by LXX) read, "He standeth, and shaketh the earth; He looketh, and maketh the hills to skip. The ancient mountains are shattered, the eternal hills sink down."

The last clause, "Even the eternal paths before Him," is no doubt an expansion.—**7.** Read, "Afraid are the tents of Cushan."—**Cushan:** Jg. 38*, *cf.* Nu. 121*.—**8.** The first two clauses are variants.—Read, "Upon Thy victorious chariots," viz. the storm-clouds.—**9.** For the meaningless clause, "The oaths," etc., read (with a group of LXX manuscripts) "Thy quiver is filled with shafts."—For "with rivers" read "into rivers."—**10.** For "The tempest," etc., read "The clouds pour down waters" (*cf.* Ps. 77 17).—The last clause should, no doubt, be taken with 11, and the couplet made to run as follows: "The sun forgetteth his rising, The moon standeth still in her dwelling-place" (LXX group).—**11.** An alternative rendering is, "Thine arrows go forth as a flash, Thy glittering spear is as lightning."—**13. thine anointed:** here most probably the people, treated as a personified unity.—The second half of the verse is somewhat overladen and corrupt. Read probably, "Thou dost shatter the house of the wicked, Thou dost lay bare the foundation to the rock."—**14.** With a few changes (noted in Kittel's text) we may translate the first couplet as follows: "With thy shafts thou dost pierce his head, Like chaff his warriors are scattered." The rest of the verse is still more corrupt, and is probably interpolated. Duhm emends the text to read, "Tyrants hide a net, to devour the poor in ambush."—**15.** Probably to be read before 8.—**16. belly:** the bodily frame.—**Rottenness:** decay or mouldering (*cf.* Ps. 323).—**I trembled,** etc.: rather, "my footsteps tremble beneath me" (LXX).—With a slight change in the text, translate the rest of the verse, "I sigh for the day (time) of trouble that doth come on the people that invadeth me (in troops)."

III. 17–19. A liturgical addition, expressing perfect trust in Yahweh even amid loss and grief (*cf.* Jl. 117–20).

17. For *tiphrah*, "blossom," read probably *tiphreh*, "bear fruit" (LXX).—**19.** From Ps. 1832f.—On the musical notes, see p. 373.

ZEPHANIAH

By Professor A. R. GORDON

The burden of Zephaniah's prophecy is the near approach of the Day of Yahweh, which is to pass like a storm over Judah and Philistia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Assyria, leaving all these lands naked and desolate. The immediate occasion is the oncoming of the Scythian hordes (*c.* 627 B.C.) which likewise aroused the prophetic consciousness of Jeremiah (see pp. 46, 60). This theme is sustained through the first two chapters, which are on all hands accepted as genuine, save for the interpolated section on Moab and Ammon (2$_{8-11}$), with its evident reflection of exilic feelings and conditions. In 3 the accent changes, and we pass from grave denunciation of the sin of Jerusalem and its rulers (1–7) through lurid pictures of judgment (8–13) to dazzling visions of restoration and abiding renown for the people of Yahweh (14–20). The first of these sections is charged with the common note of prophecy; more precise indications of authorship are wanting. The tenor of 8–13 points strongly to post-exilic origin, though their authenticity is still maintained by a large consensus of critical opinion (Nowack, Davidson, Driver, G. A. Smith, etc.). The visions which fill the rest of the chapter (14–20) are universally admitted to be late.

Zephaniah means "he whom Yahweh hath hidden." The prophet's genealogy is traced back to Hezekiah, no doubt the king of that name. His royal connexion is suggested also by his intimate acquaintance with court circles, and the general concentration of his interest on Jerusalem. Nowhere else have we so vivid an impression of the social and religious condition of Jerusalem prior to the Deuteronomic Reformation. In the moral earnestness of his spirit Zephaniah is most akin to Amos and Isaiah, whose influence is transparent throughout the book. He lacks, however, their breadth of outlook and literary interest. The prophecies of Zephaniah are illumined by no soaring vision, no real gift of imagination, no play of tenderness or human sympathy. The only gleams of loveliness belong to the later additions, the rest of the book being heavily tinged with the gloom and darkness of the coming Day. In style and thought alike Zephaniah is characteristically the prophet of doom, the herald of the Last Judgment. With fine discernment mediæval art portrayed him as the man with the lantern of the Lord, searching out sinners for destruction.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* For those on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies. (*a*) **Davidson** (CB); (*b*) **J. M. P. Smith** (ICC); (*c*) Reinke, Lippl. *Other Literature:* articles by Selbie in HDB and Driver in EBi; Gressmann, *Ursprung der Isr.-jüd. Eschatologie*, pp. 141ff.

I. 1. Title.—The most extended of prophetic genealogies, probably because Zephaniah was of royal descent (*cf.* Intro.).

I. 2–18. The Doom of Judah and Jerusalem.—**2–6.** Riding as it were on the crest of a tidal wave of destruction, which sweeps off man and beast from the face of the ground, Yahweh stretches His hand against Judah and Jerusalem, the centre of the world's offence, to cut off the priests and worshippers of Baal, together with all such as prostrate themselves before the host of heaven, mingle the worship of Yahweh with that of Molech, or otherwise prove traitor to the God of their fathers, withdrawing from His allegiance and ceasing to inquire after Him.

2. ground: the cultivated, inhabited, civilised world.—**3.** For "the stumbling-blocks with" (a rendering as dubious as it is meaningless) read the corresponding verb, "I will bring down."—**4. the remnant of Baal:** *i.e.* the last vestige of Baalism.—**Chemarim:** a common Semitic word for priests, used in the OT only as a term of contempt for idolatrous priests (*cf.* 2 K. 23$_5$, Hos. 10$_5$). "With the priests" is probably an explanatory gloss.—**5.** The worship of the heavenly bodies, so prominent a feature of Assyrian religion, began to affect Judah in the reign of Ahaz, and rose to its height under Manasseh and Amon (2 K. 21$_{3ff.}$). The influence of the barbarous cult of Malcam—the Molech or Milk of Phœnician worship—was equally prevalent during this period of national apostasy (2 K. 23$_{10}$, Jer. 7$_{31}$).—**6.** In addition to such outward profanation of Yahweh's name there flourished a species of practical infidelity, which deliberately thrust away the thought of Yahweh as Ruler of heart and conscience (*cf.* Ps. 14$_{1ff.}$).

7–13. With reverential silence the people of Jerusalem are bidden await the coming of the great Day of Yahweh's sacrifice, to which He has already invited and consecrated His guests, when He will offer up as victims the princes of the royal house, who have set their people so flagrant an example of violence and fraud, with all who have defiled themselves by foreign customs and superstitions, and the morally indifferent who are settled on their lees and say in their hearts, "Yahweh doth neither good nor evil." No one shall escape the judgment of that Day; for Yahweh will search Jerusalem with a lamp, and will track the sinners to their remotest hiding-places. And so awful will be the ruin and desolation of the Day that Jerusalem will resound from north to south with the crash of falling houses and the cries of the doomed and panic-stricken.

7. On the silence that accompanied Yahweh's approach to the sacrificial table *cf.* Hab. 2$_{20}$.—The sacrifice is of Yahweh's own people, the guests being the heathen nations, specifically the Scythians, the instruments of the Divine wrath.—**8.** For "sons" read probably "house" (LXX), Josiah's sons being still mere boys.—Clothing with foreign apparel was regarded as treason against Yahweh Himself, dress having a real religious significance.—**9.** Leaping over the threshold was a world-wide superstitious practice,

due to fear of the spirits of the threshold (Ex. 12$_{22}$*, 1 S. 5$_5$).—**10f.** The Fish-gate, on the north (Neh. 3$_3$, 12$_{39}$), probably the present Damascus Gate; the Mishneh (*mg.*), or New Town, the northern suburb of Jerusalem (2 K. 22$_{14}$), just inside the Wall of Manasseh; the Hills, or Heights, a residential quarter of the city, evidently towards the north, though its exact situation is unknown; the Maktesh, or Mortar, probably the trough of the Tyropœon Valley, the chief resort of "the merchant people" (*mg.*), and centre of trade and industry (*cf.* G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 200ff.).—**12. lamps** (*mg.*), or "a lamp" (LXX): such as the watchman employed to search the city, or the housewife to look for lost coins (Lk. 15$_8$).—**settled**, thickened (*mg.*), or coagulated, **on their lees**: not passed from vessel to vessel to be strained and purified (p. 111, *cf.* Jer. 48$_{11}$ff.).

14–18. This great Day of Yahweh is near at hand, near and speeding fast, a Day of bitterness and wrath, of stress and straitness, a Day of waste and desolation, murk, and gloom, a Day of cloud and thunder, trumpet, and alarum, when Yahweh will press hard upon His people, and will pour out their blood like dust and their flesh like dung, and no silver or gold shall be able to deliver them from the flame of His jealousy.

14. On the prophetic conception of "the Day of Yahweh" *cf.* Am. 5$_{18}$, Is. 25–22.—For *qol*, "voice," read *qarob*, "near," and for *tsoreah sham gibbor*, "crieth there the warrior," probably *has miggibbor*: thus, "Near is Yahweh's bitter day, speeding faster than a warrior."—**15ff.** From the terrible description of the Day of Yahweh is drawn the famous mediaeval *Dies iræ, dies illa*.

II. Doom on Philistia [Moab and Ammon], Ethiopia, and Assyria.—1–7. Having spent its rage on Judah, the storm of Divine judgment sweeps south by the Philistian sea-board, uprooting cities and their inhabitants, driving them off like chaff, and leaving the once fertile plain a pasturage for shepherds and folds for flocks.

1. The meaning of the first words is highly uncertain. An attractive suggestion yields, "Get you shame, yea, be abashed, O nation unabashed," the reference being to the Philistines, rather than Judah, as many scholars maintain.—**2.** The text here is both corrupt and overladen. The original should perhaps be reduced to read, "Ere ye become fine dust, as chaff which passeth away."—**3.** A late interpolation, offering escape for the meek and humble (of Judah).—**4.** "As for Ashdod—by noon-day (after but a morning's siege) they shall rout her."—**5. Cherethites**: a parallel designation of the Philistines, in allusion to their Cretan origin (p. 56, 1 S. 30$_{14}$*, Ezek. 25$_{16}$).—**6.** Here also the text is overladen. Read simply, "And thou shalt become pastures for shepherds and folds for flocks."—**7.** The first and last clauses are clearly post-exilic additions (after the manner of 3), turning the prophecy into a glorification of "the remnant of Judah." The original may have read as follows: "By the sea-shore shall they feed; in the houses of Ashkelon at even shall they lay them down."

8–10. Into the natural context of the passage a later writer has woven a prophecy of vengeance on Moab and Ammon for their revilings and insults heaped upon Judah (on the day of Jerusalem's downfall). For this their land shall become waste as Sodom and Gomorrah, a perpetual desolation, overrun by nettles and saltpits, while the remnant of Judah shall plunder them and hold them in bondage.

9. a possession: an obscure word, probably meaning "inherited by."—The desolation of Sodom and Gomorrah was proverbial (*cf.* Is. 1$_9$).

11. A still later addition, universalising the judgment, but following it up with a prophecy of Yahweh's world-wide reign.

12. Probably the original sequel to the oracle of doom (1–7). The natural path of the storm would be through Egypt to Ethiopia; but the doom on Egypt is absent, while even that on Ethiopia is suspiciously brief. The prophecy may have been curtailed in process of redaction.

13–15. While one arm of the devastating flood has passed through Palestine to Egypt and Ethiopia, another sweeps north to Assyria, overwhelming the proud capital Nineveh, making her a desolation, the haunt of lonely herds and creatures of the waste.

14. For "beasts of the nations" read "beasts of the field" (LXX).—For *qol*, "voice," read *kos*, the little owl that haunted ruins (*cf.* Ps. 102$_6$), and for *horeb*, "drought" (*mg.*), read *'oreb*, "the raven" (LXX): thus, "The owl shall hoot in the window, the raven at the doorstep" (*cf.* Is. 34$_{11}$). The closing phrase is a mere dittograph to the opening words of 15.—On the desolation of Nineveh *cf.* Nah. 2$_{11}$ff.

III. 1–7. The Sin of Jerusalem contrasted with the Righteousness of Yahweh.—From scenes of doom and desolation we are now led back in thought to the sins that drew down Yahweh's hand in wrath. Despite His constant goodness and loving-kindness Jerusalem has shown herself defiant and rebellious, deep-stained with guilt, and all the while heedless of instruction and correction, her rulers rapacious as evening wolves, her prophets boastful and faithless, giving forth their own imaginings as the very word of God, and her priests indifferent alike to the claims of holiness and the light of revelation from above. While crimes like these pollute her, she cannot escape the judgment of Yahweh; for He is righteous, and morning by morning bringeth forth justice as unfailingly as the light. The nations He has already destroyed and left without inhabitant are abiding witnesses to the righteousness of Yahweh. He hoped that His own people would read the lesson, and abide in His fear; but they have wantonly and deliberately made all their doings corrupt, thus not only cutting off all chance of salvation, but even inviting destruction.

2. evening wolves: *cf.* Hab. 1$_8$.—**4. light**: rather "unrestrained, reckless" (in speech), "braggarts" (G. A. Smith).—**treacherous**: *i.e.* faithless to the God whose word they professed to interpret.—For "the sanctuary" read "that which is holy" (*cf.* Ezek. 22$_{26}$). The priests have proved false to their two main duties: they have blurred the distinction between the holy and the common, and have perverted the "direction" (teaching or revelation) received from Yahweh, twisting it to suit the wishes of their wealthy patrons.—**5.** For *la'or*, "to the light," we should perhaps read *ka'or*, "like the light" (*cf.* Hos. 6$_5$), making God's judgment rather than Himself the subject of "faileth not."—**7. I said**: *i.e.* "I thought."—For *me'onah*, "her dwelling," read *me'eneyha*, "from her eyes" (LXX, Syr.): thus, "And no more from her eyes (sight) shall be cut off aught that I have laid upon her (any commandment I have charged her with)."

III. 8–20. The Deliverance of Jerusalem, and Renown of Redeemed Israel.—8, 11–13. Let Yahweh's faithful people wait patiently till the day when He shall stand as a witness against the nations that oppress them. For it is His purpose to assemble them together for judgment, to pour out the fire of His jealousy upon them, and out of the depths of shame

to bring the remnant of Israel to honour and glory, and to abiding righteousness and peace. For on the day of judgment Yahweh will remove from their midst all the proud and haughty ones that caused their dishonour, leaving a people humble and poor, trusting only in the name of Yahweh.

8. For *lᵉ'ad*, "to the prey," read *lᵉ'ed*, "for a witness" (LXX, Syr.). On the conception of Yahweh as witness *cf.* Mi. 1₂, Mal. 3₅.—**12.** "A people humble and poor": in the later literature a technical phrase for the pious in Israel.—**13.** An idyllic picture of pastoral peace and security (*cf.* Ezek. 34₂₅ff.).

9f. An interpolation in which the redemption of Israel is extended to all the nations (*cf.* Is. 19₁₈ff., Zech. 14₁₆ff.).

9. turn: *i.e.* give in exchange for their present idolatrous speech.—**a pure lip** (*mg.*): one that shall take upon it only the name of Yahweh.—**with one shoulder** (*mg.*): like oxen working harmoniously together under the common yoke.—**10.** The text here is hopelessly corrupt. From a mass of conjectural emendations we may select Halévy's as the simplest and most satisfactory, "From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia the princes of the daughter of Put shall bring mine offering" (bring me the offering worthy of my sovereignty).

14–20. Yahweh having now assumed the kingdom, Jerusalem is bidden sing aloud for joy; for the King's heart is full of joy in His city, and He will constantly renew His love for her. All shame and reproach will He remove from her midst, bringing together her halt and outcast flock, and making her an object of praise and renown through all the earth.

15. For *mishpaṭayik*, "thy judgments," read *mᵉshopheṭayik*, "thine adversaries" (in the judgment-court). In the parallel clause read the plural, "thine enemies" (LXX, etc.).—**17.** For *yaḥarish*, "He will be silent" (*mg.*), read probably *yᵉḥaddesh*, "He will renew."—**18.** The opening words should be attached to 17, and amended to read, "as on the day of festival" (LXX). The rest of the verse may have originally run as follows, "I will remove from thee (all) shame, and will lift (the burden of) reproach from off thee" (*cf.* Kittel's note).—**19.** The feminine collectives "halt" and "outcast" refer to the Dispersion as a whole.

HAGGAI

By Professor R. H. KENNETT

The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah both from their precise dating and their clear references to existing circumstances are of unique value for a study of the post-exilic history of Israel. It is unlikely, at least in the case of Haggai, that they were committed to writing by the prophets themselves, and it is evident that they have not come down to us intact, while further the text has suffered in transmission; nevertheless the sense is almost always clear. In some cases the ancient VSS afford valuable help for the restoration of the text, while in other cases emendations, in themselves conjectural, are practically certain from the context.

Although in some instances prophecies may have been written down by their authors, there is no reason for supposing that such a practice was universal. Jeremiah had preached for some score of years before his words were committed to writing. The teaching of the prophets generally has been preserved in precisely the same way as the teaching of our Lord, viz. through the memory of their disciples. Prophecies composed in poetry might under such circumstances be reproduced nearly in their original form; otherwise, although certain striking phrases might be remembered, the *ipsissima verba* of a whole sermon could not be preserved. It is therefore futile to discuss the literary style of Haggai. The force of his preaching must be estimated by its results.

Of Haggai's personal history we know nothing. His name, which appears to be another form of Haggi (Gen. 46^{16}, Nu. 26^{15}, *cf.* Haggith, 2 S. 3^{4}, 1 K. 1^{5,11}, 2^{13}, 1 Ch. 3^{2}), probably denoted originally one born at one of the great feasts, but no inference can be drawn from the name as to the circumstances of the prophet's birth. Of his parentage nothing is known, nor whether he had spent all his life in Palestine or had returned with Zerubbabel from Babylonia. It is indeed remarkable that neither Haggai nor Zechariah ever mentions a return from exile as having taken place, while both prophets evidently regard Persia not as the instrument of Israel's deliverance (as in Is. 44^{28}f.) but as itself the oppressing power. Their language indeed is entirely explicable if those only had returned who formed Zerubbabel's retinue, and it affords no confirmation of 2 Ch. 36^{22}f., Ezr. 1. The idea that there was a return in the first year of Cyrus is not improbably a mere inference from Is. 44f. The cylinder inscription of Cyrus does not prove that he permitted all the exiled communities to return to their own lands; and, further, 1 Esd. 4 represents Zerubbabel as appointed governor of Judah, not by Cyrus but by Darius. It is significant that the rebuilding of the Temple was not begun till the reign of the latter; and the almost simultaneous activity of Haggai and Zechariah is most naturally accounted for by the supposition that some recent political event, such as the appointment of a Jewish governor, had kindled their enthusiasm. On the questions raised in this and the following paragraphs, see pp. 77f.

Darius [1] (p. 61) began his reign 521 B.C., and, assuming some interval between his accession and the appointment of Zerubbabel, we may conclude that the latter would not reach Jerusalem till the spring or summer of 520.[2] He was doubtless allowed a retinue of Jews, whom he would naturally select from those families which had been most closely connected in the past with the Jewish royal family, including almost certainly some of priestly descent.

According to 2 K. 25^{12}, which is written from the aristocratic standpoint of the Babylonian Jews, the population remaining in Judah and Jerusalem in 586 consisted only of the poorest of the peasantry. This statement, however, ignores the refugees who in a short time returned to their homes (Jer. 40^{12}), as well as the remnants of the Jewish forces who still carried on the guerilla warfare. The land was certainly not depopulated, otherwise Gedaliah would not have been appointed governor (Jer. 40^{5}), and even if allowance be made for the migration to Egypt in consequence of his murder (Jer. 41–43), a considerable number of Jews remained behind. From the absence of warnings against idolatry it may be concluded that the worshippers of Yahweh who remained in the country were sufficiently numerous at all events to maintain their own religion, and perhaps even to impose it upon recent settlers such as those Edomites who had come northwards.

Ezr. 3 implies that until the return of the exiles the altar had been in ruins, and that no sacrifices had been offered since 586; but apart from the intrinsic improbability of this, it is definitely stated (Jer. 41^{5}) that offerings were brought to the Temple even after the destruction of the actual building, and it may well be doubted whether the great altar of burnt offering had ever been destroyed. Moreover, it is scarcely conceivable that the community should have existed without a priesthood, since, apart from sacrifice, the priests were needed to give decisions on many points of vital importance. Who the priests were who succeeded the deported sons of Zadok we are nowhere told; but having regard to Josiah's intention to admit to the ministrations of the Temple the priests from other sanctuaries (2 K. 23^{9}) as well as the explicit law of Dt. 18^{6}, we may conclude that the priests who ministered at Jerusalem from 586 to the appointment of

[1] That this was Darius I, king of Persia (521–485), is made certain by the mention of 70 years (Zech. 1^{12}, *cf.* Jer. 29^{10}). This is, of course, a round number, the actual length of time between the destruction of the Temple in 586 and Zechariah's prophecy in Feb. 519 being according to Jewish reckoning, 68 years.

[2] The Jewish year in post-exilic times began in the spring (see Ex. 12), the first month being roughly equivalent to April. Although the reckoning by lunar months made the beginning of the year somewhat variable, we may, for convenience' sake, equate these months with our own. (See p. 118.)

Zerubbabel were men from other sanctuaries, of which Bethel was probably the chief.[1]

Zerubbabel's appointment removed whatever political obstacles had hitherto prevented the restoration of the Temple, and Haggai exhorted his countrymen no longer to tolerate its ruinous condition. It is evident from his prophecies that the principle of a single central sanctuary, originally laid down by Josiah, had been generally accepted, and that the various idolatrous and superstitious practices which Jeremiah had combated to the end of his life were no longer a menace to the religion of Israel. Haggai does not contemplate the possibility of any other sanctuary, nor does he denounce any of the heathen practices which the pre-exilic prophets had so earnestly resisted.

Taking advantage of the new moon festival, approximately Sep. 1, 520, Haggai preached a sermon urging the rebuilding of the Temple. So great was his eloquence that work was begun almost immediately, and by Oct. 21 sufficient progress had been made in clearing away ruins, etc., to allow of a formal laying of the foundation stone (see below). On that occasion Haggai preached another sermon of encouragement, foretelling the collapse of the Persian empire and the consequent enrichment of Judah. Two months later, Dec. 24, perhaps owing to some signs of lessening enthusiasm for the work, he made another urgent appeal to complete the rebuilding of the Temple, reiterating the hope of Persia's downfall, and declaring that in Zerubbabel the woe pronounced by Jeremiah (22 24) on Jehoiachin would be reversed. At this date Haggai evidently hoped that Zerubbabel would be king of Judah.

With this prophecy Haggai disappears from our notice. According to Ezr. 6 15, the Temple was finished on March 3, 515, after which Zerubbabel is not again mentioned. It is not improbable that his ill-advised attempt to fortify Jerusalem (Zech. 2 1–5, Ezr. 5 3) led to his recall or even to his execution, and if so those who were regarded as his partisans would suffer a like fate. There is no ground for the identification of Haggai with the prophet commonly known as Malachi, though the editor who wrote Hag. 1 13 seems to have held this belief.

Haggai breathes a religious atmosphere entirely different from that of the pre-exilic prophets. Idolatry and heathenish practices are no longer the chief sins, but rather a tendency to secularism. This was perhaps an inevitable result of the limitation of sacrifice to one altar; for those who were suddenly forbidden to observe the religious practices which they had hitherto regarded as essential would in many cases find it difficult to discriminate between what was forbidden and what was allowed or even enjoined. Thus, whereas the great prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries repudiated all sacrifice, the compromising school of reformers represented by Josiah and his advisers found it necessary to insist on attendance at the great religious feasts (Ex. 23 14–17, 34 23f., Dt. 16 16), while Ezekiel's denunciation of eating with the blood (33 25) suggests that the result of the prohibition of the local sanctuaries had been that domestic animals were sometimes slain with no ritual at all, not even the draining away of the blood. In his zeal for the restoration of ritual worship, Haggai resembles Ezekiel, though he shows no signs of being directly influenced by him. It must not be overlooked that Ezekiel's own religious ideas had to a great extent been formed in Palestine before he was taken into exile. Although Haggai's zeal for sacrifice seems retrograde in comparison with the teaching of the pre-exilic prophets, he laid a foundation for the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, and thus had a share in the preparation of Israel to be a light to lighten the Gentiles.

[1] For a further discussion of this point see *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 100ff.

Literature.—For literature on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies. *Commentaries:* (*a*) Dods, **Barnes** (CB); (*b*) **Mitchell** (ICC); (*c*) Reinke, André. *Other Literature:* G. A. Cooke (HDB); Robertson Smith (EB[9]); Grieve (EB[11]); Robertson Smith and Cheyne (EBi); Ed. Meyer, *Entstehung des Judentums*; Hunter, *After the Exile*, vol. i.

I. 1–11. The Gist of Haggai's Sermon on Sep. 1, 520 B.C.—1 and similar verses are the work of the editor, probably one of Haggai's disciples who first wrote down an account of the prophet's teaching. After "by Haggai the prophet" the LXX inserts "saying, Say." But though this reading is probably correct, since the address in 3ff. is to the people rather than to Zerubbabel and Joshua, the whole of 1 after "by Haggai the prophet" is a later editorial addition from 2 1f., the introductory clause being originally identical in form with 2 1, 10.

Shealtiel, Zerubbabel's father, was, according to 1 Ch. 3 17, one of the sons of Jehoiachin. Zerubbabel's office seems to be the same as that to which Gedaliah had been appointed (Jer. 40 5–7, 11), and which in the reign of Cyrus had been held by Sheshbazzar (Ezr. 1 8–11). The use of the title *pehāh* in the case of Zerubbabel and of *nāsî* in the case of Sheshbazzar probably does not imply any difference in the status or authority of the two men. Zerubbabel would have no jurisdiction over Samaria.

The title here given to Joshua "the high priest" or, more literally, "the great priest," though applied to Jehoiada (2 K. 12 10) was probably not in use before the age of Josiah, Hilkiah being termed simply "the priest" (2 K. 22 14, 23 24; but *cf.* 22 4, 8, 23 4). According to the late genealogy in 1 Ch. 6 13–15 Jehozadak, Joshua's father, was the son of Seraiah and had been carried into exile by Nebuchadnezzar. This statement, however, may be a mere inference by the Chronicler who combined the statement of 2 K. 25 18 (Jer. 52 24) and the description of Joshua in Hag., and argued that since, according to his view, there were no sacrifices at Jerusalem between 586 and the appointment of Zerubbabel, Joshua must have returned with the latter, and therefore his father, Jehozadak, must have been carried into captivity.

2. Read *mg.*—3. is a superfluous editorial addition. 4. A ceiled house was one lined with timber, ordinary houses being left as rough inside as outside. "This house" means the whole Temple area, as is evident from 1 4, 23–9. — 5. **Consider your ways:** means "take notice of your experiences." In 5 Haggai exhorts the people to reflect on their past experiences (described in 6) and in 7 on what will be the experiences of the future, viz. the greater prosperity which will result from the building of the Temple. In the past, hopes have always been disappointed, and the Lord has "blown upon," *i.e.* bewitched the produce of the land.—7f. should be placed after 11.

I. 12–15. The Effect of Haggai's Eloquence.—Work was actually begun at the Temple twenty-three days after the first appeal. The phrase "the remnant" (apparently editorial), probably has the same sense as in Jer. 24 8, 40 11, 15, 41 10, 16, 42 2, 15, 19, etc., and denotes those who have not been carried away into exile.

II. 1–9. Haggai's Sermon on October 21.—1f. is mainly editorial. The work begun on Sep. 24 had consisted mainly of preparation, the actual rebuilding

is now begun. 3 has reference to the simplicity of the design which was necessitated by the builders' poverty. Ezr. 312f. is probably a picturesque inference from this passage. Ezr. 16–11, 68ff. are at variance with the natural meaning of Haggai's words. 5*a* seems to be a mutilated and misplaced fragment. Read, "for I am with you, and my spirit abideth among you." "The heavens and the earth, the sea and the dry land" is an idiomatic way of saying "the whole world," which to Haggai meant the vast Persian empire. The "shaking" refers to the revolts which broke out in various parts of the empire early in the reign of Darius, which Haggai expected to end in the downfall of Persia and the consequent freedom and enrichment of the Jews. Neither he nor Zechariah shows the slightest goodwill or gratitude towards Persia. The terms "desirable things" and "glory" denote national riches. After 9 the LXX has a curious addition, probably not original, which, it is supposed, corresponds to a Heb. clause meaning "and quietness of soul to restore all the foundation, to raise up the Temple." Its author seems rightly to have understood the address on Oct. 21 as having been delivered at the laying of the foundation stone. The date in 18 is probably a mistaken repetition from 10 and should be omitted.

II. 10–19. Haggai's Sermon on Dec. 24.—Haggai bases his exhortation on a pronouncement of the priests concerning the infecting power of holiness and uncleanness respectively. In the question put to the priests, "holiness" has its primitive sense of a physical state (*i.e.* taboo); but in the argument which Haggai bases on their answer a more spiritual sense of the word is intended. "The law" (11) is a mistranslation; render "Ask now the priests concerning *torah*." *Torah* (p. 121, Dt. 15*, Pr. 31*) means strictly instruction as to right and wrong, and though with the definite article it may mean *the* instruction *par excellence*, viz. the Law, it never loses its more general meaning. The priests are here asked for an opinion on a hitherto undecided point. Their answer brings out clearly a principle which Haggai develops, viz. whereas indirect contact with holiness does not make holy, direct contact with uncleanness does make unclean; and therefore since the nation has so little contact with holiness, and so much with uncleanness, the whole nation is unclean and the sacrifices which are offered are similarly infected. [Or the point may be that uncleanness has an intenser energy for infection than holiness; it can operate to two removes, holiness only to one. Uncleanness may be primary in persons or things, a dead body is unclean in itself; holiness can only be secondary, since the sole source of holiness is God. See pp. 202f.—A. S. P.] But when the Temple is rebuilt—it being implied that the Temple worship will be a greater factor in the life of the community than formerly—the sanctifying influence will outweigh the defiling, and with increased holiness will come an increase in welfare. The translation of 15, 18 is misleading, since the Heb. phrase "from this day and upward" always means "from this day forward," as indeed it is rendered in 1 S. 1613, 3025. The LXX rendering of the Heb. text unjustifiably translated "through all that time" is "who were ye?" We should, however, expect some such sense as "how did ye fare?" 18 (except "Consider, I pray you"), should probably be omitted as an insertion founded on an incorrect inference from 10, 15. 17 is a quotation or reminiscence of Am. 49, probably not by Haggai himself. In 19 a question is out of place, a statement of fact being required; read (inserting one letter), "Lo, the seed is still in the barn." 15–19 may be paraphrased as follows: "Take notice from this day forward, and observe how different your experiences in the future will be from those in the past. Before stone was laid on stone in the Temple (*i.e.* the Temple proper as distinct from the whole sanctuary called 'the house') you experienced disappointment; but henceforth all will be changed. At this time, midwinter, the agricultural year is over, and agricultural operations are at a standstill. The seed to be sown is not yet taken out of the barn, and no yield of any sort is in sight. The increase in the fertility of the land which may be expected at the next ingathering will therefore have begun after the restoration of the Temple is taken in hand, and must be regarded as its direct outcome."

II. 20–23. A Reiteration and, incidentally, an Explanation of the Prophecy of Oct. 21.—20, 21a is an editorial addition. "The throne of kingdoms" (*i.e.* Persia) will be destroyed by internal strife, with the result that Judah will be freed, and in Zerubbabel will be seen a reversal of the woes pronounced upon his grandfather, Jehoiachin (Jer. 2224). Haggai evidently regards Zerubbabel as destined to be king.

ZECHARIAH

By Professor R. H. KENNETT

Of Zechariah, as of his contemporary, Haggai, nothing is known apart from the OT. According to 1 1 he began to prophesy in Nov. 520 B.C., *i.e.* very shortly after Haggai's second great address. But 1 2–6 is probably not by Zechariah (see below), and the next earliest prophecy is dated Feb. 24, 519. The latest date given (7 1) is Dec. 4, 518.

The book falls into two main divisions, of which the first (1–8) belongs to the age of Zerubbabel: the second (9–14), which will be considered separately, has no reference to this period, and is commonly allowed to be no part of the original book.

Literature.—For literature on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies. *Commentaries:* (*a*) Blayney, **Barnes** (CB), Dods, C. H. H. Wright; (*b*) **Mitchell** (ICC); (*c*) Baumgarten, Flügge. *Other Literature:* Ortenberg, *Die Bestandteile des Buches Sacharja;* Staerk, *Untersuchungen;* Rubinkam, *The Second Part of the Book of Zechariah;* Kuiper, *Zacharia ix.–xiv.;* Cheyne (JQR, 1888); Wellhausen (EBi); Nowack (HDB); Marti, *Der Prophet Zacharja, Die Zweifel an der prophetischen Sendung Sacharjas* (in *Studien Julius Wellhausen gewidmet*).

I.–VIII.

Unlike Haggai, Zechariah would appear to have written his own prophecies, but the original document, which has not come down to us quite complete, has been edited with sundry introductory notes and contains, apparently, some interpolations. Of the latter, 1 2–6 is an instance. There is here nothing peculiarly characteristic of Zechariah, though in so short a book arguments from style must not be pressed. It is, however, strange that when the restoration of the Temple was going on apace, Zechariah, with his hopeful temperament, should preach a sermon implying the continued impenitence of the people. Probably a later exhortation has been substituted for the original opening, deemed for some reason unsuitable. "The former prophets" implies a contrast with the later prophets, Jeremiah being assigned to another era. While the section would suit better the situation at the beginning of Haggai's ministry, it is not quite in his style, and it suggests sins more serious than the apathy which he attacks. The author of 1 2–6 seems to have expanded 7f.

The nature of Zechariah's activity is clear from his own words. The first utterance which can be certainly ascribed to him (1 7–17) is dated Feb. 24, 519 B.C. At this date the revolts which had broken out against Darius in various parts of the Persian empire were being rapidly quelled, and the disappointment of the hopes raised by Haggai in the previous Oct. (Hag. 2 6f.) had caused depression in Judah. Zechariah, however, did not lose courage, predicting the overthrow of the nations and the completion of Zion's restoration. But he protested against the fatuity of Zerubbabel's advisers, who, untaught by the lesson of the exile, wished not only to restore but to fortify Jerusalem, a project which aroused Samaritan jealousy and caused Persian intervention.

The prophecies of Zechariah are of supreme importance through the light which they throw on the internal history of Judah. For some reason not definitely stated, an attempt was made to deprive Joshua of the High-priesthood. Joshua apparently belonged to the community which had remained in Palestine during the exile (p. 573), and consequently when Zadokite priests returned from Babylonia, friction inevitably arose, since the latter would regard Joshua as an upstart fit at best for the subordinate position of Levite (see Ezek. 44 10–14). Moreover, Joshua and Zerubbabel seem to have quarrelled personally. Zechariah boldly championed the cause of Joshua, declaring that so long as his conduct was blameless he ought to be the head of the Temple. Zerubbabel also had his own sphere of usefulness, and both should work together for the good of Judah.

According to Ezr. 6 15 the Temple was finished on March 3, 515. This is probably the date of the completion of all building operations within the Temple area, the Temple proper having been completed much earlier. At any rate on Dec. 4, 518, the work was progressing so well, that a deputation was sent, apparently by Zerubbabel, to the religious leaders to inquire whether the fasts commemorating the disasters of 586 should still be observed (7 1ff.). Zechariah replied that they should henceforth be observed as holidays, since the restoration of the Temple was an earnest of the restoration of national prosperity.

From a literary point of view Zechariah makes a new departure, inasmuch as he delivers his message in a series of allegories purporting, like Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, to be a dream. The germ of this style may indeed be found earlier (1 K. 22), but the development of it is Zechariah's. These allegories or word-painted pictures, though to us they may appear somewhat *bizarre*, were clearly as intelligible in his age as our own political cartoons are in ours. Another new feature in his prophecies is the avoidance of the apparent familiarity in speaking of the Lord which is characteristic of the older literature. This may be due partly to increased reverence, partly to the decline of poetry and the growth of a more prosaic literalism. Thus, though he uses freely the old formula "saith the Lord," he represents himself as addressing the Lord not directly, but through the mediation of an angel who interprets to him the meaning of what he sees.

Zechariah's teaching is characterised by sanctified common sense. Although he hoped to see Zerubbabel actually king of Judah, he was not blind to the dangers of the course he was pursuing. Recognising as clearly as any Zadokite priest the need of a rallying point for

Jewish religion, he was free from the petty narrowness which could see no merit in any priest of another guild. In an age when, as it would seem, the civil and the religious leaders were striving for the pre-eminence, he declared that each had his own proper sphere. He recognised the value of fasting if performed in the right spirit, but he did not desire that the children of the bride-chamber should fast while the bridegroom was with them.

Unhappily Zechariah's countrymen would have none of his counsels of patience. His mission was denied, and his advic disregarded. Only too late did the Church of Judah learn the truth of his reiterated assurance, "Ye shall know that the Lord hath sent me unto you." Had his counsel been followed, the suspicion of the Samaritans would never have been aroused by the attempt to fortify Jerusalem, and the jealousy between Samaria and Judah, at first merely political, would not have been extended to religious matters also. Like Him whose forerunner he was, Zechariah would have gathered Jerusalem's children together as a hen gathers her chickens under her wings, and they would not.

I. 2–6. This rebuke (see above, p. 575) seems inconsistent with a date five weeks or more after work had been begun at the Temple and at least ten days after the prophecy in Hag. 21–9. The clumsy handiwork of one or more editors is also evident in the section. The thought appears to be as follows: The Lord had great cause to be wroth with your fathers, and their punishment has largely fallen upon you. But now if you will change your attitude towards Him in showing loyal obedience, He will change His attitude towards you in showing you mercy. Your fathers were stubborn, and they are gone; but the prophets' words came to pass, and your fathers were constrained to acknowledge the justice of their punishment. 5, as it stands, is difficult. The required sense is best given by the restoration of a negative omitted by accident; thus, "Your fathers where are they? but the prophets, do not they live for ever? Yea, indeed, my words and my statutes, etc." The reference is not to individual prophets but to the prophetic order which always endures.

I. 7–17. This section, to which 7 is an editorial introduction, either is not the beginning of Zechariah's allegories, or has not come down to us in its original form, for the interpreting angel is mentioned in 9 as already known to the reader. A verse introducing him may, however, have been omitted between 8 and 9, since the opening words of 8 imply that we have here the beginning of the allegorical prophecies. There are many corruptions in the text, several of which can, however, be easily corrected from the context. In 8 read, "I saw in the (*Anglice* "a") night *dream* (*cf.* 41): omit "riding upon a red horse," as a mutilated fragment of the last clause of the verse which should read, "and behind him were riders on horses red, white, sorrel, and black." (According to MT the "horses" carry on a conversation.) In 11, for "the angel of the Lord" read "the man" (*i.e.* of 8; the correction was perhaps due to reverence, since 12f. shows that the "man" is the Lord Himself). In 12 read "the angel that talked with me answered." For "myrtle trees" the LXX has, perhaps correctly, "mountains," as in 61. The significance of myrtle trees is not known, nor of the word rendered "the bottom" (8 *mg.* "shady place"). With a corrected text the meaning of the allegory is clear. Zechariah sees someone, who is later perceived to be the Lord Himself, behind whom are four riders on horses of various colours. These bring reports from the four quarters of the earth that the whole earth is quiet; *i.e.* the revolts which Haggai expected to end in the downfall of Persia have been quelled. Thereupon the interpreting angel expresses the prophet's disappointment, but the Lord answers with words of encouragement. The heathen nations have indeed been His instrument to chastise His people (*cf.* Is. 105ff.), but they are about to be punished for their malice. The outcome will be the restoration of Judah and Jerusalem.

I. 18–21. The four horns which have scattered Judah and Jerusalem ("Israel" should probably be omitted) represent the whole world arrayed against Judah, and are perhaps iron horns like those made by Zedekiah (1 K. 2211); hence "smiths" are introduced to shatter them.

II. 1–5. The person with the measuring line (described in 4 as a "young man," *i.e.* Zerubbabel, *cf.* 1 Esd. 34, 458) is evidently ascertaining the length of wall required. An angel bids the interpreting angel stop the measuring. A fortified wall is unnecessary, since the Lord will defend His own, and it would only check the expansion of Jerusalem.

II. 6–13. A Collection of Fragments.—6f. bids the Jews scattered through the Persian empire escape to Jerusalem, where they will be safe when the judgment comes upon Persia. The "north" in Jeremiah's earliest prophecies referred to the Scythians, and was subsequently applied to the Chaldeans and their successors. In 6*b* the LXX has, "I will gather you from," etc. Possibly MT and LXX should be combined. In 7 place "daughter" before Zion. Zechariah evidently considers that many of those who once formed the population of Zion are still in Babylonia.—**8f.** Omit "After glory hath he sent me," and read "Thus saith the Lord of hosts with reference to the nations," etc.; omit "For" in 9.—**10.** The prophet does not mean a local presence of the Lord in Jerusalem. When he seems not to intervene for His people, it is as though He were absent.—**11.** An anticipation of the conversion of the heathen probably inserted, or at least modified by a later hand.—**12. inherit:** an entirely misleading translation. The Heb. word is used of receiving a portion of land for cultivation at the periodic distribution of the whole arable land belonging to the village community. Judah will be, as it were, the land which the Lord has for His own cultivation.—**13** appears to be a fragment describing the Lord's coming to judge the oppressors of Israel. It is difficult to say whether it is original or a later insertion (*cf.* Hab. 220, Zeph. 17).

III. 1–10. The Trial of Joshua.—Several corrections are necessary in this paragraph, some of which are confirmed by the LXX. In 2 read, "And the angel of the Lord said." In 4f. read with LXX, "Take the filthy garments from off him (And he said unto him, Behold I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee); and clothe him with rich apparel, and set a fair mitre," etc. In 8 we should probably read, "Thou and thy fellows which sit before thee are men which," etc. Among the Hebrews any disaster was regarded as a sign of Divine displeasure or, to use a common Heb. figure of speech, a sign that the Lord was bringing a charge against the person afflicted. The "satan" or opponent—for here, as in Job, the word is not a proper name—is not a devil but an angel, perfectly obedient to the Lord and commissioned by Him to test men's sincerity by bringing misfortune upon them. He may therefore be regarded as the angel of trial. A representation of the High Priest as upon his tri[al] implies that he has been visited with some misfortun[e] the nature of which is indicated by his filthy garmen[t]

i.e. garments in which it would be impossible for a priest to minister. In other words, an attempt has been made, whether successfully or not, to turn Joshua out of the High-priesthood. The parenthesis in 4, which may be a later insertion, does not necessarily imply actual misconduct on Joshua's part; for according to Heb. idiom, "iniquity" or "guilt" rested upon every accused person until he was acquitted. The angel of the Lord, who is the presiding judge, confirms Joshua in the High-priesthood, so long as his conduct is worthy of his office, and gives him a definite sphere of action ("places to walk in," not "a place of access") among the Lord's messengers or angels. Joshua is further informed that he and his assistants who have preserved a priesthood in Jerusalem are an earnest that the monarchy will not be extinguished but that the Lord will fulfil the anticipation of Jeremiah (23 5ff.) and produce a shoot (*mg.*, not "branch") from the root of the cut-down tree of David which in time will itself develop into a tree. As Haggai (2 23) expects to see in Zerubbabel a reversal of the woe pronounced by Jeremiah (22 24) upon Jehoiachin, so Zechariah expects to see in him a fulfilment of Jeremiah's prediction of a restored monarchy. This passage indeed is probably the first clear instance of the expression of a hope based upon a definite prophecy, so that Jer. 23 5ff. may be regarded as the starting-point of "Messianic" hope. The latter part of the paragraph is apparently mutilated, for the stone mentioned in 9 as known has not been mentioned before; moreover "that land" can scarcely be right. The reference to the stone is obscure, but a clue may be found in 6 9–14. We are probably to understand a gem which is committed to Joshua's keeping until it can be worn by Zerubbabel as one of the insignia of royalty. The "seven eyes" are either seven surfaces or facets, or more probably seven circles, possibly representing seven stars, engraved upon the stone as upon a signet. 10 is one of those descriptions of the good time to come which later editors have so plentifully inserted in the prophetic books. It is clearly addressed to the people generally, whereas the preceding verses are addressed to Joshua.

IV. 1–7. The Golden Lampstand.—Zechariah dreams that he is aroused by the interpreting angel who shows him a golden lampstand. This section has suffered somewhat in transmission. In 2 read with LXX . . . "behold, a lampstand all of gold, and a bowl upon the top of it, and seven lamps thereon, and seven pipes to the lamps," etc. Two insertions have been made. The former (6*b*–10*a*), which is a general encouragement to Zerubbabel, is probably due to some scribe's blunder; the second (12) appears to be a fragment of a similar allegory by some other writer. 10*b* ought to follow immediately upon 6*a*, thus: (6*a*) "Then he announced and spake unto me saying (10*b*), These seven are the eyes of the Lord," etc. The lampstand (not "candlestick") must be imagined as an upright standard with a reservoir for oil upon the top, and seven branches supporting the lamps, each of which is connected by a pipe with the reservoir. On each side of this lampstand are two olive-trees, by which the reservoir supplying the lamps is itself fed with oil. In Heb. idiom one word commonly covers both cause and effect; consequently a lamp, which suggests light, suggests also the result of light, *i.e.* safety, since darkness involved danger from the lawless (14 6ff.*, *cf.* Job 24 13–17). Seven lamps imply an intense light, *i.e.* a state of things in which there is nothing to fear, such exists when the two eyes of the Lord are upon His ple for good. This state of peace and safety is maintained by Joshua and Zerubbabel, who are compared to the olive-trees which supply the oil for the lamps.

14. sons of oil is an absurdly literal translation. Heb. makes good its deficiency in adjectives in various ways, among them by the use of the word "son." Thus "son of death" means "liable to death"; "son of dawn" the star which heralds the dawn; "son of fatness" (Is. 5 1) means productive of luxuriance; similarly "sons of oil" means "productive of oil." There is no idea here of anointing, for *yiṣhar* (the word used here), which denotes vegetable oil, is never used of the oil of unction, which probably was originally animal oil, and is always called *shemen*.

6b–10a is an address to Zerubbabel apparently belonging to about the same period as Hag. 2 2–9 or at any rate the earlier days of the Temple restoration. In 6 read *mg.* 7 reminds us of Is. 40 4, but is not necessarily a quotation. The meaning of the stone (7) is doubtful. It is scarcely equivalent to "the head of the corner" (Ps. 118 22), for not only would this naturally follow 9*a*, but "bring forth" would not naturally be used in connexion with a building stone, and the Heb. ("the stone the head") is impossible. It is more likely, therefore, though the text is too much mutilated to be corrected with certainty, that the stone belongs to a diadem which is to be placed on Zerubbabel's head (*cf.* 6 9ff.). The last clause of 7 is fragmentary; "with" is not expressed in the Heb. The "plummet" in the incomplete sentence (10*a*) is probably a sign of the rebuilding of Jerusalem.

12. A fragment of some parallel allegory, probably a later imitation of Zechariah's. The translation "the golden *oil*" is a desperate but hopeless attempt to make sense of a corrupt text.

V. 1–4. A Flying, *i.e.* Ubiquitous Roll containing an Effectual Curse against Thieves and Perjurers.—In 3*b* RV does violence to the Heb. Wellhausen with a slight emendation reads: "for everyone that stealeth hath for a long time past been held guiltless, and everyone that sweareth falsely hath for a long time past been held guiltless." Zechariah here answers the complaint that, while the righteous suffer, sin is not punished, and affirms that henceforth the Lord's curse will show itself active against all thieves and perjurers. [For the power of self-fulfilment inherent in a curse see Gen. 9 25*.—A. S. P.]

V. 5–11. The Transference to Babylonia of Judah's Guilt (*i.e.* the cause of calamity).—For "their resemblance" (6) read with LXX "their iniquity" (*mg.*) or rather "their guilt." By the transference of Judah's guilt to Shinar (an intentional archaism for Babylon, see Gen. 11 1–9) Zechariah foretells both the deliverance of Judah and the ruin of the great empire. But he looks for the removal not only of the guilt, the cause of the calamity, but also of wickedness, the cause of the guilt. "Wickedness," being feminine in Heb., is naturally symbolised by a woman. It is remarkable that Haggai and Zechariah make no mention of Persia, but only of Babylonia, probably because the Jews were still in captivity in the latter country.

VI. 1–8. A more Definite Version of the Allegory in I. 8ff.—Here, however, the horsemen of the former allegory, who represent messengers, are replaced by chariots which symbolise warlike agencies. By "mountains of brass" (or rather bronze) we are not to understand the Lebanon with its copper mines (Cheyne), for in that case we should require the definite article (read RV text, not *mg.* in 1; so LXX). Perhaps the two mountains (bronze indicates their irresistible strength) are, so to speak, gateposts on the road to the four quarters of the world from the abode of God. In 3

omit "strong" (see *mg.*) and substitute "red" for it in 7 (see *mg.*). In MT of 5 the "chariots" symbolize the four winds of heaven; a slight change gives the superior sense, "These (*i.e.* the chariots) are going forth unto the four winds of heaven after presenting themselves unto," etc. For the meaningless "after them" (6), the Heb. of which is peculiar, we evidently require some point of the compass; Wellhausen suggests "the jand of the east." There is a confusion of the tenses; the present tense should probably be read in all cases in 6 and in the first clause of 7, which has further suffered some mutilation, since the destination of the fourth chariot, probably the west, is not mentioned. The subject of "sought" (*i.e.* asked permission) is obviously not, as EV suggests, the bay horses, but the occupants of all four chariots. Their audience is now over, and they ask leave, which is granted, to depart on their several missions. For "have quieted" (8) we must read "will quiet"; *i.e.* the chariot with the black horses goes out to take vengeance on the north country, and to satisfy the Lord's spirit which has been distressed by the injury done to His people. The text at the beginning of 8 is somewhat uncertain. Zechariah apparently (see 111) looked for judgment on "the north country," not from the existing political situation, but as satisfying Divine justice.

VI. 9–15. A Crown for Zerubbabel.—The text is considerably confused, partly through accident, partly it would seem by deliberate alteration. The Heb. of the words rendered "and come thou the same day, and go into the house of," incredible as it may appear, seems to have arisen merely through various attempts to correct a misreading of "from"; in 11, 14 for "crowns" read "crown." In 13*b* the LXX reads, "shall be priest at his right hand," which, coupled with the mention of "them both," proves conclusively that originally the section contained the name not only of Joshua, but also of Zerubbabel. Since the subject of the words "shall be priest at his right hand" can only be Joshua, the person at whose right hand Joshua shall be priest must be Zerubbabel, and his name must be substituted for that of Joshua in 11. The four names in 10 should clearly be the same as the four in 14, Tobijah and Zephaniah being common to both verses. Helem (14) is an impossible name, and possibly Heldai should be read in both cases: there is no common measure between Josiah and Hen, and both names may be corrupt. With the above corrections the section will run as follows: "Take of them of the captivity, even of Heldai, and of Tobijah, and of Jedaiah, and of Josiah the son of Zephaniah, who have come from Babylon; yea, take silver and gold, and make a crown, and set it upon the head of Zerubbabel; and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Behold a man whose name is Branch" (or rather Shoot; a sucker from the root is meant), "and he shall grow up in his place, and he shall build the Temple of the Lord, and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne, and Joshua shall be priest at his right hand, and counsel of peace shall be between them both." It would seem that four men who have arrived in Jerusalem from Babylon, whether having fled thither or having been despatched on a mission to Zerubbabel cannot be determined, have brought with them an offering of silver and gold. Zechariah advises that this shall be made into a crown, which shall be placed on the head of Zerubbabel, whom he hails as the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy (23 5ff.), and whom he regards as the restorer not only of the Temple, but also of the Monarchy. Alongside of Zerubbabel Joshua shall be priest, and counsel of peace (*i.e.* counsel for the welfare of Judah) shall be between them both. In the light of 3 this insistence on Joshua's position is very significant. 14 states what is to be done with the crown, which Zerubbabel is as yet unable to wear. It is to be deposited in the Temple as a place of safety, the four men who brought the gold and silver being trustees for it. Their advent encourages Zechariah to hope for a yet greater return of Jews from exile. The last sentence of 15 is the beginning of a lost prophecy, and has no connexion with the preceding context.

VII. The original account of the question about the fasting and Zechariah's answer has been considerably amplified by the insertion of other prophecies, probably later compositions, though they bear some resemblance to the style of Haggai. Note the editorial introductions to the paragraphs beginning 7 8 and 8 1, which are unnecessary if Zechariah is the speaker throughout. The date is Dec. 4, 518. In 2–7 we have an excerpt from Zechariah's own narrative, the beginning of which is lost. The text of 2*a* is in confusion, and correction can be only conjectural. Apparently originally only two people were mentioned by name; the first, the sender, being Bethel Sharezer, and the second, the person sent, being Regem-melech (the names are probably corrupt). The sender of the deputation doubtless speaks in the name of the community, and is presumably the governor; moreover, since he is interested in merely Jewish fasts, he must be a Jew. This points to Zerubbabel. Sharezer may have been part of his Bab. name, but we have no evidence for this. It is improbable that a question would be formally asked in Dec. about a fast to be observed during the following Aug., and 5 implies that the question concerned the fast of Oct. also, while in 8 19 four fasts are mentioned, viz. in July, Aug., Oct., and Jan. The question put on Dec. 4 presumably had at least special reference to this last; it must therefore have been mentioned. Probably the list of fasts in 3, 5 has been accidentally cut down. The fasts mentioned seem to have been instituted in commemoration of the following national calamities: on July 9, 586, Jerusalem was taken (Jer. 39 2); on Aug. 7 the city and Temple were burnt (2 K. 25 8); in Oct. Gedaliah was murdered (Jer. 41); on Jan. 10 the siege of Jerusalem began (2 K. 25 1). The question about the fasting, since it concerned a matter of *torah*, would probably be addressed to the priests only, "and to the prophets" being added because Zechariah gave the answer. The fasts, he maintained, had not betokened any real repentance on the part of the people, but had been due to a superstitious belief that their calamities might be mechanically removed. There had been no more thought of glorifying God by the fasts than by eating and drinking. 7 (note italics) is mutilated; the LXX reads, "Are not these the words," etc. The South is the Negeb (p. 32), the lowland is the Shephelah (p. 31).

VII. 8–14 is probably an amplification of the original address by a later hand and likewise 8 1–17. Both are much like 12–6.

VIII. 4ff. A beautiful description of the result of the restoration of peace and safety. During the troublous past Jerusalem had been no place for feeble old age or for children. The sympathetic touch, "playing in the streets thereof," is one of the very few indications in the OT of a love for children as such.—**7.** with its reference to the east and west looks like a later prophecy of the return from the Dispersion.—**10.** is in agreement with Hag. 1 6, 2 16. It is noteworthy that the adversaries here referred to are Jews, not Samaritans.—**12** is a reminiscence of Hos. 2 23ff. (*cf.* Hag. 1 10).—**13.** The

phrases "to be a curse" and "to be a blessing" do not mean to be a source of blessing or cursing, but to be an illustration of such.—18f. Zechariah's answer: the four fasts are henceforth to be kept as holidays.

VIII. 20–23. The coming restoration and subsequent restoration of Judah, which will be so distinguished by the blessing of the Lord, that all nations will be desirous of having him for their God.

IX.–XIV.

The occurrence of a new heading, "The burden of the word of the Lord," which occurs again in 12₁, and elsewhere only in Mal. 1₁, warns us that a new section begins here. We are no longer concerned with Joshua and Zerubbabel, the small community of Judah, and the hopes and aspirations of their time, but to a great extent with a larger Judaism which is in conflict with a world-power described as Greek, whose strongholds are not Babylon, but Damascus, Hamath, Tyre, and the Philistine towns. No Jewish king or governor is mentioned, and the High Priest appears to be the head of the subject Jewish community. At the same time there is a sharp cleavage in the Jewish community itself: Judah and Jerusalem are opposed to one another, and the greatest Jewish families are regarded as blameworthy. The post-exilic date of 9–14 is certain, not merely from the absence of any reference to a king, but also from the widespread dispersion of the Jews, from the mention of Greeks, and from the utter difference in tone between this section and the utterances of the pre-exilic prophets. The mention of Egypt and Assyria side by side is not in itself evidence for a pre-exilic date, since in Ezr. 6₂₂, which can scarcely be earlier than the Greek period, "Assyria" denotes the great empire of W. Asia, which, having originally been Assyrian, passed successively to the Chaldeans, the Persians, and the Greeks (Nu. 24₂₂f.*, Is. 11₁₁*, 27₁₃). A late date is also suggested by the obvious use of other passages of Scripture, particularly Ezek. Here, as in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, we have compositions saturated with Biblical terms, evidently emanating from "the people of a book." There are likewise numerous agreements with late Pss. and late post-exilic sections of Is. Like many of the Pss., these chapters appear to have been composed in a time of storm and stress, when the Jews were oppressed by the heathen, and disunited among themselves; and of such a time we have no record before the second century B.C. That they are written in classical Heb. as distinct from the Heb. of the Midrash is no proof to the contrary; for not only did Ben Sira (*c.* 180 B.C.) write in the older language, but many of the Pss. are as late as the Maccabean age. Space forbids at this point a detailed examination of these six chapters. It must suffice to state what will afterwards be shown in detail that, apart from some points as yet unexplained on any theory of date, every section of these chapters is quite consistent with the known history of the second century B.C. It is scarcely conceivable that a number of compositions dealing both with internal and external affairs should be equally applicable to two or more distinct periods.

These chapters fall into two main divisions (note the new heading in 12₁, though the divisions are not necessarily homogeneous). Hebrew methods of arrangement, being based originally on oral rather than on written tradition, are fundamentally different from English; catchwords and prominent phrases being considered rather than logical arrangement. The analytical study of the Synoptic Gospels has shown that an apparently continuous section may be made up of many disjointed fragments, and this fact must be kept in view in the criticism of prophetical literature.

Of the two sections into which 9–14 falls, the first (9–11) is in the main poetical or based upon poetical prophecies, the second (12–14) is entirely prose. In 9–11, however, there are some evident divisions, and perhaps we have here the work of several authors. The mere fact that two poems are composed in a somewhat unusual metre does not prove, apart from subject-matter, that they are from the same hand, for a poet who produced a great impression by a novel form of verse may well have had imitators. If the date given above is correct (the second century B.C.), we may assume that the prophecies were first published in synagogues, and that, after the triumph of the Maccabæan party, they passed to Jerusalem and became incorporated in the Scriptures. Ecclus. 49₁₀ tells us nothing as to the contents of the books of the twelve, the Minor Prophets, as we call them. A new edition of the Heb. text of Jeremiah, enlarged and rearranged, was issued after the Gr. translation had been made from an earlier edition; and though no new name would have been received as canonical, it was evidently possible for some time after the fixing of the list of canonical prophets to enlarge a canonical book by the incorporation of additional matter.

IX. 1–8. This paragraph, of which the beginning is mutilated and the text is otherwise corrupt, is written in verse, lines of three beats each, arranged in tristichs. This form of verse is unusual, the more common consisting of lines of six beats—falling into two parallel members of three beats each—arranged in distichs. "The burden of the word of the Lord" is the editorial heading (*cf.* 12₁, Mal. 1₁). The greater part of the first tristich is lost. It has been conjectured that it ran originally somewhat as follows:

The Lórd hath sént a wórd,

And it hath líghted on the lánd of Hádrach (*cf.* Is. 9₈)

And Damáscus hath becóme its résting place.

The land of Hadrach (probably the place called Hazrach in an Aram. inscription *c.* 800) is mentioned on the Assyrian monuments in connexion with Damascus and Hamath. The survival of the old name as late as the second century B.C. is not unlikely. Thus Hamath is still known by its original name, and not by its Gr. name Epiphanea. The text of the second tristich (1*b*, 2) is corrupt and emendation is precarious. It is clear, however, that the prophet speaks of a Divine judgment resting on Hadrach, Damascus, Hamath, Tyre, and Sidon, with a description of the former wealth and prosperity of Tyre. The rendering, "which bordereth thereon," is quite impossible; the word so rendered may be a corrupt form of the name Gebal (*cf.* Ezek. 27₉), *i.e.* Byblus on the Phœnician coast. The text of the sixth tristich (5*b*, 6*a*) is also corrupt. The parallelism suggests that "shall be cut off from" should be read for "shall dwell in," the tristich running thus:

And the kíng shall pérish from Gáza,

And Áshkelon shall (néver) be inhábited,

And the bástard-race shall be cút off from Ashdod.

This section may be paraphrased as follows: The judgment of the Lord is now coming upon the cities which have been strongholds of the rule of the Greek Syrian kings, and therefore antagonistic to Israel. Tyre, strong as she is, is doomed; Philistia also may tremble for her safety; Gaza will lose her king; the population of Ashkelon will be annihilated; the mongrel race, half Philistine, half Greek, will be driven out of Ashdod. Indeed the Philistine as such will no longer exist, for the Lord, acting through Israel, will enforce the observance of the law of Israel even in the Philistine towns. There will be no more eating with the blood, or other abominable food; for the Philistines will be incorporated with Israel in such a way that henceforth an inhabitant of Ekron will be regarded as a native of Jebus, *i.e.* Jerusalem (*cf.* Ps. 87). Moreover, as the result of this Judaizing of Philistia—since the Syro-Greek government has given up the hope of conquering Egypt—Judah will no longer be menaced by the presence of vast armies on her flank. It will be as though the Lord Himself were encamped as a garrison to protect Jerusalem, and no exaction of tribute will trouble her any more. The prophecy is almost certainly later than Jonathan's victorious campaign in Philistia (c. 148) and may be as late as 143–142 when Demetrius granted the Jews full exemption from all taxes or tribute to the Syrian government.

IX. 9f. A short prophecy having no direct connexion with the preceding, which it resembles only in its poetical structure. Its tone is entirely different, being as free from thoughts of vengeance as Ps. 22. The poet looks forward to a king who will belong apparently not to the Maccabæan, but to the Hasidæan (*i.e.* Hasidim, Ps. 43*, see 1 Mac. 713) section of the Jewish community. The prophecy may probably be dated shortly after May 23, 141, when the citadel of Jerusalem surrendered. The writer who sees in recent events an earnest of complete Jewish independence, does not recognise any existing personage as king (render "will come," not "cometh"). The Hasidæans acquiesced in the High-priesthood of Simon only conditionally (see 1 Mac. 1441). The king hoped for will be no military leader, and will ride not on a horse, the symbol of war, but on an ass. It will be his aim to abolish the equipment of war from Israel itself, and he will speak peace to the Gentiles; depending for safety on a force not his own, and even in his sovereignty not severing his connexion with the poor. The meaning of the curious elaboration given to the description of the animal ridden would be more apparent, if "colt" and "foal of an ass" were printed in inverted commas as a quotation of Gen. 4911. They imply that the king, whose dominion will be as wide as the ideal dominion of David, will fulfil that prophecy. The mention of Ephraim to denote the northern parts of Israel (included in the jurisdiction of both Jonathan and Simon) is due to imitation of the phraseology of the older Scriptures.

IX. 11–13. A fragment, mutilated at the beginning, apparently slightly earlier than 9f., from which it differs in its bellicose tone. The Jewish nation is told that the Lord is now releasing its members confined in the waterless dungeon, *i.e.* in heathen districts where they are cut off from worship at Jerusalem (*cf.* Pss. 631, 686); these must return to the stronghold of Judah, where they will be safe. For once again the declaration is made to them, as it was to their fathers (Is. 402*), that they shall receive double compensation for all that they have suffered. 13 describes the revival of Jewish power under Jonathan and Simon. The Lord has made Judah His bow, the rest of the land His arrow; He will brandish as a javelin the sons of Zion against the Greeks, and will make them as it were His sword (*cf.* Pss. 607, 1088).

IX. 14–17. An independent section belonging to the same period as 11–13, of which it may be a later expansion. The imagery of 14 is derived from older prophecy, *e.g.* Am. 114, 22. By the "whirlwinds of the south" perhaps merely violent storms are intended, but there may be a reference to the Maccabean campaign against Edom which is probably referred to in Is. 631–6*. Indeed this passage in its savagery strongly resembles that magnificent but terrible description. For "devour" read "prevail" (LXX) and for "they shall drink . . . wine" read "they shall drink their blood like wine" (LXX). The sacrificial blood was dashed against the corners of the altar. The phrase "sling stones" is obscure and probably corrupt; we should expect some description of the Jews' enemies.

X. 1f. An isolated fragment addressed to the nation in the time of its deepest distress, probably during the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes. The heathen prognosticators have foretold a peace which has not come to pass; yet even in the direst straits the Lord can save. Even when the winter rain has not fallen, and the time of harvest is approaching, He can send a rain which will bring fertility to the land. The figure of the rain is probably proverbial. The term "teraphim" (p. 101) might be employed in the post-exilic period to designate idols by men accustomed to use the language of Scripture.

X. 3–12. This is made up of several fragments. 3*a* is apparently the beginning of a denunciation of Israel's leaders founded upon Ezek. 34, whereas 3*b* describes the Lord as visiting His distressed sheep, and making them as his warhorse. The cue which has caused 3*b* to be attached to 3*a* is the word "visit," which the EV renders "punish" in the first instance. The Jewish sheep became warhorses in the Maccabean struggle.—**4**, which is a later insertion, presents considerable difficulty.—**4***a* apparently means that Judah possesses all the requisites of an autonomous state; the last clause, however, seems to mean that the foreign exactors of tribute will depart from the land (*cf.* 98, 1 Mac. 1336ff.).—**5** originally followed 3; it describes the Maccabean victory, the description being continued in 7.—**6** is an insertion from another source, though perhaps of the same date.

X. 8–10. A Prediction of the Return of the Dispersion.—"Will hiss," or better, "will whistle" (*i.e.* as a signal), is perhaps suggested by Is. 526, 718. The sowing of Israel among the nations may imply the increase of Israel, as seed increases when it is sown (*cf.* Hos. 223). 11 is an independent prediction of the return of the dispersion, perhaps by the author of 91–8. For "the sea of affliction" read with Wellhausen "the sea of Egypt," *i.e.* the Gulf of Suez. The smiting of the sea is here, as in Is. 1115, a metaphorical description of the removal of the political obstacles in the way of the return of the dispersion. Assyria, as is stated above, means the Syro-Greek empire (*cf.* Ezr. 622, Is. 1111*, 1923f.). This passage strongly resembles Is. 1111f. For "they shall walk up and down" the LXX has rightly "they shall make their boast."

XI. 1–3. The strongholds of the Syro-Greek empire are taunted with the failure of their power. The cedars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan are a constant metaphor for that which is lofty and powerful (*cf.* Is. 213). For "the strong forest" a probable correction is "the forest of Bozrah," *i.e.* not the Edomite town but the Bosora of 1 Mac. 526, the modern Buṣrā,

22 miles SE. of Edrei. The shepherds and, with a change of metaphor, the young lions are the heathen rulers. "The pride of Jordan" here and elsewhere means the luxuriant vegetation of the Jordan valley which afforded cover for the wild beasts. The passage means that the heathen rulers may howl in sorrow and anguish, since their strongholds can no longer protect them.

XI. 4–17. An Historical Sketch in Figurative Language.—The author here assumes the rôle of the chief actor in the events he is describing, and speaks in the first person. Unlike Zechariah, but in accordance with the custom of the later apocalyptic school, he does not mention by name the personages to whom he refers. They must, however, have been easily recognisable by his readers. We have here a soliloquy spoken by one who plays the part of the chief "shepherd," *i.e.* ruler of Israel. This ruler is not, however, supreme, for he mentions those who buy and sell the sheep, and also the sheep's "own shepherds," who are evidently Jews like himself. Unfortunately the text is not only corrupt, but also mutilated; for "the three shepherds" are mentioned as though they had been previously described; while some reference to the sheep must originally have stood between 8*a* and 8*b*. Since the speaker is clearly neither the Lord nor the *supreme* ruler of Israel, viz. the Syro-Greek king, it is evident that the three shepherds referred to in 8 cannot be High Priests, for there was no Jewish layman who got rid of three High Priests, but must be subordinate Jewish nobles such as Simon the Benjamite and his satellites (*cf.* 2 Mac. 34, 43). But if the "three shepherds" are not High Priests, there is no difficulty in supposing that a High Priest is the speaker; and in that case the chief actor in this apocalyptic, dramatic monologue may be identified with the Onias who was High Priest in the reign of Seleucus IV (2 Mac. 3f.). If Josephus confused Onias the High Priest with Onias the founder of the Temple at Leontopolis (Is. 1918*), which is in itself probable, the "three shepherds" may well be the sons of Tobias, who according to Josephus (*Wars*, 1i) were expelled from Jerusalem by Onias. Notwithstanding the doubts which have been cast on the trustworthiness of the accounts of Onias in 2 Mac., it is certain that the language of Zech. 11 is entirely applicable to him on the assumption that the course of events was as follows: By his expulsion from Jerusalem of the unscrupulous sons of Tobias, Onias incurred the hostility of the great Jewish families; whereupon, being slandered to Seleucus by Simon, he was compelled to leave Jerusalem in order to defend himself before the king, Seleucus IV, at Antioch. Upon the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes immediately afterwards, Onias was deprived of the High Priesthood, which was conferred first upon Jason, then upon Menelaus, who contrived to have Onias murdered at Antioch, a crime which in the opinion of many required expiation before national restoration could come. If, therefore, the author of this section speaks in the rôle of Onias, we can explain the details. Onias had received a commission as High Priest to shepherd the helpless Jewish people, whose position was like that of a flock sold to butchers for slaughter. The "buyers" are the Jewish nobles who farmed the taxes for the Syro-Greek government, and whose extortion was unpunished (render "are not held guilty"); the "seller" (read the sing.) of the sheep is the Syro-Greek king, who has no respect for the law of Israel and says, "Cursed be the Lord, and (not 'for') let me be rich" ("blessed" is a euphemism for "cursed," *cf.* 1 K. 2110,13, Job 15,11, 25,9), The sheep's "own shepherds" are the Jewish nobles. and apparently are not distinguished from their buyers. In 6 the apocalyptist describes from a past standpoint the horrors decreed by the Lord upon the land, which, when he wrote, had actually come to pass. It must be kept in mind that during the persecution of Antiochus and the years preceding it, the poorer Jews were persecuted by their fellow Jews. For "verily the poor of the flock" we must read with a different pointing "for the Canaanites" (*i.e.* merchants, *cf.* Is. 23 8, here and 1421 used contemptuously=hucksters) "of the flock." The chief shepherd, *i.e.* the High Priest, represents his aims for his people by giving names to his two shepherd's staves (*cf.* Ps. 234), much as a modern cartoonist represents Cabinet Ministers as carrying parcels inscribed with the names of the measures which they are promoting. The one staff is called "Beauty," or more correctly "Pleasantness," and denotes the bearer's aim to promote the welfare of his people by cultivating happy relations with the surrounding peoples, Philistines, Edomites, etc., on whose friendliness the peace of the Jews largely depended. The second staff, denominated "Bands," represents the High Priest's aim to promote unity among his own people. But in spite of all his efforts to promote peace and to protect his people from the extortionate nobles who were Jews only in name, he failed to secure support. He despaired of the sheep he had tried to shepherd, and they for their part wished to get rid of him. At last he felt that his position was untenable, and that he must give up his attempt to maintain peaceful relations with the neighbouring peoples. (*N.B.*—In 9 the Heb. is not necessarily as peevish as EV implies.) Although his action could be misrepresented, it was understood to have been dictated by conscientious motives: "the sheep merchants that watched me knew that it was the word of the Lord."

A man beset by powerful enemies, however, knew that his case was hopeless, if he had no other claim to acquittal than innocence, and was unable to offer a substantial bribe. The shepherd's appeal to the sheep to give him his wages is a curious instance of the Hebrew disregard of consistency in metaphor when the meaning is plain. Probably Onias, before leaving Jerusalem for Antioch, appealed to his sympathisers to provide him with funds. The result was utterly inadequate, since the wealthier Jews were mostly inclined to Hellenism. The sum was so miserably small, that it is symbolically represented as "thirty pieces of silver," *i.e.* according to Ex. 2132 the piece to be paid as compensation for injury to a slave. It was insufficient to aid Onias, and he accordingly cast it—not to the potter, who would be the last person likely to be working in the house of the Lord—but into the treasury (see *mg.*). Despairing of maintaining any longer the unity of his nation, the High Priest breaks in pieces the staff which symbolises his aim in this respect. Probably "Jerusalem" should be read for "Israel" in 14, since the breach was between the Hellenisers of Jerusalem and the Hasidæans who were mostly to be found in the country districts.

XI. 15–17. The author does not pursue further the history of the good shepherd, but proceeds to describe in similar terms an evil successor. Whether he has in view Jason, the immediate successor of Onias, or Menelaus who succeeded Jason, cannot be determined; probably the latter is meant. 15, which is somewhat tersely worded, means "Take again the gear"—*i.e.* the staves symbolical of the aims—"of a shepherd," but this time, of a foolish, *i.e.* a morally bad one. The curse on the bad shepherd is perhaps suggested by 1 S.

231. (See 2 Mac. 13.) It is thought by some scholars that the fragment 1115–17 is continued in 137–9, but more probably the latter is an independent composition of the same period. Its position in the third collection of prophecies supports this hypothesis.

XII.–XIV. A Collection of Prophecies Composed throughout in Prose in the Apocalyptic Style.—The writers adopt a past standpoint from which they describe, as if they were still future, events already past at the moment of writing, as well as their anticipations for the actual future. They are thus able to show the connexion between the recent distress and the peace and prosperity which they anticipate in the near future. Zech. 12–14 is often described as "eschatological," allowably so if "eschatology" be understood merely as the ideas concerning the end of an existing political situation and the coming of another. But the conditions which the writers expect in the future are not essentially different from those which already exist. What they describe is not a material heaven, but a peaceful, and, consequently, glorified earth. Those passages which seem to imply the passing away or radical alteration of the physical universe are seen on a closer examination to be merely metaphorical. The language of the apocalyptists is largely derived from the older Scriptures, and is intelligible only to those who read those Scriptures sympathetically. How far some of the paragraphs in 12–14 are homogeneous cannot be determined. The repetitions may be due to a combination of fragments of different authorship. In sense, however, 12, 131–6 may be regarded as forming one continuous passage.

XII. 1*a* is an editorial heading probably added when the two collections 9–11, 12–14 were appended to the earlier book of Zechariah. The text of this section is corrupt in places, but the sense is on the whole clear. We have reference both to the earlier days of the struggle, when Jerusalem was in the hands of the Hellenisers and the heathen, while the Maccabees, who derived their forces from the country districts, were fighting against the Syro-Greek government, and also to the time when Jerusalem as a whole—with the possible exception of the citadel, which only surrendered in 141 B.C.—was in the hands of the Maccabees, and Jewish power was becoming a serious menace to the neighbouring peoples as well as a thorn in the side of the government. Jerusalem became a "cup of reeling" to all the peoples, when the Maccabean leaders inflicted their appalling blows on Philistia, Edom, Ammon, etc. The MT of 2*b* is untranslatable. It cannot mean that Judah will take part in the siege of Jerusalem, for 2*a* represents Jerusalem as already a bowl of reeling to the neighbouring peoples, and therefore already in Jewish hands. The context implies that Judah should be described as supporting those who hold Jerusalem. 3 repeats the statement of 2*a* with a change of metaphor. Those who attack Jerusalem find themselves crushed as it were beneath a burdensome stone. The metaphor was perhaps suggested by an actual incident in some great quarry such as that of Baalbec, a huge stone having injured those who were endeavouring to transport it. The description of all the nations as gathered together against Jerusalem, which is a constant feature of the late apocalyptic literature, is due to the inclusion in the Syro-Greek empire of most of the nations known to the Jews. This empire is actually described in the Book of Daniel as consisting of "all peoples, nations, and languages." The figures of the horses and riders and the smiting with blindness are derived from the older Scriptures (*cf.* 2 K. 618). Read in 4*b* "as for all the house of Judah, I will open their eyes." The "chieftains of Judah" will be the Maccabean leaders, but for "chieftains" read "thousands," *i.e.* clans. The word rendered "strength" (5) occurs nowhere else; for "are my" we should probably read "have." 6 describes the achievements of the Maccabees. They were a small fire, but kindled a great matter, working havoc among the neighbouring peoples, and restoring Jerusalem, *i.e.* its loyal Jewish population whom the Hellenisers had expelled. In future the Lord will so protect the city that the family of its most feeble inhabitant will have a stability like that of David's dynasty (*cf.* 2 S. 7, Ps. 89 20ff., Is. 553). The term "house of David" may denote merely the ruling classes of Jews in Jerusalem who occupied the position once held by the family of David. But since in 10 and 12 it is mentioned as sharing in the nation's guilt, and the Maccabean leaders, who were in command at Jerusalem at the time, would hardly have been so described, the phrase is perhaps to be understood literally. It is evident from the NT that the family of David was not extinct in the first century A.D., and in the Maccabæan age its members may well have been included in the aristocracy even if they were subordinate to the sons of Tobias in wealth and influence. Perhaps, like the latter, they had adopted Hellenism, and put forward their claims as descendants of David only when the Maccabean achievements had brought the idea of Jewish independence within the sphere of practical politics. No conclusion can be drawn from the silence of the Books of Maccabees on the matter, for they are strongly partisan, and are considerably later than the events which they record; while Josephus, as his many contradictions show, is by no means an infallible guide. In the OT, as in the NT, we have first-hand information, though given, it may be, only in hints, of events and movements on which later documents are silent. In 10 read "him" (*mg.*) for "me"; the sentence is perhaps somewhat mutilated. The writer regards the troubles of Judah and Jerusalem as due to the guilt which rests on the country in consequence of some murder, guilt which can be expiated only by general mourning and fasting. The name of the victim is not given, but it was evidently well known; and since the guilt involves the whole land, the murdered person must be the head of Judaism, *i.e.* a High Priest. It is true that Onias was murdered not at Jerusalem, but at Antioch; but since the murder was planned by a Jew, and was due to his failure to find support among his own people, the whole nation might well be regarded as responsible for it. The house of Nathan and the house of Levi are clearly prominent among the Jewish aristocracy, but we have no information about them.

XIII. 1–6. The result of the national repentance is the removal of guilt. The figure of the fountain is perhaps suggested by Ezek. 47. The first sign of Judah's true restoration will be the abolition of all idolatry and of the "spirit of uncleanness," *i.e.* Greek disregard of Hebrew laws of purity. There will also be a total abolition of all the professional prophets who, like modern fortune-tellers and palmists, traded upon the credulity of the foolish. The utter disrepute into which the prophetic order had fallen was due to the abandonment by the better teachers since Ezra's time of the older forms of prophecy for the exposition of the written Scripture. In other words, the true prophets had become scribes, while those who merely prophesied for a livelihood still carried on the calling which they had brought into disrepute. Some of the scribes were no doubt in the highest sense of the word

prophets, but since they no longer spoke in the authoritative manner of the ancient prophets, it seemed to their contemporaries that the era of prophecy had passed away (*cf.* Ps. 749, 1 Mac. 1441). The writer looks forward to a time when those who "wear a hairy garment to deceive" will be no more tolerated, and when the popular indignation against them will be so great, that even the parents of one who claims to be a prophet will have no hesitation in putting him to death. Then if anyone be accused of prophesying on the ground that he has wounds like the self-inflicted lacerations which the prophets exhibit as a proof of their inspired frenzy, he will prefer to charge himself with disgraceful conduct rather than admit the truth, and will pretend that the wounds have been inflicted on him in some vile debauch. The word rendered "friends" means elsewhere "lovers" and that in a bad sense. A different vocalisation would give the sense "amours"; *i.e.* the false prophet will pretend that he has been wounded by the indignant relatives of the victims of his lusts. [J. G. Frazer (*Adonis, Attis, Osiris,*[3] i. 74f.) thinks that the "wounds between the arms" were "marks tattooed on his shoulders in token of his holy office," the "lovers" being the Baalim. The shoulders are among some primitive peoples "the sensitive part" of the medicine-man, and are often "covered with an infinite number of small marks, like dots, set close together."—A. S. P.]

XIII. 7–9. A short fragment, parallel partly to 11$^{15-17}$ and partly to 14. The "man of the Lord's fellowship" can scarcely be anyone but a High Priest. For "smite" read as in Mk. 14^{27}, "I will smite." There is no actual condemnation of the shepherd, and it is difficult to say whether Onias or Menelaus is referred to. In 8f. the harrying of the Jewish population in the Maccabæan struggle is described. The writer estimates that two-thirds perished. The survivors had indeed passed through the fire, and their fiery trial had not been in vain. From 141 B.C. onward there was no fear of Judah's lapsing into idolatry.

XIV. The Tribulation of the Struggle against Heathenism and the Glorious Future which may be Anticipated.—It is noteworthy that the writer considers the plundering of Jerusalem as a "day of the Lord." 1f. describes the affliction of Jerusalem up to the time of the Maccabæan successes which are referred to in 3. The sense of what follows is hopelessly obscure in MT and EV owing to the mispronunciation of the Heb. consonants in 5. The thought of "flight" is here altogether out of place. Following the pronunciation adopted in LXX, we may render 5 as follows: "And the valley of my mountains" (but read "the valley of Hinnom") "shall be stopped up—for the valley of the mountains shall reach unto Azel—yea, it shall be stopped up as it was stopped up by the earthquake," etc. In order to understand this description, it must be remembered that a Hebrew allegorist used names of actual places for his purpose, and that our author is addressing those who are familiar with the ancient Scriptures. Here the writer has specially in mind Ezekiel's allegory of the living water issuing from the Temple hill and transforming the whole district to the east (a natural figure of the heathen world of Asia) by the outflow of the word of the Lord from Zion. Ezekiel's allegory was doubtless suggested by the fact that the only spring in Jerusalem rises at the bottom of the hill on which the Temple stood. But since the water of this spring flows by the valley of the Kidron through a desert gorge into the deep depression of the Dead Sea, a scoffer or despondent person might maintain that the limited effect of such a stream was a fair measure of the possible influence of Jewish religion on the heathen world of Asia. A river sufficient to produce any effect would require the removal of the Mount of Olives which rises before Jerusalem on the east, and which, since mountains are a constant metaphor for obstacles, naturally suggested a hindrance to the flow of living water. But just as, at the Israelites' entry into the land of Canaan, the Jordan ceased to be an obstacle so soon as the feet of the Lord's priests were dipped into its waters, so, when the Lord's return to Jerusalem is made manifest, when His feet stand, as it were, on the Mt. of Olives, the obstruction to the flow of the living water will be removed, the mountain cleaving asunder, so as to leave a vast channel in the midst through which the water may flow to the regeneration of the heathen world on the east. In the second century B.C., however, the Jews' thoughts were directed not only to Asia, but also to the countries about the Mediterranean; and accordingly, as it was necessary that the Mt. of Olives should be made low, in order that the living water might reach the east, so it was necessary that the valley W. of Jerusalem should be exalted in its SE. outlet, in order that the water might flow also to the W.

8 seems to be misplaced, and should probably be read immediately after the words "Uzziah king of Judah." The identification of the valley of Hinnom is uncertain; it may be the Tyropœon which runs up into the heart of Jerusalem immediately W. of the Temple, or the valley which bounds the W. and SW. parts of Jerusalem. Both these valleys at their upper end bend somewhat to the W. The writer here pictures one of them as blocked up at its S. end, so that no water can flow out in that direction, and prolonged at its upper end till it reaches Azel, *i.e.* probably Beth Ezel (Mi. 111) near the Philistine plain. Josephus states that in the landslip caused by the earthquake in the days of Uzziah (Am. 11), at a place called Eroge (probably En Rogel), near the junction of the Kidron and the western valleys, a large portion of the mountain fell away, blocking up the roads and the king's garden. —**5. The Lord my God shall come:** read, "The Lord God of Israel" or some similar expression.—**with thee:** read with LXX, "with him."—**holy ones:** the use of this term for the heavenly host is characteristic of late Hebrew; *cf.* Job 51, Ps. 895,7, Dan. 413, 813.

6–9. The text of 6 has suffered considerably. The passage perhaps originally read: "there shall not be light and darkness, heat and cold and frost" (see *mg.*). In any case the sense is clear. We, who live in a temperate climate and in a well-policed society, find it difficult to realise the hardships of life in ancient Palestine, where the struggle to obtain a livelihood was made harder by the extremes of heat and cold (Gen. 3140), and when darkness was a time of anxiety, since a robber might at any time dig through the mud-built walls (Job 2416, Mt. 620 *mg.*) and rob and murder (Jn. 1010). Night, therefore, was a natural metaphor for a time when the wicked might work their will unchecked. The writer looks forward to future peace and ordered government, when there will be, as it were, continuous day, a state of security unbroken by periods of "darkness," *i.e.* of risk of injury, and when at evening time there will be "light," *i.e.* safety. This state of blessedness will come to pass when the Lord's law is recognised in all the land, and the Jewish creed (Dt. 64) will be everywhere acknowledged. There will no longer be any tendency to identify Yahweh with foreign deities, or to worship the Yahweh of one place as distinct from the Yahweh

of another, but His worship will be uniform throughout the country (9).

10f. The writer, ignoring his former allegory of the cleaving of the Mt. of Olives and the blocking up and prolongation westward of the valley of Hinnom, represents all Judah as transformed into a plain from its N. frontier Geba to Rimmon (*i.e.* En Rimmon, Neh. 11 29, Jos. 1532; perhaps the modern Umm er-rumāmīn, 9 miles N. of Beersheba), Jerusalem alone being lifted up above the surrounding country in order to show its spiritual pre-eminence (*cf.* Is. 22, Mi. 41). Benjamin's gate (Jer. 3712f.) was, of course, in the N. wall of Jerusalem, and probably near the E. corner. The place (or site) of the first or (former) gate is apparently mentioned as the W. boundary; "unto the corner gate" seems to be a further description of it; it is mentioned in 2 K. 1413, 2 Ch. 269, Jer. 3138. The tower of Hananel (mentioned Neh. 31, 1239) appears to have been near the NE. corner of the city. The king's winepresses were probably near the king's garden (Neh. 315). The dimensions of Jerusalem are thus given from E. to W. and from N. to S. The utter impossibility of reconciling the details of one allegorical description with those of another is sufficient proof that the writer had no idea of being understood literally. It is noteworthy that, unlike the authors of 9–12, he ignores Samaria.

12–15. The Punishment of the Heathen Opponents of Jerusalem.—This description also is not to be taken literally. The forces arrayed against the Jews came to nothing as though by internal consumption. 13f. appears to be misplaced, and should apparently stand between 2 and 3. The mention of Judah as fighting against Jerusalem is quite natural in a description of the earlier stages of the struggle, but out of place after a description of the earlier stages of the restoration of Jerusalem.

16–19. The Conversion of the Heathen and the Punishment of those who Fail to Observe the Ordinances of the Jewish Faith.—For the thought, *cf.* Is. 66. The reason for the selection of the Feast of Tabernacles is not quite obvious. Probably it was the only feast which those who lived at a great distance from Jerusalem could reasonably be expected to attend, for it marked the end of the agricultural year, whereas a journey to Jerusalem at Passover or Pentecost would sadly interfere with harvest operations. It is somewhat strange that the threatened punishment of a failure of rain is in accordance with a popular superstition; for the pouring of water on the altar at the Feast of Tabernacles, though it may not have been originally so designed, was commonly regarded as producing rain. In 18 read the LXX and Syr. text (see *mg.*). Since Egypt is practically rainless, it is threatened with a different punishment, viz. that of the nations which have opposed Jerusalem.

20f. The Future Purification from Heathenish and Sinful Elements.—Hitherto horses have been regarded as symbolical of influences opposed to the law of the Lord; henceforth, however, the very horses shall be as holy as the High Priest's mitre (Ex. 2836), and the Temple will be so scrupulously kept, that every pot in it will be as free from pollution as the altar bowls which receive the sacrificial blood; indeed so free will Jerusalem be from anything unclean, that those who come up to keep the feasts may use any pot taken at random for the cooking of the sacrificial flesh. Then there will be no more mercenary priests, such as Jason or Menelaus, buying their office; there will no more be a Canaanite or huckster in the house of the Lord.

MALACHI

By Principal A. J. GRIEVE

Name.—Malachi ("my messenger," *cf.* 3₁) may be an abbreviation of Malachiah ("messenger of Yah"), but neither name is found elsewhere, and it is now generally thought that the book is really anonymous, the title being taken from 3₁. This is no mere modern idea, for the Targum has "by the hand of my angel, whose name is called Ezra the scribe," a statement approved by Jerome (see 1₁*).

Date.—The writing dates from the Persian period, when Judah was administered by a "governor" (*peḥah*, 1₈; *cf.* Hag. 1₁, Neh. 5₁₄). The Temple had been rebuilt (3₁, ₁₀, 16–₁₄), so that we get a date subsequent to 516 B.C. That the book was considerably later, contemporary indeed with Ezra and Nehemiah, is shown by its condemnation of mixed marriages and defaulting tithe-payers (*cf.* Ezra 9f., Neh. 13). 3₁₀* need not involve actual acquaintance with the Priestly Code (444), it "may merely reflect practice moving towards the ordinances of P"; see also 44*. Nearer than this we cannot get with certainty. It may be that "Malachi" prepared the way for Ezra's work in 458, or for the joint labour of Ezra and Nehemiah in 444, or for Nehemiah's second visit of reform in 432. A good case can be made out for each of the three suggestions. Note that though it stands last in our version it is neither last in the Hebrew arrangement, nor by any means the latest of the OT books to be written.

Circumstances and Characteristics.—The prophecy is the work of a man who in a disenchanted age and amidst a discontented people endeavours to recall his contemporaries to a true sense of moral and spiritual values. The Golden Age foreshadowed by earlier prophets as a sequel to the return from Babylon had not dawned, Jerusalem was far from being a Golden City, and the country had suffered from drought. Disheartenment and indifference to religion were widespread, and the priests were the chief offenders. Already we seem to note the rise of a lax, sceptical, and cosmopolitan party, the forerunners of the Hellenising faction of the Maccabean age. Against these, "Malachi" comes forward as the spokesman of the pious remnant, the little band of Yahweh's faithful adherents who strove to comfort each other in the dark days (3₁₆f.). He does not dwell upon the future at any length. Yahweh will come to His Temple as Judge of Israel, not (as Hag. and Zech. had surmised) as Protector. The judgment is one on Israel, and will sift the pure metal from the base. Apart from the specific reference to Edom, "Malachi" does not speak of world-judgment; indeed he contrasts Israel unfavourably with the Gentile world (1₁₁f.). What distinguishes him from the other prophets is his insistence on ritual observances and Temple worship, and on the racial purity of Israel. But though he thus falls within the "legal" rather than the "prophetic" days of Jewish history he is no mere formalist; he is sincerely concerned for the spirit that underlies and finds expression in the observances for which he pleads. His brief writing is valuable not only for the light it sheds on the condition of Judæa in the middle of the fifth century B.C. but for its revelation of a courageous standard-bearer of righteousness at a time when slackness was the prevailing fashion. We do not find in him "the eloquence or the imaginative power of some of the older prophets, but his words are always forcible and direct, and the similes and imagery which he uses are effective and to the point." A characteristic feature of his style is the dialectic treatment of a subject by question and answer, *e.g.* 1₂f., 6f., 2₁₃f., ₁₇, 3₇f., ₁₃f.

Literature.—For books on all the Minor Prophets see General Bibliographies. *Commentaries:* (*a*) **Driver** (Cent.B), **Barnes** (CB); (*b*) **J. M. P. Smith** (ICC); (*c*) Riessler. *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries and Encyclopædias, Introductions to OT and the Prophets; Bennett, *Religion of the Post-exilic Prophets*; D. Macfadyen, *The Messenger of God*; J. T. Marshall, *Theology of Malachi* (ET vii.); S. L. Brown in *Interpreter*, July 1908.

I. 1. *Cf.* Zech. 9₁, 12₁. The compiler of the "Book of the Twelve," when he reached the end of Zech. (1–8), had still three short pieces in hand (Zech. 9–11, 12–14, and Mal.). The first two were anonymous, and probably the third as well, but the first had an opening clause which served as a title and also as a model for titles for the other two. These the compiler supplied (Zech. 12₁, Mal. 1₁), added Zech. 9–11 and 12–14 to his eleventh book, and made his remaining pamphlet (Mal.), which had a subject and style of its own, into the twelfth.

I. 2–5. Yahweh's Love for Israel.—This truth is questioned by some of the prophet's contemporaries, who are then reminded of the contrasted fortunes of the nations descended from Jacob and Esau. These peoples (Israel and Edom), sprung from twin brothers, and occupying adjacent lands, might have been expected to share equally in Yahweh's favour, but the recent "desolation" of Edom (probably by the Nabatean Arabs, who drove the Edomites away from their old territory to the district S. of Judah, hence called Idumæa) shows that Yahweh metes out differential treatment. He will frustrate any attempt on Edom's part to reoccupy its former territory, and men will recognise that Yahweh is great, not only in Israel, but beyond it. The reason for this disparate action is found in the different religious temperaments of the two peoples, which perpetuate those of their eponyms. Edom reproduced the "profanity" of Esau; they were a people undisciplined and unspiritual, with no sense of the sanctities of life; Israel, like Jacob, had many and grave defects, yet withal a true realization of God's nature and will, and a sense of kinship and communion with Him (Gen. 25₁₉–34*). The mutual

jealousy and hostility of the two peoples finds frequent expression in OT, *e.g.* Ob. 10–14, Ezek. 35, Jer. 49, Is. 34, 63.

2*b* and 3 are used by Paul in Rom. 9 13.—**5. ye** is emphatic; *mg.* should be followed except for the second note in 4.

I. 6–II. 16. Israel's Disregard of this Love.—This section falls into two parts, one dealing with the priesthood (16–29), the other with the people (210–16). Yahweh has not received the honour due to a father from a son, or to a master from a servant. The priests (note the sudden application, 6) have brought His service into contempt by offering polluted "bread" (an archaic expression for sacrificial flesh) upon His altar. They bring imperfect and inferior animals which were forbidden by the Law (Lev. 2220–24) and which they would not think of offering to their Persian governor. They see no harm in this—(ye say) "it is nothing serious" (8)—but the prophet ironically asks them whether they think God will "accept their persons," *i.e.* receive them favourably (Heb. "lift up the face" of a suppliant). They might as well shut the Temple doors and cease from the task of offering these unworthy and unpalatable sacrifices. Yahweh prefers the religious earnestness of the Gentiles to the insincerity of Israel. 11 is not a prediction (as AV and *mg.*) but a contrast (*cf.* 14) existing in Malachi's own time; perhaps he had come into contact with the comparatively pure "heathenism" of the Persians. His remark is an anticipation of Peter's word in Ac. 1035. The expression *my name* need not be forced so as to presuppose a Divine revelation and to refer to the Jews of the Diaspora as being more mindful of Yahweh "among the heathen" than their lax compatriots were at Jerusalem. This would involve our interpreting "incense" and "offering" in the sense of prayer and praise. Nor need we with early Christian writers like Justin (*Trypho*, § 41) and Irenæus (IV. xvii. 5) see here a prediction of the Eucharist. Malachi's point is that among the Gentiles there were monotheists, and that when offerings were presented to God as One, they were accepted by Yahweh as presented to Him. In contrast to their earnestness the priests of Israel not only offer unworthy gifts, but regard the service of the sanctuary as a bore, a mere wearisome routine. They "snuff at," *i.e.* sniff at or despise the altar (13; *cf.* Ps. 105, Hag. 19). The laity are included (14) in the charge of disrespect amounting to deceit—a man vows a valuable male animal and then redeems his vow by offering an inferior or blemished beast. 21–9 turns again to the priests and shows how unworthy they are as descendants of Levi, whose covenant fear of God had issued in faithful and reverent service (6). Unless a speedy and thorough reformation is forthcoming, Yahweh will send His curse upon them and openly disgrace them; nay, this retribution is so certainly determined that it may be regarded as already brought about (9).

I. 6. Read, with LXX, "a servant feareth his master." —**7. In that ye say,** not literally but virtually; "ye act as though" (so in 12).—**8. with thee:** LXX, "with it." —**9. this:** these unworthy offerings. Follow *mg.* in first note, text in second.—**10. an offering:** the Heb. word (*minḥāh*) is properly a complimentary present such as might be offered by a political subject. It came to be used of tribute offered to God sometimes in a general sense (including animals), sometimes (as in P) specifically of the cereal or "meal" offering (Lev. 21–3*). Here the context makes it clear that the wider sense is intended. —**11. incense is offered:** lit. "it is incensed (or burnt), it is offered." Perhaps "it is offered" is a gloss on the rare expression that precedes. Read, "and a reverent offering is made into sweet smoke in my name."—**12.** *Cf.* on 7.—**the fruit thereof, even his meat:** the two expressions are not dissimilar in the Heb. One may be a gloss. "Meat" is archaic for "food." —**II. 3. I will rebuke your seed:** *i.e.* make your field unfruitful. But as priests were not tillers of the soil we may, changing the Heb. vowel points, read with LXX "rebuke your arm" (*mg.*). A further slight change yields "hew off your arm" (*cf.* 1 S. 231); in any case their functions and authority are threatened. The following words threaten a greater indignity. For "sacrifices" read "pilgrimages" (Ex. 2314–17).— **4. that my covenant might be with Levi:** that my covenant with the tribe of Levi might stand firm. As in 33 so here and in 8, Malachi has in view the wider connotation of the term "Levite" as used in Dt., according to which every member of the tribe, *ipso facto*, possessed priestly rights. The narrower sense is found in P, which rigidly limits the priesthood to the descendants of Aaron and makes the Levites a subordinate order.—**5.** Read with Driver, "My covenant was with him: life and peace, and I gave them unto him; fear, and he feared me." Yahweh gives His priests welfare and prosperity, they in turn give Him reverence.—**6. The law of truth:** sound oral counsel on matters of religion. So in 7—the true priest is skilled in the knowledge of the Law on its ethical and ceremonial sides (*cf.* the Blessing on Levi in Dt. 338–11).— **9. base:** abased, humiliated.—**but have had respect of persons:** apparently the priests had been open to bribery (*cf.* Mi. 311), but perhaps we ought to read, "nor respect me."

II. 10–16. Israel further repudiates Yahweh's love by the common practice of the divorce of native wives (10, 13–16) in order to marry foreign women (11, *cf.* Ezr. 9f., Neh. 1323ff.). Such conduct violates the bond existing between the children of the All-Father, and profanes the covenant by which Yahweh separated Israel to Himself from other peoples. The words "in Israel and in Jerusalem" are glosses. The treachery is towards Yahweh; "strange," *i.e.* foreign, marriages imply foreign cults, and Yahweh's holiness, or holy thing (*i.e.* Israel itself) or Yahweh's sanctuary (*mg.*) is profaned by such sins. May such offenders (the Heb. of 12 has an optative force) be stripped of all friends and supporters; "him that waketh" (*i.e.* a watchman or sentry) "and him that answereth" is a proverbial expression (*cf.* 1 K. 2121) meaning everyone. Or we may with a slight vowel change follow LXX and read, "witness and answerer" (*cf.* Job 1322)—may he be legally outcast. This suits the next clause—may he be spiritually outcast, with no one to offer a sacrifice for him. The **tears** of 13 will be those of the divorced wives, though some authorities instead of **insomuch** read, "because," in which case the tears are those of the people who have been visited by some token of Divine displeasure. They ask **Wherefore** (14) does not Yahweh accept our offerings?—**thy companion,** *i.e.*, a fellow-member of thy tribe.—**thy covenant** may mean either the marriage contract or the covenant between Israel and Yahweh.

15*a* is difficult and probably corrupt. We may omit the interpretation which makes "the one" refer to Abraham. RV means that though God could have made as many men as He liked, He made one only because the godly seed which He sought could only be secured by the union of a single human pair: *mg.* means that no man who had a particle of the spirit of God (or of reason, moral sense) has ever faithlessly put away his wife. A man who seeks godly

children is thereby stayed from divorcing his partner. With slight emendations (Wellhausen, Nowack) read, "Hath not one God made and preserved to us the spirit (of life)? And what doth the One seek? A seed of God" (*i.e.* children; *cf.* Ps. 127$_3$). This means that when our wives bear us children we have fulfilled Yahweh's purpose and our own: we may not discard our wives because they are no longer fresh and fair. The Hebrews married early.—**to your spirit** (15*b* and 16*b*) is rather "in your mind."—**that covereth his garment with violence:** there seems some allusion here to the primitive custom by which to throw one's garment over a woman was to claim her as a wife (Ezek. 16$_8$, Ru. 3$_9$). The Kor'an speaks of a wife as a husband's garment and *vice versa*. The whole passage (2$_{10-16}$) is the most outspoken condemnation of divorce in OT; it is intermediate between Dt. 24$_{1-4}$ and the teaching of Jesus (Mk. 10$_{2-12}$).

II. 17–III. 6. The Coming of Judgment.—This passage is addressed to those of the prophet's contemporaries who were so perplexed by the state of things around them that they had become sceptical of God's justice. The times were out of joint, prosperity was the lot of the wicked instead of the righteous. Their querulousness became a burden to Yahweh, so that He announces His immediate intervention; the day of Yahweh, long regarded as the panacea for all Israel's ills, is about to dawn. Malachi, like Amos (5$_{18}$) and other prophets, stamps the popular conception with an ethical value. Yahweh is even now sending His forerunner, possibly to be identified with Elijah (4$_5$) but probably more like "Yahweh's angel" so often mentioned in the historical books, who is often almost one with Yahweh Himself. So here "the Lord . . . even (*mg.*) the messenger." Perhaps we should distinguish between "my messenger" and "the messenger of the covenant." The phrases **whom ye seek** (*cf.* 2$_{17}$, Where is the God of judgment?) and **whom ye delight in** (or desire) are parallel. The Gospels (Mt. 11$_{10}$ =Lk. 7$_{27}$, Mk. 1$_2$) cite 3$_{1a}$ in reference to John the Baptist. The judgment is to be a time of purifying and cleansing—like a fierce crucible in which the silver is separated from the base elements of the alloy. By "soap" is meant lye, water alkalised by vegetable ashes. The judgment will begin by purging (lit. straining) the corrupt priesthood, and be effective (3f.); it will then pass on to attack evildoers of different kinds among the people. It is a mission of cleansing, not of destruction (*cf.* Jer. 30$_{11}$); Yahweh's love of the house of Jacob (*cf.* 1$_{2f.}$) is unchanging.

III. 7–12. Tithes and the Divine Blessing.—The people cannot hope to win God's favour so long as they withhold God's dues. When the tithes (Dt. 12$_{17f.}$, 14$_{22-29}$*, Nu. 18$_{21-32}$*, Lev. 27$_{30-33}$*; see p. 99—Malachi presupposes the stricter legislation of P as represented in the two latter passages) are paid in full to the Temple treasury, the curse of locusts (tne **devourer,** 11) and drought shall be removed, and showers of blessing shall make the land fruitful. The word used for **offerings** (8) is *terumah* (see HDB, "Offering," 5) and here means gifts from the produce of the soil, and strictly includes tithe. It is often wrongly translated "heave-offering."

III. 13–IV. 3. The Final Triumph of Righteousness.—The prophet here returns to the complaint of those who thought that religion did not pay (with 14 *cf.* 2$_{17}$). They had "kept God's charge," faithfully observing their religious duties, and even wearing the sackcloth and ashes which marked humiliation and penance. Yet it is the arrogant and lax members of the community (*cf.* Ps. 119$_{21,51}$, etc.) that do well; they challenge God's judgment by their evil-doing, yet it does not fall upon them. Such were the words of pious Jews in Malachi's day (the first word of 16 should be "thus" or "these things" (LXX) instead of "then"), and Yahweh, ever mindful of His people, prepared a record (*cf.* the custom referred to in Est. 6f.) so that He may not fail to do them justice when the hour strikes. In the day of His action ("the day on which I do" or "act") they, the true Israel, will be His *peculium* or special private possession, and while the sons who have been rebellious and disloyal are punished, those who have been faithful in service will be protected. Men will "return and discern" (*i.e.* they will once more, as in the good old times, see) virtue rewarded and vice punished; the moral distinctions will no longer be obliterated or blurred. Indeed, the arrogant and wicked will be totally destroyed like a prairie or a forest on fire. But the righteousness of the God-fearers (or of God Himself) will shine forth conspicuous to all, like the sun, and in its beneficent rays all their affliction will be healed. We may note that the Babylonian Shamash, the sun-god, was conceived of as the god of justice, and that Assyrian, Persian, and Egyptian monuments represent the solar disc with wings issuing on either side. **his** (2) is simply the archaic form of "its"; Malachi is not definitely predicting Christ, or indeed any personal agent. Exulting in their vindication, the godly will be as vigorous and joyful as young calves turned out from the dark stall to the sunny meadow. Alongside this picture is the grimmer one of the fate of the wicked (*cf.* Is. 66$_{24}$).

IV. 4–6. Conclusion.—The book closes with an exhortation to observe the Torah or instruction given through Moses; the mention of Horeb, a Deuteronomic trait (P prefers Sinai) perhaps indicates that Malachi has especially in mind the moral and spiritual teachings of Dt. These, if faithfully observed, would heal the strife spoken of in 6, and avert the impending doom. Before the judgment falls, another way of escape is promised: Elijah will reappear (with 5 *cf.* Jl. 2$_{31}$), to set right the social and family discord which is wrecking the community (*cf.* Mi. 7$_{1-6}$). The frequent references to Elijah in the Gospels (*e.g.* Mk. 9$_{11f.}$, 15$_{35}$ Lk. 1$_{17}$, Mt. 11$_{14}$, Jn. 1$_{21,25}$) show how largely the prophet bulked in late Jewish thought. See also Ecclus. 48$_{1-11}$, Justin Martyr, *Trypho*, §§ 8, 49, and Schürer, § 29. In 6 *mg.*, "with" necessitates our supplying "to God" in the text; *mg.*, "land" is better than "the earth"—Malachi is speaking of Israel. It is possible that these three concluding verses are an appendix to the whole "Book of the Twelve."

THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

By Professor JAMES HOPE MOULTON

Ten or a dozen writers, with contributions ranging from 0·4 per cent. (Jude) to 28 (Luke), have given us the NT. Naturally there is considerable difference between them in language and style. Yet there are many characteristics of the Greek they use which find no complete parallel in all the vast mass of extant Greek literature. The significance of this uniqueness is a problem which has only approached solution in our own day.

Classical Greek literature begins with Homer (say tenth century B.C.), and ends (as generally reckoned) with Aristotle (died 322 B.C.). The dialects of the writers differ; but when the great names of Homer, Pindar, and Herodotus are put aside, we find nearly all the rest credited to Attic, the dialect of Athens, the brain of ancient Greece. But Greece had almost as many dialects as there were towns, and we know them from thousands of inscriptions, which make an immense literature of themselves, a field few classical students tread. They represent, when large allowance is made for formulæ and the stiff language of political or legal documents, the actual speech of the people from whom they emanated; and the reading of them shows us that little Greece was as much of a Babel as was England under the Heptarchy. This strife of tongues practically died out in the age of Alexander the Great. Free communication always destroys dialect differences, as we see in modern England. When Greece was united perforce under the rule of Macedon, and Greeks from all parts sought their fortune abroad, a standard dialect grew up very rapidly. Both political and intellectual leadership determined which dialect should survive. Just as in England the dialect current in the triangle of London, Cambridge, and Oxford became the standard, so Attic wore down all rivals, and formed the basis of a new "Common Greek." There were plentiful traces of other dialects, especially Ionic, the old language of Greek Asia Minor; and features peculiar to Athenian speech were prone to disappear. This Common Greek became the universal language of the Hellenistic age, an age in which Greece proper was no longer the centre of Greek culture, now spreading all over the Roman world. Before the first century, this Greek became a world language, a universal medium of communication from the confines of India to Rome, and almost all round the Mediterranean. A world language was ready, in "the fulness of the time," for the preaching of a world religion.

Meanwhile, as literary appreciation grew, without any literary output that could even distantly rival that of the golden age, the classical literature became increasingly canonical for all who wrote books or read them. To write in the language of the past was the ambition of every *littérateur*. Epic poets like Apollonius of Rhodes copied Homer, Theocritus wrote his lovely pastorals in Doric, or even the Æolic of Sappho; while prose followed uniformly the Attic of Plato and Demosthenes. In all cases the attempt to write in an archaic style, only known from books, naturally produced plentiful errors, which our more scientific study can discover with ease. But increasing care was taken to eliminate them. Rhetoricians studied and taught the rules of style; and grammarians compiled elaborate works to enforce the use of words employed by "good" writers, as distinguished from the "degenerate" forms and phraseology of the living speech of the day. Their pedantry is invaluable to us, who are concerned rather to know what words and phrases meant in the ordinary every-day Greek of the age when Paul preached in Greek to people who neither wrote books nor read them.

A priori, we should feel sure that NT writers, with such a constituency to reach, would avoid an artificial and archaic language, and would use that which ordinary people could not fail to understand. Their books have rarely the smallest semblance of treatises. They wrote for immediate needs, in a world they thought near to its end, and they had neither time nor taste for literary canons. But since, for us, "Greek" means almost exclusively Greek books, written in classical language, or artificially imitating that language, it was inevitable that the interpretation of the NT should be coloured unduly by our knowledge of a Greek five centuries older than its own. There are not a few points in which the superior classical scholarship gathered since 1611 actually introduces mistaken renderings into RV and RVm, from which instinct and the Latin Vulgate had delivered less instructed predecessors. We have always to remember, in reading the great commentators of the nineteenth century, that their exact definitions of the meaning of a word or the force of a grammatical construction may be cogent for the age of Plato but altogether obsolete for that of Paul. It is almost as if a learned German were to translate a Kipling story with a Shakespearian Grammar and a Chaucer Glossary at his elbow.

The scientific study of Hellenistic Greek is a development of our own time. The Athenian *savant*, G. N. Hatzidakis, has been a pioneer in the exact analysis of the popular Greek of to-day, which proves to be the lineal descendant of the popular Greek of nineteen centuries ago. The late Professor Thumb, of Strassburg, has traced the development of the Common Greek from the earlier dialects, and the relation of Modern Greek to its ancestry. Professor Adolf Deissmann, of Berlin, supplied in his *Bibelstudien* (1895) the fertile hint which has opened to us a whole library of new material for NT study. Casually reading some recently discovered non-literary Greek papyri from Egypt, he noticed the close affinity between their Greek and that of the NT. It was because these documents were not meant for publication, and were, therefore, written in the unadorned natural language of daily life. This

hint has been plentifully developed by Deissmann and others for the NT vocabulary, and for the grammar; and it may now be regarded as established that we can more safely ignore Thucydides and Xenophon than the fugitive letters of professional men, farmers, or schoolboys from the age in which the NT was written. We are in no danger of going too far, and undervaluing the importance of the study of literature. But, by virtue of contemporary date and popular character, the non-literary monuments establish their right of veto against any conclusions based on the ancient literature alone. A large number of words hitherto peculiar to the NT, or at most to that and the LXX, are now proved by their occurrence in the papyri to have been elements in the popular vocabulary, excluded from literature by a canon analogous to that imposed upon the Revisers, who were forbidden to employ words not current in a classical literature nearly three centuries old.

We come then to the question whether there is anything peculiar to NT Greek, when its essentially vernacular elements have been allowed for. Except Luke, all the NT writers were Jews, and (with the further exception of the writer to the Hebrews) spoke Aramaic. Paul himself spoke it (Ac. 22_2; *cf.* Phil. 3_5), but must have been at least equally at home in Greek from the first. Mark and the author of Rev. only used Greek as most Welshmen in Wales use English—a second language more or less imperfectly and unidiomatically acquired for dealings with outsiders. Between these extremes stand the other NT writers. Lk., Ac., and Heb., though their writers probably spoke no Semitic tongue, were open to Semitising influence through the Greek OT, which suffered largely from over-literal renderings of the Hebrew. The biblical language thus produced had for Luke the sort of glamour that obsolete archaisms of the AV have for us. He not only quoted them, as did all the NT writers, but he instinctively imitated their style when his narrative moved among Palestinian scenes. He seems also to have preserved unidiomatic features due to witnesses from whose lips he took down stories of Jesus and the Twelve. We find him preserving uncultured forms which he found in the rough Greek of the source known as Q (see p. 672), altered in Mt. to more literary forms. But where Luke is telling his own story independently, with no motive for colouring his language after the LXX, he uses the Common Greek of educated men's daily speech, with very slight concessions to the writing style. Not even these are found in Paul, whose habit of dictating, combined with the casual character of his letters, made his writing practically identical with his speaking. This has been shown—especially by Nägeli's detailed investigation of Paul's vocabulary—to be essentially the language of ordinary people, untouched by features of higher culture. This does not mean that Paul was the uncultured man of Deissmann's too highly coloured picture. A similar analysis of John Wesley's sermons would prove him an artisan: it is only that both great preachers kept themselves instinctively within the range of the people they sought to reach. The very fact that Paul did not need the LXX (though he used it) for his study of the OT, accounts for the practical absence of what we have called "biblical style" in his writings. Greek being for him at least as much of a mother tongue as Aramaic, there was nothing to prompt him to use unidiomatic Greek clumsily reflecting features of a Semitic language. The Greek of 1 P. and Jas. is of much the same order, but with more trace of "biblical" style in stray phrases. This is significant of the bilingualism of "Galilee of the Gentiles," where Peter and James were bred. Peter's Greek may well have been better than his Aramaic (Mt. 26_{73}), from the point of view of Jerusalem, where the use of Greek was frowned on as unpatriotic. This may account for the very rough style of the Jerusalemite Mark, who seems to have a foreign idiom perpetually behind his Greek. (There is no necessity to take literally the phrase "Peter's former interpreter," applied by Papias to Mark (p. 681), as if his work was to turn Peter's Aramaic into Greek.) The very strong element of Gentile population in Northern Palestine must be reckoned with in all attempts to determine language conditions under which the NT originated. We cannot question that Jesus and His disciples normally talked Aramaic among themselves; but they must constantly have been in contact with people for whom Greek was the only medium of communication. We may even conjecture that if "Matthew put together the oracles in the Hebrew" (*i.e.* Aramaic), as Papias tells us, it was primarily for the Southerners, who were too proudly nationalist to tolerate Greek readily. Many of the discourses of Jesus may well have been in Greek from the first: so typical a parable as the Prodigal Son shows hardly a sign of a Semitic background, and has probably been incorporated nearly as Luke got it from some hearer, with comparatively little modification, and perhaps no translation at all.

The First Gospel, which was almost certainly written in Palestine for Jewish Christians, uses a correct if somewhat featureless Greek, avoiding vulgar forms, but showing nothing of the specially literary syntax. The Fourth, however, with the Johannine Epistles (which no one with the faintest instinct of style would detach from it), belongs to a writer correct enough in grammar, but simple to baldness, and with no sense of idiom: Greek was with him no mother tongue. The phenomena will accordingly fit the theory that the writer was a Jerusalemite. The Apocalypse, on every ground of language, must be assigned to another author, as Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, saw in the third century. The grasp of Greek is much greater than the evangelist's, in largeness of vocabulary and the free use of out-of-the-way words. But the grammar is defiant of rules, especially in concord of gender and of case. Dr. R. H. Charles has recently shown how many of its mannerisms are due to the literal transference of Semitic idioms. It might be the work of a man who had used Greek all his life as a second language and never from choice, who had accordingly enriched his vocabulary without troubling to cure himself of some grammatical faults which persisted easily when affecting categories not present in his own native language—just as the genders of French and German are a constant trouble to an Englishman, speaking a language that is not encumbered with this useless survival. There remains the last-written NT book, 2 P., which is unique in the character of its Greek. There is some literary flavour in Heb. and the Lukan writings, but they are from hands that never penned any other language, and never went beyond the higher spoken style of educated people. But 2 P. uses a Greek which appears to be learnt from rhetoricians or from books, an artificial dialect of big and unusual words, applied without the sure touch of a native. This curious medium is probably responsible for much underrating of the book's worth. It was written when the movement towards Atticism in literature had gone so far that educated people despised a book written in the language of daily life. Not very long after, we

find Clement of Alexandria deliberately Atticising, in order to win the ear of readers who would be deaf to any other language. The writer of 2 P. is not very successful, but his effort may have the same motive. The instinct of the Church was well guided when through this fantastic dialect she heard accents which made good the claim that one little writing of the second century spoke truly and representatively of the first age of Christianity.

There are several directions in which we can hope for increased understanding of the problem of NT Greek. As publications of non-literary papyri accumulate, and of later inscriptions free from formalism, the exact use of NT words becomes more assured. The material is now being collected in form accessible to students (Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, illustrated from the papyri and other non-literary sources*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1914, *et seq.*). Research in modern Greek dialects affords some hope of delimiting dialect differences in the Common Greek, which may possibly give us tests for NT criticism. The exact range of Semitism in the NT will be more scientifically determined by co-operation between specialists in Hellenistic Greek and in Semitic languages, who have tended too much to work apart, and even with some antagonism. All this, and other methods of study as yet untried, will help us to realise better how the NT spoke to Greek hearers of its own day, to whom it appealed in their own language as men could best understand it. And this in turn will make us realise better how the Book should speak to all the peoples in their own mother tongues to-day.

It remains to note in a few words how this Greek language was fitted for the highest purpose it was providentially destined to serve. As an instrument of expression we compare it on the one side with Classical Greek and on the other with Hebrew and Aramaic. What have we gained or lost by the fact that the NT was written in the "degenerate" Hellenistic, as classical scholars used to think it, instead of the perfect Attic of Plato—that the "Logia" attributed to Matthew by Papias were not preserved in their original Aramaic but absorbed into Greek Gospels? The first question is easy. In the five centuries Greek has lost nothing which impairs it for its task. The old wealth of inflexion has been considerably cut down by regularising processes which make the language easier without weakening its expressiveness. Some syntactical luxuries like the dual number have been sacrificed; and a variety of refinements have worn away. But with the loss of features which can add grace to the matchless prose of the golden age of literature, Greek has lost none of the characteristic resources which mainly contributed to make it the most perfect form of speech the world has ever known. It has become much easier to translate, more adaptable to the simple needs of daily life, less dependent on elaborate and rhythmical phrasing. Its rich tense system, with capacity for expressing shades of meaning that are often as suggestive as they are untranslatable, its abundant vocabulary and power of increasing it at will, the flexibility of its order of words, bringing great facilities for indicating emphasis, its equal adaptability to lucid simpleness and sonorous rhetoric—all these and many more features of Greek remained as vividly present as ever in the days when the language was supposed to be in decay. For the purpose of simple narrative, such as that which fills so large a part of the NT, it may be questioned whether Hellenistic is not even superior to Attic: it is more fitly matched in this respect with Homer—witness Dr. Montagu Butler's beautiful rendering of the Prodigal Son into Homeric hexameters—or the Ionic of Herodotus.

The comparison with Hebrew or Aramaic is complementary to that with Classical Greek. Hebrew is unrivalled as a medium for lucid and picturesque narrative, winning its force from its absolute simplicity. It loses less in translation than perhaps any of the languages of literature. But its extraordinary deficiencies in the tense system are enough by themselves to show the superiority of Hellenistic for the purposes of the NT. Mark and Revelation might perhaps have been equally telling in the Semitic tongue from which they were virtually translated; and of the Fourth Gospel we might say nearly the same. But Luke would have lost much and the author to the Hebrews more had they learned Semitic speech for the expression of thoughts more at home in Greek; while Paul, though he knew the Semitic so well, would have found it hard to clothe in that unsuited garb the "rude speech" which chafed even at the restrictions of Greek. We might add to the disabilities of Semitic dialects for the functions of a world language the imperfections of their system of writing, and the many elements of Semitic genius which would necessarily remain foreign to the minds of men speaking Indo-European languages.

Literature.—Grammars: Winer-Moulton, *A Treatise on the Grammar of NT Greek;* J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of NT Greek* (in progress); Blass, *Grammar of NT Greek*[2] (the most recent German edition, edited by Debrunner, is better); A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek NT in the Light of Historical Research;* Burton, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in NT Greek;* Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (HNT); Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek* (in progress). Books for beginners by J. H. Moulton, Huddilston, and H. P. V. Nunn. Lexicons: Grimm-Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT;* Souter, *A Pocket Lexicon to the Greek NT.* Other Works: Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus, Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular*, article on "Hellenistic and Biblical Greek" in the *Standard Bible Dictionary;* Deissmann, *Bible Studies, Light from the Ancient East;* G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri;* Moulton and Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (in progress). [A full bibliography up to 1908 may be seen in the writer's *Prolegomena.* A detailed examination of the question of Semitism may be expected in vol. ii. of his *Grammar.*]

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

By Dr. J. O. F. MURRAY

The "Canon" is the list of books recognised as authoritative on points of Christian doctrine. The history of the NT Canon forms an important chapter in general Church history. It describes first how the Church awoke to the fact that it possessed in the writings of the apostolic age a NT of equal authority to the OT, and then how it decided what books belonged to it. The study has also a direct bearing on Biblical criticism and exegesis; it provides posterior limits for the date of the composition of the several books, and records the traditions current with regard to their authorship.

The evidence in the earliest period is scanty and largely indirect, though real coherence is imparted to the scattered fragments of testimony by the continuity of the life of the body to which the witnesses belong. We need not, therefore, despair of arriving at approximately certain results. But we have to look with especial care on any argument from silence.

The first preachers of the gospel appealed to the OT to win faith in a crucified and risen Messiah. The Jewish Scriptures were read in Christian worship. Christian doctrine (*e.g.* Gal.) and exhortation (*e.g.* Heb.) were largely based on them. They supply a test for the inspiration of any writings to which heretical teachers might appeal (2 Tim. 316). But there is no thought within the Church of any addition to the original deposit.

At the same time converts were orally instructed in the facts of the Lord's life, and made familiar with His teaching (Lk. 1I–4, Ac. 2035). Words of the Lord, where they were to be had, were final on points of doctrine (1 Th. 415) or practice (1 Cor. 712,25). Moreover, the apostles themselves taught and wrote as having authority, and claimed obedience to the traditions (2 Th. 215, 36) and acceptance for the creed they had delivered (1 Cor. 151, 2 Tim. 22). One book (Rev. 2218) claims the same sanctions as Dt. 42.

The usage of the first generation passes on without a break into the second. A like authority was accorded to words of the Lord and the teaching and example of the apostles as to the Law and the Prophets. Owing however, to the survival of independent oral traditions, we cannot assert that any of the words of the Lord in Clement of Rome (A.D. 95), Ignatius (A.D. 115), or Polycarp (A.D. 115) are derived from our gospels, though "the gospel" in Ignatius seems to be a written document. In any case, the "words" are not quoted as "Scripture." They derive their authority from the Lord who spoke and not from the evangelist who records them.

The Pauline epistles are indeed quoted by name. Clement, writing to Corinth, quotes 1 Cor. Polycarp, writing to Philippi, quotes Phil. These epistles were, therefore, in general circulation, though not yet apparently in liturgical use. But there is no proof that any special authority attached to them except in the church to which they were primarily addressed. In Polycarp xii. 1, however, Eph. 426 seems to be quoted as *in scripturis*.

When we pass from express quotations to coincidences in thought and language, the acquaintance with apostolic writings which these writers reveal is remarkable. The impress of Heb. on Clement, and of 1 P. on Polycarp, is especially marked; but the range of familiarity with Pauline Epistles shown by all three is so wide, that it is difficult to doubt that a collection of these was already in circulation. Such a collection is, of course, implied in 2 P. 316, but unfortunately the authorship and date of 2 P. are uncertain (p. 913). The pains taken to collect the epistles of Ignatius show that the idea of such a collection was already familiar.

The dates of the other writings of the sub-apostolic age, the Epistle of Barnabas, the "Shepherd" of Hermas, the second Epistle of Clement, and the Didaché are more uncertain. We may provisionally put them, with Papias and Basilides, between A.D. 125 and 140. During this period "the words of the Lord" are still the normal authority co-ordinate with the OT. The writings of apostles, though familiar to the writers (*e.g.* the use of Jas. by Hermas), are not yet expressly quoted, except by the heresiarch Basilides. The evidence, however, grows more definite that "the words" were familiar in a written form. Some sayings, indeed, are quoted from independent sources, but there are clear signs of literary dependence on each of our four evangelists. Barnabas and 2 Clem. quote Mt. as Scripture. The "gospel" in the Didaché is clearly a written document. Above all, Papias records traditions with regard to the origin of Mt. and Mk. showing that comparative criticism of the gospels has begun; and he takes sayings from Jn., and no doubt other written sources, as the text of his expositions, as did Basilides in his *Exegetica*.

We come now to Justin Martyr, whose *Apologies* were written about A.D. 150. Unfortunately his treatise against Marcion, though known to Irenæus and Tertullian, is lost, so we have no direct evidence of the authority he would have claimed for the gospels and epistles in establishing Christian doctrine. But he must have been familiar, before he died, with the idea of a NT Canon. For Marcion defined his position by reference to the apostolic writings which he was prepared to recognise as authoritative; and in so doing, drew up a Canon. Justin would, no doubt, have regarded Marcion's list as defective. Marcion's list was meant to exclude many books which in popular estimation stood on the same level as those which he accepted. But at least from his time onwards no one could doubt that the writings of the apostles were, for the Church, the primary authority for the determination of apostolic doctrine.

In commending Christianity to Jews or heathen, Justin could appeal to the gospels only as evidence to historic fact. He does not quote them by name. But he describes them as the work of apostles and of the disciples of apostles, and says that they were used in Christian worship. There is no doubt that he was acquainted with the four canonical gospels. The only points at issue are, whether he also used any apocryphal gospel, or a gospel harmony, and whether Jn. stood in his estimation on the same level as the Synoptists.

The fact that his pupil Tatian composed (*c.* A.D. 160) his *Diatessaron* (or gospel harmony) exclusively from the four canonical gospels really leaves no room for doubt as to the contents of his master's Gospel Canon. Justin was certainly familiar with many of the Pauline epistles, including the Pastorals and Heb. He quotes Rev. as by John. In an argument from prophecy everything turns on the authorship and date of the prediction.

Irenæus (fl. 175–200) was connected directly with the close of the apostolic age and the school of John in Asia Minor by his teachers Polycarp, Papias, and Pothinus. He was closely connected in his own day with the churches of Asia Minor, Gaul, and Rome. His evidence, therefore, is of the highest importance. It is fortunately clear and abundant. His Gospel Canon is not only fixed, but he is prepared to prove to the confusion of the heretics, who for various dogmatic reasons presumed to tamper with it, that it was impossible in the nature of things for the number of gospels to be more or less than four. His characterisation of the different evangelists in apportioning the apocalyptic symbols between them shows delicate discrimination, and seems to imply a considerable background of comparative study. He ascribes even minute points in phraseology to the overruling of the Spirit. Irenæus also quotes as Scripture twelve Pauline epistles (omitting Phm. and Heb.), 1 P., 1 and 2 Jn., besides Ac. and Rev.

The same books are accepted at the same time and in the same way by Clement in Alexandria, and by Tertullian in Carthage.

Irenæus also shows acquaintance with Jas. and Heb. Tertullian and Clement quote Jude. Tertullian regards Heb. as the work of Barnabas, and excludes it from the Canon. Clement accepts it as fundamentally though indirectly Pauline. He also uses the Apocalypse of Peter, Clement of Rome, Barnabas and Hermas.

The only books in our present Canon not quoted as Scripture by one or other of these three are Jas., 3 Jn., and 2 P.

The evidence of the leading writers can be supplemented by the evidence of VSS (p.601). This evidence is important as expressing not merely the judgment of individuals but the liturgical use of whole churches. Unfortunately the evidence for the earliest period, where it would be of the greatest value, is still shrouded in obscurity. Still before the end of the second century the Latin VS seems to have contained all the books of our NT except Jas., Heb., and 2 P. The earliest Syriac translation comprised only the gospels, Ac., and Pauline epistles (at first without Heb.). The date and contents of the earliest form of the Egyptian VS are too uncertain to be adduced here.

The oldest extant attempt to draw up a list of accepted books on orthodox lines is found in what is called the "Muratorian Fragment" on the Canon. It is a Latin translation of a Greek document drawn up, perhaps, by Hippolytus in Rome (*c.* A.D. 200). It is sadly mutilated and disarranged. It opens with a comparative study of the four gospels, perhaps in answer to criticisms of the "Alogi," an obscure body apparently with Montanist sympathies. Then, after a short account of Ac., it passes on to the Pauline epistles. It is remarkable that pains are taken to show how letters written originally for particular communities come to have a universal application. The justification is found in the fact that Paul, like John in Rev., addresses seven churches. The four personal letters are an appendix, and accepted for their bearing on points of ecclesiastical discipline, a subject of universal interest. These comments, as in the case of the gospels, seem to show that the collection of Pauline epistles is of some standing and has been the subject of reflection as a whole. There is no room in the collection for Heb. The rest of the list is in considerable confusion. It seems to acknowledge Jude, two epistles of John, Wisdom, Rev., and, with some hesitation, the Apocalypse of Peter. "The Shepherd" of Hermas is commended, but definitely excluded from the Canon on the ground of its date. The writings of various heresiarchs and two epistles forged in the name of Paul are repudiated with scorn. There are certainly *lacunæ* in the MS, so it is not possible to lay stress on its omissions except, as we have seen, in the case of Heb.

To sum up the results attained so far. Before the end of the second century, the Church over a wide area had been aroused by the conflict with Gnosticism to the fact that it possessed a NT as well as an OT to safeguard the tradition of apostolic doctrine, and was already in substantial agreement as regards a large part of its contents. The criterion for admission to this Canon was apostolic authorship, with an extension in the case of Mk. and Lk. to include the work of disciples of apostles.

At the same time, the conflict with Montanism made it clear that the period of what we may call "creative inspiration" was passed. As we can see from the judgment of the Muratorian Fragment on Hermas, and from the opening sentences of *The Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*, no "modern" book could hope to rank with the deposit bequeathed by the first generation of Christians (*cf.* Eus. *Hist.* V. xvi. 3).

The outstanding figure in the second quarter of the third century is Origen. He approaches the problem from the point of view of Christian scholarship. He has a wide acquaintance with the works of his predecessors, and with the use of the different churches in his own day. In theory he postulates universal consent as a condition for full canonical value *ad confirmationem dogmatum*. In practice he uses freely any passage that illustrates his meaning or suggests a fresh point of view, calling attention to the fact, if the source from which he has drawn it is of questionable authority. Thus he accepts only the four gospels as canonical. But he uses from time to time the gospels of the Hebrews and of Peter. The Preaching of Peter he explicitly rejects.

He regards Heb. as Pauline in thought, though not in diction, and notices that it is not universally received. Still if it is apostolic he is prepared to accept it as canonical in spite of its lack of general recognition.

He accepts 1 P. He regards 2 P. as genuine, but hesitates about accepting it owing to its lack of acceptance in any part of the Church. He notes that 2 and 3 Jn. lack universal acceptance, and does not apparently make any use of them himself. He accepts Jude with some hesitation. Jas. he ascribes to the brother of the Lord. His hesitation in using it seems due simply to the deficiency of its support by tradition. He accepts Rev. He also quotes Barnabas as

" Catholic " and uses " the Shepherd " of Hermas, while acknowledging that it is disputed, and the Didaché.

One of Origen's pupils, Dionysius of Alexandria (*d.* 264), wrote what may be regarded as the first essay in NT criticism in his discussion of the problem of the authorship of Rev. In the course of his argument, he started the theory, which has taken so prominent a place in later speculation with regard to the Johannine writings, that there was an Elder John in Ephesus as well as the apostle. He wished to make " the Elder " responsible for Rev.

The fourth century opened with the Diocletian persecution, one special feature of which was an attack on the Christian Scriptures. It did not, however, produce as much effect as we might have expected in forcing a decision with regard to the books on the border line. On the other hand, the wholesale destruction of MSS in certain regions had, no doubt, a far-reaching effect on the history of the text of the NT.

The most important writer in the first quarter of the century was Eusebius of Cæsarea. He inherited the Origenian tradition, and was specially interested in the history of the Canon. In his *Ecclesiastical History* (*c.* 324), he undertakes (III. iii. 3) to record side by side with the successions of bishops in the leading dioceses any traditions which would throw light on the composition of the canonical books, together with instances of the use of books of doubtful authority. As far as we can judge, he carried out his plan with reasonable consistency.

Eusebius, as Lightfoot pointed out, did not propose to record every instance of the use of the generally accredited books. Such a task would have been at once interminable and superfluous. It follows that no argument unfavourable to the genuineness of any of these books can be based simply on the fact that Eusebius does not call attention to the fact of its use by any ecclesiastical writer.

Eusebius summarises his results in III. xxv. The books which he enumerates in this chapter fall into four classes. In the first class are the books universally accepted, viz. the four gospels, Ac., the Pauline epistles (apparently including Heb.), 1 Jn., 1 P., and possibly Rev. In the second class come the disputed books which were winning their way to general acceptance, Jas., Jude, 2 P., 2 and 3 Jn. In the third class come books which he calls rather oddly " bastard " or " spurious." They were substantially orthodox, and had had a certain vogue in reputable quarters in earlier days, but their popularity was waning. No one any longer treated them as canonical. The list includes the Acts of Paul, Hermas, Apocalypse of Peter, Barnabas, Didaché, and possibly (no doubt he means if the view put forward by Dionysius should win acceptance) Rev. In the fourth class come various heretical gospels and Acts, which were not even to be reckoned among the " bastard," but eschewed altogether.

Eusebius was a man of little originality or independent judgment. But he was widely read in the Greek Christian literature of the second and third centuries, the bulk of which has now irretrievably perished, and subsequent ages owe a deep debt to his honest, if somewhat confused and at times not a little prejudiced, erudition.

There is no reason to suppose that any writer subsequent to Eusebius had access to any fresh source of evidence with regard to the authorship or claim to canonicity of any of the books of the NT. The history of the Canon for the next three centuries is concerned simply with tracing the steps by which the different churches of Christendom attained to substantial agreement as to its contents.

The Greek-speaking churches in the East, Jerusalem as represented by Cyril, Asia Minor as represented by Gregory of Nazianzus, and Alexandria as represented by Athanasius, accept all the books in the first two classes in the list of Eusebius ; only Athanasius admits, while Cyril and Gregory exclude, Rev. Athanasius also allows the use of the Didaché and of " the Shepherd " of Hermas for the instruction of catechumens.

The Church of Antioch followed an independent line. Under the influence of Lucian of Samosata (*d.* 312), the Canon of Antioch excluded 2 P., 2 and 3 Jn., Jude, and Rev. This Canon passed with Chrysostom to Constantinople. It went also to Edessa with Rabbula (*d.* 435) and fixed the limits of the Peshitta Syriac VS. Theodore of Mopsuestia (*d.* 428) rejected all the Catholic epistles as well as Rev., and was followed by some of the Syriac-speaking Nestorians. The missing books, were, however, added to the Syriac VS early in the sixth century. They are contained in the Armenian and Ethiopic VSS.

The Quini-Sextine Council (692) ratified the list as given by Athanasius.

In the West the Canon at the time of Cyprian (*d.* 259) contained Rev., but lacked Heb., Jas., 2 P., 2 and 3 Jn., and Jude, and the recognition of these books by Latin writers in the fourth century varies in an interesting way. By 450, however, their position in the Canon was assured under the dominating influence of Jerome and Augustine. The Synod of Carthage, at which Augustine was present, in 397 gave conciliar sanction to the complete list.

So by degrees the collection of sacred writings grew into shape by what looks like the almost unconscious action of the instinct of the community, at once following and checking the results of individual scholars. Councils spoke only to ratify results already securely attained.

Such, in outline, was the growth of the Canon of the NT. For a thousand years the result remained unchallenged. And the Bible, interpreted as a uniform whole, either with legal literalism, or allegorically, shaped the thoughts of men with regard to God and the world, and provided laws for the regulation of the lives of states and individuals. It was known, however, in the West only in Latin, and remained a sealed book to all but the learned few.

With the revival of learning and the invention of printing came the era of vernacular versions. The Bible became the people's book, and played the chief part in producing the spiritual ferment which broke up the existing Church order, and changed the whole face of Europe.

Since then it has been subjected to strange tests. It has been erected into an infallible oracle and yet allowed to speak only in the terms of a narrow confessional orthodoxy. This use of the Bible as an instrument of slavery led to a natural reaction. It has, in consequence, been subjected to the fiercest fires of independent and often hostile critical investigation.

To speak now only of the NT, so far as literary analysis goes, the wave of destructive criticism may fairly be said to have spent its force. In almost every case (2 P. is the only clear exception) the traditional judgment has been endorsed by modern scholarship. But in other directions the effect of critical study has been far-reaching. Its guiding principle is that the books of the Bible must be studied on exactly the same principles as other books. It might seem as if

this must render obsolete the whole distinction between canonical and uncanonical. But the more we interpret these books like other books, and reap our reward in the clear understanding of the distinctive message and abiding significance of each, the more we realise that they have in them an element which differentiates them from all other books. They declare, as no other books attempt to do, and with sure mastery, the Being and Character, all that gives significance to the Name of God. They give us a key by which we can trace His hand in history and grasp the principles of His government of the world.

If we give up the attempt to identify Biblical Theology with any of the systems that have been produced at any age in the Church's history, we find in its stead a revelation of spiritual principles, the living germ of all subsequent developments of Christian thought, and the test by which we can try the spirit of any system, and detect and cast out any alien element that may claim our allegiance. It assures true organic continuity in the results of Christian thinking to the end of time. It holds within it the secret both of permanence and progress.

Literature.—Gregory, *Canon and Text of NT*; Souter, *Text and Canon of NT*; Westcott, *Canon of NT*, *The Bible in the Church*; Moore, *The NT in the Christian Church*; Polkinghorne, *Canon of NT*; Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, and his *Grundriss*; Leipoldt, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*[4], i. 372–399 (E. tr. from 3rd ed., ii. 38–62), *Die Entstehung des NT*; Articles in Dictionaries and Encyclopædias and in Introductions to NT, especially B. Weiss and Jülicher.

[The following notes may not be out of place here :—

The system of chapters of NT now in use was invented by Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro in 1238, and soon passed into general use. The cardinal also divided each chapter into paragraphs marked by letters, but this was unfortunately superseded by the verse system introduced by Robertus Stephanus in 1551.

The first printed text of Gr. NT was that of Cardinal Ximenes in 1514, known as the Complutensian from Complutum the Latin name of Alcala in Spain, where Ximenes founded a university. But the first to be published was the edition of Erasmus (1516), which this great scholar re-edited four times. Other early editors were Stephanus of Paris, whose third edition (1550) became the standard text in England, Beza of Geneva, and Elzevir, whose edition of 1633 is the continental standard, and gives us the well-known phrase (found in his preface) Textus Receptus—he thought he had produced a text which all would accept as final. The labours of a long line of scholars have resulted in a different conclusion. Among those who have most successfully advanced the endeavour towards a perfect text are Walton, Bishop of Chester (1657), John Mill (1707), Richard Bentley (1716), Bengel of Alpirsbach (1734), J. J. Griesbach (1745–1812), who developed the "family" theory, Lachmann (c. 1850), Tregelles, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, von Soden, C. R. Gregory, and among living scholars, B. Weiss, Lake, Burkitt, Rendel Harris, Chase, Turner, and Souter.—A. J. G.]

THE TEXT AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

By Dr. J. O. F. MURRAY

The object of Textual Criticism is to present an ancient book to modern readers in the form in which it left the hands of its author.

Textual Criticism is necessary for students of the NT because the original copies of all its books have perished, and the only way of restoring their contents is by a careful comparison of the copies, no two alike, that have been derived from them by a long chain of transcription.

Each book was at first circulated separately. The formation of collections, *e.g.* of gospels and of Pauline epistles, came later. The different order in which the books are arranged in MSS and lists shows that these collections were made independently in different centres. Single volumes containing the whole NT were not produced before the fourth century.

Each book, therefore, has a textual history of its own which must be studied separately. The value of what is now a single MS is not constant for all the books contained in it. Each gospel, for instance, in the recently-discovered Freer MS (W; fourth or fifth century) has affinities of its own.

Some difficulties in the way of accurate transcription are mechanical. The eye may be caught by the recurrence of a group of similar letters and the intervening words may in consequence drop out. The ear, when the work is being done by dictation, may fail to distinguish similar sounds.

In some cases, mistakes are due to mental activity, conscious or unconscious, arising from familiarity with a similar passage or phrase in another part of the NT or OT, or with a variant reading in the passage itself. In some cases they come from a desire to improve the language or grammar. Sometimes an illustrative anecdote has been noted in the margin, and has afterwards been incorporated in the text.

When the books began to be translated and texts in two languages were transcribed side by side, a fresh source of danger was introduced. How far the texts now current in Greek MSS have been affected by it is hard to determine. It affords a simple explanation of a great many seemingly objectless changes of phrase and construction. Dr. Chase has given strong reasons for ascribing some of the changes in the Codex Bezæ (D) to Syriac influence, and within narrow limits the Greek column in that MS. has been affected by the Latin which accompanies it. The possibility, therefore, must always be allowed for.

Changes deliberately introduced for dogmatic purposes are a negligible quantity in the sum total of variations.

Hitherto we have been dealing with sporadic changes introduced by the inadvertence or at the whim of particular scribes. The time came, however, when the growing divergence of text attracted the attention of scholars, and in the fourth century, and perhaps even earlier, an attempt was made to secure uniformity by systematic revision. Materials were brought together from divergent lines of textual transmission and combined into a composite whole. It would be very convenient if we could assume that the scholars by whom this work was accomplished had a clear conception of critical principles or were aiming at anything beyond immediate edification. But there is no ground for this convenient supposition.

The evidence is primarily contained in Greek MSS, each of which rests ultimately on the autograph. This evidence is supplemented by that derived from VSS into various languages and from patristic quotations (p. 601).

The evidence of VSS at its best leads us back to the Greek MS from which the VS was originally made. The evidence of patristic quotations shows us what sort of readings were current at the time and in the country of the writer.

Special difficulties, which cannot now be enumerated, affect the ascertainment of these last two classes of evidence. When available, they are of first-rate importance because they can be placed and dated, and so afford indispensable landmarks in the history of textual variations.

The total number of variant readings already recorded is very great, and it seems at first a hopeless task to find any clue through the maze. And yet it is well to remind ourselves that the documents which we are seeking to restore once existed, and that the causes which have been at work in the successive changes are all calculable. We need not, therefore, despair of being able to account ultimately for every variation.

Meanwhile good progress has been made in the ascertainment of the principles on which the task must be attempted, and of the main lines of change to which the text has been subjected.

The principles of the science are laid down by Hort in his *Introduction*. He begins by pointing out the considerations which have to be taken into account in deciding between any two variants.

Our first impulse is to choose the reading which seems to us to make the better sense. We follow *Intrinsic Probability*. This postulates (1) that we know what the writer meant to say, and (2) that he took the best way of expressing his meaning.

Then as we grow familiar with the habits of scribes, another question presents itself: "Which of these readings is the more likely to have given rise to the other?" We take into account what is called *Transcriptional Probability*. What are often spoken of as the Canons of Criticism deal with considerations arising under this head. A scribe is more likely to smooth away a difficulty than to introduce one. So we are told to choose *the harder reading*.

Again, experience shows that scribes were always more prone to insert words than to omit them. So we take *the shorter reading*. Unfortunately these rules do not admit of universal and mechanical application. Scribes did sometimes leave out words and clauses accidentally, or because they seemed superfluous. The harder reading does not always make the best sense. When it does we have a coincidence of Intrinsic and Transcriptional Probability which is convincing, and leads to results of far-reaching importance.

Transcriptional Probability also attains a high value when there are three or more variants in a passage, and one of the variants stands out as explaining convincingly the origin of all the rest.

The Internal Evidence of Readings derived from these two kinds of probability often fails us, either because one is in conflict with the other or because neither of them is clear enough to justify a confident decision.

We are driven, therefore, to call in a fresh set of considerations. We ask, "Which of the MSS is most likely to contain the true reading?" An answer to this question comes from examining all the variants, and making a list of those in which the Internal Evidence, Intrinsic and Transcriptional, leads to a decisive result. Then account is taken of the proportion of clearly right to clearly wrong readings in each MS, and a provisional estimate formed of its value.

It is possible, then, to re-examine the variants in the light of these judgments, and to decide between them with the help of the knowledge of the relative values of the documents supporting each. The results so attained can be accepted with greater confidence because they rest on a wider basis than that of the *prima facie* value of the individual readings. We appeal to *The Internal Evidence of Documents*.

The value of a MS, however, is rarely uniform throughout, and the best MSS differ a great deal among themselves. We have, therefore, to call in the assistance of two other kinds of evidence. The most important, where it can be had, is "*Genealogical Evidence*." Each MS is derived from the autograph by direct descent through a line of ancestors, which can be represented by a genealogical tree. It is clear that as far as it is possible to reconstruct such a tree, and to fix the places of different MSS in it, the task of choosing between the variants that they present is greatly simplified.

Unfortunately, however, the task is complicated because the lines of descent are not exclusively divergent. One and the same MS may contain readings which are derived from different lines of descent.

It is possible to trace distinct stages in the history of the text and to mark different types of change, but none of the earlier types are perfectly represented in any single MS. Genealogical evidence, therefore, is not always available owing to the mixture of different originally diverging lines of descent in the earliest documents to which we have access.

There remains one last resource. By studying the different groups with which any MS is from time to time associated, it is possible to isolate the elements which it has derived from the several strains of its composite ancestry. And though the result is not always sufficient to determine the genealogical antecedents of a particular reading, the readings of each group can be examined and the value of the document from which they are ultimately derived can be determined, on the plan already described under the head of the Internal Evidence of Documents. The result is to supply us with *The Internal Evidence of Groups*.

It will be seen, therefore, that in discriminating between variants we have to ask in each case three questions: Which reading gives the best sense, and explains most simply the origin of the other variants? Which has the best pedigree? Which keeps the best company?

The ultimate appeal in each case is to "*Intrinsic Evidence*." Only the judgment is resolutely kept in suspense until the whole field has been surveyed and the decision in each individual case is checked by considerations, partly historical and partly intrinsic, drawn from the characteristics of all the readings supported by the attesting group of documents throughout the book. Such in outline are the principles of Textual Criticism.

The results of the study of the history of the textual changes through which the NT has passed may be summarised as follows:

All the chief variations were introduced before the death of Chrysostom (A.D. 407). The last series of changes, constituting what we may call the α (Alpha) type of text (it has been known at various times as "Constantinopolitan," "Antiochian," and "Syrian") were all later than Origen (*c.* 251). In many cases they are demonstrably composed of elements derived from the other types of text to which our investigation introduces us. As a whole, the test of Intrinsic Evidence is unfavourable. And as we seem to possess in the other types of text all the materials out of which the α text was constructed, readings of this type, when they have no other support, can be safely rejected.

The result of this conclusion is very far-reaching, as numerically a vast preponderance of extant MSS are agreed in their support of it, and we are driven back on the use as our primary authorities of a relatively small number of MSS and early VSS, and the scanty patristic evidence of the first three centuries.

Of the earlier types of text, the one that is sure to attract attention first is that which is commonly called "Western"—some confusion is avoided by calling it the δ (Delta) type. The evidence for it is early and widespread. All the patristic evidence down to Origen, inclusive, bears witness to its prevalence. It has left a deep mark on the earliest forms of the Latin and Syriac VSS and on the Sahidic VS of Upper Egypt.

The general character of its distinctive readings is startling. They show extraordinary boldness in recasting the grammatical forms of sentences and in the substitution of synonyms, which may at times be due to the reaction of a version on the parent text. They also incorporate freely extraneous illustrative matter. They are of fascinating interest for the light they throw on the methods and conditions of textual transmission in the second century. But in spite of their early date, it is extremely unlikely that they will ever be accepted as representing the autograph. It is, however, seriously contended that some of them, especially in Ac. and Lk., are derived from a rough draft by the author himself or from a second edition.

We must remember also that the corruptions which are the distinctive features of this type of text developed progressively, and the ground text of the chief authorities for it, especially the Codex Bezæ (D) and the earliest forms of the African Latin, where we can eliminate their "Western" readings, are primary authorities for the determination of the true text.

It is clear, then, that even documents which we

call "Western" present us for a large part of their contents with a text free alike from corruptions of the α and δ types, that is, they are in Hort's phraseology, "Non-Western and Pre-Syrian."

This type of text was preserved, it would seem, chiefly in Alexandria, where it is likely that the task of transcription would be, to a larger extent than elsewhere, in the hands of professional scribes, and where the licence which provided a rich soil for the development of "Western" corruptions was kept in check by a long-established tradition of scholarly accuracy. Such scribes, however, were not free from the defects of their qualities, and a series of changes have been identified by Hort which he called "Alexandrian." They constitute the γ (Gamma) type of text. There is no room to doubt the correctness of Hort's observation or the appropriateness of the designation that he chose for it. The only question is, whether the type of text which has next to be described has an equal right to the name. The γ text can be studied best in the gospels by isolating the readings of the group of MSS ℵCLΔ in Mk. It is more prominent in Ac. and Epp.

The existence of yet another type of Pre-Syrian, Non-Western text which we may call the β (Beta) type (Hort calls it "Neutral") is evidenced by passages like Mk. 14, in which readings distinctively Western and distinctively Alexandrian are confronted by a third reading which has every appearance of being more primitive than either.

The MS which most consistently contains the readings characteristic of this type of text is Codex Vaticanus (B). It is often supported by Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ), with the result that the β text is sometimes spoken of compendiously as the "ℵ B text." This method of describing it is open to serious objection. It tends to obscure the fact that types of text are really "ideal creations," which have to be reconstructed by induction from a variety of sources, and cannot as a whole be identified mechanically with the text of any extant document. We can only speak of the Neutral text as the ℵ B text with the same reserve with which we should speak of the text of the earliest form of the Syriac VS of the gospels as the *sin cu* text. The Sinaitic and Curetonian MSS have markedly different textual affinities, and Dr. Burkitt has given good reasons for believing that the original text of the VS is in some cases not preserved in either.

A good purpose can no doubt be served by isolating for separate examination the readings supported by ℵ B when they stand alone or almost alone against all other evidence. But these readings represent only a small proportion of the readings that may fairly be regarded as distinctive readings of the "Neutral" text. And it is not legitimate to assume that the support which the Neutral text receives from "VSS" and "Fathers" is confined to the support from these sources which can be quoted in favour of this strictly-limited selection of readings belonging to it.

This habit of coupling the two MSS together tends also to obscure the fundamental independence of their testimony. The theory of a proximate common original for the two MSS has indeed received its *coup de grâce* in Part II of Hoskier's *Codex B and its Allies*, in which he presents no fewer than "3000 differences between ℵ and B in the Four Gospels, with the evidence supporting each side." All students have reason to be grateful to this industrious and enthusiastic editor for putting in their hands the materials for testing for themselves the soundness of Hort's conclusion that they are descended through separate and divergent ancestries from a common original, not far from the autograph. It should at least no longer be possible tacitly to ignore a contention to which Hort devotes many closely-reasoned paragraphs of his Introduction.

If the significance of the evidence for the independence of ℵ and B is grasped, it will be seen that the ℵ B text and *a fortiori* the "Neutral" text as a whole cannot be due, as some have maintained, to a recension by Origen or by Hesychius. A great many Neutral readings have the support, as Hort pointed out, of the authorities that represent the "Western" text in its earliest form, and also of the Sinaitic Syriac which has come to light since his time.

This last statement will need justification.

The point that comes out most prominently in Burkitt's analysis of the textual affinities of the old Syriac VS is his demonstration of its independence. Based apparently on a Greek MS in use in Antioch (*c.* 200), it is remarkable for its comparative freedom from interpolations found, some in the Western, and some in the ℵ B, types of text. It supplies also early authority for certain readings, hitherto known only from small groups of cursive MSS, which we can now see to have supplied a distinct element in the composition of the α text. He has fully justified its claim to separate consideration as the leading authority for the "Eastern"—we may, for the sake of symmetry, call it an "ϵ" (Epsilon)—type of text. He has also shown incidentally that B or one of its immediate ancestors must have come across a MS of the ϵ type in the gospels and has partially assimilated readings from it, just as it has partially assimilated readings from a MS of the δ type in the Pauline epistles. But this should not be allowed to conceal the fact that in a large part of its text the Syriac VS supports B against both γ and δ readings, and further in a few critical cases it supports ℵ where there seems good reason to suppose that it contains the "Neutral" reading against B, and in one case (Jn. 834), it supports D when both ℵ and B seem to be at fault. Its text is fundamentally pre-Syrian, non-Western, and non-Alexandrian. Hort would certainly have regarded it as an authority for the Neutral text, supplying testimony parallel to and co-ordinate with B.

These remarks refer, it must be remembered, to the Greek text which underlies the old Syriac, where that can be securely reconstructed, and not to the texts of either Syr. *sin* or Syr. *cu* as they stand. Both of these have been in parts conformed to the fundamentally "Western" text of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, and that influence may have affected even the original form of the VS. Syr. *cu* also shows considerable signs of "Western" influence independent of Tatian. Such influence may also have affected Syr. *sin*, for its freedom even from "Western" interpolations is not absolute.

It remains, therefore, a delicate task to determine whether the ancestor of the "ϵ" text branched off directly from the parent stem or from the "δ" after it had separated from the "β." The fact that "β" sometimes sides with "δ" against "ϵ" and sometimes with "ϵ" against "δ" is consistent with either hypothesis. The importance of the point is this. Unless "ϵ" is an offshoot of the "δ" branch, genealogical considerations would give a combination of "δ" and "ϵ" authorities a decisive superiority over ℵ B when the possibility of subsequent mixture can be excluded. The question cannot be settled apart from "Intrinsic Evidence," and the internal evidence of groups does not seem to favour the com-

bination Syr. *sin* "*k*"[1] against ℵ B, no doubt owing to the intrusion of a "Western" element into Syr. *sin*.

The question of the relation of the "ϵ" type to the "γ" is subordinate, but not without interest. "γ" characteristics are easily blurred by translation, yet two "γ" readings, "Gergesenes" in Mk. 5[1], and "Bethabara" in Jn. 1[28], are found also in Syr. *sin*. These readings both affect place-names, and must have originated in Palestine, whence they may have passed independently to Antioch and Alexandria.

I have dwelt at length on the issues raised by the discovery of Syr. *sin* because, though not so exciting as the problems of the Western text, they have a more direct bearing on the reconstruction of the autograph.

It has not been thought necessary to complicate this cursory sketch of the probable course of textual change by contrasting it in detail with the less satisfactory reconstruction recently put forward by von Soden. The Internal Evidence of the readings distinctive of his published text is not favourable to the correctness of the theory on which it rests.

It may be well in conclusion, to avoid misconception, to point out that, complicated as the problems are, a comparison of the texts put forward by critical editors shows that the passages on which there is still room for serious difference of opinion are few and relatively unimportant. At the same time we must not conceal the fact that here and there scholars have reason to believe that the original reading is not preserved in any of our extant authorities.

Literature.—Hort, *Introduction and Appendix* (in WH); Gregory, *Canon and Text of NT*; Souter, *Text and Canon of NT*; Lake, *The Text of NT*; Kenyon, *Textual Crit. of NT*; Nestle, *Textual Crit. of the Greek Test.*; Hutton, *Atlas of Textual Crit.*; Vincent, *History of Textual Crit.*; Drummond, *The Transmission of the Text of the NT*; Harnack, *Zur Revision der Prinzipien der neutestamentlichen Textkritik*; Articles in Dictionaries and Encyclopædias, especially Burkitt in EBi, Turner in *Murray's Illust. Bible Dict.*, and in JThS, vols. x. and xi.

[1] *k* = Codex Bobiensis, one of the most important MSS of the early or "Old" Latin Versions

---

[Note on the Materials for Textual Criticism.—To the above discussion on the principles of Textual Criticism of NT a note may be added on the materials at our disposal. These are:—

I. Greek Manuscripts.

(i.) Written in uncial or capital letters. These date roughly from the 4th to the 9th century, and the most important of them are:

ℵ (Aleph) or Codex Sinaiticus, found by Tischendorf at a monastery on Mt. Sinai and preserved in Petrograd. It has 346 leaves (13½ inches by 14⅞ inches), each with four columns of forty-eight lines.

B or Codex Vaticanus, at Rome. Each page has three columns of forty-two lines.

A or Codex Alexandrinus, given by Cyril Lukar, Patriarch of Constantinople, to the British Ambassador there in 1621, and now in the British Museum.

C or Codex Ephræmi Syri, at Paris. A palimpsest, *i.e.* a text (of NT) over which when the writing became faint other matter (in this case the works of Ephræm the Syrian) was written.

D or Codex Bezae, at Cambridge; Gospels and Acts; Greek on the left-hand pages, Latin on the right.

These uncial MSS are usually denoted by capital letters of the Latin (also the Greek and Hebrew) alphabet, though a new system was introduced by von Soden covering both uncials and

(ii.) Minuscules or cursive MSS, *i.e.* those written in a running hand and dating, generally speaking, from 10th century to the introduction of printing. The usual method of numbering these is by Arabic figures, and the chief are (*a*) The Ferrar group or *fam.*[13] (Nos. 13, 69, etc., eight in all); (*b*) Codex 1 and its allies or *fam.*[1] (Nos. 1, 118, etc., four in all).

Along with the Greek MSS (of which those before 13th century are usually on vellum and those after 14th century on paper) may be mentioned the Greek lectionaries or service-books, containing sections of NT adapted for reading in public worship.

II. Versions, *i.e.* MSS in other languages than Greek, translations made at an early date. Of these three are called primary:—

(i.) *The Latin Versions.*—The Old Latin versions, *i.e.* those used before Jerome made his standard text, the Vulgate in A.D. 384, are very important. They fall into two main groups, African and European, and are denominated by the small letters of the Latin alphabet. Conspicuous among the African group are *k* (Cod. Bobiensis) and *e* (Cod. Palatinus), both of the Gospels, and for Acts and Catholic Epp. *f* or *h* (Cod. Floriacensis), and *m* (or *speculum*), a collection of quotations, perhaps of Spanish origin. In the European group note *a* (Cod. Vercellensis) and *b* (Cod. Veronensis). Jerome seems to have used as his basis a European type such as we have in *q* (Cod. Monacensis). Of his Vulgate revision there are 8000 MSS, one of the best of which is Cod. Amiatinus, copied in Northumbria as a present for Pope Gregory in 716.

(ii.) *The Syriac Versions.*—The Old Syriac (*c.* A.D. 200) is known to us through two MSS of the Gospels, the Curetonian (Syr. *cu*) and Sinaitic (Syr. *sin*). In the 5th century Rabbula of Edessa made a translation (the Peshitta) based on the Greek text then current in Antioch. Later Syr. VSS were the Philoxenian (A.D. 508) and the Harklean (A.D. 616).

(iii.) *The Egyptian Versions*, especially the Bohairic (Boh.) or Lower Egyptian, and the older Sahidic (Sah.) or Upper Egyptian.

Secondary versions are the Armenian, Gothic, Ethiopic, etc.

III. Quotations in Patristic Writings.—The value of this source lies in its power to date and localise texts. We may group thus:—(i.) Greek writers in West, *e.g.* Justin, Irenæus; (ii.) Latin writers in Italy, *e.g.* Novatian; (iii.) Latin writers in Africa, Tertullian and Cyprian; (iv.) Greek writers in Egypt, *e.g.* Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius; (v.) Greek writers in East, *e.g.* Eusebius of Cæsarea; (vi.) Syriac writers, especially Aphraates and Ephræm.

It is perhaps worth while reminding the reader that "Syrian" means one thing, "Syriac" quite another. For further notes, see p. 597.—A. J. G.]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE

By Professor JAMES MOFFATT

During the century following the death of its Founder the Christian religion passed through several phases of development which affected not only its organisation and cultus but also the representation of its faith. The writings which form the Canon of the NT arose within this classical period, but they do not include all the literature produced during the century; some writings had perished, and others were excluded as non-apostolic. This is of minor importance, however, for we may feel reasonably sure that no writing of first-rate religious importance has failed to survive what may be termed roughly "the Apostolic Age." It is more significant for our present purpose to note that even what has survived, rich as it is in comparison with the records of other religions, leaves our knowledge of the primitive Church sadly defective at several points. Thus we do not possess any writings which preserve the "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" of the early communities, so far as these were not taken from the OT or improvised upon the spot; our information about the prayers and sermons is equally indirect, and it is only from a later manual like the *Didaché* that we learn something of the catechetical literature, which must have circulated at an early period. It is true that we can overhear these in the NT itself; some echoes and even some fragments survive within the Canon. But the development of life along these lines is only to be inferred from allusions and elements in the later literature of the second century. Similarly, we miss in the NT any information about some important historical events, notably the introduction of Christianity into Rome, the fortunes of the Jewish Christians in Palestine after Paul's arrest, and the career of Peter. When we speak of a development of the NT literature, therefore, as we are entitled to do, it is not in the sense of a development which reflects any single phase in full or outlines the successive phases in the progress of the new religion. We simply mean that historical criticism enables us to arrange these fragmentary records in such a way as (*a*) to present one or two of the main currents of life developing within the churches round the basin of the Mediterranean during the period of their composition, and (*b*) to indicate how this life produced a literature of its own.

The literature of a new religious movement is, like the movement itself, partly original and partly derivative. It is creative, but it also takes over elements from the past out of which it rises. Even when it adopts, no doubt it will adapt. Forms and materials which lie to hand in its environment will be shaped and recast to fresh ends. But, after allowance has been made for this, the broad distinction will remain, between literary forms which are already in existence and those which are definitely characteristic of the new movement itself.

Primitive Christianity, as reflected in the NT, opens with the use of a literary form which was already common in the Jewish and in the pagan world. This is the letter or epistle in its various categories. We then come upon what is a distinctive form of literary composition, viz. the gospel. Finally, this is flanked by the Acts and the Apocalypse, the former with special affinities in Greek and Roman literature, the latter based upon a Jewish type.

Historically, Christian literature begins with the correspondence of Paul. No letters written to him have been preserved, not even those to which his own are sometimes an answer; and we possess only some of the letters which he wrote, or rather dictated for the most part, to secretaries or amanuenses. They are addressed to churches which he had himself founded, over which he had apostolic control, and for which he was felt by them, or felt himself, to be responsible—to the Asiatic churches of Galatia, the Macedonian churches of Thessalonica and Philippi, and the Achaian Christians whose headquarters were at Corinth. Three writings are an exception to this rule, however. Rom., apart from the last chapter (which, in whole or part, is a note to Ephesus), was written to a church which he had not yet visited; Col. was addressed to Christians who apparently owed their conversion to his coadjutor Epaphras, and who were not even promised a visit; Phm., though addressed ostensibly to three individuals and a house church, is practically a private note. There is no exception to the fact, however, that all his extant letters were written during the later period of his apostolic mission, *i.e.* after the crisis of the Jerusalem Council, and that all (even Rom.) were elicited by a more or less definite occasion. Paul wrote, because he could not be on the spot to administer discipline or to give advice. Dryden's lines, in *The Hind and the Panther* (pt. ii. 330–340), on the apostles and their churches, apply specially to the origin and aim of Paul's epistles:

> "And as mistakes arose or discords fell,
> Or bold seducers taught them to rebel,
> As charity grew cold or faction hot,
> Or long neglect their lessons had forgot,
> For all their wants they wisely did provide,
> And preaching by Epistles was supplied:
> So, great physicians cannot all attend,
> But some they visit and to some they send.
> Yet all those letters were not writ to all,
> Nor first intended, but occasional,
> Their absent sermons."

The epistles owe their origin to the needs of the Christian mission; in Paul's case, the reason for their existence lay in the supervision which he exercised

over his churches, or, as in the case of Rom. and Col., in the keen interest which he took in the welfare of those who did not lie within the immediate sphere of his apostolic jurisdiction.

These common features, however, cover a variety of shape and form. Phm. is the nearest approach to a private letter such as is familiar to us in Latin and Greek contemporary literature; Rom., though written with a definite audience in view, is more of a treatise in epistolary form, such as was not uncommon especially in philosophic circles of the period. In a sense, Paul may be said to have intended all his letters to the churches to be published, for they were meant to be read aloud and in some cases transmitted, in copies, to other churches, and this was practically an equivalent in that age for publication. On the other hand, even in a writing like Rom., it is difficult to feel that the personal address is merely retained for rhetorical purposes, as is possibly the case with some epistles of Epicurus or as is certainly the case in the letters of Seneca to Lucilius, in order to lend vividness to what would otherwise have become an abstract treatise. The epistle as a homily or "absent sermon" had already been acclimatised not only in Greek and Roman but also in Jewish literature, as the Epistle of Jeremiah and the epistles in 2 Mac. 1 are enough to show. It was a literary form which enabled a writer to convey information less formally than a treatise could. Paul was the first to appropriate this method in Christianity for the direct ends of his mission, but it is vitally connected in his hands with the spontaneous intimacy of the private letter, although it must be admitted that the connexion varies in its intensity. Probably the connexion was mediated in part by the affinity between the spoken address and the epistle. In classical literature, already, the oration and the epistolary treatise were akin, and it is possible that in writing some passages of his epistles Paul was more or less consciously reproducing material employed in his sermons and spoken homilies. However this may be, his letters reveal the fresh, independent use of a literary form belonging to his age; under the warmth of personal relations between the writer and the churches, the older form developed into a product which combined, to a degree hitherto unexampled, the vivacity of the private letter and the depth of the epistle. "St. Paul's epistles," says Newman (*Idea of a University*, ed. 1891, p. 290), "I consider to be literature in a real and true sense, *as* personal, *as* rich in reflection and emotion, as Demosthenes or Euripides." It is one thing to be unliterary, it is another to be illiterate; it is one thing for an epistle to be a product of literary art, it is another thing for it to be artificial. Paul's correspondence shows how, in various degrees, the private letter could be more than occasional, and how the ampler epistle could be invested with qualities of personality which lifted it above the level of literary exercises or of the contemporary *suasoriæ*—treatises or pamphlets in the form of letters, which were widely used by jurists and others as the vehicle of their views.

In the wake of Paul follow the other epistles of the NT. They illustrate, from one point of view, the flexibility of the epistle as a literary form. In the case of the so-called Pastorals, *i.e.* the epistles to Timotheus and Titus, we probably possess a combination of private notes and pseudepigraphy. The composition of a letter in the name of a great predecessor, in order to circulate opinions which the writer supposed, or wished it to be supposed, were consonant with that predecessor's opinions, may have been allied to the well-known practice of an historian composing speeches for personages in his narrative. In this way, a disciple may have written, in all good faith, what he conceived to be his master's message for the times. He would desire to instruct and edify, but, like the later Pythagoreans, he might prefer, in unselfish and humble piety, to let the master speak through him. The ethics and extension of this method of epistolography in the period of the NT have not yet been cleared up, but it was a literary development which seems to have been recognised, and it probably explains the genesis of the Pauline Pastorals and possibly even of Ephesians and 1 P. Between the two latter epistles there is some connexion, for which various reasons have been suggested. But in the case of 2 P. there is no doubt whatever; we have here, as in the Epistle of Jeremiah, a pure instance of the pseudonymous epistle, the use of Peter's name being suggested by the circulation of the first epistle and the rise of his authority in the tradition of the churches. 2 P., which is probably the latest of the writings in the NT Canon, is also remarkable for its use of Jude—a pastoral, in the form of an epistle, or rather a homily which, like Jas., was not originally intended for any definite circle, but issued for the benefit of some group of churches about which we have no tradition. It is a further question whether such a form of composition necessarily involved pseudonymity, and in the case of 1 P., where the audience is specifically mentioned, this question may be said to remain open, in the present state of our knowledge. The main point to keep in mind is that none of these homilies or pastorals is prior to Paul, and that we do not possess any contemporary tradition which enables us to place them, with more than approximate accuracy, in the development of the Church's life during the half-century following A.D. 65. This also applies to Heb., whose author and audience are equally obscure. It is probably not a pseudonymous epistle, intended by the addition of the closing chapter to be taken for a work of Paul; on the other hand, its epistolary allusions are more than rhetorical, and the writer must be supposed to have had some audience in view. From the literary standpoint, it is allied not to the diatribê, like Paul's epistles, but to the address, the ὁμιλία or διάλεξις which was based usually on the older scriptures, and therefore, to some extent, exegetical as well as hortatory, presupposing an audience to be convinced or encouraged rather than an opponent to be confuted. Parts of it resemble notes of a sermon written out. But, if the last section formed a portion of the original epistle, it must have been not an encyclical, like Jas., but a homily, like Rom., written with a special circle of readers in the writer's mind. This conclusion is not invalidated by the remarkable traces of Alexandrian culture and rhetorical skill which make Heb. unique in the primitive Christian literature. Nor do these traces, any more than the affinities of Jas. with Hellenistic Jewish literature of the type of Sirach, oblige us to date either work late in the development of the NT literature. There may be other reasons for placing them far down the stream, but neither the style nor the theology are valid arguments, and in the case of Heb. the impression of primitiveness is probably stronger than is commonly supposed.

The three writings which have come into the Canon under the title of "the epistles of John" offer three different examples of the letter or epistle. The so-called first epistle is a tract for the times, a pastoral manifesto which has Christendom rather than any definite audience in view. The second is a note written

to some church by a presbyter (John ?), which differs from the Pauline Church-letters mainly in its brevity, so far as form is concerned, although Paul never personified any of his churches in the address as this writer quaintly does. The third, again, is a private letter, resembling Phm., apparently from the same presbyter. From the literary point of view these epistles do not mark any further development, except perhaps in the direction of the catholic homily tending more and more to drop its epistolary form. Their significance lies in the evidence they afford for the development of doctrine in the so-called "Johannine" circle, for the trend of organisation, presumably in some Asiatic circles, towards the close of the first century, and for the light which they may be held to throw upon the tradition of the Asiatic John. We can also overhear the struggle of controversy with regard to the person of Jesus Christ, on lines which differ from those represented at an earlier period by Paul and Heb. The other element of the sub-Pauline epistles, viz. persecution, which is particularly prominent in 1 P., is absent from the Johannine epistles; possibly it did not enter into the local situation at the moment, although, as we see from the Apocalypse, it was not far distant.

From the varied use of epistles and the Church-life which they serve to reflect, we must now turn back in order to follow up a more distinctive line of literary and religious development. The characteristic of the new faith was its relation to Jesus as Lord, and this relation, which differentiated Christianity from contemporary religions, gave rise to a form of literary composition as unique as its subject. The term "gospel" was not applied to our NT gospels by the authors or by their first readers; they were not called "gospels" until a later age. But the mere fact that "gospel" eventually came to be restricted to the words and deeds of Jesus indicates, as Harnack has pointed out (*Constitution and Law of the Church*, p. 308), that from the very beginning the communication of these sayings and deeds must have formed the main content of the glad tidings preached throughout the Christian mission. To "remember the words of the Lord Jesus," to know what He said on questions of faith and conduct, to understand the facts of His passion, death, and resurrection especially—these were vital to the new religion, alike for catechetical and for apologetic purposes. The primitive confession, "Jesus is Lord," involved a new meaning for the term "Lord," but this meaning depended entirely upon the historical significance of Jesus. Why and how He lived, what He taught, and above all, what was the bearing of His career upon the "Reign of God," were the questions which had to be answered by the primitive disciples to themselves and to the world. It was the attempt to answer them which led to the rise of that new literature which afterwards received the specific title of "gospel."

The soil of this plant was oral tradition. The retentiveness of the Oriental memory enabled the disciples of Jesus, like the disciples of the Jewish rabbis, to preserve not inaccurately the main sayings and deeds of their Master in the original Aramaic. The sacred book of the new religion was the OT. No need was as yet felt for committing the tradition to writing, partly on account of the superiority attached in the Greek as well as in the Jewish world to the spoken word over the written as a means of training and informing the mind, partly because Jesus Himself had written nothing. Those "who from the beginning were eyewitnesses" could vouch for what Jesus said and did, and it was in the atmosphere of this oral tradition that the rudimentary faith drew breath. The transition to written records may have been due to the requirements of catechetical instruction or of the active propaganda, probably to both; but, although the motives and methods of the process are obscure, it must have followed rapidly upon the need of translating the primitive tradition from Aramaic into the vernacular Greek. There is reason to believe that notes and collections of the words and deeds of Jesus were circulating when Paul was writing his epistles. So far as even written sources of the synoptic tradition can be traced, they go back to a period preceding the fall of Jerusalem, and they reflect the interests of a Palestinian Christianity. But this was no more than the embryonic stage. The full-grown gospel meets us for the first time after Paul had written his last word. It did not at once supersede oral tradition, but it marked the rise of a new literary category for the Christian faith.

The novelty of it consisted in the mould given to the biographical interest. "Biography of a sort began," as Prof. Gilbert Murray observes (*Euripides and his Age*, 20f.), "when the disciples of Aristotle and Epicurus exerted themselves to find out and record the lives of their masters. But biography in our sense—the complete writing of a life year by year with dates and documents—was never practised at all in antiquity. Think of the Gospels, of the Acts, even of Tacitus's *Life of Agricola*. They are different from one another, but they are all unlike any modern biography in their resolute indifference to anything like completeness. Ancient 'Lives' as a rule select a few great deeds, a few great sayings or discourses; they concentrate upon the last years of their subject, and often especially upon his death." The gospels, in short, are not biographies but brief memoirs written "from faith for faith," in order to transmit and apply certain beliefs about Jesus as Lord. Their variety does not affect this common temper and type. Both Matthew and Luke adhere upon the whole to the general outline of Mark, even while they correct, amplify, or omit what their predecessor had written, and the same holds true of the Fourth Gospel, for all its idiosyncrasies. There are analogies and precedents for certain elements in the "gospels" as literary products. The collections of sayings and parables and the stories, occasionally, remind us of the midrashic literature of Judaism; the dialogues, particularly in the Fourth Gospel, resemble the literary dialogue which had been already used in Greek philosophic circles to convey the teaching of a master like Socrates upon the problems of life and thought; on broader lines, the biographies of Diogenes Laertius and Philostratus indicate a use of biography for edification which has a certain affinity with the methods of the gospels. But, at best, these are far-off parallels. The "gospel" is a new thing in literature, new in subject and new, essentially, in form.

Mark was the originator of this literary type, but he did not exhaust its possibilities. We do not know whether he had any predecessors; if he had, these earlier narratives must have perished. But his work had successors and rivals. Very few of these have survived. From Luke's preface, written towards the end of the first century, we learn that there had been numerous attempts to draw up gospel narratives, but apart from the possible exception of Matthew none of these has been preserved, unless we can trace their existence in one or two of the earliest uncanonical gospels. Both Matthew and Luke, however, show how the "gospel"

developed, how it came to include a birth story as an essential part of biography, how it emphasized more than ever the teaching of Jesus, how it brought out more explicitly the connexion between Jesus and OT prophecy, how it enriched the story of the Judæan mission rather than that of the Galilean, and how it could be made not to gratify historical curiosity but to satisfy the practical needs of the growing Church. The materials for this development were twofold. On the one hand, oral tradition still carried valuable deposits; some of these were probably inaccessible to Mark when he wrote, and others he must have judged irrelevant to his particular purpose. On the other hand, there were written sources, of a more or less informal character. In both of these directions the authors of the later gospels were able to supply themselves with fresh matter of value. They also show greater literary skill than Mark. Their works possess more unity, more breadth and scope; the resurrection, for example, which was so vital to the faith of the churches, is told with a fullness which more than made up for the break at the end of Mark, and some gaps in Mark's account of Jesus are filled up. Whether this is invariably a gain, from the historical point of view, is another question. The really important thing, for the study of the literary development, is to notice the combination of freedom on the part of the author in handling his materials for his special object, and the conservation of the Marcan outline in most of its essential features. Of the three synoptic gospels, Luke's is the nearest to Greek literature; it also exhibits most versatility and artistic power on the part of the author. The Fourth Gospel, with its prologue and its development of the dialogue, recalls Greek literature on the philosophic, not on the historical side. In both of these works we can trace the working of tendencies and interests very different from those which engrossed Matthew in the restatement of Christianity as the new Law and of the Church of Jesus as the heir of Israel's promises and privileges. But these varying interpretations of Jesus are all at home within the literary form of the gospel.

The gospels are contemporary with the sub-Pauline epistles and homilies, and, as a rule, neither the one nor the other can be assigned to any definite province or geographical situation. Tradition connects the Fourth Gospel with Asia Minor, but the others are Church-books with no local colour. We cannot use them, therefore, to throw light upon the development of early Christianity in specific districts like Egypt or Palestine or Italy. As a partial compensation for this indefiniteness, however, we know that Mark was used by the others, that the Fourth Gospel presupposes the synoptic tradition at any rate, if not the synoptic gospels as we have them, and further that this literary use is accompanied by a movement of thought which is easily discernible in the later gospels. We have no homily or epistle which stands in the same relation to Matthew or Luke as 1 Jn. does to the Fourth Gospel, but the extant epistolary literature of the period between A.D. 70 and 120 supplements, to some extent, our knowledge of this movement and illustrates the general life of the churches for which the gospels were composed.

It is at this point that we miss the help of Luke in his second volume. Acts, the sequel to the Third Gospel, is the only historical account of the early Church which has passed into the NT, but unfortunately it breaks off with the arrival of Paul at Rome in the first half of the seventh decade. Yet Acts, such as it is, marks a new departure in the literature of Christianity. The title is a later addition. What Luke or his readers called the book, we do not know. But the mere fact that a gospel could have a sequel is striking, none the less striking that the sequel consists of apostolic deeds and utterances regarded as inspired by the Spirit of the Lord. Here, as in his earlier treatise, Luke shows himself a historian who has a variety of literary methods at his command. He develops his story by means of speeches now and then; he inserts two letters; he also includes extracts from a journal kept by himself; he is at pains to connect the story of the Church occasionally with the outside empire; finally, he varies his style and treatment to suit the different phases of the tale. He has a dramatic sense of a situation, and a special interest in some of the leaders of the primitive Church, in Peter, Stephen, Philip, James, and above all, in Paul. In the second part, Paul is the real hero of the story. The combination of historical narrative and admiration for a heroic figure reminds us of the books of the Maccabees, but probably a nearer parallel is the later biography of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus, and the Lucan affinities in style and structure are Hellenistic rather than Jewish. So are the Lucan interests. He has sympathies, not as a partisan, but as a Christian who recognises the providential purpose in what has occurred. It is the Gentile mission which interests him most, and the Paul who "turns from the Jews to the Gentiles." But he refrains from representing Paul with a halo, and does justice to the leaders of the opposite party in the early Church. His interests are catholic and irenic, both as regards the attitude of the Church to the empire and the attitude of different sections within the Church to one another. By the time he wrote, the battle which Paul had to fight against the legalists had been long ago won, and even as an admirer of the apostle he chooses to bring out the providential development upon which his own age looked back, rather than to revive bitter memories of bygone controversy. If his history is *motivé* in this respect, as in others, it is none the less Greek for that.

While the contents of Acts often remind us of Greek popular stories and Greek historiography, the contemporary Apocalypse of John marks a literary *genre* in primitive Christianity which is distinctively Jewish. There are, no doubt, Greek elements in the style and symbolism, but the book belongs to the class of apocalypses which arose in the later days of Judaism. The apocalypses were latter-day pamphlets, connecting the vindication of oppressed Israel with the final destiny of the world, often disfigured by fantastic calculations and speculations about the cosmos, but charged with a stout conviction that God would soon end the crisis in favour of the faithful (pp. 431–435). Their great exemplar was the Book of Daniel, written to nerve the loyal Jews who were being persecuted for refusing to admit the presumptuous divine claims of Antiochus Epiphanes. The Apocalypse of John was thrown up, towards the close of the first century, by a similar crisis in primitive Christianity. It is the passionate answer of a Christian prophet in Asia Minor to the claims of the imperial worship, which he regarded, and wished his readers to regard, as an infringement of the Divine claims of the Christian God.

In several aspects the Apocalypse marks a development within the NT literature. Apocalyptic passages are already to be met with, in the synoptic gospels as well as in some of the Pauline epistles, notably Thessalonians. But the Johannine Apocalypse is dominated by apocalyptic categories and conceptions.

Although the author's Christian consciousness tends now and then to break through forms too narrow for his purpose, and although his book is differentiated at several vital points from the class to which it belongs, it represents the first thorough-going attempt to employ, on behalf of Christianity, the literary methods in vogue among Jewish apocalyptic circles—predictions, threats, calculations, astrology, and the weird phantasmagoria of the Oriental imagination. It is an open question whether this adherence involves pseudonymity. It is not an open question whether it implies the use of earlier sources and the adaptation of previous traditions, for this feature of composite structure is unmistakable. Equally plain is the function of the dream or vision to convey the writer's message. But apart from the taunt-song in ch. 18, which is modelled on well-known Semitic lines, the most striking literary feature is the introduction of pastoral letters to seven Asiatic churches. Possibly these are akin, not so much to the epistles in 2 Bar. 77–87 as to the letters written by Roman emperors to Asiatic corporations or communities; each has its local allusions and definite characteristics. At the same time, they do not seem to have circulated apart from the Apocalypse itself, and they are to be read by "all" its readers. Apparently we have here a literary development of the pastoral or encyclical, either a combination of the letter to a specific church and of the catholic homily, or a series of prophetic addresses in epistolary form. They constitute the most Christian section of the Apocalypse, but even elsewhere in its pages we can mark the new stamp which the creative spirit of Christianity succeeded in putting upon some literary forms as well as upon some traditional beliefs which were, to a considerable extent, incongruous or inadequate to its deeper movement.

Literature.—The NT Introductions by A. Jülicher, Th. Zahn, J. Moffatt, and M. Jones (*The New Testament in the Twentieth Century*); smaller works by H. von Soden, *History of Early Christian Literature;* A. S. Peake, *Critical Introduction to the NT;* B. W. Bacon, *The Making of the NT;* and Wrede, *The Origin of the NT.* The most recent and able discussion is Paul Wendland's *Die Urchristlichen Literaturformen* (1912), in HNT. Less radical surveys are presented in ERE—Sanday (vol. ii. pp. 571–579) and Allen (vol. iv. pp. 319–324)—as well as in Milligan's *NT Documents.* See further General Bibliographies.

JEWISH HISTORY FROM THE MACCABEES TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

By Professor H. M. GWATKIN

The great work of Alexander (p. 62) was to make Greek civilization dominant from the tableland of Asia Minor to the edge of the Indian desert. That which he began was carried forward by his successors, and Greek civilization remained dominant in Egypt and Syria till the Muslim invasion of the seventh century, though without displacing the native languages. But it was Greek culture profoundly modified by its vast expansion. Greek language, worship, and literature might overspread the East, but the Greek cities had become parts of great military monarchies, so that Greek thought no longer centred on the city and civic virtue, but looked inward on the individual and outward on the world. Stoics and Epicureans were agreed that there is a Law of Nature above the laws of nations, and that duty is the same for all men. Pride in Greek blood gave place to pride in Greek civilization.

The old schools of Athens were rivalled, and sometimes more than rivalled, by the new schools of Rhodes, Pergamum, Tarsus, and above all by Alexandria, the greatest of all the Greek colonies. Its commerce reached from India to Spain, and to its Museum gathered the greatest scholars of the world. Aristarchus and Eratosthenes cover the whole field of ancient literature and science. To that cosmopolitan city the Jews were welcome too. Alexander himself brought them there, and in later times they occupied two wards of the city, and overflowed into the other three. They contributed much to its trade, and not a little to its turbulence. Greek and Jewish thought soon began to blend. Books of the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek at Alexandria, and the Canon shaded off into an Apocryphal literature largely Greek. All over the East the Jews were pliable to Greek influence. Even in Judæa towards 175 B.C. a strong party favoured Greek customs, and the Asidæans or rigid Jews would appear to have been quite a minority. Israel seemed rapidly melting into the larger world of Greece, and a little pressure would complete the process.

So thought Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), an arbitrary and eccentric king, half magnificent and half buffoon. His very name (the god manifest) speaks of Greek religion debased by Eastern king-worship, and there was a further departure from the old Greek ways of thinking when he used persecution to "reform this most repulsive people," as Tacitus calls the Jews. First came active encouragement of Greek customs by the two faithless high priests Jesus (he called himself Jason) and Menelaus. Then in 170 B.C. a great massacre and the plunder of the Temple. Persecution began in earnest 168 B.C., when Antiochus had been ordered out of Egypt by the Romans. The Temple became a temple of Zeus, and swine's flesh was offered on the altar; while Jerusalem was turned into a Greek city with a Syrian garrison in the city of David. Jewish observances, especially circumcision and the Sabbath, were punished with death, officers traversed the country to enforce the king's commands, and there were martyrs everywhere. (See further p. 523.)

Zeus or Jehovah? The signal of revolt was given at Modin by an old priest named Mattathias, who slew first a renegade Jew and then the king's officer, and fled to the mountains, where they that were zealous for the Law gathered round him. But they were not blindly zealous like four thousand of their brethren, who refused to fight on the Sabbath, and were slaughtered. Mattathias died soon, and his place was taken by his son, Judas the Maccabee—the Hammer (p. 339) of the Heathen. It seemed hopeless to resist the whole power of Syria; yet the heroic rebels gained wonderful successes. First Apollonius was defeated, then Seron was routed at Beth-horon, the scene of Israel's first victory under Joshua, and of the last against Cestius Gallus. Then came the defeat of Nicanor at Emmaus; and the great army of Lysias was overthrown at Beth-zur. Judas then took possession of the city of Jerusalem—the Syrian garrison held the citadel—and cleansed the Temple. The defiled altar was pulled down, and the stones laid up "till a prophet should arise to say what should be done with them." This was in Dec. 165, and the memory of it was perpetuated by the annual Feast of the Dedication (Jn. 10$_{22}$).

Judas now devoted himself to consolidating his power (Ps. 83*) while the Syrian Government was occupied elsewhere. Antiochus Epiphanes had been defeated in Elymais, and died (164 B.C.) on his return; and now Lysias ruled as guardian of his son Antiochus Eupator. But when Judas laid siege to the citadel of Jerusalem, Lysias came up and defeated him at Beth-Zachariah, and had brought the Jews in the city to great distress when he was called away by troubles in the north. So the Jews made their submission, and were henceforth allowed religious freedom. The persecution was at an end, but the war was still a war of self-defence. The Greeks could not be trusted, and the Jewish heathenisers were more than willing to renew the persecution. They complained to the new king, Demetrius Soter, who had killed Lysias and his ward. He appointed their leader Alcimus (pp. 382, 385, Ps. 55) high priest, and sent an army to support him; and when the cruelties of Alcimus provoked a fresh revolt, a new army under Nicanor was cut to pieces at Adasa (Spring, 161 B.C.).

Though Adasa was a splendid victory, the Jews could scarcely hope to win their independence for themselves. So Judas looked for help to the distant power of Rome. The senate received his envoys—anything was welcome that might weaken Syria—made an alliance with the Jews on equal terms, and ordered Demetrius not to

molest them. But Demetrius had already poured into Judæa an overwhelming force under Bacchides. When the armies met at Eleasa, Judas could only fight a hopeless battle, and die fighting (April 161 B.C.).

Then came another reign of terror. The "ungodly" took vengeance on their enemies, and Jonathan, the brother of Judas, could hardly do more than keep up a guerilla war. But he gained steadily during the next eight years, and in 153 B.C. we come to the crisis of the struggle. Syria was divided against itself, and the rival kings bid against each other for Jonathan's support. Demetrius gave good promises, but Alexander Balas gave better. He withdrew most of the garrisons, let Jonathan take the city of Jerusalem, and formally appointed him high priest (Ps. 110). Henceforth the Maccabees were rulers for nearly ninety years, and high priests for yet another generation. Jonathan himself wrested Samaria from Demetrius II, renewed the treaty with Rome, played a commanding part in Syrian civil wars, and extended his power over most of Palestine before he perished (142 B.C.) by the treachery of Trypho, one of the Syrian pretenders.

There still remained Simon, the last of the sons of Mattathias. He captured the citadel of Jerusalem, forced Demetrius II to acknowledge the independence of the Jews, and was recognised by his people as "high priest and general and civil ruler for ever until there should arise a faithful prophet" (Ps. 110). Thus the Maccabees had not only won but secured their religious freedom. After seven years of prosperity, Simon also perished by treachery (135 B.C.), but this time the treachery did not come from the Greeks, but from his son-in-law, Ptolemy.

Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, escaped, and ruled in his stead (135–106 B.C.). Before long came the last effort of Syria. Antiochus Sidetes besieged Jerusalem, and Hyrcanus was glad to escape with a payment of 500 talents and tribute for Joppa and other places outside Judæa, and the demolition of the walls of Jerusalem. Perhaps the fear of Rome was on Antiochus, and Syria ceased to be dangerous after his death in Parthia (128 B.C.). Hyrcanus took advantage of the civil wars to conquer Samaria and destroy the temple on Mount Gerizim, and to extend his power east of Jordan and in Idumæa. It was a brilliant reign, but it marked a transition from the heroic Maccabees to the vulgar kings who followed. One sign of the transition was that Hyrcanus went over to the Sadducees. A tale is told of a zealous Pharisee bidding him lay down the high priesthood because his mother (as was falsely said) had once been a captive: but the change is accounted for by the increasing prominence of his political aims. Religion came first with Pharisees and scribes, while Sadducees and priests formed an aristocracy more in sympathy with worldly schemes.

Aristobulus I was a tyrant of the usual Eastern sort. He began with the murder of his mother and the imprisonment of three of his brothers; and the fourth, his favourite Antigonus, soon fell a victim to the jealousies of the court. Two events mark his short reign (105–104 B.C.)—his assumption of the royal title, and his conquest of Galilee. On his death his widow, Alexandra (Salome), set free her eldest surviving stepson, Alexander Jannæus (Jonathan), and seems to have married him. Alexander's reign (104–78 B.C.) was full of wars and civil strife. Early in his reign he was driven out by Ptolemy Lathyrus, the exiled king of Egypt who ruled in Cyprus; but the Egyptians restored him. Upon the whole, however, Alexander's wars were successful. At the end of his reign he ruled from Idumæa to Lake Huleh, the East of Jordan, and (except Ascalon) the coast from Carmel to Egypt.

The civil strife was, at bottom, the old quarrel of kings and prophets. Was Israel to be a worldly kingdom or a holy commonwealth? This time, however, the people sided with the Pharisees against the king, and pelted Alexander with citrons while he officiated at the Feast of Tabernacles. Then the Pharisees invited the Syrian prince Demetrius III, who drove Alexander to the mountains. But this treason was too outrageous. Alexander was restored, and (such is the story) crucified eight hundred of his enemies and slew their wives and children before them for the delectation of his concubines at a feast. This, for more than one reason, must be at best much exaggerated; but the slaughter was at all events enough to keep the Pharisees quiet for the rest of his reign.

Then came a change. His widow Alexandra (78–69 B.C.) placed the Pharisees in power, and let them govern as they pleased, except that she could not let them put to death her husband's counsellors. The Sadducee nobles were still too strong to be crushed, especially as her active younger son Aristobulus was their leader. On her death, 69 B.C., he had no great difficulty in deposing his weak brother Hyrcanus. But Antipater the Idumæan and Aretas the Arabian king (of Petra) took up the cause of Hyrcanus, and besieged Aristobulus in the Temple mount. Then a mightier power intervened—the power of Rome. Pompeius had conquered Mithridates, and was plainly master of the East. Both parties appealed to his legate Scaurus (66 B.C.), who restored Aristobulus. But when Pompeius himself came (63 B.C.), he found three parties, for the people desired to have done with the monarchy and be governed by the priests. Aristobulus attempted resistance in vain. The city was surrendered by the other party, the Temple was stormed, and Jewish independence was at an end. Pompeius entered the Holy of Holies, which he found empty; but he took no treasure, and made careful provision for the services. But he made the Jews tributary, deprived them of the sea-coast and the Gentile cities inland, and left Hyrcanus to rule as high priest, not as king, in general subordination to the Roman governor of Syria.

One result of the Roman conquest was a new Dispersion in the Latin West. The Jews formed a settlement in Rome beyond the Tiber, and spread along the lines of commerce. Valuable settlers as they were, their strange customs and quarrelsome temper (and their success in trade and charlatanry) made them unpopular, and the Roman Government had often to protect them from Gentile violence. Yet many serious persons were attracted by their lofty monotheism and became adherents of the synagogue, or in some cases "Israelites in all things" by the threefold ordinance of circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice. Judaism in our Lord's time was a missionary religion.

The years which followed the Roman conquest were fairly quiet. Judæa, however, suffered much from the exactions of Gabinius (55 B.C.), of Crassus (who plundered the Temple), and afterwards of Cassius (42 B.C.). After the battle of Pharsalia (48 B.C.) the Jews received much favour from Cæsar. He restored to Hyrcanus the civil power which Gabinius had taken from him, enlarged the territory, and granted important privileges. But Antipater was the real ruler, and after his death (43 B.C.) his son Herod came to the front, and secured the favour of Antonius, who became master of the East after the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.).

Then while Antonius and Octavian were at variance (40 B.C.) the Parthians swept over Syria, and made Antigonus the son of Aristobulus, king of the Jews, while Herod escaped to Rome. Hyrcanus was disqualified for the high priesthood by the loss of his ears.

Herod was made king by Antonius and Octavian, but it was three years before he got possession of Jerusalem. The Parthians were driven out (39 B.C.), but both Judæa and Galilee hated Herod. At last (36 B.C.) the city was captured with great slaughter by Herod and the Romans, and Antigonus was executed soon after by Antonius. So fell the once glorious Maccabean dynasty.

Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.) was a splendid king—a man of war from his youth, gifted with infinite energy and infinite adroitness, and with a good deal of Solomon's taste for magnificence and women. It was of itself a great success to bring a small state safely through the storms of Roman civil war. Herod was faithful and useful to Antonius, though Cleopatra was his enemy, and obtained from her lover the sea-coast and Jericho. Then after the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) Herod was equally faithful and useful to Octavian, who restored to him the cities Cleopatra had taken away, and presently made him master of nearly the whole of Palestine. So he could play the part of a great king. He built new cities like Cæsarea, adorned the old with spendid buildings, and made Jerusalem the finest city in the East. The rebuilding of the Temple was begun 20 B.C., though it was not quite finished till A.D. 64. Priests alone were allowed to do the building work in the sanctuary, and Herod took care not himself to tread forbidden ground. The restored Temple was a proverb of magnificence; yet Herod's own palace was still more splendid. Nor was he without some sense of duty to his people. He kept good order, put down the brigands, and sold his plate to buy food in the famine of 23 B.C. Nor was he a less liberal patron of the Jews abroad: there were few cities in the East but owed something to Herod's munificence.

Nevertheless the Jews detested him, and with good reason. His ferocious cruelty—crucifying and burning offenders—might pass muster in an Eastern king, and the oppressive taxation required for his munificence need not have aroused more than ordinary discontent. Even his family tragedy is only a bad case of what commonly comes of a despot's jealousy and suspicion, diligently inflamed by creatures like his sister Salome and his son Antipater. He murders first the high priest Aristobulus, the brother of his wife Mariamne, then her grandfather, the old high priest Hyrcanus, then Mariamne herself, then later in his reign her sons Alexander and Aristobulus, and executes Antipater five days before his own death; and a multitude of minor victims is grouped round each of these. The slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem is precisely what Herod was likely to do.

But the main offence he gave was in his heathenising policy. True, he paid a certain outward respect to the Jewish religion. He avoided images on his coins, and would not give Salome to the Arabian Syllæus because he refused to be circumcised. But he promoted Greek customs as actively as Antiochus himself. He had Greeks for his ministers, and degraded the high priesthood to an office held at his pleasure, often by lax Jews of Alexandria. He brought Greek and Roman games to Jerusalem itself and built heathen temples in the Greek cities of Palestine. This gave deep offence to Jewish feeling, and Herod could keep order only by a permanent reign of terror. Yet after all, some of the Pharisees thought, even this cursed Edomite, this hideous caricature of King Messiah, was at any rate one step better than a Roman governor.

Herod left the kingdom of Judæa to Archelaus, while Antipas and Philip were to be tetrarchs of Galilee and Peræa, and of Trachonitis, Panias, and the north-east. Augustus confirmed the will, but Archelaus was only to be ethnarch. Philip (4 B.C.–A.D. 34) was mild and humane, and is chiefly remembered from his building of Panias as Cæsarea (Philippi, to distinguish it from his father's seaport). Antipas (4 B.C.–A.D. 39) was more like his father—crafty, luxurious, and a great builder, as of Tiberias. He married Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip—not the tetrarch, but another. For this he was rebuked by John the Baptist; and when he suffered a severe defeat from the Arabian Aretas, the father of his rejected first wife, many counted it a judgment for the execution of John. When the title of King was given to Herod Agrippa (A.D. 39) Herodias incited him to go to Rome and ask the title for himself; but instead of getting it, he was banished, and his dominions were given to Agrippa.

The reign of Archelaus (4 B.C.–A.D. 6) is obscure; but we can see that he was the worst of Herod's sons. His rule was borne with the utmost impatience, and at last Augustus removed and banished him for his cruelty. Judæa now became a Roman province under a procurator of only equestrian rank, in general subordination to the governor of Syria.

Rome was no deliberate oppressor. She treated the Jewish religion with official respect, protected it upon occasion in the Greek cities, and allowed the Jews a large measure of self-government (p. 616). They might put to death even a Roman citizen, if they found him inside the fence in the Temple which no Gentile might pass (Rev. 11$_2$*, *cf.* Eph. 2$_{14}$*). But while wrong may be borne, contempt is never forgiven by conquered peoples. Roman officials despised the Jews, and were the more brutal, while Israel was as proud as Rome herself, and hated the "dogs" and "sinners of the Gentiles." So things went on from bad to worse. Sadducees and Herodians were hardly more than a few great families: the people looked up to the Pharisees, who were rebels in theory, and gradually turned from them to the Zealots or open rebels (Mk. 3$_{18}$*, Ac. 5$_{37}$*).

Of the earlier procurators (A.D. 6–41) by far the most conspicuous is Pontius Pilatus (A.D. 26–36)—a good sample of the baser sort of Roman, full of brutal contempt for the people he governed. His first act was to bring into the city the idolatrous ensigns of the army, but he gave it up when it was clear that it could not be carried through without massacre too great even for him. And he was not squeamish of bloodshed: he crushed riots mercilessly, and ordered continual executions. The Galileans whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices (Lk. 13$_1$) fared no worse than others. Another of his wanton insults was to hang up votive shields in the palace of Herod; but Tiberius ordered them to be removed. At last the Samaritans complained to Vitellius, the governor of Syria, who sent Pilate to Rome for trial. He was banished to Gaul.

Quieter times followed. Vitellius and his successor Petronius treated the Jews with consideration, and they were grateful: the breach was not yet irreparable. The next storm was when the mad emperor Caius (Caligula, A.D. 37–41) ordered his statue to be set up in the Temple. This meant war to the knife; so Petronius delayed as long as he could, and at last took

the extreme step of asking the emperor to revoke the order. Caligula, however, had already done so at the pressing instance of Herod Agrippa, though he did so with a very bad grace, but was assassinated (Jan. 41) before he could renew the attempt.

Herod Agrippa, son of Herod's unfortunate son Aristobulus, led a roving and disreputable life till he gained favour with Caligula, then with his successor Claudius (A.D. 41–54). Caligula gave him the tetrarchies of Philip and Antipas, and Claudius added the Roman province. Once more, and for the last time, there was a King of the Jews. Agrippa was a good-natured adventurer who had to play reformed character and exemplary king, and therefore allowed the Pharisees a free hand. Outside Judæa, however, he set up statues and established games in the old heathen style. Upon the whole his policy was secular like his grandfather's, except that he was much milder, made more show of piety, and had no family tragedies.

At Agrippa's death (A.D. 44), his son Agrippa II was too young to reign, so that the whole of Palestine was made a Roman province. The later procurators (A.D. 44–66) were mostly corrupt and violent. Jews and Romans provoked each other recklessly, and disorder became chronic. Cuspius Fadus (*c.* 45) had to put down Theudas, and there was much bloodshed under Cumanus (48–52). But Rome still did justice; Cumanus was recalled, and a new governor appointed on the nomination of the high priest Jonathan. This was Antonius Felix, a brother of the powerful freedman Pallas. His rule was long (52–60) and evil. Husband of three queens, "he governed in the spirit of a slave, with every form of lust and cruelty." Felix was vigorous enough as a ruler, but his only way of dealing with the Jewish "robbers" or patriots was by armed force and wholesale crucifixions. So some (Sicarii) took to systematic assassination, and kept up a terror in Jerusalem. Yet Felix actually employed them to murder the moderate high priest Jonathan, to whom he owed his office.

Porcius Festus (60–62) was a much better sort of man, but the mischief done by Felix was now past remedy. Festus died in office, and the high priest Ananus (son of Annas) took advantage of the vacancy to make a decisive breach with Christians by the murder of James the Lord's brother—for which he was deposed by Agrippa II, to whom religious affairs were now committed. The next governor, Albinus, took bribes from all sides, let no assassin remain in prison who could pay for his release, allowed rival high priests to fight out their quarrel in the streets, and tried his own hand at brigandage. Society was in dissolution. Yet even Albinus was a just ruler compared with his successor, Gessius Florus (64–66). From robbery and murder of individuals he came to the destruction of whole cities. The brigands might do what they pleased, if only Florus got his share of the spoil.

At last in the spring of 66, the outrages of Florus provoked a dreadful tumult, and the governor was driven out of the city. Agrippa stilled the tumult, but only for a moment. The emperor's offerings were cast out of the Temple, and the Roman garrison was butchered after its surrender. The revolt spread, and the cities of Palestine were scenes of internecine strife of Jews and Gentiles. Then came Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, with some ten thousand legionaries and perhaps ten thousand of cavalry and auxiliaries. He reached Jerusalem, fired its northern suburb, but did not venture to attack the city, and on his retreat was routed in a defile near Beth-horon (Nov. 66). The way was open and the Christians retired to Pella beyond Jordan—a desertion which was not forgiven—while the Jews formed a government of national defence, entrusting Galilee to Josephus the historian, then a young man of thirty.

Nero now entrusted the Jewish war to Vespasian with three legions and auxiliaries—some 60,000 men in all. The summer of 67 was spent in the reduction of Galilee. Some of the cities were easily taken, but Josephus himself in Jotapata made a stout resistance, and in the end not only escaped the slaughter, but won Vespasian's favour and went over to the Romans. The Zealots in Jerusalem replied with a frightful massacre; and indeed they were quite right in thinking that the desperate work could not be done by half-hearted Pharisees like Josephus, who fought without hope of success. For a moment the moderate party got the upper hand; but the Zealots let in a band of Idumæan marauders, and soon completed their destruction. Thenceforth there was anarchy in the city, with two or three bands of Zealots constantly fighting each other and murdering the citizens. They were mad enough even to destroy large stores of corn.

Vespasian let them fight it out. In 68 he conquered Peræa and the country round Jerusalem; but operations were nearly at a standstill for a year after the news of Nero's death (June 9), and when Vespasian himself was hailed emperor (July 1, 69) by the legions of Syria, he left the scene of war. The siege of Jerusalem remained for his son Titus. The city was in a dreadful state. Simon bar Giora with one band of miscreants held the lower part of it, John of Gischala with another was higher up, while Eleazar occupied the Temple till John took advantage of the Passover to destroy him by treachery. Titus was already before the city; and now the furious faction fights were stilled at last in desperate resistance to the Romans. Time after time their savage fury checked the assaults; but Roman discipline always prevailed in the end. First the northern wall was stormed; then a second, then a third, and by August they were before the Temple. Meanwhile the misery of the city was horrible. He that remained was consumed by pestilence and famine, and he that went out to the Romans was crucified or made a slave. Even the daily sacrifice had to be given up in July. At last on the ninth of Ab (August) the Temple itself was stormed. Its outer colonnades were lines of fire, while the struggle went on around the altar of burnt offering. According to Josephus, the sanctuary was set on fire by the soldiers against the will of Titus; but Tacitus (copied by Sulpicius Severus) tells us that he deliberately destroyed it, "to root out the superstition of Jews and Christians." After this there still remained the Upper City; and John and Simon were not captured till September. Even then a band of Zealots held the fortress of Masada overlooking the Dead Sea for nearly three years (A.D. 73), and slaughtered each other and their families, when they could hold it no longer. Two women crept out to meet the Romans as they entered, and the war was ended.

Israel had fought with Rome for nothing less than the empire of the East, and under better leaders might have won. But the leaders were bad because the nation was consumed with lawlessness and hatred of the Gentiles. No gift of prophecy was needed when our Lord foretold that the savage pride which already made the Temple a house of merchandise would soon make it a den of brigands, and in the end would bring the Romans to destroy their place and nation.

Literature.—The chief original authorities are the books of Maccabees, Josephus, and Tacitus for Roman times, so that works on these will be found useful; also Introductions to the Apocrypha and NT. Specially E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* and *Jerusalem under the High Priests;* Ad. Denziger, *Jewish Forerunners of Christianity;* A. Edersheim, *A History of the Jewish People;* Keim, *Jesus of Nazara;* Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire;* Schechter, *Studies in Judaism;* E. Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ;* A. P. Stanley, *The Jewish Church;* A. W. Streane, *The Age of the Maccabees;* and articles in HDB, EBi, and other Dictionaries.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST CENTURY

By Professor HAVERFIELD

1. The Roman Empire of the New Testament period, that is, roughly, of the first century A.D., has one characteristic which every student must observe. Like the British Empire of to-day, it was in principle opportunist; it altogether lacked external uniformity. The Roman Republic, on the ruins of which it rose, had been a natural growth, moving on lines of least resistance and uninfluenced by logic. Such, too, was the Empire. Its founder, Augustus, was not merely an opportunist; he carried opportunism to the height of genius. The imperial system which he achieved, a system which lasted for centuries, was in the main an adaptation from existing Roman practices. Its administrative details, even to the titles of its officers, were based on historical precedents, not determined by logical principles; exceptions and survivals abounded in it, and general statements about its machinery—such as this brief article necessarily contains—must be taken as true only in general. Nor is this all. The opportunism which the Romans employed in their administrative system, they applied also in their treatment of the subject provinces. The whole Empire was, indeed, under one government. From the ocean to the Arabian desert, from the snows of Germany to the hot Sahara, its peoples felt that there was one dominant power in Rome, and a power whose eye pierced everywhere. But it was not a power that interfered everywhere. Just because it was opportunist, Rome enforced no uniformity in speech, or creed, or politics, or fashion of life. She accepted what she found, so far as that was in practical working order. The peoples themselves did not always understand this tolerance, nor have Biblical students always appreciated it. When "Gallio cared for none of these things" (Ac. 18^{17}), the narrator of the incident seems to have been a little annoyed, and modern commentators have used it as a text for sermons on religious indifference, or on the superficiality which judges by externals, or on the arrogance of Roman nobles. Gallio's own words attest that he was following the normal Roman policy. Had it been (he says) "a matter of wrong or wicked villainy," he would have acted; it was not his duty to interfere with Jewish "words and names and law"; he was not the servant of a persecuting State.

2. History.—C. Octavius, nephew and adopted son of Julius Cæsar, though only nineteen at Cæsar's death in 44 B.C., came to the front at once. Becoming Triumvir with Antony and Lepidus in 43, he defeated his rivals and moved towards a more constitutional-looking position between 43 and 28; in January 27 he took the title Augustus and the "Principate" began. For forty and more years he governed, organised, conquered; opportunist, adaptive, far-sighted, cool-headed, he left a coherent, well-governed, and contented Empire at his death in A.D. **14.** He it was who ordered the census of Quirinius (Lk. 2^{1}*); the extent, date and character of that census are doubtful. Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), stepson of Augustus, made no conquests, but administered the provinces well. After a few years' reign he fell out with the senatorial oligarchy (see sec. 3), and his life ended amid something like a Terror. He was himself as morbidly sensitive as Augustus had been passionless. Caligula (A.D. 37–41), great-grandson of Augustus, vain, cruel, half-oriental in his ideals, was probably unhinged in mind by an illness five months after his accession, and was presently murdered. Claudius (A.D. 41–54), nephew of Tiberius, was personally thought weak, foolish, and uxorious. But, at least in his earlier years (A.D. 41–47), he—or his ministers—ruled well, enlarging the Empire (conquering Britain, etc.), carrying out useful public works (roads, harbours, etc.), and improving the executive, especially for finance. Nero (A.D. 54–68), great-great-grandson of Augustus, was the last of the Julio-Claudian house, and the worst prince between 27 B.C. and A.D. 180. The old idea that for his first five years (54–59) his ministers ruled well is now recognised to be an error; the so-called *quinquennium Neronis* refers to other years and to building schemes. In 64 he attacked the Christians (see sec. 5), and is generally taken to be the Antichrist of Rev., and his name to give the Number of the Beast (Rev. 13^{18} *.) Yet he was not at all unpopular in the provinces. In 68 he was overthrown by Galba; in 69 Otho pulled down Galba, Vitellius Otho, and Vespasian Vitellius, after much civil war. Vespasian (A.D. 69–79), founder of the Flavian House (69–96), finished through his son Titus the destruction of Jerusalem begun before Nero's overthrow. Common-sense, coarse, competent, he repaired the excesses of Nero and extended the Empire's borders, while he encouraged the Romanisation of the provinces. With his death we practically pass beyond the horizons of the NT.

3. Constitution: Central Administration.—Supreme power in point of fact lay with the Emperor—in Latin usually denoted by his name, sometimes informally described as "princeps" (in NT mostly Καῖσαρ, also ὁ Σεβαστός, in 2 P. 2^{13,17} βασιλεύς). But in theory the Emperor was a special magistrate appointed for life, with special powers, beside the Senate, the oligarchic and almost hereditary body which had dominated the later Republic. This Senate still counted, and though far weaker than the Emperor, had important duties in jurisdiction, election, and legislation. The capital, the city of Rome, was governed mainly by high officials whom the Emperor chose. Italy, though nominally ruled by the Senate, needed little beyond the highly-developed local government of its municipalities (see below). The rest of

the Empire was divided into provinces (ἐπαρχίαι), conquered areas of which the limits depended partly on historical facts, but also on geographical features. These provinces fall administratively into two classes: (*a*) those to which the Senate sent year by year the governors (proconsuls, ἀνθύπατοι, Ac. 137), much as it had done in republican days, and (*b*) those which the Emperor (as if proconsul of many provinces at once) ruled through his deputies, *legati Augusti pro prætore*, or, in the case of certain small or difficult areas, through agents of lesser rank than the *legati*, called procurators, or (once or twice) præfects. The distinction between these classes of provinces and administrators is important to the Roman historian: probably it affected the provincials less. The proconsuls of the senatorial provinces changed, as a rule, each year; the *legati* and procurators often remained at the same posts for four, five, or even more years, and must have had more interest in their work; probably the imperial provinces were better administered than the senatorial. But *legati* and proconsuls were alike chosen from the senatorial order; the same men governed successively both classes of provinces. Only the procurators belonged to a lower social order, the Knights (*Equites*), who corresponded somewhat to our business and trading classes. It does not seem that they generally governed worse than the senators, but many of the procurators of Judæa were exceptionally bad administrators, and ruled their singularly difficult province with singular ill-success; this has prejudiced modern writers against the procuratorial governors as a class.

The following table shows the main details of the provincial system about A.D. 50:

EAST	WEST (*with Africa*)
Achaia, *Sen.*	Africa, *Sen.*
Asia, *Sen.*	Alpes Maritimæ, *Imp.* (*Proc.*).
Bithynia, *Sen.*	43 Britannia, *Imp.*
17 Cappadocia, *Imp.* (*Proc.*).	Dalmatia, *Imp.*
Cyprus, *Sen.*	Gallia Narbonensis (South Gaul), *Sen.*
Cyrene and Crete, *Sen.*	Gallia Comata, three prov., with military German frontier, *Imp.*
Egypt, *Imp.* (*Præfect*).	40 Mauretania, two prov., *Imp.* (*Proc.*).
Galatia (including Pisidia, Lycaonia, etc.), *Imp.*	Mœsia, *Imp.*
6 Judæa, *Imp.* (*Proc.*). But from 41 to 44 under native king.	Noricum, *Imp.* (*Proc.*).
Macedonia, *Sen.*	Numidia, *Imp.*
Pamphylia and Lycia, *Imp.* But Pamph. (*Proc.*) till after 50.	10 Pannonia, *Imp.*
Syria (incl. Cilician lowland), *Imp.*	Rætia, *Imp.* (*Proc.*).
46 Thrace, *Imp.* (*Proc.*).	Sardinia. *Imp.* (*Præfect*).
	Sicily, *Sen.*
	Spain, three prov., one *Sen.* two *Imp.*

Note.—After A.D. 50 few serious changes occurred till about A.D. 100, save that Cappadocia after A.D. 70 came under a *legatus Augusti* (mostly with Galatia), and some provinces were divided into Upper and Lower. All these provinces were annexed before 14 B.C., save those which have figures prefixed; these were annexed at the dates given, A.D.

Sen. = senatorial province. *Imp.* = imperial prov. (*legati*).
Proc. = under procurator (*imperial*).
Præfect = ,, *præfectus* (Jo.)

The Roman official elements in the provinces were small, in all probability smaller than the British official elements in India to-day. They consisted of the governor and his personal staff, a few finance officers (mostly called procurators), and various attendant freedmen and slaves who acted as clerks, collectors of customs-dues, and the like. There were also in most provinces Roman troops in garrison. The frontier districts along the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates and Britain were heavily garrisoned with both legions and regiments of the second grade (*auxilia*), the legions being heavy infantry, the *auxilia* either infantry (cohorts) or horse (*alæ*). Syria, for example, had four legions and numerous *auxilia*. Other provinces had only a few *auxilia* and perhaps some local levies, or no garrison at all. Thus, Judæa was held—not very adequately—by an *ala* and four or five cohorts, raised in the province from the non-Jewish population, and a cohort of the regular army, the "Italian band" of Ac. 101, in strict Roman parlance *cohors Italica civium Romanorum*. The higher officers of both legions and "auxiliaries" were normally (though not invariably) Italian born, and were all Roman citizens. The legionary common soldiers were Roman citizens, although—at least in the East—they were not by any means all Italian born; the practice in recruiting the legions varied, however, from time to time. The "auxiliary" common soldiers were drawn from the subjects, not the citizens, of Rome; they got the franchise (citizenship) on discharge.

No effort seems to have been made to plant Roman officials locally in charge of special parts of the provinces; that was left to the provincials themselves (see below). But legionary centurions, serving as gendarmerie officers, took occasional charge of troublesome towns or roads. Centurions were also used to carry despatches, prisoners, etc., between the provinces and Rome, where, under the *princeps peregrinorum*, an elaborate organisation grew up; this seems to be meant by the "Augustan band" in Ac. 271.

In sum, the central Roman government, though highly organised, was unevenly developed. It controlled the city of Rome; it controlled some parts, but not all, of Italian life; it maintained a strong army, chiefly on the frontiers, and it performed certain duties in respect to the vast area of the provinces. But this unevenness of function was not due to want of strength or narrowness of outlook. In what it did, as in what it left alone, it followed a definite, if opportunist, policy, and its omissions can best be judged by considering the system of local government which it encouraged.

4. Local Government.—(*a*) Roman civilisation, even more than Greek, was based on town life. Italy, with its many abrupt and isolated hills, was geographically fashioned to be the motherland of hill-settlements, each planted out of the reach of enemies, and out of the reach (it may be) of the malaria which haunted the valley bottoms, each fed and supported by tracts of fertile soil in those same valleys. When Rome, after centuries of warfare, became mistress of Italy, she found herself mistress of countless towns which had before been independent. She then discovered (what the Greeks with their much-praised Polis-system failed to find out) that towns may remain self-governing and yet be members of a larger State. For the progress of mankind the discovery was epochal, and it governed all future Roman expansion. Italy, at the end of the Republic and throughout the Empire, was almost wholly divided up among towns. Each town had round it a small territory; sometimes it was the territory which in long-past years it had held as a free statelet, sometimes land given it in imitation of the early system. Each town ruled itself and its territory by its municipal senate and municipal magistrates within the limits of a written charter, taxed itself, tried its own offenders, and so forth; interference came from Rome only when some great scandal called for it. So in A.D. 59, when the townsfolk of Nuceria flocked across to Pompeii to see a gladiatorial show and the Pompeians fell out with them and many Nucerians were killed, after a consular inquiry gladiatorial games were forbidden at Pompeii for ten years (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1417). The magistrates of these towns

sometimes bore titles which their predecessors had borne in early times—Prætor or Dictator or the like; but towards the end of the Republic uniformity was introduced, and the title Duoviri (or Quattuorviri) was adopted. The towns themselves fall into two classes, differing historically but otherwise much the same. Some were *coloniæ*, new settlements of Romans, often planted full-grown in spots where no town or only a small or decayed one had existed before; others, *municipia*, grew up to merit a charter.

Both classes of towns, but especially the first, increased greatly in number at the outset of the Empire. The civil wars, amid which the Republic died, left huge masses of discharged soldiery; at Rome (though not perhaps in a modern State) the most natural way of dealing with them was to plant them out on lands of their own. This was done by founding *coloniæ* in Italy, and also in the provinces; thus the veterans were settled in peace, outposts of Roman power were set up in distant and, in some cases, newly-conquered regions, and centres of Roman speech and fashions sprang up in the most diverse quarters. Most of these *coloniæ* were in the western provinces. But not a few lay in the East; Corinth, Philippi in Macedonia, Alexandria Troas, Antioch in Pisidia, Lystra, were all established within the lifetime of Augustus in the area of Paul's missionary journeys. Thus Roman town life spread to the provinces. The result was greatest in the West, not only because *coloniæ* were most numerous there, but because the native tribes there were readiest to receive the new fashion, and because Rome was near. In the East, the Hellenistic culture derived from Hellas was still strong, and the isolated *coloniæ*, whether on the coast or (like Antioch and Lystra) remote on the interior plateau of Asia Minor, soon lost much of their Roman colouring. But they remained independent; they greeted interfering proconsuls and *legati* as an English city might an inspector from the Local Government Board.

(*b*) Just as the Roman municipalities formed locally autonomous units in the Empire, so the native towns in the provinces enjoyed ample measure of self-government. These towns lay mostly in the East. In the West, in Britain, Gaul, Spain, the government of the natives before the Roman conquest had generally been tribal, and the town life which sprang up (after the conquest) was mainly that of *coloniæ*. But in the East were Greek towns, many and rich and powerful, and accustomed through centuries to some form of independence. Rome allowed these towns to retain municipal freedom; she did not despatch Roman commissioners to administer them. Generally, she required that the urban franchise should be put fairly high and the poorer classes excluded from direct control; she further concluded agreements with the individual towns or granted them charters stating their rights; thereafter, she interfered only in case of special scandals. The towns were ruled by their own magistrates, taxed themselves, built their own waterworks and other municipal establishments, had their own law-courts (though not allowed to sentence to death or to try Roman citizens), issued their own coinage, at least in copper, and so forth. In minutiæ, the charters of the towns seem to have varied much. Athens, for example, was nominally a "free" city. There the chief power lay with the Areopagus, the old aristocratic court, a good deal reconstituted; this controlled the law courts, education, religion, public buildings, and (with a somewhat shadowy Boulê and Dêmos) managed the city's general business; it is probable that it was this Areopagus which inquired (perhaps informally) into Paul's teaching (Ac. 17$_{22}$). This municipal freedom had its evils. Even in the reign of Augustus Athens used its liberty to "declare war" on Rome, and in the second and third centuries financial mismanagement drove the Roman Government to more definite interference with towns of all sorts, Roman or Greek. But in our period the dominant policy was that of Gallio.

(*c*) In the wilder and less civilised regions of the Empire, where native towns did not exist and *coloniæ* could not be planted, the unit of local government was the native tribe (as in NW. Spain, Britain, Dalmatia), though, as time went on, efforts were made to start town life here also. The island of Malta, for example, seems, at the time of Paul's shipwreck, to have been a kind of "Rural District," under a "Headman of the Maltese" (*πρῶτος Μελιταίων*); later, before A.D. 200, its capital, Melitê, was raised to the status of *municipium*, and ruled the island as its territory.

(*d*) A fourth form of local administraton was furnished by the Imperial Estates, belonging to and administered by the Emperor *ex officio*, through the agency of procurators. These were, even in the early Empire, of great extent in certain provinces; later they increased enormously. They were, however, mostly rough rural districts, and their importance, and that of the system by which they were ruled, only appears late in the Empire's history.

(*e*) Lastly, attention is due to a class of territorial divisions which were, in one sense, outside the Empire, the Protectorates. Rome—like all empires, and more than most—had, besides directly annexed dominions, many protectorates and spheres of influence. Her statesmen thought it easier, her financiers found it more lucrative, to rule certain lands through their native princes; during the later Republic this device had been used freely, and though the Emperors gradually annexed nearly all these protected principalities, they were still common in the first century. They lay almost wholly in the East; they were fragments and débris of the kingdoms of the Macedonian successors of Alexander (Seleucids, Ptolemies, etc.), and many of their rulers were descendants of those men. Both in size and in independence the protectorates varied much; generally, their foreign policy was subject to Rome, their right to coin limited to copper; they were liable to tribute, and while they might raise their own armies, they were or might be called on to send troops to serve for Rome. Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.) was so tied down in Judæa, as to be styled "an imperial procurator in his own kingdom." The rulers of these states formed a curious class; they intermarried mostly among themselves, rarely with Romans; they got education and training at Rome and sympathised with Hellenistic and (if only from prudence) with Roman fashions, and yet retained much of Oriental feeling. They helped towards the Romanisation of certain districts, but their chief function was to save Rome from the labour of the local administration of their principalities.

5. Position of the Individual: Physical Freedom.—The system of the Roman Empire not only left the individual (whether Roman citizen or mere Roman subject) unmolested by State interference and able (to a certain extent) to govern himself; it also allowed him personal liberty in various ways. (*a*) In taxation and financial matters. He had, of course, to pay his rates and taxes, imperial and local. But local taxation could be controlled locally, and the imperial taxes (poll-tax, land-tax, customs dues, and so forth) seem in general—at least during the early Empire—to have

been paid easily; the complicated and varying methods of imperial taxation seem also to have worked well. The tithe-system, which had been the curse of Sicily and Asia during the later Republic, had been abolished; the middlemen (*publicani*), who farmed these and other public taxes from the State, had been also abolished or muzzled. Now, the provinces or other local units, as a rule, collected their own contributions and sent what was due to Rome. Or, if the Roman Government collected its taxes through its own agents, those were now natives rather than Italians. The numerous tax-gatherers (τελῶναι) mentioned in the gospels (Mt. 9$_{12}$, Lk. 5$_{30}$, etc.) as employed in Judæa, were contractors in some way employed by the Roman Government, but they were natives of Palestine; many of them, like Matthew and Zacchæus, were ordinary Jews. The hatred felt for them by the Jews seems to have been caused, not so much by the heaviness of the taxes, nor even by their occasional rapacity (Lk. 3$_{12}$), as by the strong Jewish feeling against any tax save that payable to the Temple for the needs of the Jewish national religion. Certainly the Roman avoided here—as in Egypt, where a similar system apparently obtained—any friction between Italian official and native taxpayer, and the personal security of the provincial must have been in this respect much greater than under the Republic. He had, indeed, to deal with the imperial officials when he took merchandise across a provincial border, but the dues levied—mostly 2 to 5 per cent. *ad valorem*—were light, and in any case fell only on a few.

(*b*) The provincial had much freedom, too, in respect of military service. The Government had the right to raise compulsory levies, even of Roman citizens. But it did so seldom. The prospects of a military life, and the rewards which followed it (citizenship and a bounty or land), attracted men even into the less favoured *auxilia*, and, except perhaps in some districts or in emergencies, the army was recruited voluntarily. Jews were altogether exempt from service, probably because the Mishna forbade them to bear arms on the Sabbath; this is one of the many exceptions made by Rome in favour of a peculiar and obstinate people (see below).

(*c*) Nor, again, did Rome attempt to coerce in the matter of language. The demands of modern European Governments, that their subjects, of whatever race, should all use the "Staatssprache," were unknown in Rome. Roman *coloniæ*, whether in Italy or in a province, were supposed to employ Latin in all official business, and many did so; we chance to know that the streets in the eastern *colonia* of Pisidian Antioch bore Roman names. But Latin had no monopoly, at least in provinces where the natural language was Greek. Indeed, for general purposes, Greek served as a *lingua franca* through the East (p. 591); it could be spoken even in dealings with Roman officials (Ac. 21$_{37}$). Nor was Greek the only alternative to Latin. In many regions, the native dialects lingered on throughout the early Empire (so in Lystra, *cf.* Ac. 15$_{11}$, though a Roman *colonia*), and even till the fall of Roman power. This was notably the case in inner Asia Minor and in the mountains of northern Africa; so in lonely valleys of the Western Pyrenees Basque has lived on to our own days. The use of these native dialects was naturally confined mostly to the poorer folk, but they occur occasionally on inscriptions. On the other hand, it does not seem to have been at all necessary that a private person who held the Roman citizenship should be able to speak or read Latin.

(*d*) No restrictions were put on the power of the individual to move up and down the Empire. Persons who seemed undesirable—philosophers and the like—were now and again expelled from Rome (*cf.* Ac. 18$_2$); otherwise, men might go and might dwell where they would. Passports do not appear to have been required, nor even certificates of Roman citizenship; when Paul claimed citizen's rights, the claim was admitted without demur (Ac. 16$_{37}$, 22$_{25}$). He seems, however, to have avoided claiming them when he could help it.

Public security, too, was adequately, if not completely, assured, at least during the early Empire. Highwaymen were certainly not uncommon, particularly in the eastern provinces, as (among other proofs) about a dozen passages in the NT indicate. Yet even here public safety was better cared for than at any later date. The State provided centurions at special points (see above), and the towns had not seldom their local police. Characteristically enough, no uniform or universal system was attempted. But he who compares the internal order and security of the Roman provinces under the early Empire with those of the same lands in the early nineteenth century, will not judge the Empire harshly.

Ordinary facilities for travelling were not wanting. Roads were good and plentiful in most districts. Inns also were common, and, though bad, were hardly more sordid or more immoral than inns in parts of Europe to-day. Travellers, however, often lodged with friends or with strangers to whom they brought introductions; there is evidence that (as we should expect) they generally requited their hosts with some form of payment. Carriages, too, could be hired in most places, whether for the afternoon or for a long tour—as in southern Europe to-day. Quite a number of cab-companies can be traced in and round Rome, and indeed in many other regions. But many travellers naturally used their own coaches, like eighteenth-century travellers; many went afoot and sent by cart such luggage as they had. For sea passages, which few long journeys in the Empire could wholly avoid, there was less regular provision. But if the Mediterranean was stormy, it was now fairly free from pirates, and shipping was abundant and accustomed to carrying passengers. Opportunities of booking a passage from any large maritime trading centre to any other were frequent.

The pace at which men or letters moved varied enormously. The land marches attributed to Hannibal (150 miles of trackless country in 12 hours), to Tiberius (200 miles of hill and forest in 24 hours), to Cæsar (800 miles in 8 days), are but the extraordinary achievements of extraordinary men; they exhibit the extreme of speed. The average land-traveller has been estimated to have rarely covered 50 miles in the day, and to have generally been content with 25 miles. The average ship was judged by the ancients to run in favourable conditions 110–150 knots (say, 115–170 miles) in the 24 hours. But nearly everything depended on the season. The Mediterranean, according to ancient ideas, was storm-bound from early November till March, and was easily navigable only from the end of May till the middle of September, while the land-passes of the Alps, the Taurus, and many less famous uplands were shut or dangerous through the winter and spring. The summer journey from Rome to Alexandria, mostly by sea, took usually 20 to 25 days, though Pliny declares that one Roman officer got from Puteoli to Alexandria (1150 miles) in 9 days and another from Messina in 6 days—figures which are credible if the ships had fair winds all the way. The summer journey from Alexandria to Rome was longer,

by reason of prevailing west winds. The winter journey, mostly overland, might last 8 to 10 weeks, or even more. Paul's voyage (Ac. $27_{9,12}$) was so hindered by west winds and other obstacles that it became prolonged into the stormy season. In general, the circumstances of season, weather, means of transport, and the needs or wishes of the traveller varied so widely that one example of travel throws little light on any other.

These various considerations make it intelligible that movement was very free throughout Mediterranean lands during the Empire. And the freedom was used. Not only officials, soldiers, merchants—no doubt the most frequent travellers—but also a motley host of lecturers on philosophy and religion and literature, quack-healers, musicians, and players and athletes, pilgrims to sacred places or health resorts, students, passed along the highways, safe and indeed unnoticed. Tourists even were not unknown; they cut their names on the Pyramids and "heard Memnon" at dawn in Egypt, much as a modern crowd might watch sunrise at Stonehenge.

6. Intellectual and Religious Liberty.—In harmony with this imperial policy, the citizens and the subjects of Rome enjoyed almost entire liberty to think and believe what they liked. The most diverse opinions were held and promulgated, unhindered by the State. The old Roman religion—a national ritual rather than a personal creed or spiritual experience—still survived; it had even been strengthened by the reforms of Augustus and it was enlarged by the new "worship of the emperors." But the educated sceptics of Rome made terms with it easily, and in the provinces it spread freely; its gods were already those of Greece, and it amalgamated rapidly with the native cults of the West, Celtic, German, African. Troubles arose only where politics or morals were involved, when Asiatic or Egyptian orgiastic rites intruded on Roman manners, or when the supremacy of the Roman religion or of the Roman Emperor seemed to be denied. Even so, restrictive measures were mainly confined to Rome or Italy; the obnoxious rites were forbidden in Rome or to Roman citizens. We know only of one famous cult which never reached Rome, yet was prohibited. Early in the first century A.D. Druidism was forbidden, first to Roman citizens, and afterwards to all men; the barbaric rites ascribed to it—human sacrifices and magic—offended Roman sentiment, and it was put down, as Suttee in British India. Apart from this case, the chief difficulties arose with the Jews. They were rigid nationalists and logical monotheists. They dwelt, both in Rome and in the provincial towns, in small communities distinct from ordinary mankind. They adhered strictly to their national customs. They were also money-lenders. Such facts caused (as to-day in certain parts of Europe) not a few "Judenkrawalle." Moreover, the difficulty of ruling them in their own land of Judæa prejudiced the Government against them. Nevertheless, they received much liberty. They might settle where they pleased (apart from special expulsions from Rome in A.D. 19 and perhaps about A.D. 50, Ac. 18_2), might open synagogues and convert proselytes, and they were excused or excluded from military service. In Judæa their prejudices were respected in many details (no emperor's head on coins, no Romans in the Temple, no imperial emblems in Jerusalem), and they enjoyed a rather unusual autonomy under their priestly council (Sanhedrin), instead of a city senate of laymen. But intermittent Roman blunders and crimes faced by unvarying Jewish fanaticism brought on regular war in 67–70 (p. 610); as a result, the Temple was destroyed, the Temple tribute (half a shekel from each Jew) transferred to Jupiter Capitolinus, the Sanhedrin abolished, and the Jewish priestly administration ended. Yet even then Jewish worship was not forbidden to Jews, either in Palestine or elsewhere; the general policy, political and religious tolerance of the individual, was continued.

Christianity had a different fate. It was indeed a different religion. It was the creed of scattered men, not of a recognised community; it challenged (as the Jewish custom did not) the supremacy of the Roman State worship and of the Emperor; it was widely believed to involve practices far more detestable to Roman sentiment than any Jewish rite. Till, however, it spread to Rome, it received the usual tolerance, the usual protection against not infrequent rioters. It seems to have reached Rome before Paul's arrival (? A.D. 61); after that, it doubtless spread fast; it was then already unpopular among the common people. The great fire of A.D. 64 brought a change. The Emperor Nero found himself widely regarded as the author of that catastrophe, and tried to shift the suspicion on to the Christians; it was, he said in effect, a Christian plot. The attack speedily widened to the supposed vices of the Christians; they were denounced as the enemies of morality and religion, of the Roman State and of the worship of the Emperor, and were virtually outlawed. This seems to have been done, not by any definite judicial decision, but by the right inherent in the Roman magistrate to destroy men or things dangerous to the State. Once thus proscribed, the Christians remained—as Christians—liable to arrest and death when the officials cared to move. It is possible, indeed, that the outlawry had two stages, that in 64 the Christians were punished as being evil-livers and not as Christians, and that at a later date (about 80, maybe, or 85) the very "name" of Christian was marked as criminal.

But the evidence for two stages is weak; it is simpler to think that the events of 64 stamped Christianity once for all as forbidden. In any case, when in 112–13 Pliny encountered Christians in Bithynia (where he was special commissioner), and consulted the Emperor Trajan as to his proper course, neither he nor Trajan hesitated to affirm that proven Christians should be punished as Christians. Details only were at issue—should the Christians be hunted out, should anonymous accusations be received?—to which Trajan's answer is in the negative. So it remained for two centuries. When a Christian revealed himself by refusing the ceremonial religious homage to the Emperor, when private foes informed, when one or another Emperor ordered definite "persecution," the number of the martyrs was enlarged. But this was not every day. Opportunist to the last, the Roman Government judged that this odd sect, with its secret meetings (more secret than ever, probably, after 64), its denials of the Roman State and Emperor, its alleged crimes, must be prohibited, but that prohibition sufficed; there was no need to be continually seeking occasion to enforce it. So have English administrators often acted in practical matters—without logic and with success. This opportunism permitted the spread of the new religion in the form which best appealed to the much-vexed peoples of the falling Empire and ensured its final triumph. (See further pp. 631, 774f.)

In such a world, free, on the whole well governed, peaceful, divorced by the imperial system from political activity, prosperous, even rich, the intellect

naturally awoke. Its life was wide, not deep. Interest in literature was general. Attendance at lectures was as socially fashionable as it is in any great town of modern Europe or America. Even women are often mentioned as readers and critics, as authoresses, as students of abstract subjects, philosophy and mathematics, as only too ready to talk on these things at social gatherings. Schools, endowments for education—in favour of both those who were to be educated and those who were to teach—local libraries, were common; probably even the lower classes knew generally how to read and write. For higher studies, Athens served as a University, while travelling lecturers provided a fortuitous but wide-spread "University Extension" and made a living out of it. Research too was pursued, more perhaps in the second than in the first century; Pliny's encyclopædic *Natural History* was, however, completed in A.D. 77. Unfortunately, the prevailing ignorance of chemistry, etc., and the low standard of historical truth in matters of detail, frustrated the growth of any profound research. With this intellectual life went inevitably much religious curiosity. Besides the existing religions, Roman or provincial native, new sects sprang up, new teachers put themselves forward. Magicians professed occult powers and enjoyed a profitable career in many towns, as the NT abundantly testifies. Astrology, which predicts the fated future (without altering it by magic) was equally studied. In religion and its kindred activities, however, just as in research, the second century was more fruitful than the first; the great worships of the Empire which at times rivalled Christianity, Mithraism (p. 632) and the like, began to appear after the NT period was ended. They, like it, owed much of their influence and power to the readiness of the age to receive new incitements to mental and spiritual activity (pp. 627ff.).

Literature.—For the history of the period see H. F. Pelham's *Outlines of Roman History* and, for a longer but older narrative, Dean Merivale's *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire* (chs. xxx.ff.). For the constitution, see Pelham, as above, and Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* (French translation). For the Roman provinces see Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire*[2], and for the system of government Marquardt's *Staatsverwaltung* or W. T. Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*[3] (old but still useful). General intellectual and social conditions are described by Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte*[8] (1910, also in English translation), and Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. Many points connected with Asia Minor, Paul and Luke are strikingly discussed by Sir W. Mitchell Ramsay in his many writings, esp. *The Church in the Roman Empire* and *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*; he is the first who has given a really scholarly handling to NT problems concerned with Roman administration and history. For the attitude of Rome to Christianity see a convenient summary in E. G. Hardy's *Studies in Roman History* (vol. i. pp. 1–107). Mommsen's remarks on the subject, as well as on the trial of Christ and on various questions connected with Paul, are in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii. 389ff. and vi. 540ff. (compare Exp. 1893). On the speed of travel see esp. W. M. Ramsay in HDB, vol. 5, "Roads and Travel," which has not been superseded by Riepl's *Nachrichtenwesen im Altertum*; *cf.* also Friedländer (as above), vol. ii.

A few special references may be added. As to the *quinquennium Neronis* (p. 612), see *Journal of Roman Studies*, pp. 173, 178 (where I have suggested A.D. 60–65 as the date of it). As to the knowledge of reading and writing (p. 617), see Haverfield, *Romanization of Roman Britain*[3], chap. iii. and figs. 2–6. As to Druidism (p. 616), see Suet. *Claud.* 25 *ad fin.*; Pliny, *N. H.* 30, 13.

CONTEMPORARY JEWISH RELIGION

By Mr. CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE

The purpose of this essay is to state what the best people and the average people among the Jews thought and felt about religious matters in the time of Jesus. "The best people," because one learns most about a religion from its saints; "the average people," because we want to know how far religion penetrated, and what were the defects of its qualities. Our material is found in the writings of the time; and these, even when we take the wider period 50 B.C. to A.D. 50, are not numerous. They fall into two parts: (*a*) Jewish, (*b*) Christian. The Jewish literature is Apocryphal, Pseudepigraphic, Apocalyptic, and Rabbinic. Of the last-named there is very little which is as early as A.D. 1 or even A.D. 50; the other groups have to be used with caution, because their date is uncertain. They exist only in translations, and we do not know how far their teachings were held outside the circle of their authors. The Christian literature (Paul's Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels, or at least their antecedents) also demands cautious reading, because its authors lived in a time of conflict and passion which naturally coloured their views of the religious situation.

Let us remember, too, that the period A.D. 1–100 was in a peculiar sense a time of transition. We have to do not with a final and petrified product, but with a living, palpitating religion, affected by inner and outer forces. The Jewish religion of the first century was not something whose development had closed, and which was to serve as the background of primitive Christianity, and then to stagnate and die. Judaism went on alongside of Christianity, and is still a living religion, very different from the Judaism of the first century (as the Christianity of our day differs from primitive Christianity), yet still the same religion. What makes the first century especially transitional for Judaism is the destruction of the Jewish State and the Temple of Jerusalem, events which vitally affected the development of the religion. Some of the defects of the religion in, say, the year 30 were overcome by Judaism itself in one way, by Christianity in another. We cannot be too careful in estimating a growing and living religion, especially if it be not our own.

Let us start by seeking to realise the fundamental dogma and life-nerve of the entire religion, the great achievement of its past history, the doctrine common to Palestinian Judaism and to "Diaspora" Judaism, to Aramaic-speaking Jews and to Greek-speaking Jews, to Galileans and Judæans (concerning whose real or imagined differences from each other it will not be possible in this brief essay to speak). That, obviously, is the doctrine of monotheism, the doctrine of the One and Only God. In their faith in a single supreme God—in a denial of "gods," in an affirmation of God—all the Jews, saint, average man, and even sinner, were agreed.

The labours of the prophets and lawgivers in this fundamental doctrine had been crowned with success. It was a great achievement, but its precise nature must be more fully described. It was a religious, not a philosophical, achievement. The One and Only God was not a philosophers' God, though some might conceive Him more or less philosophically. But He was essentially the same God for all—a God of religion; a Creator and Ruler, who was supposed to think and feel and will and do; a God who cared and loved, who "rejoiced" and "grieved," who rewarded and punished and forgave. A very "human" God? Perhaps so, but yet strictly One, the sole Deity in all the world. A very "personal" God? Certainly; but also a God of "spirit, not of "flesh and blood," a formless and shapeless God, of whom no image or picture or material representation of any kind might be adored or even made. A God, again, who was both near and far. Older and newer conceptions were imperfectly fused, but, here as elsewhere, the imperfect fusion, with the inconsistencies thence arising, was not consciously realised. In a sense, God was especially near to, or even "in," the Temple of Jerusalem; in a sense, He dwelt in "heaven"; but, in a sense, He was omnipresent. Whatever His dwelling-place, He was near to all who called upon Him, able to see all that was done on earth, and to hear and attend to every cry. A great, mighty, and awful God; omnipotent, sovereign, supreme; but a righteous and loving God also, merciful, compassionate, forgiving. In a word, a moral God, though not yet, to our thinking, completely moralised. He still had enemies; He still could be conceived as taking vengeance. He could still punish, not only to improve and educate and deter, but for punishment's sake, retributively. He was solicitous about His glory, and that glory was still to some extent His own honour, fame, and reputation, and not merely the triumph of goodness and of truth. Nevertheless, a holy God, who hated, and was the antithesis of, evil, impurity, and sin. Here again was an imperfect fusion of older and newer elements. The impurity which God hated, and to which His holiness was antithetical (that holiness which it was a cardinal injunction, a central ideal, for His worshippers to imitate in their own lives), was both physical and spiritual, outward and inward. Only the pure in heart can "stand" (metaphorically) "in His holy place"; only the bodily pure, in a highly technical sense of the word "purity," may serve Him in His Temple of stone. A holy God, but withal approachable; an awful God, but yet the Father of His people, the Father and Creator of each of them and of all.

Now this conception of the Divine Being, this rigid and yet religious monotheism, which was both ethical and spiritual, had entered into the very bones of the people, or at any rate of an immense majority. It

was part of their life, it made them what they were. It was to their minds and feelings the essential distinction between them and all other nations. It was their wisdom; it was their righteousness. All the other peoples of the world were, as they thought, idolaters, worshippers of many gods, worshippers of images. There was the closest association in their minds between the two things: the idolater worshipped many gods; the worshipper of many gods adored images. He did not distinguish between the unseen Creator and the visible creation: he bowed down to the works of God, or, still worse, to the works of man. In the first place, such polytheism or such idolatry was folly, an utter aberration of mind. Thus the Jews felt themselves intellectually head and shoulders above all other peoples, however much these might vaunt themselves of their philosophy, their art, their culture. This feeling was a moral and religious danger. But not only so. Prophet and lawgiver had incessantly proclaimed that idolatry and the worship of false gods and many gods produced, or went hand in hand with, moral depravity. Religious error, religious folly, caused iniquity and sin. In the important realm of sexual impurity there was especially good reason for this view. Universalised, it came to this: idolaters (*i.e.* all, or nearly all, who were not Jews) were, of necessity and nature, not only fools but knaves. Gross ignorance was their portion, an ignorance which passed over into foulness and sin. And the ignorance and the sin were less their misfortune than their fault. They had deliberately shut the eyes of their minds, and voluntarily sunk deeper into the mire of folly and of wickedness. It is clear that such comparisons tended to pride, to isolation, to despising and being despised. But the temptation, no less than the danger, was great. For it must be confessed that the difference between the religious, spiritual, and ethical monotheism of the Jews, and all surrounding "idolatries," was in fact gigantic, though it was perhaps still more gigantic in the eyes of the Jews themselves. They heard and saw what was grossest and most outward in other religions: of any inward verities, of any esoteric excellences, of the spiritual achievements of the few, they knew little and suspected less. Religion was so real and deep a distinction between Jew and non-Jew that it tended to intoxicate: the Jews were in the right; the rest of the world was wrong.

We have now to realise that this Jewish monotheism was a national monotheism. The One God was also the God of the Jews. We can hardly think of God in any such national way. We cannot think of the One God as the God of the English, the Serbians, or the Danes. We can think of a national Church, but not of a national monotheism. It seems a contradiction in terms. To the Jews, however, of the age of Jesus, the contradiction was unperceived. Their monotheism was, in a sense, a political monotheism; it was a part, even the foundation, of the entire constitution. It was the fundamental article or law of the State. It was not a mere dogma of faith; it was the essence of the Jew's nationality as well as the essence of his religion.

It is necessary to recall how this aspect of the Jewish monotheism had come about. It is the paradox of the situation that the Jewish religion was so intensely national just because it had become so intensely monotheistic. Other religions had been, and were, national; yet, because they were polytheistic and idolatrous, they were more elastic and less exclusive; but Yahweh, the national God of the Jews, had become all the more exclusive and "jealous" as He shed His tribal limitations and developed into the One and Only God of all the earth and all the world. Again, though His "limitations" had gone, though He was the God of the spirits of all flesh, He still remained in a peculiar sense the God of the Jews. He was so as a matter of fact. The Jews worshipped Him; other peoples did not. Moreover, sacrifices could be offered to Him only in Jerusalem, and the official worship of the Divine throughout antiquity was by means of sacrifices. But He was also the God of the Jews in theory, and the theory passed over into practice. To Israel only had He given His perfect Law. Israel and every Israelite had special relations with this One and Only God—special duties on the one hand, special privileges on the other. With Israel His glory was peculiarly wrapped up. His service was the obligation and joy of every Israelite; His worship was the *raison d'être* of the Jewish State. Israel and God were partners: in a certain sense it may almost be said that *neither* could get on without the other. God is Israel's Father; the Israelites are God's children: how could the Father be a Father without them?

The religious effects of this combination of monotheism with nationalism were deeply marked both for good and evil, for strength and weakness.

It certainly promoted an intensity of religious feeling, which, at that time, may not have been attainable in any other way. If the national God had become the One and Only God by being supposed to show an absolute equality of interest in all the nations of the world, it might well have been that this equal interest would have been thought to be a puny interest. The One and Only God would have become distant, remote. And if He had not been supposed to have had special relations with Israel, He might have become uninteresting, unapproachable. A God who, without mediation or mediator, is equally near to, interested in, and approachable to, the entire human race; a Theism which should be both philosophic and intimate, both pure and warm—for this the Jews have become capable only by slow process of time. The One and Only God had not simply to be believed in by the reason as an article of faith; He had to be thought of as a Father, and He had to be loved. And He was thought of as a Father, and He was passionately loved, because He was not only the "God of the spirits of all flesh," but also specially the God of Israel, the God of every Israelite, "the Lord *thy* God." Religion in the first century had become individualised. Man and God; these two were, however, as yet, perhaps, incapable of unmediated relations with each other. Because the One God was also the national God, who had given to His own people His Law, the Israelite could find God in national (if also spiritual) institutions. Through specific duties and privileges heaven was brought down to earth, and a constant link created between the worshipper and the Object of worship. God was intensely dear to the Jew, and the Jew was intensely dear to God.

But the evil side of the combination sometimes made itself felt. Religion was associated with politics, and occasionally gave birth to fanaticism. The national independence was by some regarded as inseparable from, or identical with, the existence of the religion. In the last century and a half before the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in A.D. 70 religious parties and divisions become political parties and divisions, and invoked the aid of the State against one another. Religion tends in some few quarters to become coarsened, materialised, and diminished in spirituality. On the one hand, the "Sadducean"

priests and nobles, political and worldly-wise, conservatives of a poor type; at the other extreme, the Zealots, fierce, fanatical, and violent. Between these extremes was the great mass of the people, with their leaders and teachers, the "Pharisees" and the "Scribes." For these the danger was different. It lay in their being sometimes infected with a too acute religious self-consciousness. Moreover, the combination of monotheism and nationalism prevented a true conception of the relation of God and of Israel to the world beyond Israel's pale. The purest meaning of election, of service, and of sonship was obscured; it was only realised fitfully and partially, not completely, permanently, and by all.

It has been indicated that the best, and even the average people in Israel found in their God joy and comfort, strength and hope. But it has been implied that between God and the Jew there was a middle term. Bare man did not, as it were, find all these good things in bare God. He did not make his way to God, alone and as best he could, serving and worshipping Him to the best of his ability, the methods being of his own choice, with no dictation or demand from on high. What, then, was the mediation, or who were the mediators? Institutions or sacraments, demigods or angels? The link, the middle term, was the Law, or, more properly and accurately, the Torah.

What is the Torah? It is a conception not wholly easy to define. It was not the Pentateuch and nothing else; it was not the Law and nothing else. Torah means instruction, teaching (p. 121); thus it is a wider term than the Pentateuch or the Law. It could be used to include all the teachings contained in, or to be elicited from, all the Sacred Writings. It was also used to cover all the oral and fluid additions to, or interpretations of, the Pentateuchal Code. With this caution, however, we may, for our purposes, speak of the Law as the "middle term" between Israel and God, and roughly identify that Law with the injunctions and institutions of the Pentateuch.

This Law was the law of Israel and of every Israelite; it was the public law of the State; it was the private law of the individual. To observe the precepts of the Law was the duty and the privilege of every Jew. Through the Law he served the Giver of the Law, and in doing God's declared and definite will he loved God and was glad. Because God loved Israel, God gave them many commandments, for in the multiplicity of commands lay the greater opportunity for goodness, for happiness, and for reward. Such was the theory, which was in process of formation through the years 100 B.C. to A.D. 100, and that not only as a theory, but as a fact. It was actually thus that the best and the average found satisfaction and strength and peace; it was actually thus that they became good; and so, in one sense, it was actually thus that they found their reward.

Now, because the Law was in great part a written code, and few possessed it, it needed oral explanation. Laws needed other laws, ordinances required ordinances. Explanation and exemplification, instances and illustrations, produced fresh commandments. The Law said that no work was to be done upon the Sabbath. But what was work? Human ingenuity made elaborate—painfully, foolishly elaborate—determinations and definitions of work. So one simple prohibition ended in many detailed and sometimes ludicrous prohibitions. This process, too, was going on when Jesus lived and looked forth with his clear and penetrating eyes upon the religious life around him. To explain and elaborate the Law needed study, and this study was the highest wisdom. And if practice was greater than study, yet without study no right practice was possible. Thus a certain intellectual element in religion, which had not been wholly wanting before, was immensely increased by the influence of the Law.

The Judaism of the first century was, therefore, a "legal" religion, and its "legalism" was on the increase. But before we can consider what legalism meant *in this particular instance*, another matter must be briefly referred to.

Up till A.D. 70 the Temple stood, and sacrifices of all sorts were being continually offered up. Animals were slaughtered; blood flowed in abundance; there were also offerings of a non-fleshly kind. Priests and sub-priests (Levites) ministered. The High Priest was the highest religious official of the land. The Law speaks about sacrifices and offerings at great length; they are a very important part of the entire code. It speaks, too, about the priests and Levites, and magnifies their office. It tells of the dues which have to be paid to them by every layman. Was, then, Judaism, up till A.D. 70, a priestly religion? In one sense, yes. The Temple was loved; it was the great visible symbol of the religion. The daily and festal sacrifices were considered by everybody as of the greatest importance. For the omnipresent God was yet especially near to the Temple. The sanctuary kept God within Israel. The sacrifices atoned for Israel's sins; that was the method of national forgiveness which God had ordained; sacrifices could even atone for some sins of the individual. The Jew was proud of his one national Temple, the palladium of his one national God. Ideas regarding it formed part of his religion, or, shall we say, formed part of his superstition? For these ideas did not really harmonise with other and better ideas, which were to enable him to get on better, and to have a nobler religion, without the Temple than with it. It is another instance of the imperfectly fused and transitional character of the religion of the first century.

In one sense, then, Judaism was a priestly religion. In another and more important sense it was not. For it was a religion without sacraments or mysteries. Its priests were no longer, except accidentally, the teachers of the people. They had no absolving power. Outside Jerusalem they were of no practical account, except for the burdensome dues which had to be paid to them. Moreover, as there was only one Temple, and sacrifices could not be offered elsewhere, the whole sacrificial system played little part in everyday life or on the Sabbath day. This must have been the case a few miles radius outside Jerusalem. Beyond Judæa there must have been many Jews who never saw the Temple with its sacrificial victims (not even on the three statutory yearly occasions), and never brought an offering to the altar.

The near and living institution was not the Temple, but the Synagogue, at once a house of prayer and of study; the near and important officials were not the priests, but the scribes, the rabbis, the teachers of the Law. It was the Law and its teachers that enabled Judaism to continue even after the Temple had been destroyed. The religion was, indeed, gradually bettered and purified by the collapse of the sacrificial system.

Fully and accurately to estimate the effects for good and evil of the predominating Law, three considerations would have to be taken into account. First, "legality" in any religion may be supposed to produce

certain general results. Secondly, the results must vary according to the nature of the particular religion. Lastly, we have to deal, in any religion, with human beings, who do not always act and feel and think as, according to our cut-and-dry theories, they ought to think and feel and act. The results which might be supposed to follow from "legality," and from the particular Law, did not always or even prevailingly happen; and in many respects, and for a large number of people, "legality" and the Law produced other results, for which those whose religion has no legal element may be unprepared. Omitting all discussion of the general results of legality in religion, a word or two must be said as to the nature of the particular Law. It must be remembered that the Law was regarded as the gift of the perfectly good and wise God, who wished for the happiness of His people, and gave them this instrument with which to achieve it. It was not given them as a disagreeable business, to be fulfilled as a condition of ulterior reward, whether in this world or in another. It is true that rewards (of many kinds) would follow from the Law's observance; nevertheless, the observance of the Law was to be a happiness and a wisdom in itself. Through the Law Israel was to live, and to live well. The observance of the Law—such is the full-blown theory to which things were tending, and such was what saints and average men tended to feel—is, in other words, an end in itself, and is its own reward, even though it brings many other rewards in its train. This view tended in a good direction: less good was the view that as the Law, like its Author, was perfect, every bit of it was perfect, the whole book was perfect, each ordinance and command was perfect. It was a bar upon ethical and religious progress (not necessarily insuperable, but undoubtedly severe), when every command in the Pentateuch, like every statement about God which it contained, had to be regarded as perfect. How many crudities, cruelties, and ethical flaws had to be considered as consistent with perfect goodness and wisdom, or, at the best, had to be awkwardly explained away! How the heart and mind had to become habituated to regard that as good and perfect which otherwise they might have rightly considered as imperfect or bad!

The Pentateuchal laws include both *ethical* and *ceremonial* injunctions, and some that, like the sexual laws, are partly one and partly the other. It is often supposed that these ceremonial laws were extremely numerous, and that, with the elaborations and additions which they were receiving from the teachers of the time, they must have constituted an intolerable burden upon the everyday life of the ordinary Israelite. This theory is, however, very doubtful. Many of the Pentateuchal laws concern only the priest and the Levite. Many deal with the sacrifices. Removing them, and others which are exceptional, the ceremonial laws which remain are chiefly these: (1) The laws about the Sabbath and the festivals, including the Teachers' regulations as to what might and might not be done upon these holy days. (2) Laws about food, including not only injunctions about animals which might not be eaten, but Rabbinic regulations about killing and cooking and about not eating milk and meat together. (3) Laws about tenths and other dues to the priests and the Levites and the poor, upon which the rabbis, for reasons that are not wholly clear, laid the most extraordinary stress, so that agricultural produce from which the dues had not been strictly removed was looked upon as unclean, and the eating of it constituted a serious sin. The faithful observance of these laws about the dues was probably much the greatest "burden" of the entire Law. (4) Laws about women, about the relations of the sexes to each other, and about sexual impurities. (5) Laws about cleanness and uncleanness, purity and impurity, of an outward and technical kind, ultimately resting upon widespread and primordial superstitions. Unfortunately, the degree or extent to which, at this time, these laws had to be observed by the layman, living his ordinary life, and not engaged in visiting the Temple, is still disputed. Some scholars think that they were considered to be obligatory on all men; others deny it.

The moral laws enjoined chastity, righteousness, compassion, and lovingkindness in everyday life. In contrast with all, or almost all, the surrounding nations, the Jewish religion of the time, though it had not abolished polygamy, and was too facile in divorce, yet prohibited any sexual indulgence outside married life, and sternly set its face against unnatural vice. It abhorred all sexual licence or debauchery in connexion with public worship. It preached love of God and love of neighbour; and though neighbour did not necessarily include the "foreigner," it did emphatically include the non-Israelitish settler and the proselyte. No one was to hate his neighbour in his heart or to bear any grudge. Orphan and widow were to be tended and looked after. If you were hated by your neighbour, you were to do that man a good and not an evil turn, and in no wise to leave him in the lurch, when the opportunity occurred. Uprightness and justice and fair dealing were strictly enjoined. The central and peculiar position occupied by the injunction, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," was fully recognised, even before R. Akiba pronounced it the greatest principle of the Torah. Reverence for parents, respect for the old, compassion and generosity towards the poor and the afflicted, were emphatically ordained. In all things the Jews were to remember that they were God's chosen and peculiar people, whose duty it was to be holy even as He was holy, to thank and to think of Him continually, and to glorify His name by all their deeds. So deeply did the laws about reverence, about sexual purity, and about compassion and kindness, sink into the consciousness of the people, that it became a saying later on that he who had no shame and no pity could not be a genuine member of the house of Israel.

We have already seen that the conception of the One God being also in a peculiar sense the God of the Jews, the conviction that the Jews were His chosen servants, with whom His glory was inseparably bound up, begot a heightened religious self-consciousness of which the defects were exclusiveness, pride, and a dislike for, and a contempt of, the non-Jewish world around. These tendencies were increased by the Law. The Jews had to keep themselves physically and morally pure and holy; a people separate and apart, different in belief and in deed from all other nations of the earth. On the one hand, there was an earnest, sometimes even a passionate, desire to live a holy life, to do God's will, to be good and faithful and pure; on the other hand, the pride, exclusiveness, and contempt already mentioned were stimulated and increased. And not only towards the non-Jew. In the first century a class of Jews existed which, later on, passed away. The Law had not yet, it would seem, penetrated into every section of society; on the whole, both the Law and its teachers were extremely popular, but there were some who, for one reason or another, did not or could not observe its ritual ordinances. They were

not scrupulous about the burdensome dues; they ate food from which those dues were not subtracted; they did not observe in their fulness the dietary laws; perhaps they did not observe the Sabbath very strictly; some of them, perhaps, were morally by no means above suspicion. These people, who had fallen, or were falling, away from the ranks of those who honestly sought to observe the Law, were neglected and shunned by the Teachers and by the law-abiding Jews. They were looked down upon and disliked as ignorant, as law-breakers, as unclean. And it was a marked weakness of this legal religion that, while it taught, and its votaries practised, compassion to the poor and the afflicted, if they sought to observe the Law, it did not teach redemptive compassion and kindness to those who fell away. It did not say, "Seek them out, help them, pity them, and gently bring them in, or bring them back, to the service of God." It feared contamination, and bade the honest observer keep away and keep apart from the negligent and the sinner. Thus these, ostracised and ignored, fell deeper and deeper into the mire. For such men and women Jesus had a new message; he gave them a new hope; he brought to them a compassion and a love to which they had been unused before.

Again, it was easier to obey the ceremonial than the moral precepts. Hence one type of badness was hypocrisy, another formalism or outward self-righteousness. Law, as such, looks to deeds rather than to principles and motives. Hence an occasional tendency to think of goodness as consisting in a number of separate actions rather than in noble character. Law tends occasionally to produce dry and respectable conformity, conventional and somewhat negative goodness. Little sin, little self-sacrifice; sober mediocrity rather than passionate devotion. Again, law may tend to make religion be regarded as something of a contract and a bargain; and the actual Law did lay immense stress upon rewards and punishments. Measure for measure, tit for tat, are among its leading principles. There was a danger lest it should be argued: observe x laws, and God will give you so much reward; violate x, and He will give you so much punishment. Or: observe x, violate y, and subtract the smaller number from the greater: the result will be your measure of goodness or of badness, and the measure of the reward or of the punishment which you will receive. Law is awful, it inspires fear: a Lawgiver is mighty and terrible. Hence, in a legal religion, God may be greatly feared, and the results of disobedience may be greatly feared (and how difficult is obedience!); but God need not be greatly *loved*, and His ordinances may be obeyed, so far as they *are* obeyed, from fear of punishment or from hope of reward, rather than for their own sake and from love. If goodness can thus be externalised and a little degraded, the true nature of sin may also be obscured. It may become a mere non-conformity to a number of commands rather than a pollution of the soul. There are signs in the literature of the period and in the later literature that none of these ugly tendencies and results were always avoided or by all. A well-known passage in the Talmud speaks of seven classes of Pharisees, several of whom represent the evil tendencies and possibilities which have just been enumerated. Only the last is said to be the true Pharisee—he who obeys the Law for its own sake and for the love of God.

Such, then, were some of the evil results of the religion, such were the defects of its qualities. Let us now turn to its aims and ideals, to its good tendencies and its noble results, exemplified by its best, and by many of its average, adherents in their respective degrees.

It was getting to be believed that the final aim of the Law and of its ordinances was to secure the moral purification of all the Israelites: all the Jews—not only an inner class or set—were to become holy by the practice of the Divine commands. It was to men that the Law had been given, not to angels. In other words, it had been given to creatures who need self-control and purification, who, made of flesh and blood, are frail and liable to err. Within them is an evil inclination, with which their higher self must wage incessant war. For this evil inclination can be overcome by the Law. It is the Divinely-given instrument for the suppression of evil passions and bad desires; or, from another psychological point of view, it is the means of transfiguring the natural instincts and passions, and of sanctifying them unto the service of God. Eating and drinking, acquisition and labour, the propagation of the species—these and other desires and instincts can be purified through the Law, and *in* the natural the spiritual can shine through. Not the destruction of the flesh, not the elimination or disemployment of any fleshly desire, but its taming, its transfiguration—that is the aim of the Law. Ordinances about food prevent gluttony; ordinances about drink prevent debauchery; ordinances about sexual matters prevent lust. Marriage is higher than celibacy. To drink in moderation is better than "total abstinence." But the thought of God must be connected with these and other bodily actions, and it has a meaning to say that they must all be wrought to the Divine glory. The presence of God can be secured and realised by the performance of His commands. A double end is thus achieved: God's glory, man's wellbeing. For man is to "live" by fulfilling the ordinances of the Law, and to "live" means both material and spiritual wellbeing, it includes peace and contentment and joy. A phrase was being coined which became intensely characteristic of the whole religion: "the joy of the commandments." Not, that is, a joy outside them and beyond them, but a joy in the doing of them, an internal, a spiritual joy. That is why the reward of a command was a command, and why, from that point of view, the more laws, the more happiness. The added power of obedience which was achieved by the fulfilment of one command drove a man on the more successfully to the fulfilment of another, and thus joy was piled upon joy.

In addition, however, to the internal joy, there was also always the expectation of other and further "reward," just as the violation of God's commands involved punishment. But among the best the motive for rightdoing was not the desire of this extra reward, however convinced they were of its ultimate arrival. "The Law for its own sake" became the watchword of the best, and the watchword sank down into the consciousness of the community. The extra reward in the OT period had been limited to earthly prosperity, national independence, and the like. But by the first century the doctrine of a life beyond death, whether immediately or at the resurrection, had become generally prevalent, and the reward could be, and usually was, thought to be postponed till then. Israel's enemies were happy on earth: Israel, now suffering because of its sins, would obtain its recompense hereafter. And the rewards of the world to come tended to be more spiritually conceived. They were no longer the rewards of the Pentateuch—fertility, prosperity, and the rest of it—but also, and mainly, the fuller vision of God.

Unfortunately, the old idea that calamity betokened previous sin (*cf.* Jn. 9$_2$) was never completely overcome. It is true that other ideas were also known: suffering might be educational, it might be purifying; it might be just inexplicable. But, both in relation to individuals and in relation to the community as a whole, the teaching needed improvement. Sometimes it was vainly and foolishly sought to make out that such and such calamities betokened such and such sins. Nor was the old conception that one generation could suffer as a punishment for, and not as a mere result of, the sins of its predecessors, entirely abandoned. The weight of the Sacred Writings was too great. There was constant worry as to why Israel, which, with all its shortcomings, was yet far more pure and righteous than the Gentiles, was nevertheless oppressed by them. The future life provided some solace and solution; yet even that did not entirely suffice. The Divine will was far too exclusively thought to express itself in the principles of retribution and measure for measure, and these very principles were often too outwardly conceived. But in the darkest hours of trouble, anxiety, and puzzle, monotheism remained triumphant. God, for His own purposes, was the Creator of calamity as of prosperity. Evil was not delegated to a devil; and the world always remained God's world, and, at bottom, fair and excellent and good.

The Law enjoined virtue: it foretold that virtue would be rewarded, and that sin would be punished. But how far was it possible for man to be or to become good? What were his chances and possibilities in the fulfilment of the Law? The Jewish religion was very unsystematic and untheoretic in these matters. It took facts as it found them, and looked at them in a "common-sense" sort of way. Man's will was free. But, on the other hand, ever since Adam an evil impulse had dwelt in man which made goodness difficult. This was the doctrine, more fuly developed later on, of the Yetzer ha-Ra. The Law was especially devised and given as the means by which the evil impulse could be curbed and overcome. Thus goodness was not the mere fulfilment of the commands. It was also, looked at internally, the conquest of the Yetzer ha-Ra. Sin was not the mere violation of laws; it was also the domination of the Yetzer ha-Ra. Nor was man left to himself in the struggle. He could pray, and in answer to his prayer God could, and God did, render him help. It is man's duty to conquer his Yetzer. It is God's assistance which enables him to do so. "*Make* you a new heart," said God through His prophet, and in the same breath," I will *give* you a new heart." Just so happily inconsistent, just so enphatic in laying stress upon both sides of a dual and mysterious truth, was the Jewish teaching about virtue and sin. Man works: God gives. Who shall say in what proportions? It is within human power to fulfil the Law, not perfectly, not without many lapses, but yet to such an extent, and with such intention and desire of fulfilment, as to satisfy the demands of God. For God knows that His human creatures are frail, and what is lacking in their performance He overlooks and ignores. For the sake of the merits of the fathers, for His own sake, for Israel's sake, and, above all, because God is compassionate and forgiving, the average Israelite need never despair. Nothing is more central in the developed Rabbinic religion than these conceptions; and there is good reason to believe that they were fairly well established in Palestine by the beginning of the Christian era.

But the sinner? And are not all men sinners? Yes, truly. But the Divine forgiveness is adequate to the greatness of its task. God only asks for man to go forward a little way, and God will go forward a great way. And how is the sinner to go forward a little way? By repentance. In the doctrine of repentance the Jewish religion developed one of its noblest and most prominent features. All men (except, perchance, in a few isolated cases) can repent, and even here man is not unaided. For the human effort to repentance is helped by God. Man prays, "Lead me to repent," and God hears and aids. For the nation and for the individual God has given in the Law the great Day of Atonement, a day consecrated to human repentance and to Divine forgiveness, a day which was gradually becoming more ethical and spiritual, and was destined, with the fall of the Temple, to become more ethical and spiritual still. Thus, with its doctrines of repentance, of the Divine goodness, and the Divine forgiveness, the Jewish religion managed very well in the problems of goodness and of sin. It made things neither too easy nor too difficult: man must always strive, but God would help. Man must always fail, but his own repentance and the Divine forgiveness prevented despair. Life was earnest, but not gloomy. Such at least was the main theory and the view of the growing majority, though there were doubtless many instances of inward darkness on the one hand, or of too light-hearted confidence upon the other.

As to the content of goodness it is impossible to speak in detail. On the whole, the tendency was to improve upon the ethics of the OT, and to lay stress upon the best elements. The methods of charity, the details of lovingkindness, became more refined. Ultimately rabbinic ethics show a high degree of delicacy, and cover a large field. The ideals of humility, of courtesy, of equity, of forbearance, of generosity and brotherly love, are lofty and well worked out. A beautiful sensitiveness was shown in almsgiving to the feelings of the recipients, and no fault is more reprobated by rabbinic teachers than that of putting one's neighbour to shame, or even of making him feel uncomfortable. In all these respects the rabbinic ethics, which were growing to their fuller development in the first century, yield to none.

On the other hand, here too the burden of the supposed possession of a perfect Scripture and of a perfect and authoritative Law had its drawbacks. To seek out and redeem the fallen and unrepentant sinner was, as we have seen, not yet an acknowledged duty. No commandment said, "Thou shalt hate thine enemy"; on the contrary, to render good for evil, to help the man who hated you in the hour of his distress, were recognised ideals. Nevertheless, God had enemies and hated them: He hated the open and deliberate sinner; He hated the idolater; He hated (speaking generally) the enemies of Israel. All these God in the OT is said to hate, and in the first century it was not supposed that the Sacred Scripture spoke untruly. Whom God hated the Israelites might, and on the whole did, hate. The fall and the slaughter of enemies were often desired and ordered by God: whom God would be glad to see perish, the Israelite could (and on the whole did) desire to see perish likewise. Whom God was supposed to curse, the servant of God could legitimately curse as well. And the enemy of Israel—sometimes, perhaps, the enemy of the Israelite—might be so conveniently regarded as the enemy of God! Here, then, was much room for progress, for it took a very long time till people could realise that God has no enemies, and that there is no limit to His forgiveness and His love; till they could bless those who disagreed

with them, even as God blesses and cares for the infidel and the unbeliever.

It is a notable feature of the Jewish religion, maintained and emphasized throughout its course, that its ideals are for all. It did not form the conception of a super-excellent degree of holiness for a particular class. There is not one level of moral and religious requirements for the great majority, another and much higher level for special groups of "religious." The whole people is to be holy: the commands of the Law (apart from those who belong to the priestly family or the Levites) are for all. Nevertheless, in the first century, differences of view and special groups did actually exist. Between the learned "Pharisee"—the rabbi or teacher—whose joy and duty it was to pass his days in the study of the Law—between him at the one extreme, and the ignorant 'Am ha 'Aretz ("people of the land"), who, for one reason or another, did not seek to conform to the Ceremonial Law, and many of whom may have been neglectful of some of its ethical enactments, a big gulf yawned (Ezr. 44*). But, taking the people as a whole, the degrees were gentle. The Pharisees and Scribes were popular: they sprang from the people, and were their recognised leaders: the ideal of learning was rapidly becoming the popular ideal. Later on, to have one scholar in a large family was a mark of great distinction, to compass which father and mother would cheerfully scrape and save. To be learned in the Law was soon to become an honour much more prized and sought than to be rich. It was this culture and adoration of learning which was in later times to prevent the despised and persecuted Jews from sinking down in the moral and intellectual scale. The ideal of learning created a genuine aristocracy.

But, in the first century, the edges were still ragged. In addition to the 'Am ha 'Aretz there were the Sadducees, conservative, noble, or priestly, averse from the developments of the Law inculcated by the Pharisees, rejecting even the doctrine of the resurrection. Few in number, they had their seasons and moments of political power, but little or no lasting influence upon the people or the religion. Perhaps the very existence of dissidents such as the Sadducees, and of the outcast and the indifferent, at the lower end of the scale, stimulated some of the Pharisees to still further lengths of ceremonial and moral exactitude and vigour. There were some Pharisees who determined always to live as if they were priests in attendance on the altar, so that ritual (or Levitical) purity became the foremost object of their lives. These, perhaps, are the men who are laughed at in the Talmud as the fools who destroy the world. And another symptom of this desire for perfection and excess, leading to separation and exclusiveness, was the gradual formation of the order of the Essenes. It is impossible to give any due account of these rigorists in this place, or to discuss the ever-fascinating questions of how far foreign influences may have conduced to their creation, or what was their relation to, and their influence upon, John the Baptist or Jesus himself. But one point must be noticed, for it is not only characteristic of the Essenes, but in a lesser degree of Pharisaic and Rabbinic Judaism. This point is the combination in the Essenes of moral and ceremonial severity. They were keen on washings and bodily purity; their rigour in Sabbath observance was extreme; they were no less keen on charity, truthfulness, temperance, and many another ethical excellence. This combination, without any thought of conflict, of the outward and the inward, of the ceremonial and the moral, is hard for us to understand and to appreciate, but was admirably and harmoniously achieved by the saints and heroes of the later Judaism.

Such, then, was the religion of the Jews in Palestine in the first century, as regards their relation to God and to one another. But what about the outside world? And what about the future? The God of Israel was the only God. Yet the Jews were the only people who knew Him and worshipped Him. Outside Israel was little but idolatry, impurity, and sin.

A double current, opposite tendencies, existed as regards the outsider, which was partly due to the fact that the outsider and the foreigner had pretty well always been the enemy and the oppressor. The one tendency was that of hate and contempt, leading to exclusivism and separation. The Gentile is the enemy of Israel; as a sinner and idolater he is also the enemy of God. Keep away from him: do not eat with him (his food is unclean); have no dealings with him. In the good future there will be a tremendous slaughtering of Gentiles, and only after that destruction will the Messianic Era begin. The annihilation of the Canaanites would repeat itself upon a grander and Diviner scale. Religion and bloodshed, as regards the enemy and the unbeliever, still went hand in hand.

On the other hand, there was the marked tendency to glorify God's name and Israel's by the making of proselytes. Not so long ago many proselytes had been made (outwardly at least, with enforced circumcision) through violence and compulsion. Josephus mentions a city which was utterly destroyed because "its inhabitants would not change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews." But the rabbis sought milder means—persuasion or preaching. Even in Palestinian Judaism the desire to spread the knowledge of the One God was considerable, and the number of proselytes and half-proselytes must have been fairly large. The teachers who wished for them conceived the future more generously. Israel was always the centre, but around it, perhaps subject to it, would be a big fringe of Gentiles, worshippers of Israel's God, obedient to His will, glorifying His name. The universalist ideals and predictions of the prophets were not entirely forgotten. One of Hillel's most famous sayings was: "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving thy fellow-creatures, and drawing them near to the Torah." The wings of the Shechinah were conceived as wide enough to enfold all humanity beneath them. And this universal knowledge of the One God would be the best attribute of the Golden Age.

How this good future would be brought about was variously conceived. The personal Messiah, the King of David's line, was generally believed in, though what precisely would be his part in the destruction of Rome, or what would be done by God Himself, was not clearly defined. By some thinkers, dreamers, and seers the Messiah was exalted far beyond the old prophetic limits. He became a semi-Divine personage, waiting in heaven for the predestined hour of his human birth. This exaltation of the Messiah dwindled away, by natural opposition, after the advent and growth of Christianity. At the end of the Messianic Age was usually placed the resurrection, the last judgment, and the never-ending days of the life of the world to come. The expectation of the Messiah, with all which his appearance implied, gave comfort and strength to piety, stimulated fidelity to the Law in days of distress, fortified the weak, solaced the despondent. The Messianic hope was the ultimate justification of goodness, as the resurrection would provide its ultimate reward.

In the first century, among certain sections of the people, an ardent conviction existed that the Messiah would soon appear. As the troubles of the present increased, as the hatred of Rome augmented, as the darkness grew denser, so the faith that dawn was imminent and deliverance at hand became keener. Claimants to be Messiah appeared. For the most part the official leaders and teachers of the people, as well as the priesthood and the nobles, stood aloof from these movements. But finally, in the second century A.D., Akiba, one of the noblest of the rabbis, was carried away, and induced to believe in the Messiahship of a man who, like all the other claimants (except Jesus of Nazareth), sought by violence and rebellion to break the foreign yoke, and to bring about the Messianic Era by force. Akiba's martyrdom and the horrors of the Hadrianic war at last sufficed to make the belief in the Messiah for all the people a pious hope for a distant future, and to leave the work of deliverance to God alone.

But one conception connected with, and yet wider than, the Messianic hope, remained of constant and abiding importance.

This was the conception of the Kingdom of God. On one side of it this conception was closely related to the Messianic Era. It meant the condition of things when God's Kingship, and all which that Kingship involved, would be acknowledged by all men. For God is only then truly King, according to the doctrine of the Jewish teachers, when men recognise His Kingship, when He has willing and eager subjects. So far as, in any part of the earth, men do not recognise that the God of Israel is the One and Only God, so far does the Kingship fall short of its full reality. Then only will the Kingdom be fully established when " all the children of flesh will call upon God's name, and He will turn unto Himself all the wicked of the earth, when whatsoever has been created will understand that He has created it, and whatsoever has breath in its nostrils will declare that the Lord God of Israel is King, and His dominion is over all." Thus, though the Kingdom, as perfected, includes the deliverance of Israel and its primacy among the nations (the primacy being interpreted by lower minds politically, by higher minds more spiritually), it is also universalist.

But the Kingdom is not only universalist and future, it is, on another side of it, present and individual. The Kingdom starts from Israel, and in Israel it is centred. So far, then, as Israel acknowledges its King, and so far as every individual Israelite consciously accepts service under his Sovereign, the Kingdom is already in existence. To fulfil the Law is to accept the Kingdom, and willingly to undertake the happy yoke of the Commandments is also to receive willingly the yoke of the Kingdom of God. Thus, in this sense, the Kingdom is present, and it is increased in degree and in extent by the fidelity of every Israelite. So too every Israelite, by his righteousness, by his love of God, and by his readiness to lay down his life for the unity of God and for the Law, can increase God's glory and sanctify His name. And this conception of the Sanctification of the Name became, throughout the rabbinic period, the most powerful motive for nobility of life and for faithfulness unto death.

This scanty outline must suffice for the main current of Judaism in the first century. But that main current was not the only current. Palestinian Judaism was not the only Judaism. There were very many settlements and communities of Jews outside Palestine. The Jews of the wide Diaspora were more numerous than the Jews of the mother country. Of these the most interesting and important for our purposes were those who lived in Hellenistic environments, subjected, in greater or less degree, to Hellenistic influences. What modifications in religious views and practices did these environments and influences bring about? A few only, and these but in briefest outline, can be indicated here.

(1) To some extent the purely natural bond was loosened. Jerusalem was the spiritual metropolis rather than the political capital. The religion tended to become a little less national; some Hellenistic Jews tended to regard themselves less as a nation than as a religious brotherhood.

(2) Greek influence helped in certain quarters, and among a few cultivated persons, to philosophise the religion. Tags of philosophical speech (for Hellenistic Jews spoke and wrote Greek), bits of philosophic theories and ideas, made their way in. The doctrine, for example, of the immortality of the soul became familiar. A school of allegorists arose who attempted allegorically to explain away the peculiar stories, and some of the more primitive ordinances, of the Law by giving to them esoteric and spiritual meanings. A radical wing of this school went so far as to deny that such outward ordinances need be observed by those who knew their inner signification.

(3) But if, on the one hand, these were results tending towards a fuller spirituality, on the other hand the religious life and feelings of the Jews of the Dispersion seem to have been less happy, warm, and contented than of those in Palestine. That intimate relation with God, that unqualified devotion to the perfect Law, that joy in the Commandments, that prevailing optimism of faith—all so characteristic of the more fully developed rabbinical religion of the second and succeeding centuries, and, so far as we can gather, already growing up in the Palestinian Judaism of the first century—seem less characteristic of Hellenistic Judaism. Sin was looked at more sombrely, not because it was more intensely abhorred, but because less stress was laid upon the power and possibility of repentance. The Law was more consciously justified, but less taken, like God Himself, as an adorable matter of fact, to be followed and loved, without question or dispute. The joy of the Law diminished.

(4) Nevertheless Hellenistic and Diaspora Judaism was, upon the whole, keener about proselytising than the Judaism of Palestine, and more successful in its efforts. Among many Hellenistic Jews there was less dislike of the Gentile, more intercourse, less anxious raising of walls of partition. And doubtless many were wisely and prudently keener on bringing over the Gentile to a belief in the One God than to an acceptance of the Law. Israel's God was more important than Israel's Law, or, at any rate, than all the details of the Ceremonial Code. Hence the half-proselyte or semi-Jew, already known in Palestine, was still more prevalent in the Diaspora. These semi-Jews, " fearers of God," were supposed to observe the fundamental laws of Jewish morality, but they were not bound to obey all the ceremonial ordinances. They had not to undergo the rite of circumcision, which the immense majority of Jewish teachers regarded as obligatory for the complete proselyte. In the general proselytising work, whether resulting in semi-Jews or in full Jews, the Hellenistic preachers clearly laid much the greater stress upon the ethical and spiritual side of the Jewish religion. It was among the semi-proselytes that many recruits for Christianity must have been found. For if they had fewer burdens, they had fewer privileges: they

were an outer fringe, who could and would soon realise that they were less thought of, and were in a less regulated and more equivocal position, than those who, with circumcision, had taken upon themselves all the duties, and could receive all the rewards and satisfactions, of the complete Jew. A new religion was presented to their notice which, with other attractions, knew no differences of race or nationality, and no distinctions or degrees in its converts. Very many of the new adherents to Judaism, and especially of those who had not fully entered within its gates, must have passed over to the new creed, while a large majority of born Jews in the Diaspora, and a still more overwhelming majority in Palestine, clung doggedly to their ancestral tenets, and, in spite of divers difficulties, remained faithful to the Law.

[On the subjects dealt with in this article see further pp. 92–97, 368–372, 431–435, 636f., 660f.]

Literature.—Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* [4] (1907), vol. 2 (E. tr. *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, from 2nd edition); Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* [2] (1906). Both are standard works, invaluable, furnished with rich bibliographies, but to be read with caution on account of anti-Pharisaic bias. Bousset's first edition was criticised by F. Perles in *Bousset's Religion des Judentums* (1903); Bousset replied in *Volksfrömmigkeit und Schriftgelehrtentum* (1903). On the other side, also to be read with caution on account of contrary bias, are Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* [5], vol. 3; Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*; many articles in *The Jewish Encyclopædia*; and the last three chapters in my own Hibbert Lectures, *The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* (1892). See further the relevant chapters in Histories of the Religion of Israel (esp. H. P. Smith and Peters); Toy, *Judaism and Christianity* (1890, serenely impartial and very valuable); R. T. Herford, *Pharisaism* (1912, very suggestive); Bacher's *Agada der Tannaiten* is indispensable; no less so is I. Abrahams' *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels, First Series* (1917). On the Apocalyptic movement and literature see bibliography on p. 435.

PAGAN RELIGION AT THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY

By Professor GILBERT MURRAY

If we take religion to denote all that region of human emotion and activity which arises from man's sense that he is in the presence and at the mercy of mysterious and overwhelming forces with whom he can yet enter into some personal relation, we shall have to include, in our survey of the pagan world at the time of the coming of Christianity, much that is called mere magic or superstition and much that is called philosophy.

To understand the spirit of ancient Græco-Roman religion, we must begin by putting away from us certain preconceived ideas. We must first of all put away all emphasis on creed or dogma, and also on the claim of any one form of religion to be exclusively right. The Jews, for instance, were highly unpopular just because their religion was exclusive. They did not, indeed, in their early days, regard Yahweh as the only god in existence; there were other gods, gods of the Gentiles, and Yahweh was jealous of any respect or worship shown to them. A good Israelite was bound to detest them and to despise their rules and rituals. Even when the nation advanced to the conception of a real monotheism, much of the old contempt and bitterness remained. Where a Greek would regard Yahweh merely as the Hebrew name for Zeus, and Zeus as his own name for Yahweh, a Jew would say that Yahweh was the true God and Zeus a hellish idol. And this attitude was, in general, taken on by the Christians. *Cf.* p. 619.

The difference goes deep, and the advantage is by no means all on the side of the Greeks. For the Jews and Christians, with many lapses in which they treated the Greek gods as real but hostile beings, strove on the whole towards a genuine monotheism, in which they simply denied the existence of the heathen gods. It is curious how difficult the Greeks found this attitude of clean, wholesome denial. They scarcely ever dared to say "There is no such being as Apollo or Dionysus." The furthest point they reached, as a rule, was to conclude that Apollo was really only a manifestation or emanation of the one God; or to suggest that Dionysus had once been a human king who, because of his great power and goodness, had been worshipped by his grateful subjects after death. A modern man would perhaps press this admission: "Well, since Dionysus is now dead, he is clearly not a god, and there is no use worshipping him." But our ancient writers shrink from accepting such a conclusion. "We do not know," they would answer, "whether very pure and good men may not have some power after their death; and in any case it can do nothing but good that we common men should pay them worship and show adoration for their virtues."

But the existence or non-existence of any particular god was not the main question that arose in the mind of an ancient pagan when he was confronted by some new form of worship. We may, without offence, compare the attitude of an ordinary Catholic peasant who hears of the worship of a new saint. What interests him is not whether the saint ever really existed: he does not think of questioning that; but whether the worship is useful. Suppose some person said: "My daughter was ill; all physicians gave her up; till at last I performed vigils to Isis and she was cured": or "My son was a hopeless drunkard and could not overcome his vice till he put himself under discipline at the temple of Asclepius at Trikka." Such statements might, of course, be hotly discussed; but the discussion would seldom turn on the existence or non-existence of Asclepius and Isis.

It is obvious that this attitude opened the door to much foolish superstition and doubtless to much of that fraud which always comes to meet superstition. But it saved the ancient world from a vast amount of bitter and cruel feeling, and it encouraged a large spirit of tolerance which recognised that piety and religious feeling were fine things in themselves, whatever the name or number of the beings to whom they were directed. The chief difficulty in the way of such tolerance lay in the existence, here and there, of rituals which were in themselves barbarous. But here, too, the ancient Greek practice was gentle and even timid. It would never declare a religious war on such survivals from, or reversions to, the days of barbarism, but would try to modify them gradually by the spread of civilised ideas, without rudely violating religious tradition. The history of almost every worship known to us shows traces of the gradual expurgation of cruel or obscene rites. The human sacrifice was commuted by the sacrifice of a beast or a puppet; the sexual acts which in primitive agricultural religions were supposed to increase the fertility of the fields were modified to something which, if not seemly in the open, was tolerable as a religious mystery.

Thus, within the pagan world as a whole, there was no exclusive religion and no stress laid upon abstract dogma, either in affirmation or denial.

The next notion from which we should free our minds is of quite a different kind. We must not confuse our conception of ancient religion by thinking of the stories of Greek mythology. These stories are nearly all about gods or heroes who are sons of the gods; yet they form almost no part of real ancient religion. The point is rather curious, and has no exact parallel in the modern world, which, for good or ill, possesses no great national saga.

Greece was, above all countries known to us, the home of legend and romance; and in early times the themes of popular stories were naturally divine or semi-divine beings. On the one hand, the doings of these beings were told in human terms: the Sun, Moon,

and Stars, the Vegetation that rose or failed to rise in the spring, that assuredly died in the autumn, the Earth which every year was rewedded and made fruitful; all these had their doings told in language which was necessarily human language and coloured by human interpretations and emotions. The Sun sailed in his boat upon the ocean; he fought with Darkness; he drove his great chariot up the hills of heaven. The beautiful Spring God, lover or brother or son of the Earth-Mother, died and was bewailed and must rise again. On the other hand, the deeds of actual great men seemed superhuman or divine; the men who did them must be children of the gods, and kings in the earliest days were so intimately connected with deity and magical powers that the line between king and god was often hard to draw. The result was that a vast mixed mass of nature-myth and distorted history, which was the delight of Greek story-tellers, was associated from the outset with the names of the gods and divine heroes. In spite of this association, however, it remained essentially in the realm of poetry and fiction; when it ventured to invade the territory of religion proper it was, except in special cases, severely checked. The mythical stories which were not edifying were sometimes simply denied, as fabrications of the poets; more often they were explained away by "allegory." The principle had been laid down more than four hundred years before the Christian era: "Homer is either in part allegory or all blasphemy." And, since the second alternative was intolerable, the first was accepted, not only by philosophers but by almost the whole Greek world. It is instructive to look in turn at three writers: Ovid, the brilliant and utterly irreligious story-teller, who revels in his thousand-and-one legends of metamorphosis, without a thought of theological truth or the divine dignity: Marcus Aurelius the religious emperor, who in his *Meditations* never mentions a myth: and Sallustius, the writer of the only pagan creed known to us, who starts at once by saying that youths ought not to be educated on foolish myths; but that, since they are sure to hear such, they must understand that they are all allegories and must learn how to explain them.

The view that the myths were allegories was, after all, not so far from the truth, especially in those cases where the "sacred legend" was most unedifying. For example, a whole series of myths about the amours of Zeus arose from a perfectly innocent origin. Each little tribe or community in Greece naturally believed its kings to be descended from the tribal god or the local river or mountain, who was generally wedded to some legendary princess. When, in early Greek history, the Zeus religion spread, Zeus took the place of the various small local gods, and was thus provided with a perfect harem of consorts. Things were made more grotesque by the fact that, in very early times, the inhabitants of Greece and other parts of the Mediterranean world had held beliefs closely resembling what is now called Totemism; for instance, they believed they were descended from some divine animal, a bull or a snake or a swan. These totemic beliefs were, in time, overpowered but not quite swept away by the religion of Zeus; and the divine animal-ancestor was explained as being really Zeus in disguise.

The ancients had not enough knowledge of comparative religion to be able to analyse these myths to their source; but their instinct told them, quite rightly, that the myths did not mean what they seemed to mean. They were all of them in some sense *Other-meanings* or Allegories.

Thirdly, we must clear our minds of the fixed anthropomorphic shapes which we attach to the various gods. There was anthropomorphism in the real conception of the ancients. They rejoiced in ideal delineation of various shapes of beauty and dignity in which the gods might be imagined, and doubtless their whole conception of the gods was much influenced by statues and pictures. But nothing like so much as ours. We know Zeus or Apollo solely by means of the statues, pictures, and myths; the ancients knew them partly by these, but far more by the worship, the ritual, the whole atmosphere of religious emotion through which the god was approached. And only the very ignorant, it would seem, fell into the habit of believing that Zeus and Apollo were really like their statues. For instance, there is a passage in Cicero (*De Natura Deorum*, i. 36) where a speaker argues that the popular conception of the gods ought, in default of better knowledge, to be accepted as true; his friend answers that such a principle is absurd. It would land one in believing that Minerva went about in a military helmet and that Jupiter wore a beard.

The place which the ideal statues and paintings occupied in ancient paganism is nevertheless very important. To grasp its meaning it is sufficient to go to some anthropological museum and look first at a set of West African or Polynesian idols—shark-gods and snake-gods and monstrously deformed, half-human creatures with teeth a foot long—and then to reflect on the Zeus and Athena and Apollo of the great Greek sculptors. Neither representation, of course, conveys the real features of the Divine power; but which is the better conception of its nature? Greek art of the early classical period came with a religious message which may be superseded but should not be despised. To a world which was still conceiving of the Divine power as merely frightful and terrific, the Greek artists brought the picture of God as something to be revered and trusted. To conceive Zeus, they imagined the noblest and wisest of human fathers; to conceive Athena, they imagined the noblest and wisest and most beautiful of maidens. If the great Greek artists had expressed themselves in writing instead of marble, we should probably have nothing but approval for their efforts. But their gifts took a different direction. Instead of trying to explain in language the ideal which we ought to form of the Divine nature, they set to work to express that ideal in the art of which they happened to be masters. It was as much as to say: "The nearest conception we can make of God, when projected in marble, is something like that."

By the Christian era, however, the spiritual effort which produced the classical conceptions of the Greek gods had long since spent itself. The traditional shapes of the gods had lost, for most people, their old significance, and the sculpture itself had lost its beauty. It is worth remarking that, in an age of great artistic decadence, the monuments of the religion of Mithras show, amid all their clumsiness, a certain intensity of religious feeling, just as the early Christian monuments do. This cannot be said of the contemporary representations of the gods of traditional paganism.

We clear our minds, then, of the idea of dogma, of the literary mythology, of the extreme anthropomorphism of the statues. There remains the positive side of the question. Let us begin by considering the ordinary local religion of an average ancient community, before the spread of commerce and travel had introduced confusion.

The community, village or tribe or group, normally lived a precarious life, subject to flood and drought, to pestilence and war, visits of pirates and incursions of wild beasts, to a degree which we can only with difficulty imagine. Consequently it felt vividly its dependence on mysterious powers, on the unseen or the "sacred." Misfortunes were mostly interpreted as punishments, sometimes just, sometimes by human standards wildly capricious, sent by the *Theoi* or unseen powers. The *Theoi* punished any disrespect to themselves. They punished perjury, sacrilege, murder, excessive pride, and various family and sexual crimes such as adultery and incest; they punished also all kinds of other acts which happened to be breaches of their curious rules, and only very wise men knew what the rules were. Severe punishment might follow such acts as the taking of a census, or suffering twins to live, or not treating twins with proper veneration, or eating the wrong food at some holy place or time. The punishments were, of course, usually blind explosions of wrath, making little distinction between the sinner and his innocent neighbours. And if no sin whatever had been committed by anybody—an almost impossible condition—still perhaps there was some *theos* whom everyone had forgotten and who was furious at his neglected state.

This statement perhaps puts the matter too personally. At the earliest stage known to us, the Divine power was predominantly conceived not as embodied in so many definite gods, but rather in what anthropologists call *tabu* and *mana*. A *tabu* is a prohibition; the *tabu* object must not be touched or approached, the *tabu* deed must not be done (p. 288). For instance, there were certain holy objects which only certain special people could see or touch; any other who saw or touched would be struck blind or mad or dead. Again *mana*—the word is modern and comes from the Pacific Islands—is any positive power which is not quite to be accounted for in ordinary ways. A victorious general is full of *mana*; demoralised troops have lost it; a prophet or magician or divine king is bursting with it, and is more full at some moments than others. Sometimes you can see it in his eyes. If he is very full of it he is practically a god. The *mana* of Zeus is all-victorious and never leaves him. A father's blessing or curse, or a dying man's, is full of *mana*. The *Theoi* of whom we have spoken, though, as a rule dimly projected as personal beings, are, for the most part, just unknown vehicles of this *mana*.

Now, what special uncertainties will most vex our supposed community, and make it feel its terrible dependence on the *Theoi*? First and most constant, there are the vicissitudes of agriculture and fertility. If the fields are not fruitful, if the flocks do not bear young, the people will starve. Hence a vast amount of early human religion is devoted to measures for procuring fertility, both by "sympathetic magic," or ritual directly intended to promote the fruitfulness of the fields, and by sacrifices to the *Theoi* who ruled such issues. The fruitfulness of the human families was regarded simply as a branch of the same subject. Most of the rites which we stigmatise as "licentious" are due to the grouping together of these different forms of fertilisation, and supposing that one could cause the other. To the worshippers they doubtless seemed just as obvious and unobjectionable as our own practice of manuring the fields. In any case, the issue of next year's crop was the central uncertainty of life. It lay with the gods.

Next, the power of the gods came vividly home to men when some special and exceptional danger threatened, in cases of flood or pestilence or earthquake or the like, and most of all in war. The tribe's own gods would normally defend it against its neighbours' gods, though they might, in particular emergencies, be overcome, or even be so angry as to turn against their people.

A third sphere which belonged to the gods in general, and particularly to the patriarch of the gods, Zeus or Jupiter, was the righting of human wrongs and the punishing of those most hateful sins which escaped or overrode the powers of human justice. The natural indignation of man at the sight of great wrongs which he cannot remedy, compelled him to create the imaginary form, or to divine the hidden reality, of a great all-seeing Judge who shall do right in the end. The strong, wicked man whom none dared touch; the cunning perjurer who could never be proved guilty; above all, the proud and cruel man who trampled on the poor and mocked the suppliant; all these had their doom awaiting them. It was for them that Zeus kept his thunderbolts. Of course the facts of life were often difficult to reconcile with this belief, but it has generally subsisted in the human mind, facts or no facts. If the wicked were not always struck down in this life, there was a very widespread though not universal or confident belief in another life in which sin would be assuredly punished.

Summing up these conceptions of the main work of the gods of any one small community, we see that the gods generally cover all the unknown forces or wills which specially affect the welfare of the community and the satisfaction of its elemental sense of right. The particular form in which the local gods were conceived does not much matter. The commonest conception through the Mediterranean world, including Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, and even Babylonia, regarded the Earth—or the soil of the local fields—as a mother or fruitful wife, closely connected with some Youth, son or brother or consort, who represented in varying proportions the Sun or Spring or Year. Of this we shall speak later. Agriculture and pasture were the most prominent interests: but the special god of a fishing village would probably be a fishing-god, of a hunting village a hunting-god, and so on. Whatever form the local god or gods might take, they formed really a sort of personal centre on which all the intenser collective emotions of the community might gather. The tribesman's devotion to his tribe expressed itself in a religious form, as an actual worship of his local Earth-Goddess, his Tribal God, and perhaps of his half-divine King.

A remote township might keep its traditional worship quite clear-cut and continue to believe in its peculiar gods. But in any large and cosmopolitan city such simplicity was impossible. The best solvent of small local superstitions is travel and varied intercourse with mankind. And a citizen of Rome, for instance, in the west or Antioch in the east, must soon have had the corners knocked off his religious prejudices, as he associated with the foreign merchants and soldiers and priests and learned men who flocked in from other parts of the world. He would doubtless keep a specially warm place in his heart for some of his local cults. He would smile at the odd forms of worship which some of his foreign friends brought with them and carried out in the chapels and shrines which they built for the purpose. But he would be thrown in general back on the conviction that, amid all the differences of nomenclature and ritual, true religion was much the same all the world over. The one thing

he could fairly demand of all citizens and all visitors was that they should pay their homage to the gods of the city and use their prayers for the city's welfare.

We have noticed that, in a simple and isolated community, there would be little distinction felt between the prayers: "Let Mother Earth be fruitful" and "Let our fields be fruitful." The Earth-maiden or Earth-mother was neither consciously local nor definitely universal. You spoke of "Earth," but you thought and cared about your own fields. It was thus easy for the local agricultural worships to blend with one another, and for the worships of an influential community to spread abroad and more or less supersede the neighbouring worships. This occurred even with the gods who had not their roots directly in the soil, but appealed more to the intellect and imagination. For instance, with the spread of Greek culture the chief Greek gods spread in this way over all the eastern empire and most of the west. Sometimes they found a local object of worship with whom they could be identified. Zeus, for instance, not only superseded innumerable small cults in his range of influence: he was also identified with any great patriarchal god whom his worshippers met, with the Roman Jupiter, the Libyan Ammon, the Italic Silvanus, the unknown Baal of Doliche in Syria, as well as with the gods of Persian or Hebrew monotheism. Sometimes a particular deity, like Athena or Serapis or Hercules, spread his influence through some special appeal to men's needs or habits of mind.

When the local community became a walled city with an extended territory and markets and docks and armies and complex interests, the local goddess changed her character. Notably she put a crown of towers upon her head, or took some other sign of her new interests. One may think again of Athena, originally an earth-maiden like the others, who became, as the spirit of Athens, an ideal of wisdom and industry, backed in the last resort by symbols of war.

But by far the most important city was Rome: important both for reasons of material history and for the light her worship throws on ancient religious psychology. Roma, Dea Roma, Urbs Roma, Fortuna Romæ, she had no vivid anthropomorphic personality. But the worship of her was almost universal, and the meaning of the worship clear to every mind. All men could feel that there was in Rome and the doings of Rome something beyond the ordinary. Her name struck terror or inspired confidence. A Roman legion was something much more than ten thousand soldiers. The Yes or No of a Roman pro-consul meant salvation or despair to a whole province. A Roman citizen walked without fear in places where a common man dared not venture. All this meant, in the ancient mind, that Rome was, as they put it, something more than mortal, something divine. Rome was a goddess; or at least there was a divine power behind Rome. Her *Fortune*—the power that made her destiny—was divine; her spirit, her *numen*, was divine. The language which to us, with our rooted monotheism, seems exaggerated or even blasphemous, seemed to the ancients with their infinite number of gods known and unknown, permanent and transitory, merely the natural expression of an obvious and impressive fact. The thrill of awe with which the provincials saw the advance of Roman power and Roman justice could only express itself in terms of an altar and incense. And this adoration of Rome carried with it, as a matter of course, adoration of the gods of Rome and of its more than human ruler.

One sometimes sees the argument used, that Christianity must be the best, or the true, religion because the Christian nations so clearly lead the world. Christianity is identified with all the highest attainments of humanity. One may doubt whether a devout Christian would accept such an argument; but it shows a state of mind very similar to that of the worshipper of Rome and Cæsar. Rome is the supreme power on earth; Rome brings peace, safety, justice, civilisation. If things are well with Rome, they are well with the human race. Rome, a man might feel, represents the will of the gods on earth; let us serve and adore her.

The worship of Rome involved the worship of Cæsar. It seems to us shocking, the thought of paying divine honours to a man, and often a very bad man; though we should remember that those emperors who were felt to have been unworthy of their office—Nero, Caligula, Domitian, and others—were not deified. But the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, which is not yet dead in Christian Europe, is, as Sir James Frazer has shown, only the pale shadow of a belief, once world-wide and unquestioned, in the actual divinity of kings. He shows reason to believe that the early kings of Rome—Romulus, Numa, and the rest—were regarded as gods; and, if that point is disputed, there can be no doubt that the kings of Egypt and Syria were habitually treated as incarnate gods, and that great men, both conquerors and sages, had been freely worshipped in Asia Minor and, except during the classical period, in Greece. A man of transcendent *mana*, who made you feel emotions of awe and wonder and devotion, whose power seemed to reach out beyond human knowledge or expectation . . . what could the plain man call him except *divinus homo*, or *deus?*

The belief in the god-man was so ancient, so natural to the barbarian populations both in west and east, and further so immensely convenient to kings and rulers who wished to exercise powers for which there was no exact constitutional provision, that its ultimate success seems less surprising than the great shyness and reluctance with which the civilised nations gradually gave way to it. Alexander's divine claim was mocked, though it could not be resisted, in Athens. The gradual and tentative deification of Julius Cæsar can be studied more closely. Cæsar's extant writings do not mention it, nor does he seem to have shown any interest in it. Cicero met Cæsar familiarly, though with some dislike, during the period when his cult was being established in various places, but pays very little attention to it. There are two slight jests at it in Cicero's voluminous letters, and one expression of indignation in a speech against Antonius after Cæsar's death. "So Marcus Antonius is a priest (*flamen*) of the divine Julius—as it might be a priest of Jupiter or Mars or Quirinus!" (*Philip.* ii. 43, 110). Educated feeling almost everywhere was repelled by the worship of the man-god, especially in this unideal form. The worship of a sage or hero was both less offensive and less dangerous. When Aristotle put up an altar to Plato, he expressed in religious symbolism his pious reverence for something extraordinary in Plato's character, or, as he would have put it, Plato's soul. That was very different from worshipping a successful general, or a king who happened to possess successful generals. The deification of the living presented a further difficulty. Egyptians and Syrians had no scruples about it; but the Greek kings of those nations, though their whole policy was to steep themselves in Oriental state, took two or three generations before they would claim divine

honours in their lifetime. And in Rome, though the living Emperor had his altars and his priests, and the name Augustus had an almost religious meaning, still one can trace a decided preference for worshipping some supposed divine element in the Emperor rather than the Emperor himself. It is apt to be his *Genius*, his *Fortuna* or his *Victoria*, his *Salus* or *Concordia*; that is his Soul or *Mana*, the divine force which guided his destiny and made him victorious, or lastly that power in him which established the public welfare or the public concord. After death, when the great man's soul was presumably in heaven, it was much easier to speak of him as *Divus*. He was "now in glory." It is, however, curious and significant that the practical Romans objected far more effectively to the word *Rex* than the word *Divus* or even *Deus*. Cæsar might be a god, if that was found convenient, but no Cæsar dared to call himself a king.

A religion which aims at very wide expansion must obviously have a wide and varied appeal. It must not commend itself only to the highly spiritual or the exceptionally virtuous. And the worship which we have been discussing was admirably fitted to be the basic religion of a wide and motley empire. Being based on very ancient foundations it was intelligible to every one. On its higher side it gave religious expression to an emotion of mystic loyalty to the Great City which almost coincided with love of the human race. If mankind was to be saved from the miseries which threatened to engulf it during the first century B.C. it was clearly through Rome and the *Pax Romana* that the gods meant the salvation to come. To serve, however humbly, that great purpose and to burn incense on that altar was a real religion to many high-minded and public-spirited men. It was a sober religion, too. It made no extravagant demands on credulity or mysticism. No one was bound to say in what sense he chose to recognise the divine element in Rome or Cæsar; he was expected to burn his incense on certain occasions, very much as an Englishman is expected on similar occasions to join in singing "God save the King," and pray that that monarch's enemies, irrespective of their grounds of quarrel, may be confounded. One can easily imagine a situation in which the man who refused to do so might be punished. It was, above all, a practical religion, commending itself to serious public men who had no taste or leisure for speculating on theology. On its lowest side, again, it suited the flatterer and the time-server; it suited the timid trader who wanted nothing but peace and a strong government; and it gave occasional opportunities for the superstition of the Oriental provinces. In sum it was an instinctive popular worship regulated and controlled by official sanction, a worship which admitted no imposture, practised no impure rites, and encouraged no delirium of emotion.

There is a tragic irony in the fact that it was just this religion, apparently so unexacting, so tolerant, so permeated by coolness and common-sense, which was responsible for the great persecutions of Christianity. Yet the historical chain of causes is plain enough. If *Roma Dea* was the personification of world-wide peace and humane civilisation, she only asserted herself in that character by means of steady and somewhat ruthless conquest. To the great multitude within the fold she represented concord and welfare; to the few yet struggling without she was the incarnate enemy. Again, though the religious demand she made on her alien subjects was, in the eyes of the normal man, exceedingly light, she struck against a section of people to whom the acceptance of that light demand was just the central and impossible infamy. A prayer of goodwill for the welfare of Rome and Cæsar and the whole empire, a recognition of the divine destiny of Rome by means of a gift of incense to the sacred City and the spirit that guided her—to the Jew or Christian this meant apostasy and the worship of devils. Probably the actual dogmatic difficulty might have been got over. A genuinely loyal Jew or Christian might frankly have been able to say: "We have all goodwill to the Roman world, but our religion forbids us this particular way of showing it;" and a reasonable magistrate might well have met him half-way. But apparently this line was not taken. By the time our evidence becomes clear the split has become irreconcilable. The author of the Book of Revelation, for instance, regards Rome with a frenzy of hatred. She is the Harlot throned and crowned, drunken with blood; he longs for the time when she shall be made desolate and naked, her flesh torn by wild beasts and consumed utterly with fire. And we cannot pretend that this hatred was directed simply against Nero or Domitian, the persecutor and his officials. The whole world belongs to the Beast and the Scarlet Woman; and the writer's prayers or incantations aim at the wholesale destruction of all the peoples of the empire. Their rivers shall be turned to blood, the water they drink shall be poisoned, they shall be trampled underfoot till their blood shall make a sea up to the bridles of the horses; and then, at last, the Righteous will be happy and bless the name of the Lamb! The wrongs which the early Christians had suffered enable the historian to understand such passages; but he cannot wonder that to the average pagan, they seemed mere outbursts of loathsome and appalling malignity, a genuine "hatred of the human race" (pp. 616, 774f.).

We have so far been considering the root conceptions of paganism in general and the kind of religion—if so we may call it—which was consciously or unconsciously common to the whole Græco-Roman world. There were besides various particular religions in something like the modern sense: systems of practice and dogma which appealed to the personal faith of their adherents and claimed some more or less exclusive efficacy for salvation. These fall into two main currents, the Mystery Religions and the systems of organised philosophy.

To understand the nature of the Mystery Religions we must try first to understand two institutions that are strange to us, the very ancient agricultural worship of the Mother and the Youth, and the practice, usual in most primitive races, of initiating the boys of the tribe at manhood.

The religion of the Mother and Youth can be traced back to the greyest antiquity. Dr. Langdon, in treating of Ishtar and Tammuz, uses evidence reaching to 6000 B.C. The name Tammuz, or Dāmuzī, means "The Faithful Son"; he shows his faithfulness by dying in some sense to save the life of the world. He is cut down with the corn, plucked with the fruit, withered with the flowers and trees; but he shall rise again, so his mourners trust, and the world not remain dead for ever. His great festival is a mourning for death (*cf.* Ezek. 814) followed by a rejoicing for resurrection. The emotion naturally inherent in this rite was intensified tenfold by the custom according to which a human victim, and that none other than the divine king himself, took upon him the part of the god and actually died for his people. All kinds of variation occurred. The slaying that seems once to have

been an annual ceremony became rarer; it occurred only at longer intervals or at moments of great peril. A substitute was found for the king, sometimes one of blood royal, sometimes some voluntary martyr, sometimes a criminal or an outcast. As Greek civilisation advanced, the human sacrifice was discontinued altogether, and at most some mere symbol of the slaying remained. But even in Greece the early legends ring with two confused and vibrating memories; the mere horror of human victims slain shrieking at the altars, and the dark glory of princes and virgins who voluntarily gave their blood for their peoples.

The emotion which surrounded the Dying Youth was not more keen than that which enwrapped the Mourning Mother. From the wanderings of Ishtar to those of Demeter, her lamentations are hard to read with dry eyes even now. She is from the beginning the *Mater Dolorosa*, the Mother of Sorrows; her heart is pierced not only by her own woes, but by those of all her children. And it is important to realise—though the realisation comes to the modern and uninitiated mind with a shock of repulsion—that on this adored figure of the Mother were heaped all possible passionate forms of man's love for woman. She is mother, sister, and bride; she is the eternal Virgin and the Beloved of innumerable lovers. In the Babylonian liturgies Tammuz is not only her son but her bridegroom, and at times her brother. In Egypt, where the royal family generally intermarried within its own limits, the great goddess Isis was both sister and wife of Osiris. Under Greek influence this confusion was expurgated away. In Phrygia Attis was only the bridegroom of Cybele or the Great Mother, and Adonis was not related to the goddess who bewailed him.

Some of these rites laid stress on virginity or continence in the worshipper. Some, like those of Attis, actually advised castration for those who desired complete purity. Others again, taking the opposite line, regarded a sexual union with, or under the sanction of, the divine power as the highest experience of religion. It is obvious that in all such worships there were elements of the most diverse nature; at the best, appeals to high religious passion culminating in a complete and saintly surrender to the love of a personal god; at the ordinary level, a degree of emotion and a style of language which might take by storm hearts that were hardened against a more sober appeal, but which could hardly help being dangerous and open to misconstruction; at the worst, palpable frauds and base exploitations of the connexion which admittedly exists in human nature between ecstatic emotion and sexual excitement. The evidence of ancient writers about the divers mysteries, together with the language of the few mystery texts that are preserved, amply bears out these conclusions.

Cults of this kind, externally bizarre or even sinister, while claiming to have at their heart the highest revelation of the divine, tended naturally to mysticism. They drew a marked line between the outer shell seen by the profane and the inward secret understood by the initiated. And in ancient society the machinery for this kind of mysticism lay everywhere ready to hand.

In almost all the savage societies known to us, both ancient and modern, there is a practice, or some trace of a practice, of Tribal Initiation. The varieties of this custom are great; the age appointed for the boys' initiation differs in different places. But as a normal type we may say that the initiation ceremony is a ritual for marking and emphasizing that cardinal moment when the Boy becomes Man. The novice must put away childish things and take upon him manly things. His manhood (*ἀνδρεία, virtus*), is put to the ordeal both of physical privation and torture and of supernatural terrors. He is taken away to some remote place. He is ultimately made to believe that he will be killed and even that he has been killed; he moves for a time among the dead, sees gods and dæmons and the tribe's great ancestors, is instructed in the duties of a full Man and the last secrets of the tribal religion; and so returns to the common earth and his new tribal duties. He is now free to perform the three great duties of a grown man; to beget the tribe's children, to slay the tribe's enemies, and to speak as a man in the tribal council.

When for any reason—emigration, for instance, or conquest or mixtures of races—these initiations cease to be compulsory upon a whole tribe, they naturally become the basis of a secret society. Some elders or priests are left who know the ancient rites and have the power—perhaps ridiculed by some but still venerated by others—of teaching the secrets of their religion to the truly faithful and bringing them into close and loving relations with the divine power. So arises a great gulf between the faithful and the outer world, the initiated and the profane.

The greatest of all the Mystery Religions in influence and extension was Mithraism. It was flourishing in Commagene and Cilicia as early as the campaigns of Pompeius (67 B.C.), but it did not reach world-wide importance till the second Christian century. At the core of Mithras-worship was the ancient Persian or Iranian dualism, regarding life as an incessant battle between the powers of Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, Ormuzd and Ahriman. This worship then passed through the influence of Babylon, taking on an undecided element of nature-worship and a strong element of astrology. Mithras himself is a Mediator between the supreme god and mankind. He is also a Dying God, whose blood saves mankind, since he is ultimately and mystically identical both with the bull which he sacrifices to the Sun, and with the Sun to whom the sacrifice is dedicated. The god is habitually represented on monuments, with a look of anguish on his face, plunging his sword into the neck of the bull, and his commonest title is *Sol Invictus Mithras*, Mithras the Unconquered Sun. The blood of the bull is the true source of man's life.

Many of our current Christian practices come from Mithraism; the 25th of December was the birthday of Mithras; the first day of the week, dedicated to the Sun, was his holy day, as opposed to the Jewish Sabbath. The Mithraics also practised baptism and confirmation and expected salvation from a eucharistic Last Supper. The Mithraic ethics, like the Christian, were ascetic and pure. They differed from Christianity and from the other Mystery Religions in two curious points.

First, Mithraism was essentially a military religion. It represented life as an eternal battle against evil, and it cultivated the fighting virtues. The innumerable monuments of Mithraism, altars, inscriptions, and small underground chapels, are found chiefly along the military frontiers of the empire, especially the northern frontiers, where life was hardest. The names on the inscriptions show that the votaries were often men of high position, especially soldiers and officials, though freedmen and slaves were admitted on terms of religious equality, and it was against the faith for the devotee to accept any earthly crown; his only

crown was Mithras. No scandals are attached to the name of Mithraism such as dog those of the ordinary Semitic and Anatolian deities.

The second point is a consequence of the first. So determined was the resistance of Mithraism to these unwholesome emotional influences that it took an extraordinary step. In violent opposition to most of the other Oriental cults, including Christianity, it seems to have allotted no position in the Church to women. No woman's name has been found among the recorded worshippers. Mithras, in his battle against darkness, needed "soldiers" and "brothers"; his women were not in the fighting line. We must remember, however, that we have almost no Mithraic literature remaining; our evidence is contained in the monuments. It is not possible that any great religion can have subsisted successfully without having somewhere in its worship a place for the more religious and more numerous sex.

In any case, this severe rejection of the sexual emotions brought its own revenge in a curious way. The Mithræum at Ostia, the earliest Mithraic chapel established in Italy, is connected with a Metröon, or temple of Cybele, the Great Mother; and there is reason to believe that, throughout the empire, there was a close connexion between the austere Iranian Saviour and the passionate Mother of Sorrows beloved by Attis. Under this influence the eucharistic sacrifice of the Mithraic bull took the barbaric form called *Taurobolium;* the votary actually sat in a pit under a grating on which the bull was slaughtered, and was bathed within and without by the redeeming blood.

This interesting religion was not overthrown by Christianity till the fourth century. The rivalry between the two worships was very intense, both because of their many points of similarity and because the Mithras-worshipper fought for Rome and the legions, the Christian often against them. We have almost no record of the struggle; but some of the little Mithræa or chapels have been found choked with skeletons, testifying to some massacre of the faithful round their altars by triumphant mobs or armies.

The Mystery Worships satisfied, no doubt, the emotional craving of mankind, especially mankind oppressed or suffering, for some magic of redemption in which purification and passionate penitence should count for more than a mere upright life. But the qualities that attracted one kind of character repelled another. The higher intellects and the more austere minds of antiquity, though often sympathetic towards these ecstatic cults, based their own aims and conduct not on revelation but on what they called philosophy.

A philosophy differs from a religion in this; it makes no claim to mystic powers or divine revelation, but tries by means of human reason and experience to form, as best it can, some intelligible theory of the world as a whole and of the meaning of human life. But the great schools of later Greek philosophy had in them a burning element of faith and aspiration which gave them undoubtedly a religious character. This applies especially to Stoicism.

Stoicism started in a time of national depression. The misgovernment and fall of Athens, which seems to have made Plato almost despair of human society, had been succeeded in the generations following him by a far more widespread misgovernment and by the fall of all Greece. The ideal of the great beneficent human City, in which all men should not only live but "live well," had been crushed under the heel of Macedonian militarism. At the same time educated Greece had seen through the unreality of the Olympian gods and had mostly lost faith in the local worships. Human life was, as it seemed, left rudderless in an incomprehensible world.

Zeno, the first teacher of Stoicism, attempted to find, by an appeal to facts and to reason, a basis for human living. There is a difference, he reasoned, between goodness and badness. Everyone knows it and sees it. This knowledge is not a mere sense-impression, which may sometimes err; it is the result of understanding combined with sense-impression, and can therefore be trusted as true. Further, it stands to reason that the good for man must be to be a good man, and similarly for any other being. Whatever helps you to be a good man is good, whatever prevents your being so is bad; other things, which have no effect in making you good or bad, are indifferent. For example, a good man may be rich or poor, he may be in pain or in sickness, he may be hated, slandered, thrown into prison or executed, without being a whit less good in himself—that is, in his soul. Therefore we see that all these matters are indifferent; though we may admit that both pleasure and pain, if very strong, are apt to cloud the mind, and therefore become objectionable. Nothing is really good but goodness.

But what is "goodness" or "virtue"? Zeno, adopting an Aristotelian idea, conceived of all life as being shaped by *Phusis*—a word which we translate Nature, but which more nearly means the process of growth. *Phusis*—rather like what we call Evolution personified—shapes things towards their highest possible achievements or "Virtue." She works on a blind puppy till, if she has her way, he becomes a perfect hound; on a seed till it becomes a perfect tree; on a group of savages till they become an ordered city-state. Goodness is therefore living according to *Phusis;* not, be it observed, like a supposed "natural man" in extreme simplicity, but living so as to help and further the great Purpose which is shaping the whole towards perfection. Vice or badness occurs when the individual thwarts this great purpose by seeking some false or momentary good for himself instead of the true good of the whole. He makes, for instance, the false judgment of supposing that his own pleasure or increase of fortune is good, when, of course, it is nothing of the kind. His real good is serving the whole, as *Phusis* intends.

Phusis, or Nature, is thus treated as if she were a person; but that is only a metaphor. *Phusis* is the same as the Providence or Forethought of God, which again is the same as Destiny: a continuous causal force always moving material nature onward towards the good. If, in spite of Providence, man often does evil, that is because man's will is free. Only because his will is free can man be either good or evil. God could, if He chose, have carried out His purpose by chained slaves, but He preferred to have free helpers.

Thus, in living according to *Phusis* man will live according to the purpose of God; he will co-operate with God. Now God's great work is to care and provide for the world which He has made; therefore man's best life lies in caring and providing for all living things, helping them towards their good. Love of mankind—*philanthrôpia*—is the essence of deity; in a wonderful phrase taken by Pliny from the Greek philosopher Poseidonios, *Deus est mortali iuvare mortalem*, "For man to help man is God."

But here arises a logical difficulty. Nothing is good but virtue (or goodness), and that is entirely a matter

of the free will. Health, comfort, pleasure, physical well-being and the like are quite indifferent; consequently to tend a sick man or feed a starving one is not really doing him good. It is not making him, in the strict sense, a better man. Why, then, and how, should you "care for" people?

The Stoic answer is clear and striking. True, nothing but goodness is good; but there are things which, in life as it practically exists, are "preferred." A good governor, for instance, tries to make his province healthy and prosperous, not sick and poverty-stricken. That is the way to be a good governor. It is his business, his τέχνη or Art, to do so, and if necessary to die or suffer torments rather than fail in attaining these ends. Yet, as a matter of philosophic truth, such ends are in themselves of no importance. They are just like counters in a game; the good player will try to win as many counters as possible, but he knows all the while that the counters have only a fictitious value. It is not they that matter ultimately, in eternity, at the Last Judgment, so to speak. Suppose, for instance, the good man is in an agony of pain, he will suffer in the body, he may even weep and groan; but "inside he should not groan." Similarly, suppose he hears of a city on fire. He will do everything possible to save it; he will, of course, give his life, if that is required. But suppose, at the end of all his efforts, the city is burned, what will be his state of mind? Of course he will suffer; he may weep and lament; but, in so far as he is really wise, "inside he should not groan." He will retain inside him some central part which does not weep but accepts the will of God. This doctrine has been harshly judged or even ridiculed by some critics; but, if once we accept the principle that nothing is good but goodness, and by goodness understand moral goodness, the deduction seems to be sound. It was, also, made less inhuman by the application of another characteristic Stoic doctrine, the Sympathy of the Universe (Συμπαθεία τῶν ὅλων). Since the Providence and Love of God runs through all the created universe, and in fact expresses itself therein, it follows that all the universe is akin; thus the suffering or joy, the good or evil, of any one part is somehow felt in every other part. The stars shiver in their orbits for mortal suffering or sin; and if a particular man does not care for the sufferings of his distant fellow-creatures, that is because he is blindly isolating himself and refusing to be what God intended him to be, a part of the divine whole.

It will be seen that, so far, Stoicism uses only a very lofty and almost impersonal monotheism. But most Stoics did not like to deny the traditional gods. With their characteristic emphasis on moral intuition they observed that the pious man was, as a matter of fact, generally a better man than the impious or godless. Consequently, they argued, it cannot be that his beliefs are all wrong while the godless beliefs are right. Hence came a general tendency—opposed, however, by some leading Stoic teachers—to accept as much of the Greek tradition as could possibly, by the boldest use of allegory, be made consistent and edifying. With their strong sense of reverence they loved Homer, they loved the old tragedians and poets; and though they loved "virtue" and "the truth" even more, they were ready to use much ingenuity of imagination in order to reconcile the two loves. The Olympian gods became allegories or emanations; the stars and the heavens became divine. And the Sympathy of the Universe gave an even too convenient start for a belief in divination and particularly in astrology, which ran like an epidemic disease over the world of later paganism. However, in this matter, there were Stoics on both sides of the controversy, some sceptical and some credulous.

This magnificent system, which in the realm of ethics has permeated and inspired all later religious thought, is generally criticised as being too rigid, allowing too little play for human nature, and too little scope for the affections. It is not difficult to find cases of conscience in which the Stoic sage will appear a pedant. But in answer we must remember that a living faith ought really to be judged by the spirit of its best men, not by its books of casuistry or theology (p. 618). A stranger who knew Christianity only by the logical systems of Calvin or Aquinas would not receive a very satisfactory impression. Any doctrinal system is in practice modified by the human nature which it endeavours to cramp and limit; and one can generally assume that a good man will be, on the whole, rather better than his creed. This is no paradox; it only means that, however fine a man's professed creed may be, in many cases of conflict his sensitiveness of moral feeling will guide him better than the fixed rules which his teachers have thought out beforehand.

The faith and practice of the real Stoic were modified by the ordinary needs and sensibilities of life. They were modified also by the existence of other sects of philosophy. Very few persons, even among the professional teachers of philosophy, were entirely orthodox members of one school. All Stoics, for instance, were much influenced by Plato: all scientific people by Aristotle and the Peripatetics. Almost every cultivated person was, to some extent, "eclectic": that is, he chose out of various schools what seemed to him best.

The Cynic School was closely akin to the Stoic, and very far removed from what we now call cynicism. It was a rougher, ruder Stoicism, without much philosophy or intellectual culture. Its main doctrine was the same—"Nothing is good except goodness"—and goodness was interpreted in the strictly ethical sense. Hence a whole-hearted war against the vanities of the world; first against vice, but also against wealth, rank, culture, learning, politeness, and every form of convention. The true Cynic reduced his needs to the minimum; he would have liked to live as a dog lives (κυνικῶς), with no apparatus at all. Being a man he needed a blanket to keep off the cold, and a stick to keep off biting dogs and fools. For a shelter the famous Diogenes slept in an enormous earthen jar, the kind that in early days was used for coffins. The Cynics were street preachers and fearless missionaries in the haunts of vice. The passionate and stinging eloquence of their sermons or *Diatribae* has left a deep mark on later Greek philosophy and early Christian preaching. Doubtless the thorough-going Cynic must have been an unpleasant person, when he was not actually an impostor; and we hear that he was sometimes both. But as an influence in ancient life Cynicism had a rare value, especially in situations where mere incorruptible courage was more needed than delicacy of perception or feeling.

The great opponent of the Stoic school was the Epicurean. Like his contemporary, Zeno, Epicurus started in revolt against the unreal hair-splitting of the philosophers and the wretched superstitions which enslaved common men. He preached a return to the bed-rock of simple fact and the realities of human nature. All living things pursue what gives them pleasure or makes them happy: and if we ask why a man does something and find that it makes him happy, we all recognise that fact, if true, as *prima facie* a

sufficient reason. Happiness or pleasure is the good; evil is that which makes people unhappy. This sounds as if it might lead to immoral conclusions, but it does not. True pleasure, according to Epicurus, can best be attained by cultivating contentment and the natural affections, taming the desires, loving other human beings; above all things, by getting rid of Fear. Only then can man be free and his soul untroubled. Epicurus devoted himself to the great work of freeing mankind from fear. As for supernatural fears and angry gods, they are all false; God, a perfectly blessed being, cannot possibly suffer pain Himself nor give pain to others. As for this world—well, there are disagreeable things, but a brave man can bear them. Intense pains are mostly short; lasting pains are mostly feeble. If he can only keep an untroubled soul, a good man will be happy on the rack. Not a very self-indulgent creed! Epicurus himself lived with his disciples, male and female, an innocent and contemplative life in a garden near Athens, abstaining from animal food. His private letters, the few which have been preserved, suggest a character of unpretending kindness and simplicity.

In physics Epicurus was the most famous exponent of the atomic theory of matter, which has played such a great part in modern science. The atoms, falling through space by the force of gravitation, had the power of swerving slightly; this is the same power that comes out in man as free will. But the theory concerns us here only in so far as it provided, or attempted, an explanation of the physical world without the intervention of any god. Epicurus did not deny the existence of the gods; in his wish to avoid far-fetched theories he liked in all subjects to accept, if possible, the most common and obvious view. He saw no reason to believe, for instance, that the Sun and Moon were any larger than they look. He accepted the traditional belief in gods. Indeed he seems to have taken some interest in them. As the Stoic tended to imitate his active God who is all providence, so the Epicurean tried to imitate his blessed beings who neither suffered nor caused pain. The wise man should go through life with extreme gentleness, happy in innocent affections, breaking no bruised reed, causing no single tear. He will be content if it can be said in his epitaph that he has lived unnoticed. (λαθε βιώσας; *Neminem tristem fecit.*) It is the creed of a gentle nature, combined with a strong but impatient intellect, in an age of misgovernment and public failure. Epicurus is deeply impressed by two things; by the cruelty of the world and the futility of all soaring dreams, from the ambition of the statesman to the pretended knowledge of the philosopher or priest. His religion of happiness is sad at heart.

I have tried in the above pages merely to describe the main currents of religious thought and emotion which were moving in the Roman world at the opening of the Christian era. It will be obvious that many of them have contributed characteristic elements to the new religion which overcame them; some of them, again, while different in intellectual outlook, had at least that inner kinship with Christianity which belongs to all the great efforts of the human soul to attain perfection or to know God. The fierce religious struggles of the early Christian period have inevitably over-emphasized the antagonism between Christian and pagan thought. By the time people are burning one another alive they have forgotten how much there is in common between them. It was pardonable enough in Tertullian or the author of the Apocalypse to look on pagans as semi-devils; but by this time, when the dust of centuries lies over those old hates and rages, we should try to understand those who were once our fathers' enemies, and to realise that the age which led up to Greek and Roman Christianity must have been an age of high religious experience and aspiration. Indeed we may safely go further, and admit that religion and piety are not things which began suddenly at any particular date; that never within the range of recorded history has mankind been destitute of some longing to be "at peace with God" and somehow in touch with the mystery that surrounds Him; he has never ceased groping after some theory, good or bad, which will explain and justify to his cooler mind, not only his own crimes and follies, but his own incredible heroism and self-sacrifice.

Literature.—*Greek Religion.* For reference: Gruppe, "Griechische Religion," in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft;* Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States;* A. B. Cook, *Zeus, the European Sky-God.* For primitive period: J. E. Harrison, *Themis, Prolegomena to Greek Religion*[2]; F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy;* Farnell, *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion.* For brief sketch of whole development: G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion.*

Roman Religion. For reference: Wissowa, "Römische Religion," in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch* (see above). Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People.* His *Roman Festivals* is the best brief account in English. For religion of the Empire: F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra,* also in abbreviated form *The Mysteries of Mithra; La Théologie Solaire du Paganisme Romain,* 1909; *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain,* 1909. (*Cf.* the older works of G. Boissier, *La Religion Romaine d'Auguste jusqu'aux Antonins*[2]; *La Fin du Paganisme,* 1891.) Toutain, *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain;* certain chapters in Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to M. Aurelius,* and in Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt.* Admirable for the whole subject: P. Wendland, *Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*[2].

For Egyptian influences, Gnosticism, etc.: R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres, die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen;* A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie, Nekyia;* Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis.* Much knowledge and suggestion in Salomon Reinach's collected articles, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions,* also *Orpheus, a General History of Religions.*

Philosophy. J. Burnet, *History of Greek Philosophy;* Th. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers;* Arnold, *Roman Stoicism;* E. Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics,* 1913; H. Gomperz (son of Theodor), *Lebensauffassung der Griechischen Philosophie;* short lectures on *The Stoic Philosophy* and *The Epicurean Philosophy,* by G. Murray, 1914, 1915.

For the thought of the average cultivated Roman or late Greek, the philosophical works of Cicero (*De Officiis, De Finibus, De Natura Deorum,* etc.) and the *Epistles* and *Dialogues* of Seneca are far the best source: many translations. For Stoicism, the writings of Epictetus (tr. Matheson) and Marcus Aurelius (tr. Jackson). For Epicureanism, Zeller's old treatise, *Stoics and Epicureans* (Engl. tr. 1880) leaves much to be desired; R. D. Hicks, *Stoics and Epicureans;* A. E. Taylor, *Epicurus;* Monro's *Lucretius* is valuable. The three philosophical letters of Epicurus do not seem to have been translated.

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS

By Dr. J. VERNON BARTLET

"Understandest thou what thou readest?" is ever the question for the reader of the Bible: and the natural answer as regards much in it is still, "How can I, except someone shall guide me?" For the Bible, New Testament as well as Old, comes to us from far-off times, and from lands distant not only in space but also in modes of thought. The East was not and is not as the West; and until we read the Bible as a body of Oriental writings, enshrining the religious soul of men of Oriental outlook and speech, we never understand aright what we read even in the purest of texts and the best of translations. Hence our greatest need after "the one thing needful"—spiritual sympathy with its whole attitude to God and man—is the mind adjusted to the *special perspective* in which matters presented themselves to the writers, so that their words convey to us the same things, neither more nor less, as they stood for to them. This is what is meant by the historical sense of the Bible. It is, no doubt, like the written words, still "letter" rather than "spirit," and appeals to the understanding rather than the heart or personality of the reader. Yet, even so, it is more valuable to him who would go further, to the very heart of the matter, than the casual impression which comes up unbidden to the mind of any one of us to-day. For the world of the first Christians, even so far as actually the same as now, was a very different one as it lived in souls which saw through the mental medium or culture of antiquity generally, and of special Jewish or Greek circles in it. Hence our primary task, if we desire to understand the NT faithfully and fully, is to reconstruct as completely as we can the mental context in which each utterance in whole and in part—book, chapter, verse, word—stood to the living consciousness of its writer and those for whom he wrote. In a word, we must try to become his contemporaries and intimates. So viewed, the study of the NT becomes not only an intensely human thing, the intercourse of soul with soul through assimilative sympathy, but also an exacting one where accuracy is of moment. Happily this is not always the case. "He who runs may read" still holds good as regards the vital aspects of this sacred literature of the soul. Yet in so far as accuracy is important, so far we cannot be safe against avoidable error if we fail to "put ourselves to school" with the minds of its authors by pondering all available evidence.

Our endeavour, then, must be to share for the time the actual *religious outlook and experience* behind the NT writings. But NT implies OT; and it is precisely with the ways in which the New was continuous with the Old, both in form and spirit, that we have to reckon at the start. It is only when we have duly realised the similarity between Old and New that we are in a position to do justice, no more and no less, to what is distinctive and often most precious in the "fulfilment" of the promise contained in the earlier dispensation. What we have really to deal with is the renovated and transfigured form of a single Covenant or revelation of God's will, and so of Himself, in the history and experience of a continuous Chosen People, elect first on national lines and then on those of purely spiritual kinship. The old form was relative to a holy Law or *Torah* (pp. 620ff.), and that a national one, which included ritual elements unsuited to a Divine Law for all men. The new was relative to a holy Person, in whom, as embodied ideal, the very spirit behind the Law could find adequate expression. Such an expression gave vital perspective to the Law's various parts, flexibility to its obedience amid the infinite casuistry of life—which the Jewish lawyers tried to cope with by an infinity of by-laws—and greater universality of human appeal. As Judaism became more and more religion *sub specie Legis*, Christianity was religion *sub specie Christi*. Each represents one aspect of Israel's religion. Rabbinic Pharisaism, as it takes more restricted shape after A.D. 70, emphasizes law and ritual; Christianity emphasizes and fulfils, in more universally spiritual form, prophecy and Messianic hope in a Person. This distinction, at once of form and content, made a profound difference in spirit and method between the Old and the New Covenant: yet throughout there is vital continuity, the unfolding of one Divine purpose and economy of special grace through special media of revelation.

This is the first feature of a true historical perspective, the continuity of Christianity with Judaism: and it leads us to expect that it will be in spirit and emphasis, rather than in forms of expression, as dependent on racial imagination and modes of thought, that religious faith and life differ under the old and the new stages of this Covenant. In so saying, we are thinking of the New Covenant as still on Jewish soil: for as it spread to non-Jewish environments, such as the Hellenism of the Eastern Mediterranean, we have to reckon with the modifying effects of a very different culture. To this we shall return. Meantime we note that *the Judaism out of which Christianity emerged* was not that of the OT Canon, what we may call Hebraism, but a development starting from this, of which we learn from other sources, such as the Jewish Apocrypha and particularly Jewish Apocalypses (pp. 431ff.). This development, manifold alike in its piety and thought, falls mainly within the last two centuries B.C., during which Judaism stood in direct relations, both of assimilation and antipathy, with the wider culture of the non-Jewish world at the stage when Hellenism

was dominant and pervasive. Indeed it seems true to say [1] that the main peculiarities of this Judaism, living now amid the cosmopolitan culture created by the conquests of Alexander the Great, arose largely from the actual history of the Jews and as the result of a great struggle between Judaism and Hellenism. The central living ideas of the circles of piety which conditioned the forms that Christianity at first assumed, had special relevance to this contact between Judaism and the world outside, its material power and its civilisation. These ideas were: the true Sovereignty of the God of Israel—the Kingdom of (the God of) heaven on earth, first in Israel and then through Israel over all; a grand assize or final judgment on earth, to usher in this kingdom; and as implied in this, a resurrection of the dead, at least of the righteous—since God's righteousness or faithfulness to His Covenant was pledged to give all Israelites, if faithful on their side, part and lot in the blessedness of the coming age, when sin and all that obscured His glory should be no more; and finally, as means and crown of all this according to general expectation, the Messiah or Divinely anointed One in human form, in whom God's presence and power should be focussed and made manifest, as in a Vicegerent or kingly Son.

The above ideas existed more or less in all truly Jewish piety, save that of the ruling priestly aristocracy, the Sadducees. These had no real sense of the God of Israel as a "living God," active in the individual and in the national life of their day, as distinct from the far-off time when the Law was given to the great lawgiver Moses. To them the prophets counted for little or nothing. Next to the Sadducees in virtual denial of God's progressive revelation of His will and ways were the Pharisees proper, particularly in the persons of their official teachers, the scribes and rabbis. Their ideal was to "fence" the observance of the written Law with inferential applications to all details and "cases of conscience" emerging in practical life, especially that amid Gentile neighbours, for those who viewed religion largely as ritual obedience. Such Pharisaism was but one outcome of the passionate fidelity to the God of Israel and His Covenant which had burst forth during the pagan menace to Judaism in the days of the Maccabees (*c.* 165 B.C.), wherein the apocalyptic part of the prophetic Book of Daniel had its original setting and meaning. There was, however, another wing of the same national religious party which was more alive to the movings of the Spirit of revelation, as step by step with the needs of the Chosen People it gave fresh guidance for the present and the near future—and all the more that darkness of external conditions grew, and therewith the scale upon which Divine "visitation" must take place, to be adequate to the need. Amid these latter conditions there lived on at the core of its faith and piety the apocalyptic tradition, starting in Daniel's picture of the kingdom of the saints of the Most High, which by Divine intervention was to break in upon and swallow up the world-kingdoms of brute force and earthly aims and passions. Both these types of Pharisaism, the one more engrossed with the ritual, the other with the moral side of the Law, were (unlike the Sadducees) intensely national in spirit—the holy nation being the living temple, as it were, of the Divine glory—and both had their following in the people at large. In those wider circles of popular rather than studious piety the ideas of both kinds, the scribal and the apocalyptic, were current only in their broad features. Thus it is not clear how widely any given apocalyptic writings, such as the Book of Enoch, in which the conception "the Son of Man" attains a peculiar form, were known among the people.

Now it appears from Lk. 1f. that the circles in which John the Baptist and Jesus Himself were reared were akin not to the ritually legal type but rather to the apocalyptic, and more particularly to the "quiet in the land" who relied on God's own wonderful intervention by His Spirit, and not on national and forceful methods such as those of the old Maccabean deliverers. Their outlook was towards the Kingdom of God as the new age, the supernatural order of things on earth, of which prophets and psalmists spoke, and in which the Divine presence should be manifestly regnant, to the cancelling of sin and all evil, first for and in Israel, and then, through it, among mankind at large. The other ideas already specified as marking the later Judaism, also possessed them, and perhaps in Galilee even more than in Judæa proper, where they were somewhat overshadowed by thought for the Law and the Temple and the ritual special to these. In particular, a personal Messiah or Divinely anointed Prophet-King was very congenial to the religious temper and ideals of the humbler and less official folk, and most of all to the peasantry and those who lived by the toil of their hands—"the poor" and humble, as distinct from "the rich" and powerful. Only Messiah, the personal symbol of the coming kingdom, the heroic figure in whom its spirit took shape to the faith of the people, might be conceived very differently, according as stress fell on the King or on the Prophet in the composite ideal. So, too, the kind of salvation which he was expected to bring varied, according as emphasis fell upon the needed righteousness as national or as personal in nature. (On the subject of the three preceding paragraphs, see pp. 92–97, 368–372, 431–435, 660f., and the article on "Contemporary Jewish Religion.")

Here, then, at once in the *common outlook* on Israel's future *in terms of the Kingdom of heaven on earth*, and in the *different lights* in which this was seen by *various circles of piety*—in relation both to the nation and its Messianic salvation, and to the Law as given once for all by Moses—we have the historical background of the Gospel, against which it necessarily defined itself, both positively and negatively. If we keep this background steadily in view, we shall be able to see the NT writings as records of a single movement, all the parts and stages of which cohere in a vital manner as phases of the historical process by which the old form of the Covenant with a Chosen People passed over, not without conflict and perplexity, into the new, which was its fulfilment in the deepest sense.

The fulfilment of Israel's religion in Jesus of Nazareth, as the Messiah or Christ whom God actually sent, was far other than had been looked for in any of the circles of Jewish piety just described. Most of all was it different, even in spirit, from what the official Pharisaism of the day had conceived. Here we have the historical key to the tragedy of the gospels, the mental and moral unpreparedness of the Chosen People for God's Anointed, which deepened into refusal to advance to the venture of faith in Him on the simple self-evidence of the spiritual quality and power of His message and person. That message or gospel touching the nature of God as Father of man in a deeper, wider, more essential and personal sense than had ever been conceived in Israel before, and touching His kingdom among men in a correspondingly spiritual sense, is dealt with elsewhere (p. 664). What now concerns us is the way in which this sublime pro-

[1] With F. C. Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, p. 4.

phetic revelation, the issue of Jesus' own filial consciousness—unique yet representative, as of the Son of Man, "first-born among many brethren" (Heb. 2 6–12, Rom. 829)—worked as a *new leaven in the thought and life* of those who first heard it, either to acceptance or rejection. Israel could not be the same after it as before. It brought all who felt its spirit to a spiritual crisis: in being judged, it judged men as fit or unfit for the Messianic kingdom now brought nigh. It proved, in fact, the winnowing fan which the Forerunner declared Messiah would wield, separating between grain and chaff, between what in Israel's thought and life had or had not abiding value. It is clear that Jesus Himself, though reverently loyal to His people's Divine heritage in the Law and the Prophets, as it lived in hearts set on obeying God's will in all simple sincerity (and therefore chiefly in the chief things of personal conduct), was fully aware of the need of distinguishing kernel and husk, substance and form, wine and wine-skins. The last of these similes, taken with its companion figure of the vanity of patching an old garment with new cloth, shows that, while Jesus used the old forms and conceptions of Israel's traditional religion, He was conscious that they were relative and liable to change—what we call "merely historical." How far this distinction went in His thought we have no means of fully gauging. We are on safer ground when we note His own emphasis on certain aspects of religious thought and practice as really vital, while He left what was associated with them in their historical context to vanish or survive in course of time, as the Father's wisdom might decide. Such emphasis really made old things new, as Stephen saw and as Paul found when he came to see the truth of God "in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. 516f.): and it did so in the best, because the least negative way, the way most congenial to religion.

Christ, then, did not formally abrogate all that was obsolescent. He "came not to destroy but to fulfil." But this left over to His followers hard problems of interpretation, both theoretic and practical, touching His inner mind and will as new situations arose. "The fundamental point, a fulfilment of the Law which was not a literal retention of it as a code of commandments, was, as it is still, a conception hard to grasp. . . . Again, there was ample matter for apparent contradictions in the necessity for a time of transition during which the old order would live on by the side of the new, not Divinely deprived of its ancient sanctity, and yet laid under a Divine warning of not distant extinction." In all this a *profound problem for religious faith* at all times was involved, that of the inevitable relative or human element in a Divine revelation unfolding in history. But in any case "it was hardly possible for either aspect" of Jesus' own attitude to the old Divine revelation—essential loyalty to its spirit, along with sovereign freedom to its letter in the interests of that spirit—"to be forgotten in men's recollections of the original Gospel at any period of the apostolic age."[1] Hence came a period of only gradual adjustment of the Christian consciousness to the inner mind of the Master; under the pressure of a new practical situation due to the actual spread of the Gospel, not only among the Jews but also among Gentiles, during what was viewed as but a provisional season while Messiah's coming to His full kingdom still tarried. This outlook is *the special setting of all primitive* Christian thinking, the imaginative background of all the NT writings, though in some it is more explicit than in others; while in others again the time-limit recedes to the lifetime of the next generation—a process which went on for several generations, "the times and the seasons" being felt to be known with certainty only to the Father (Ac. 16f.). But though the first Christians had only natural expectation (going back perhaps to Christ's own references in prophetic manner to the Kingdom as imminent in His apostles' lifetime) to guide them as to the time and space aspects of God's crucial intervention, to usher in the New Age, they had from the first personal experience of its intrinsic nature and power: and this new consciousness gradually burst the old wine-skins of Jewish legalism.

Here comes in *the significance of the Day of Pentecost*, with its outpouring of the Spirit. It brought a new sense of personal relationship with their Lord, as the exalted Head of God's own people, the nucleus of a converted and regenerate Israel. Such was their conception, still on national lines, of the Community of spiritual or eternal life which soon came to be known simply as "the Church," the congregation of God's Messianic people on the basis of faith in Jesus as the Christ. All their *theology moved round these two poles*, the spiritual or true Messiahship of Jesus—the giver of the Messianic Spirit promised in Joel (Ac. 216f.,33–36)—and the Messianic community or fellowship of "the saints of the Most High," spoken of in Dan. 718 as the possessors of the Kingdom of heaven and symbolised by the figure of "one like unto a Son of Man." The bond between these two spiritual facts was as close as that between head and body, which together make up one living unity of thought, will, and action. This bond was an experimental one, what the NT denotes by "holy Spirit," the Divine dynamic energy, pregnant with all the potencies of "spiritual" or supernatural life, which passed, as in the nervous system of a human organism, from Head to body, animating and controlling all the members and constituting the whole the mystic or spiritual Messianic organism, humanity indwelt by God. As a rule this is the meaning of the phrase "Holy Spirit," without the article in the Greek (as in Ac. 192) or even with it (as in Ac. 196), where the phenomenal aspects of the Divine action are in mind. This sense is implied by physical metaphors like "poured forth," "fallen upon," "given to," or "received by" believers (*e.g.* Ac. 233, 815–18). Such a mode of thought recurs again and again in religious revivals, among the first Franciscans, the "Spirituals" of the Reformation period, and the early Quakers. George Fox's *Journal* is full of picturesque realistic phrases like "the Lord's power broke forth," "those that were in the power." So when on one occasion he "was moved to pray," "the Lord's power was so great that the house seemed to be shaken"; and again "the Lord's power and glory shone over all."

It was such *manifest Divine inspiration*, as derived from Christ on occasion of confessing His Name in the definitive act of self-committal in baptism to His saving Lordship, that was originally conceived to admit the believer to the corporate salvation which was the heritage of the holy people or Church of God and His Christ. It was thus at once the sign or "seal" of Divine ownership (such as was placed on slaves as human property) and the "earnest" or pledge (Eph. 1 13f.) of the individual's share in the inheritance to be fully entered on at the final manifestation of the kingdom, when Christ the Head should Himself be manifested in glory. Such language came to be transferred, with momentous consequences, to the *rite of baptism* itself, as usually, though not necessarily (Ac. 8 16, 1044–47), the concomitant of this Divine experience. Originally the "gift of the Spirit," in speaking with

[1] F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 37f.

rapt utterance ("with a tongue"), ratified with sensible Divine proof the confession with the mouth, "Jesus is Lord," as true to the heart (Rom. 10$_9$); and so confirmed faith and added to its triumphant assurance. Thus it is as proof that faith was "cleansing" (Ac. 11$_{17}$, 15$_{8}$f.) or regenerative, even in Samaritans and uncircumcised believers like Cornelius, that reference is made to the "falling" on them of the Spirit. Later the baptismal water came in certain circles to be thought of as itself conferring spiritual cleansing or Holy Spirit, and that even where no prior or concomitant faith existed in the recipients, namely infants of Christian parents. This was a natural misunderstanding of the original experimental genius of the rite as "washing of regeneration and Holy Spirit renewal" (Tit. 3$_5$). As a rite, it was a formal cleansing "through water-washing," with use of a sacred formula (Eph. 5$_{26}$); and so marked the *definite line between the new community* of Messianic salvation by repentance and faith (Ac. 2$_{38}$, Heb. 6$_1$f.) and all outside. This is vividly realised on the mission-field to-day, where the rite is known actually to exclude some individuals in true spiritual union with the Head by faith, but unprepared to suffer for the sake of corporate Christian life, *i.e.* the vitalising "Holy Spirit" atmosphere of a Divine-human community. The privilege of breathing this atmosphere of corporate salvation or Divine influence came as a birthright to the children of those within the New Covenant—as, on a lower level, to those born within the Old. In the one case as in the other, in keeping with general ancient ideas of religion as in the first instance a matter of the family, before one of personal faith and will, this status was sealed by a symbolic rite, whether circumcision or baptism. Strictly and in its full reality, however, the rite was relative to a personal act of spiritual adhesion or self-consecration to the covenant-relation thus typified. But in these cases of infant or probationary membership the corporate grace (Ac. 2$_{39}$) of Divine influence was thought of mainly as operating upon the will from outside through human society, as in all early education. With the adult convert, on the other hand, reception of the Spirit came under quite other conditions, those namely of self-devotion in the act of baptism. This usually issued in a wave of enthusiasm or emotion, and found vent in a peculiar utterance of like order (*glossolalia*, "speaking with tongues," see p. 648), regarded as so due to Divine influence as to prove the acceptance of the recipient with God and his real incorporation in the Messianic Church, as "baptized into one body and made to drink of one Spirit" (1 Cor. 12 13). We see, then, how central and determinative was *the experience and idea of Holy Spirit* or Divine fervour, which became the settled habit of soul and appeared in the Christian's bearing—one of overflowing joy and brotherly love—so that its lack in certain believers at Ephesus struck Paul as a living below the normal Christian level (Ac. 19$_1$f.). As such it became *the one final criterion of the right to claim membership in the Messianic society*, being, as it was, the distinctive Messianic gift, "poured forth" from Jesus as Head and proving Him Christ indeed (Ac. 2$_{33}$, 1 Cor. 12 3). "If any man have not Christ's Spirit he is none of his" (Rom. 8$_9$): if he have it, then is he a member of the Christ, *even though he be beforehand outside Israel.* Here we have the radical new fact, with its far-reaching logical issues, which opened the Kingdom of God—and so membership in its existing form on earth, the Church or congregation of Jesus the Christ—wide to all, irrespective of race and all it implies. "For through Him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father" (Eph. 2$_{18}$). Jews and non-Jews—"unclean" "sinners of the Gentiles" (Ac. 10$_{28}$, 15$_9$, Gal. 2$_{15}$), as they were by the standards of the current Jewish *Torah*—were henceforth to participate on like terms, *i.e.* simple receptivity of heart to the cleansing Holy Spirit, Messiah's gift.

At first the revolution for Jewish thought seemed too great to be credible. But slowly yet surely, as traced in the first half of Acts—here, as elsewhere, affording background and coherence to the vivid but unconnected data of the epistles—we see the prejudices of the Jewish Christians yield to the logic of Divine facts. Thus the Spirit of the Christ led them on into further applications of the principles implicit in His own historically conditioned, and therefore limited, earthly teaching, and most of all in the fact of the Cross and its issue, the Resurrection, the climax and touch-stone of all. The full meaning of it all dawned but gradually, and at first only in certain elect souls. It was Stephen the Hellenist, whose experience of the wider world of human life beyond Judaism had opened his eyes to distinguish spirit from letter, the abiding from the historic and relative even in a Divine revelation, who led the way, along lines continuous with Jesus' own prophetic idea of progressive revelation, as men were able to bear it. Stephen's Alexandrine spiritual idealism perceived in things material and institutional only symbols of what the "living oracles" of the Mosaic Law shadowed forth and the prophets made more explicit, namely the "worship in spirit and in truth" in the temple of the human heart, individual and corporate (Ac. 7$_{38}$f.,44,48ff.). Thus he was able to admit the thought that the holy place and hallowed usages of Judaism were not essential to the highest religion, Messianic religion. These things had not saved official Judaism in that age, any more than in the times of the prophets, from resisting the Holy Spirit, as it drew the soul to higher and purer worship, to a more perfect because spiritual obedience of the Law itself (51ff.). *Cf.* pp. 784f.

Now here, be it noted, there is no suggestion of any *extension of revealed religion beyond Israel*, only a deepening of its inner nature; and so far it is an error to think of Stephen as anticipating Paul. Yet in essence the result was the same. The Law as letter was for both set aside as condition of salvation: only the method differed in the two cases. With Stephen, as with the Master Himself, it was one of sublimation by emphasis on the spiritual, so that the ritual form became relative and temporary: with Paul it was by recoil, by antithesis of spirit to letter, of Grace to Law. This difference sprang from different experiences of the workings of Law upon the moral and religious consciousness. To the one its effect was mainly positive, to the other negative. Unlike Stephen, Paul had known the full bitterness and moral impotence of egoistic or self-centred effort to obey the Law in spite of the natural bias of the will of "the flesh," as crossed by the Law's prohibitions: and this coloured all his view of the Law, even as God's ordinance (Rom. 7ff.). Its function, in his experience and so in his theory, was to bring man to knowledge first of his own sinfulness and then of the fact that God's grace alone, and no mere Divine ordinance, could avail to overcome the power of "the flesh" making for sinful volitions. That is, whereas Stephen realised all that the Law could do by suggesting obedience, it was on the dark background of "what the Law could not do" (Rom. 8$_3$) to deliver man from the sin it brought to light—nay, even stimulated to conscious action—that to Paul the need of Divine grace stood forth in full reality. Owing

to his strict Pharisaic training, operating on a most exacting and sensitive conscience, one endowed too with an extraordinary power of psychological analysis, he so felt the rigid aspect of the *Torah* as letter, that he could not feel its encouraging aspect as spirit (in our modern sense), approximate obedience to which would be accepted by a merciful and forgiving God. To him, then, "through the Law" came, not righteousness, but "the knowledge of sin" (Rom. 3$_{20}$). In all this there was, no doubt, a certain one-sidedness and exaggeration of emphasis on the negative effects of the Law. Yet Paul was thereby led to detect, in the crucial instance of his own case, the limitations of Law in religion, such as the sense of sinfulness and moral impotence which it begets in the sensitive conscience, and the self-righteousness and legalism which it tends to foster in more superficially religious souls, as the human heart strives to attain righteousness "by works of the Law."

To sum up, Stephen and other Hellenistic Jews, such as Barnabas and the writer "To Hebrews," transcended "the Law of carnal ordinances" as method of salvation, by seeing in it the shadow of spiritual realities made manifest and available in Christ and His filial spirit in religion, the religion of the New Covenant written on the heart (Heb. 1rf., 10$_{1-18}$). So too, in their own more emotional and less reflective fashion, Peter and the original Palestinian disciples advanced to the freedom of the Spirit in Christ by the path of simple loyalty to the Torah in its positive aspect, as the Divinely provided way of life (like the instruction in "The Two Ways" of life and death, embodied in the "*Didaché* of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles"; *cf.* Ac. 2$_{42}$). To Paul, however, liberty and power to serve God "in newness of life," from a full heart of gratitude and love, came by a profound recoil from the Torah as law and the attitude which it fostered in "the flesh"—his sinful, self-centred nature. This amounted to *a revolution in the very principle of Judaism* as a religion: so great was the change of emphasis involved and the new value put on grace, as distinct from and prior to Law. Judaism was a religion of righteousness and fellowship with God through the medium of a Law, a body of commands and ordinances, both moral and ritual; in Christianity the historical medium, giving like concreteness to the relations of God and man as conditioned by special revelation, is a Person. Both are religions of mediation, as regards conveyance alike of Divine knowledge and Divine atonement. In the one, however, the medium is in the last resort impersonal, a legal system: in the other it is a personality, in whom the inmost spirit of the older system claims to be realised in the form most calculated to propagate itself in other persons. It is in fact the fulfilment of the hope touching its final form which was well-nigh universal in Judaism itself when Jesus came, viz. the hope of Messiah, as the medium through which the true obedience to God's will should take fuller effect. That is, Messiah himself was expected to make piety more than before a matter of Divine inspiration, God's grace consciously animating the soul with fuller Divine knowledge and loyalty, like Abraham's before the Law was given. The legal form and motive, then, would largely be transcended in such piety. This is what Paul now felt and argued. Was not the covenant of Abraham prior to that of Moses, and faith, as the soul's receptiveness towards grace, prior to works of the Law as basis of justification or acceptance with God (Rom. 4)? In this light works of obedience or loyalty to God were not causes of justification, but rather effects of the whole attitude of faith—not as orthodox belief (no true Christian sense of the term, Jas. 2$_{17}$ff.), but as personal trust in God. This faith was to *living* works of righteousness, works not "dead" for want of motive acceptable to God (Heb. 6$_{1}$), as root to fruits springing therefrom and proving the vitality of their root. Such faith was the human volitional side of what on the Divine side is "the Spirit" (Gal. 5$_{6,16,22}$, Jas. 2$_{20-26}$): and such "fruit of the Spirit" constituted progressive holiness, the sanctification of human character which meant habitual reaffirmation in will of the inspired attitude of justifying faith. Thus justification contained implicit in it the germ of sanctification (Rom. 6$_{1-11}$, Ac. 26$_{18}$); and sanctification made explicit as character the regenerate and loyal will, already present in the justified or forgiven. Sanctification, too, as the transformation of the moral personality (Rom. 12rf.), was "by faith" as to method.

Such was the Pauline gospel of Grace, operative through faith in Christ, as all-sufficient and therefore also universal in scope. Where the conditions of faith existed, there its salvation at once extended. But experience soon showed that faith sprang up in Gentile breasts no less than in Jewish, and therefore a share in the Messianic Kingdom was accorded them: they were "fellow-heirs" with the saints, members of Christ's congregation, the Church of God. All this was *clear to Paul, but not at first to his fellow Jewish Christians*, even the original Apostles. Was there no longer a place for the Mosaic Law in the Messianic kingdom, and therewith for distinction in sanctity between those who observed and those who did not observe its precepts? Could Jews eat with Gentiles on a basis of equality, even as fellow-believers in Jesus Messiah and sharers in the Messianic "holy Spirit"? Was there not at least a more perfect holiness to be attained by Gentile brethren who went on to add Moses to Christ? This was the plausible plea answered by Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians (especially 2$_{11-31}$); and very searching is the insight with which he urges the counter-view that Christ is the full realisation of all that Moses represented, and so "the end of the Law for righteousness to every believer." To add Moses to Christ for completeness' sake was to "build up again" what one had virtually confessed to be in ruins and effete, to render Christ's Cross gratuitous, and to put oneself, and indeed Him, in a false position (Gal. 2$_{16-21}$), as if a slur had been cast upon the Law by relying solely on Christ for justification. No, justification and holiness were all of a piece. If the one was by faith, as proved by the gift of the Spirit, then the other must grow organically out of the same vital root. If life itself came by Spirit, then by Spirit (not Law) was "walk" or conduct to be guided (Gal. 5$_{25}$). Here we have the profound *religious spring of Paul's Christian ethics*, as something new in principle—spiritual union with Christ by faith—and in method, namely loyalty to the pressure of His Spirit, alike in prompting to action and in control of the impulses of "the flesh." Throughout, the norm or pattern, spiritually discerned, was Christ Himself, the Christian's Law. The ethics of Law passed into the ethics of an ideal type, invested with the power which was due to its having become a reality under the historical conditions of space and time. For those who had yielded themselves to this Divine ideal Divinely realised in man, holiness meant simply the reassertion in detail of the consecrated attitude to the Divine will as embodied in Christ (*cf.* Heb. 10$_{7,10}$, 12$_{14}$, Jn. 17$_{19}$, 1 Jn. 3$_{1,3}$).

In much of all this, on its theoretic side, Paul stood

alone, owing to his special experience of the Law, which affected his theology at other points also, notably his theory of *redemption by the Cross*. Paul's view that "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the (Mosaic) Law by becoming a curse for us," since *the Law* treated crucifixion as in itself an accursed death (Gal. 313), seems peculiar to himself. He saw in the fact a proof, not indeed that Jesus was an actual scapegoat—as some Gentiles appear to have thought, in terms of pagan analogy (1 Cor. 123)—but that the Law, *relative to whose standards* Jesus appeared as if accursed of God, was itself set aside. For God's vindication of His Holy One had, in fact, cancelled the Law's inference from such a death, by the glory of the Resurrection (Rom. 14; *cf.* Ac. 236). The Epistle to the Hebrews viewed the death of Christ as annulling the Old Covenant and inaugurating the New in rather a different sense (915, 1018), in terms of religious access to God in worship, with a conscience cleansed from sin by a really, because spiritually, holy and effectual sacrifice of pure and precious life (914, 1022), the life of an utterly loyal will (10sff.,14). The thought of 1 P., which represents the central line of Jewish Christian development in a simpler form, is similar to this (12,18f.), but moves on the lines of Is. 53 (1 P. 222ff.). The like is true of Rev. (15f., 59f.) and of the Johannine writings generally. But while *the Apostolic Church* as a whole did not share Paul's own theory of the Law, in practice it *advanced step by step to a position touching the Law* which made its more special precepts, especially its ritual and ceremonial customs, binding only on Jews and full proselytes, and on the last only in certain primary things deep-rooted in Jewish sentiment (Acts 1519ff.). In principle the Mosaic Law was treated as essentially fulfilled in Christ: neither "through Moses to Christ" nor "Christ safeguarded by Moses" was, even by the end of the period covered in the Book of Acts, upheld as a watchword save in limited circles of Judaistic Christianity. This result was not generally reached by a consistent theory, as in Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews; but rather by a vital instinct, on the basis of the incontrovertible fact of the Messianic Spirit poured forth beyond the bounds of life under the *Torah*. The new Torah was "the mind of Christ," as spirit and life, which, by making love to God and man the touchstone of the Divine will, set men free from "bondage to the Law," and to the technical casuistry based on its detailed precepts, where moral and ritual obedience became confused.

The *picture of the early Jerusalem Church* in Ac. 1–4 is suffused with the holy enthusiasm of the Spirit already described. Its special fruit was a wonderful "fellowship" (*koinōnia*), a sense of community of feeling and interest, in the things both of soul and body. "They continued steadfastly in fellowship—in the breaking of bread and the prayers" accompanying. Unity and solidarity, being "together" and "of one soul," was their very spirit: and it found its chief expression in breaking the one loaf in gatherings of a domestic type, with open-hearted joy in each other as truly brethren, sons of the same heavenly Father in Christ, the Lord and Elder Brother. The sort of prayers which hallowed such table-fellowship—the Christian form of what already existed among the Jews as a most sacred bond—may be gathered from the very primitive specimen that has come down to us in the *Didaché* or "Teaching of the Apostles" (*cf.* Ac. 242), as traditionally preserved in Syria in the latter part of the apostolic age.

> "First as touching the Cup: 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy Vine (people) of Thy Servant (lit. child; *cf.* Ac. 313, 427) David, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy Servant: to Thee be the glory for ever.' But as touching the broken bread: 'We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy Servant: to Thee be the glory for ever. As this broken bread was scattered (as grain) upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom; for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.' . . . And after being filled, give thanks thus: 'We give thanks to Thee, holy Father, for Thy holy Name, which Thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy Servant: to Thee be the glory for ever. Thou, O All-sovereign Master, madest all things for Thy Name's sake. Thou gavest men food and drink to enjoy, that they might give thanks to Thee; but on us Thou didst graciously bestow spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Jesus Thy Servant. Before all things we give thanks to Thee that Thou art mighty. . . . Remember, O Lord, Thy Church, to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in Thy love; and gather her together from the four winds, her the sanctified, into Thy Kingdom which Thou preparedst for her: for Thine is the power and the glory for ever. Let Grace come, and let the world pass away—Hosanna to the God of David . . . Our Lord, come (Maranatha). Amen.'"

Here we have, particularly in the final ejaculatory petitions, voicing expectant longing for the Kingdom as about to break in upon the present world-order, the authentic note of primitive Christian piety (compare the Lord's prayer). We find associated with glad faith in God, revealed in His Name of Holy Father through Jesus His anointed Servant (a term taken from Is. 40ff., as in Ac. 3f.), reiterated mention of God's Church or Vine, His people consecrated to the Divine love, and therein to be perfected. These were doubtless the great themes of common prayer in the "fellowship" and worship of the brotherhood (*cf.* 1 P. 2 17, 59), as "in one spirit" it used its free "access to the Father" through Messiah, its Head. In some circles the *sense of mystic communion with Messiah Himself*, through the Spirit, was more marked than in others; witness the Epistles of Paul, 1 P. and 1 Jn. Out of the consciousness that "he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit" with Him, grew the mystical doctrine of the Church as the universal Body of Christ, since in it His personality was embodied and through it acted, as He had once lived in and through His individual body on earth (*cf.* Ac. 11). Hence the profound conception of the Head and members as together making up the complete Christ (1 Cor. 1212, Eph. 111, 22f.), even as the Vine and its branches (Jn. 15). "He that keepeth His commandments abideth in Him, and He in him" (1 Jn. 324). But as time went on, the sense that Christ was not only the medium of the knowledge of God which is the soul's life, but also embodied that revelation in such a way as to be "our life" in principle and its abiding source for mankind, grew upon the Christian consciousness at large. Paul cries, "I live, yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me":

" I live in virtue of faith derived from the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me " (Gal. 220) : " To me to live means Christ " (Phil. 121). Such indwelling of Christ through faith comes about by the strengthening of the inward man through God's Spirit, and implies rooting of personality in love as the very principle of the Divine or Christ life in man (Eph. 316–19). Here lies the spring of Christian ethics, the loving, Christlike " walk " of God's children (Eph. 51).

In Christ, then, " the Life " Divine had been " manifested " as God's visible " word " to man (1 Jn. 1if.). This Life had ever been the Light of souls; but had now become fully incarnate as " grace and truth " in Jesus Christ (Jn. 14,14,17). Thus Christ is identified with the Word (*Logos*), the principle of Divine self-expression or manifestation both within Godhead and to finite created being (Jn. 11–5). This growing apprehension of what Christ is for the inner life of believers, especially in their collective being, was the real or religious source of *the development of Christology*, the theory of the true nature of the historic Christ as experienced by faith. It takes various forms even in the NT, but rises ever higher in range of significance. It loses more and more of local, national, temporal associations, as the Jesus of history, whose earthly ministry was in terms of Palestine under the Emperor Tiberius, grew upon believers of differing temperament and culture as ' the Christ ' of faith, directly related to the eternal and universal being of God. Parallel with this deepening experience and thought touching Jesus the Christ, the object of faith, in whose Sonship God stood for ever revealed as Father (Jn. 148–10), went growing insight into the Divine presence and working involved in this subjective Christian revelation within the soul, what was known at first as " holy Spirit," or Divine enthusiasm. This too was brought more into organic relation with the idea of God, and was viewed as the manifestation of His immanent operation upon and within man's spiritual receptivity, the soul in its higher aspects. Thus the Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit, was conceived in a more personal and less purely dynamic way than in the simple beginnings of Christian reflection. All this is summed up in the apostolic benediction, " The grace of our Lord Jesus and the love of God and the communion of (due to) the Holy Spirit be with you all; " also in the threefold baptismal Name which came at length into use, in place of the earlier and simpler form " unto the Name of the Lord Jesus," with some such summary confession as " I believe that Jesus is the Christ " (or " Lord," in the case of pure Gentiles, Rom. 109, 1 Cor. 123, Eph. 45).

We have seen already how central was the sense of the new life as one of loyal *service to God*, in grateful love for redemptive interposition in His Messiah, and especially for Christ's atoning and reconciling act of self-devotion. By this, as appropriated by faith, His people were forgiven, purified, and consecrated in heart and will to holy obedience on a new level of filial relationship and spiritual anointing. This took effect in detail in daily life: not only in the moral " walk," which gave essential expression to the life of grace within the soul, in the fruits or graces of character due to the promptings of the Spirit; but also in specific worship offered to God as homage for what He was as revealed in Creation and Redemption, and as means to the communion with Him wherein is the soul's highest bliss. The idea of such high acts of worship is seen in the ascription of praise to Christ as " unto him that loveth us and loosed us from our sins by his blood, and he made us a kingdom, priests unto his God and Father " (Rev. 15f., *cf.* 59f.). That is, Christians as such, the Church, fulfilled in spirit and in truth the ideal destiny of Israel as " a people for God's own possession," at once His spiritual temple and His holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ (1 P. 25,9). Such sacrifices were acts of love; first to God, the giver of all, in " the sacrifice of praise, the fruit of lips making mention of His Name " (so the eucharistic prayer of the *Didaché*, where it is also called the Church's sacrifice); and next to man as made in the image of God (*cf.* Jas. 214–18, 39, 1 Jn. 316f., 420f.). " To do good and to communicate (of one's goods) forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased " (Heb. 1315f.). The new sense of the sacredness of humanity as moral personality, for the saving of which in each and all Christ had been content to consecrate Himself even unto death, deepened the meaning of every form of beneficence, making *philanthropy the very ritual of God's service* (Jas. 127). Naturally this took effect primarily within " the household of faith," between whose members " fellowship " was so constant and intimate; but it overflowed also to " those without " in all forms of practical good-will, and especially in efforts to draw them within the Brotherhood, the sphere of present and future salvation. Illustrations of all this occur in passages like Rom. 12–14, Eph. 41–6, 17–32, 51–69, and 1 P. *passim*. The only limits to the application of this attitude of universal good-will and sacrificial service were those due to the limited temporal horizon. The watchword, " the end of all things is at hand," fostered intensity, but hindered breadth of scope in social service. Hence the reform of the structure of society—the institution of slavery, the degradation of labour, and the whole economic and civic situation—lay beyond their historical horizon. But short of this, the inherent dynamic of the Christian faith as making for amelioration of all that causes sorrow and suffering in human life, and for the fuller realisation of the Divine capacity in manhood, had free course and was glorified. Self-sacrifice for such ends was part of the " living sacrifice " to God of the whole person, gifts, and possessions, as held in trust for God the Owner and Redeemer of all. This was the prime motive of *the element of asceticism* sanctioned in the NT, viz. the voluntary sacrifice even of things normally allowable and part of the Divine order of life, for the greater glory of God and good of man during the urgent crisis of the Kingdom's coming. In a word, it was eschatological in motive. What goes beyond this, asceticism for its own sake as a form of penitential life, acceptable to God just because it runs counter to the natural instincts of human nature, this negative form of virtue is not approved but rather censured as on radically wrong lines (Col. 220–23). Even as regards the true type of self-sacrifice, for positive spiritual results to oneself or to others, none must judge his brother's conscience in the matter: " to his own Master he stands or falls," so long as he does all in love and from full conviction of faith (Rom. 14, 1 Cor. 7f.). A specially spiritual form of self-sacrifice is that which Paul describes as ruling his own conduct, when he waived his own rights and privileges in the gospel for the sake of those whom he would fain win (1 Cor. 9).

At the root of all this life of service to God and man, in reverence and love, lay the idea of Divine grace as the source of all human ability to do aught, apart from sin. *All life was a stewardship of gifts*, entrusted to each by the Creator for His uses, and finding their highest and final exercise in the organism of the

Kingdom, that great realm of co-operation for the perfecting of all, in which the glory of God shall be made manifest to created intelligences (*cf.* Eph. 3¹⁰). "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven": that is the sum of the matter, and the end controlling Christian life throughout. In particular it governs the *organisation of the fellowship of saints*, the corporate life of the Church, which is the temporal form of the Kingdom so far as realised. This organising principle, that "gifts of grace" are given for the growth and building up of true Church life, comes out clearly in Rom. 12³–13, where by imperceptible transition Paul passes from what we should call ecclesiastical to purely moral ministries: yet as all are within the fellowship of the saints, they are all traced to the initiative of the Spirit—"dividing to each one severally even as He wills" (Rom. 12⁵f., 1 Cor. 12¹¹). The gifts qualifying for special or representative ministry in the Church, both in church meeting for mutual edification and worship and outside it, are set forth in this light in 1 Cor. 12, 14. These chapters are strikingly connected for Paul—though at first sight disconnected, as it seems to our ill-adjusted vision—by the psalm of Love (13), as that which gives moral value and reality to the use of all gifts. Similarly Eph. 4⁷–¹⁶ shows at a more advanced stage the development of *offices* out of "gifts," through habitual exercise of their *functions*, with the sanction—first informally, then formally given—of the Church (1 Cor. 16¹⁵f., 1 Th. 5¹²f.). Such corporate exercise of the discernment and empowering will of the Spirit-bearing Body of Christ touching the representative functions of certain of its members, operated both at large and locally, according to the ministry in question. When the ministry of gift was in some sense to the Church at large—as with apostles,[1] prophets, and inspired teachers—such recognition was informal and not expressed in an act of ordination or permanent setting apart; and so it seems to have remained, as long as these higher ministries resting on manifest "gifts of grace" (*charismata*) survived, *i.e.*, roughly speaking, during the properly primitive, missionary stage of the Church's foundation. Where, on the contrary, the ministry was local in character, confined to the pastoral oversight and humbler service of a single body of Christians (Phil. 1¹, 1 Tim. 3¹–¹⁰), the church in a city and its dependent district, the recognition soon came to take form in definite appointment, with solemn setting apart (Ac. 14²³) through prayer and laying on of hands (according to Jewish usage). In this the representatives of the wider life of the Church, the higher *charismatic* ministry, doubtless took part when present, as was usually the case in the nature of things, they being the primary missionaries of the Gospel. But their co-operation was not held essential, though it was naturally the rule in practice; as on the mission-field to-day the co-operation of the missionary is usual, even among those who regard the choice and action of the local church as alone requisite to valid commission for a representative ministry. Thus in the *Didaché* we read, "Elect for yourselves overseers (bishops) and deacons worthy of the Lord . . .: for they too minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers"—those more strictly "spiritual" persons who were not themselves appointed, their "gift" being manifest and their ministry of "the Word" being with the special authority of the Spirit.

[1] In the wider sense not confined to the Twelve, but including, besides Paul and Barnabas (Ac. 14⁴), Silas and perhaps Timothy (1 Th. 2⁶), also missionary pioneers like Andronicus and Junias (Rom. 16⁷); *cf.* Eph. 2²⁰, 3⁵, Rev. 2². *Cf.* p. 646.

Nevertheless there was *no hard and fast line* between the ministry of the Word and of practical pastoral oversight: both rested on "gift," as we see from 1 Cor. 12²⁸.[1] Pastors had also the "gift" of teachers, though in a lesser degree (Eph. 4¹¹, Ac. 20¹⁷,²⁸,³², 1 Tim. 5¹⁷). In course of time, as this, the most distinctive form of prophetic or *charismatic* gift faded, while the administrative and sympathetic gifts grew in importance in daily church life, those who had in a measure the former qualities were by preference appointed to the cure of souls and bodies. With this fusion of the two types of ministry went another and momentous change. For whereas to "prophets and teachers" fell originally the highest spiritual functions, such as that of offering, as specially inspired men, the prayer that uttered the corporate eucharistic adoration and self-oblation of the Church—so that they are called "the chief priests," acting for the priestly race of Christians in their "sacrifice of praise"; the *Didaché* implies that already (*c.* 80–100) this function was passing to the local pastorate, where the older *charismatic* type was dying out, and quotes a typical sample of such prayer, in case no prophet be present. A like change, no doubt, went on touching the prayer which accompanied laying on of hands in the ordination of ministers of the local church as distinct from the more charismatic ministry. For in the first days all spontaneous prayer was thought of as inspired (1 Cor. 14 *passim*): which explains why this form of public ministry was open to women even where reflective discussion and teaching was not (1 Cor. 11⁴f., 14³⁴–³⁶*, 1 Tim. 2¹²).

On the whole, then, we see that the first days were marked by an inspired fervour or enthusiasm, a sense of "holy Spirit" moving upon and in God's Messianic people, both corporately and in its several members, for the profit of all in mind and will. In and through the Spirit the presence of Christ became very real to Christians; but this fact was not reduced to any coherent and uniform theology, any more than was the saving fact of Christ's vicarious death for sin, to which the forgiveness of sins that gave men settled peace with God was felt to be due. The vital experiences were too vivid and self-sufficing to be subjected to much reflective analysis; nor had the first disciples great gifts in the latter direction. Even Paul did not push his speculative interpretation very far, though he worked out the doctrine of the Spirit on its ethical side, as the spring of the Christian graces and character, with wonderful insight and fulness. Here as elsewhere the Epistle to the Romans is typical of his thought. In the earlier chapters (1–5) he shows how righteousness with God, going down to the roots of the soul as a matter of spiritual attitude to God, comes through pure trust in Christ, as God's righteousness objectified in a saving Person and His crucial act of death to sin as man for men. Next he exhibits how this is subjectively appropriated by the will in habitual conduct, through the prevenient and inspiring grace of the Spirit, traceable in the Godward aspirations which are the very soul of prayer (6ff., especially 8²⁶–²⁹). Finally, the process of being thus "conformed to the image of God's Son" is set forth in concrete detail in a series of injunctions full of spiritual insight and religious appeal (12–14). In this process of obedience to God, who by the Spirit "worketh in us to will and to do unto his good pleasure" (Phil. 2¹²f.), believers "work out" or make real the salvation

[1] "Helps, governments" (or guidances): note the original order (*cf.* 1 Cor. 16¹⁵f.) in these functions, since love was the thing of chief value; *cf.* Mt 20²⁶–²⁸. On the whole subject see pp. 645f.

already latent in the new Christ-life implanted through and in faith. That is, the Spirit is made the vital link between the objective theology and the experimental religion of holy living: and this recurs in most of Paul's epistles, even in their very structure, notably in Eph., Col., and Phil. Nor is Paul daunted by the way in which false ideas, due to pre-Christian training, hinder and hamper the working of the Spirit in "babes in Christ," loyal though they be at heart. Such erroneous conceptions, erroneous because "not after Christ"—not germane to His "mind" or general attitude to God and man and their mutual relations—were either Jewish or pagan. Of the former type we have said enough. Of the latter we get most hints in 1 Cor., in the dualistic and ascetic views of matter implied in Col. and the Pastoral Epp., and in the more full-blown form of Docetism (p. 916) in the Johannine Epp. In all of these phenomena we see the reaction of Hellenistic religion, or of Greek thought as modified by Oriental, upon Christianity. Some think that its influence is to be detected even in certain conceptions through which Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Fourth Gospel, set forth either the sacraments or the Person of Christ. This is a very debatable topic, which cannot here be discussed in detail. That Hellenistic terminology was adopted by these writers is fairly evident; but to say that it really determined their own thought is quite a different matter. All of them remained radically Hebraic in religious standpoint, feeling, and ideas; Paul most so of all. Yet the growing use of Græco-Roman culture in the expression at least of Christianity is another element in the de-Judaizing of the Gospel, other aspects of which have already occupied our attention; and this process was necessary to the fulfilment of its catholic spirit and destiny.

Throughout the NT the Spirit appears as pre-eminently the source of brotherly love, and so not only of joy but also of unity. But this also implied order, through self-restraint for the profit of fellow-members in the one Body of the Christ—a principle hard to harmonise in practice with the strong spontaneity of the same Spirit's impulses towards fervid self-expression. Paul's epistles show how patiently and wisely he worked for the attainment of this harmony (1 Cor. 14 26–33), through "wisdom" or the sympathetic insight of love. Within the limits of the NT itself "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" remained in honour, although self-assertive abuses under the cloak of the Spirit's authority were already tending to cause some relapse in certain circles to the law of official order and routine. The Apostolic age was, above all things, the age of the Spirit: and the NT writings must be read in the light of this fact.

Literature.—See the bibliographies on pp. 651, 670f., 775.

ORGANISATION, CHURCH MEETINGS, DISCIPLINE, SOCIAL AND ETHICAL PROBLEMS

By THE EDITOR

On some of the topics here discussed reference should also be made to the article on "The Religious Background of the New Testament," which deals largely with forces and principles, whereas we are now concerned with their concrete manifestations.

Organisation.—The subject is encumbered by numerous difficulties—scantiness of information, uncertainties as to date and authorship of documents, problems as to source and history of terminology. In our study of the crucial terms trouble is created by their fluidity. Do they express function or definitely fixed office in any given case? and how did the function become hardened into an office?

The early Christians lived in constant anticipation of Christ's imminent return, so that their arrangements bore a provisional character, and no permanent organisation was thought of. The constitution grew in response to present necessities rather than by deliberate plan. Types of organisation familiar outside Christianity were naturally followed by the Christian Churches. Jewish Christians would follow Jewish models; Gentile Christians would be likely to introduce Greek or Roman forms of government. This was the case in other spheres than Church organisation. The influence of the earlier associations and modes of thought in which the converts had been trained, necessarily conditioned very largely the form which their Christianity took. This was not a matter of deliberate policy so much as an unconscious process, the new stream flowing in the familiar channels. Yet we must not underrate the contribution made by the genius of the new religion; the new stream had volume and velocity enough not merely to widen and deepen old channels, but to cut new channels of its own.

It is a fact of immense importance and significance that Jesus Himself created no organisation. He left the Church free to follow its own development, so that the body which it assumed might be created by the spirit which inspired it. Great value thus attaches to the freedom of Christianity from a fixed constitution. The genius of the religion was not fettered, but was left pliable, so that it could freely embody itself in any type of organisation which varying conditions might suggest. The appointment of the apostles was not the institution of a fixed order destined to permanence. Their functions were to accompany Jesus, to watch Him at work, to imbibe His teaching and His Spirit, and thus to form the nucleus of a society of His followers and to treasure up His teaching and transmit it to the Church. After the Resurrection the further duty rested upon them of bearing witness to it. All these functions were in their very nature incommunicable. They depended for the possibility of their exercise on personal acquaintance with Jesus (*cf.* Ac. 1 21f.). We cannot assume that in the primitive Church they were entrusted with powers of government, but they were the natural leaders and inevitably held a position of high moral authority.

According to the narrative in Acts, the first formal step towards an organisation was the appointment of the Seven (Ac. 6). The apostles refused to be distracted from their proper spiritual work to the serving of tables. It is uncertain whether the Seven should be spoken of as deacons. Later, without any account of their appointment, we find elders prominent in the church of Jerusalem (Ac. 11 30, 15 2,4,6,22f., 16 4, 21 18). Subsequently we read of their appointment in the churches of the Gentile mission (Ac. 14 23, *cf.* 20 17).

In view of the later date of Ac. it is well to build as far as possible on the evidence of the Pauline Epistles, which are our earliest evidence and contemporary writings. Paul gives various lists of functionaries within the Church (1 Cor. 12 28*, Rom. 12 6–8, Eph. 4 11). These lists do not agree. The organisation was still fluid, and it may have varied in different centres (*cf.* p. 646). His epistles also contain references to officers who are not mentioned in these lists, from which we may conclude that the lists themselves, even when all three are taken together, are not to be regarded as complete. Ministry was primarily a matter of spiritual gift. No special appointment by the Church was needed in such cases, anyone who had a gift was at liberty to exercise it. The Church had the right to prove the spirits, in other words, to test the genuineness and source of the endowment claimed by any individual; but where the tests were satisfied, the exercise of the gift did not require the official recognition implied in appointment to an office. While it was the duty of the Church to prove the spirits, it was equally its duty not to quench the Spirit (1 Th. 5 19), in other words not to suppress the exercise, by anyone who possessed it, of a spiritual gift, the genuineness of which had been acknowledged. Naturally this led to certain practical difficulties such as are dealt with by Paul in 1 Cor. 12, 14. There, while Paul admits the real inspiration of the Spirit in the utterances of those who prophesied or spoke with tongues, he insists that the exercise of the gifts must be regulated by the consideration of what tended to edification, and that the exceptional gifts such as speaking with tongues were not to be valued for their exceptional character, and indeed not even to be exercised in church meetings at all except an interpreter were present, while other directions are given to secure the decorum of the services.

Two types of ministry were necessarily present in the Early Church, the ministry of teaching and the ministry of administration. Both of these were in the first instance charismatic (p. 643), that is, the right to exercise them depended on the possession of spiritual gifts. Naturally the charismatic character came out

more prominently in the meetings for worship than in business meetings.

Among those enumerated as set in the Church by God, we have in the first instance apostles (Ac. 1$^{21-26}$*). The Gospels use the term variously as follows. Mk. employs it with reference to the preaching and healing ministry in the villages. Elsewhere he speaks of the Twelve. Similarly Mt., though his use of "apostles" is even less prominent. Jn. speaks of the Twelve, never of the apostles. Luke's language conforms to subsequent usage. The term, however, received a wider range of meaning. The case of Paul was somewhat exceptional. His direct call from Christ placed him, all unworthy though he felt himself to be, on a level with the Twelve. Of the wider use we have the following examples: Barnabas (Ac. 14^{14}); probably Andronicus and Junias (Rom. 16^{7}); possibly James the Lord's brother (Gal. 1^{19}, RV, otherwise RVm); Epaphroditus (Phil. 2^{25}); Silas and Timothy (1 Th. 2^{6}). In 1 Cor. 15$^{5-7}$ the "Twelve" and "all the apostles" are apparently distinguished. 2 Cor. 11^{13} and Rev. 2^{2} suggest that the number of apostles must have been somewhat considerable. This is implied in the *Didaché*, where it is presupposed that the churches may receive visits from apostles, and precautions are taken against their being imposed on by pretenders. In the larger sense the apostles were apparently missionaries to the non-Christian part of the population. The teachers presumably instructed their hearers in the facts of the Gospel history and in the doctrine and ethics of Christianity, and also looked after the catechumens. The position of the evangelist is obscure. Perhaps his special function also was to give instruction in the Gospel history, and he may have differed from the teacher simply in the fact that, like the apostle, he travelled about, whereas the teacher settled in a particular church. On the ministry exercised by the prophets see pp. 647f.

Those who had gifts which qualified them to minister as apostles, prophets, and teachers, were naturally less likely to find their sphere in administration than in speaking the Word. But some had a special charisma of administration, and to them there fell the duty of attending to the business side of the church's life. In 1 Cor. 12^{28} Paul includes among the gifts he enumerates, "governments." The word (*kubernesis*) properly refers to the steering of a ship, and it means here the ability to guide the church in its business affairs. Organising and executive ability was just as much a gift as the power to prophesy or speak with tongues. Similarly in Rom. 12^{8}, in a context which speaks of "the gifted," he includes the "proistamenos." This seems not to be an official title here, any more than in 1 Th. 5$^{12-15}$. It simply refers to those who "take the lead" in church affairs. They may, like the household of Stephanas, which seems to have held a similar position at Corinth (1 Cor. 16^{15}f.), have sometimes consisted of the earliest converts, but whether early or late they would be marked out by the qualities for leadership that they exhibited in the church.

Beyond such vague references we have no allusion in the Pauline epistles to any office-bearers entrusted with the government of the church and the administration of its affairs till we come to Phil. 1^{1}, where we read of "bishops and deacons." This is probably Paul's latest epistle, and the phrase indicates that the organisation was hardening into definite shape. It would be possible to translate "those that have oversight and those that minister." The terms, however, are more probably terms of office than of function.

The bishops have usually been identified with the presbyters, and on strong grounds. The terms seem to be used interchangeably in various passages, and the logical connexion is broken if a difference is asserted (Ac. 20^{17,28}, Tit. 1^{5,7}, probably 1 P. 5^{1}f.). The bishops of 1 Tim. 3$^{1-7}$ are apparently identical with the presbyters of 5$^{17-19}$; and observe that there were several bishops at Philippi (Phil. 1^{1}). So in 1 Clement the office of the deposed presbyters is spoken of as bishopric. The writer does not mention presbyters and bishops together as if they were distinct, but passes freely from one to the other. Early writers also held that bishops and presbyters were originally identical. Space forbids any exposition or discussion of the chief rival hypothesis, the Hatch-Harnack theory, but probably it should not be preferred.

We have, then, towards the close of the apostolic age, two orders in the Church, the bishops or presbyters, and the deacons. At a later point the twofold became a threefold order by the emergence of the monarchical episcopate. The threefold order as it meets us in Ignatius (*c.* A.D. 115) consisted of the bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The bishop was the head of the Christian church in a city, town, or village. A plurality of churches in a single locality was unheard of. Such a thing as diocesan episcopacy was entirely unknown. All three orders existed in the limits of a single church, of which the bishop was the pastor. Moreover, even in Ignatius' own time, the transition had been only partially accomplished. If his letter to the Romans is genuine, it is noteworthy that he gives no indication in it of the existence of the monarchical episcopate. It is remarkable that there is no reference in the letter to a bishop of Rome. In the next place the vehemence with which Ignatius asserts his position points to the fact that the new state of things was winning its way only against determined opposition. At an earlier period we find no trace of the monarchical episcopate, except, possibly, in the case of James at Jerusalem, whose position rested on blood relationship to our Lord, and was quite exceptional. Timothy and Titus were not bishops but apostolic delegates. It has frequently been supposed that the angels of the churches in the Apocalypse should be regarded as bishops. This view, though still supported by Zahn and J. Weiss, is generally abandoned (Rev. 1^{20}*). The rise of episcopacy has been traced to the apostle John during his last years in Asia; but we have no early evidence for this view, and against it we have to set the very significant fact that Ignatius never claims apostolic sanction for the monarchical episcopate. It is clear that matters moved much more slowly in some parts of the Church than in others. See further p. 643.

A few words must be added on the relation of churches to each other. The most serious problem arose with reference to terms of intercommunion between Jewish and Gentile Christians. The general question is dealt with at length elsewhere (pp. 769f.), but some points affecting our special subject may be added. The incident of Titus at Jerusalem makes it plain that Paul entirely refused to submit on the question of principle; yet, while he vehemently asserted the independence of his apostleship and the validity of the revelation he had received, he strenuously endeavoured to keep his churches in touch with the church of Judæa. He did this first of all by consulting the apostles on the question of circumcision and by his acceptance of the decisions reached by the church meeting at Jerusalem. It would probably be a mistake to regard the term "decrees" used in Ac. 16^{4} as implying any right on the part of the church at Jerusalem to legislate for

the other churches. The term need mean no more than resolutions passed by the meeting; and the weight they possessed was not conferred by any right to command, but by the moral influence and authority of the mother church, especially by that church in consultation with Paul and Barnabas. In another way Paul displayed his anxiety to keep the churches of his mission in touch with the Jerusalem church, by the collection he instituted for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. The importance he attached to it was due not simply to its philanthropic value, but to its value as a demonstration of the affection and sympathy entertained for the mother church throughout the Pauline mission. By his visits to Jerusalem also, especially by his last visit paid at the risk of his life, he sought to maintain friendly relations with it.

But the churches were independent of each other and autonomous. No church possessed authority over any other, nor was there any central body composed of representatives of the various churches to control them. Lest, however, this independence should take undesirable forms, Paul expressed a strong conviction that local idiosyncrasies should be curbed by deference to the general custom of the churches (1 Cor. 417, 1116, 1433,36), and he claims an apostolic authority in a church he has founded (1 Cor. 419–21, 53f., 1134b, 161; 2 Cor. 29, 108, 132,10; 2 Th. 314).

The Church Meetings.—Luke records that the primitive community in Jerusalem assembled in the upper room during the interval between the Ascension and Pentecost, and with one accord continued steadfastly in prayer. But the same assembly appointed Matthias to the apostleship in place of Judas. After Pentecost Peter preached to the multitude, the converts were baptized, and "continued stedfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers." Too numerous now for the upper room, they held daily meetings in the Temple, broke bread at home, and new converts were added to them daily. The meetings, accordingly, had from the first a devotional and a business side, and a propaganda was zealously promoted in which the witness of the apostles to the Resurrection was very prominent. As examples of the administrative functions of the church meeting we have the appointment of the Seven to regulate the daily ministration of relief (61–6), the discussion on the case of Cornelius (111–18), the sending of relief from Antioch to the elders at Jerusalem (1127–30), the separation of Barnabas and Saul to their special mission (132f.), the debate and decision at Jerusalem on the relation of the Gentiles to the Law (154–29) which had already been debated at Antioch (151f.). Further descriptions of the devotional exercises are to be found in 423–31, 132f., 1422f., 207–11.

We have much fuller information in the epistles. Business was transacted at the Church meetings, though their aim was primarily devotional. The business might be the appointment of officials; the exercise of discipline; the settlement of disputes; communication with the founder, with absent members, or with other churches; supplying the members with letters of commendation, which they could present as their credentials to other churches; arrangements for hospitality; management of finance. The devotional meetings were probably of two kinds. One had for its special object the Lord's Supper; the other was devoted to the ministry of edification, exhortation, and common worship. We have not sufficient information to warrant definite conclusions as to the day of the week on which meetings were held. The Jewish Christians presumably kept the Sabbath holy. Paul treats the esteem of one day above another as a matter for the individual conscience (Rom. 145), but he also considers the observance of days and months and seasons and years as a return to bondage under the elemental spirits (Gal. 49f.), and places the Sabbath on a level with a feast day or new moon, concerning which none should submit to be censured by another (Col. 216). In the Pauline mission Sabbath observance probably fell rapidly into abeyance. We have little evidence for any sanctity attributed to the first day of the week (Ac. 207 is not certain, 1 Cor. 162 still less so) until we come to the Apocalypse, where "the Lord's day" (Rev. 110) probably means the day of the Lord's Resurrection rather than the Day of the Lord. The Eucharist was connected with a meal or love-feast. It presented, as in a sacred drama, the death of the Lord's body, the shedding of His blood. It looked back to the past, for it was done in memory of Him; it looked forward to the future, for it was to be repeated till He returned; but it was also a present experience of communion with the living Lord, and it set forth the union of His members in Him.

At other meetings the service included prayers, hymns, reading, and addresses. The prayers were probably for the most part spontaneous. Fixed forms of prayer, apart from the Lord's prayer, would not be so congenial in the period of the first enthusiasm. When, in harmony with the law which regulates such religious movements, the Corybantic phenomena began to die out and the worship became quieter, more orderly, less spontaneous, the use of fixed forms became easier. Psalms were sung, but also Christian hymns. Some of these are preserved in the Apocalypse, though we must not reckon among them such as are so closely connected with the action of the book that they must have been composed for their present position. Eph. 514 seems to be a fragment of an early Christian hymn. The hymns quoted in Lk. 146–55, 68–79, 214,29–32, were probably used in Christian worship, though such use is not explicitly recorded. The OT was read, and, presumably at an early period, narratives about Christ and collections of His sayings. These would naturally rank in authority with the OT. But other Christian writings, as yet uncanonical, were also read; in particular, letters received by the church or letters communicated by another church. As examples we have the letter from the Council of Jerusalem, most of the epistles, the Apocalypse.

The addresses covered a considerable range. Teaching was given as to the leading truths of the Christian religion, the life and teaching of Jesus, ethics, apologetics, in particular the proof, especially from the OT, that Jesus was the Messiah. Such teaching would be given for the most part in a matter of fact way, not in ecstasy.

The prophets were inspired preachers; they spoke as the organs of the Holy Spirit, teaching or exhorting, but also giving new revelations or predicting the future. Paul speaks of them as reading the secrets of men's hearts, which points to a kind of clairvoyant faculty possessed and exercised by them. He appeals to this as one of the convincing signs to the outside world of God's presence in the Church. Apparently they spoke sometimes in an ecstasy. Yet the individual consciousness seems not to have been in abeyance nor the prophet to have lost the power of self-control. The former is shown by the contrast with the gift of tongues (1 Cor. 14). Paul says that if he prays in a tongue, his spirit prays but his understanding is barren (14). In other words, unless the person who possesses the gift of tongues possesses also the power of interpretation, not

only is what he says unintelligible to the hearers, but it is unintelligible also to himself. It is indeed a religious exercise in which he is engaged, his spirit prays to God, but no ideas are conveyed to the mind of the speaker; it is all incoherent rhapsody so far as he is concerned, though probably Paul would have considered that the utterances did bear an intelligible meaning in themselves. The prophet's utterance, on the contrary, while it may have been excited and above his normal level, was yet intelligible both to the prophet and to his hearers, otherwise it could not have possessed the power which Paul asserts for it of edifying the church. It is also clear that he retained his power of self-control. Paul points out that the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets, so that the prophet can restrain his impulse to speak when someone else is speaking, or, on the other hand, he can cease his utterance when another prophet receives a revelation as he is speaking (1429–32). The prophets seem, as a rule, to have remained in their own societies, though we have several instances in the NT of prophets going from church to church, and at a later period this appears to have been common.

Great difficulty is created by the phenomenon known as speaking with tongues, of which we read in 1 Cor. and in Ac. The term "speaking with tongues" (*glossolalia*) is not used by Paul; he speaks of "a tongue," "tongues," "kinds of tongues." Some take the word "tongue" in its physiological sense. The utterance is, so far as the speaker is concerned, mere tongue-speech; the man himself does not participate through emotion, intellect, or will; the Holy Spirit is the real speaker, and uses the organs of speech as His instrument. In 1 Cor. 149, it is true, "tongue" is used in the literal sense, but this does not govern the interpretation of other instances in the chapter. Quite the contrary, in fact, for the speech uttered by the tongue in 9 is "easy to be understood," whereas glossolalia was unintelligible. The literal sense is therefore excluded elsewhere in the chapter, as it is by the fact that the plural "tongues" is used when the gift is exercised by a single individual (5f.,18) and by the mention of "kinds of tongues." Another view is that "tongue" bears the sense "archaic" or "unusual expression." The word was used with this technical meaning, but, apart from the improbability of such use in Christian terminology, it does not satisfy the conditions. These archaic utterances would be perfectly intelligible to those who had the requisite philological knowledge, their obscurity was due simply to unfamiliarity with the obsolete language employed. The utterances at Corinth impressed the hearers as quite unintelligible in themselves; if they were not recognised to be inspired they seemed incoherent gibberish, the ravings of the demented. It is not clear why archaic phraseology should have been specially produced by the ecstatic condition, nor how it conduced to the speaker's edification. Nor is the use of the singular easy to understand; to "speak in a tongue" would mean to utter a single archaic expression.

The popular view is that the gift conferred the ability to speak foreign languages. This is no doubt what is described as happening at Pentecost (Ac. 26–11). But it is not what the gift meant at Corinth. In 1 Cor. 142 it is described as speech to God and not to men, for no man understands; but a foreign language would be understood by hearers who spoke it, as the speech of the apostles was understood on the Day of Pentecost. Corinth, as a seaport, was in this respect like Jerusalem, that many languages were represented there. Moreover, in 10f. Paul uses foreign languages to illustrate the tongues: they cannot, therefore, mean the same thing. Nor does the description suggest foreign languages. Possibly, however, the word may mean "language," in the sense of an angelic, not a human language. Paul has spoken in 131 of the "tongues of angels," and we have a noteworthy parallel in the case of Job's daughters (p. 844). In such a language a man might speak to God, and by the exercise feel that his spirit was edified. It is also assumed that the "tongue" has a meaning, for it conveys meaning to God, and a man with the requisite gift can interpret it to the church. The use of the term "tongue" for angelic tongue is rather strange, and some difficulty is raised by the statement in 138 that tongues will cease. But the meaning is that these sporadic intermittent phenomena will cease, not that in the next world the angelic tongue will not be spoken. This view, perhaps, best suits Paul's language. The actual utterances were probably such as we find in the magical texts, strings of words of strange formation and meaningless, but reminiscent of real, especially foreign, words (*e.g.* Hebrew). Possibly 1 Cor. 131 pictures the form it took, "not as a low-voiced stammering, but as shouting, sometimes dully resounding, sometimes piercing and shrill" (Harnack, Exp., May 1912, p. 393). Similar phenomena were known in the worship of Dionysus. They recur in revivalist and other movements; the Camisards and the Irvingites are well-known examples. In estimating the light these throw on the NT phenomena, their secondary, imitative character must not be forgotten.

It is questionable whether Ac. 26–11 really represents the original tradition. There is no hint in the rest of the narrative or elsewhere in Ac. that foreign languages were spoken, and the account in Ac. 2 was perhaps suggested by the Jewish belief that the Law was uttered not only to the Hebrews, but to all nations in their languages. Pentecost commemorated the lawgiving; a Christian application of this legend was accordingly not unnatural, the Gospel is proclaimed in all languages. The number of languages actually necessary is of course much smaller than the list of nationalities would indicate. If foreign languages were spoken, the suggestion, made independently by A. Wright and D. Walker, deserves consideration: that under the stimulus of religious excitement, foreign expressions heard long before were called up from the subconsciousness. There are well-known parallels.

It is very noteworthy how Paul refuses to admit what seemed the inevitable inference from his own recognition that the "gifts" were bestowed by the Spirit of God. The primitive Church saw the evidence of the Spirit's presence chiefly in the spiritual phenomena such as speaking with tongues. Though Paul was himself exceptionally gifted in this way, he transformed the whole conception. Without denying that the Spirit was manifested in the gifts, he reduced them to a subordinate place, and saw the Spirit's highest activity not in the abnormal or exceptional, but in the exhibition of a Christian temper in ordinary life and the performance of commonplace moral duties.

Discipline.—The Master's rule as to wrongs inflicted by one brother on another is given in Mt. 1815–17. In its present form this passage may reflect later usage, and clearly it gives the rule followed in the Jewish Christian Church. Ananias and Sapphira (Ac. 51–11) were punished with death for lying to the Holy Ghost. It is often thought that Paul demanded from the church of Corinth a similar punishment to be pronounced on the man who had taken his father's wife (1 Cor. 5*). The church is "to deliver such a

one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Many believe that a sentence of death is intended. This is favoured by the extreme solemnity and deliberateness of the action enjoined. The destruction of the flesh may mean the dissolution of the body. Moreover Satan was regarded as having authority in the realm of disease (Lk. 13¹⁶) and death (Heb. 2¹⁴). It is more likely that excommunication is intended. The flesh, in Paul, constantly stands not for the physical organism, but for the sinful principle; had he meant the former, it would have been more natural to say "the destruction of the body." Excommunication seems to be contemplated elsewhere in the passage (2,13). We have no certain example of the phrase as a formula of excommunication in the synagogue or the early Church. But Satan was regarded as the god of this world (2 Cor. 4⁴, *cf.* Jn. 14³⁰), and in 1 Jn. 5¹⁹ we read, "the whole world lieth in the evil one," while 1 Jn. 5¹⁸ says that the evil one cannot touch him who is begotten of God. When a man is thrust out of the Church he is expelled from sanctuary, driven into the devil's domain. This exposure to spiritual peril and exclusion from salvation is expected to work on him to such an extent that his sinful nature will be destroyed and his spirit saved at the Second Coming. Hitherto the community has upheld the offender, and the awful character of his sin has not been brought home to him. If he is made spiritually homeless he will realise its heinousness, and fear and remorse will drive him to penitence. It is argued that to send the man back into the world would strengthen rather than destroy his sinful passions. This is dubious; the solemn act of excommunication with all that it was believed to involve, would strike terror into him. Moreover, what is the relation between the death penalty and the salvation of the spirit at the Parousia? If the dread of death effected the man's reform, would the sentence need to be carried out? If it is said that remission would lead to relapse, relapse would mean that there was no real reform. Is, then, the actual death the means of salvation? But could Paul have imagined this? If the sinful principle were identical with the body, physical death might involve freedom from sin. But it would be grotesque to suppose Paul arguing, not to say acting, on these lines. He certainly did not look for salvation either in asceticism or in death; this, no less than the view that it came through the Law (Gal. 2²¹), would make the death of Christ gratuitous. Nor will sober exegesis have anything to do with so speculative a suggestion as that the man when freed from the temptation of his physical nature could repent in the next world and be saved. Excommunication seems to be intended in 1 Tim. 1²⁰, where the writer, speaking of those who have made shipwreck concerning the faith, says: "Of whom is Hymenæus and Alexander; whom I delivered unto Satan, that they might be taught not to blaspheme." Paul commands the Thessalonians to withdraw themselves "from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which they received of us." In 1 Cor. 5¹¹ he forbids the readers to keep company with anyone who bears the Christian name but is "a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a reviler, or a drunkard, or an extortioner." Titus is bidden have nothing to do with an heretical man who persists in his heresy after a second warning (Tit. 3¹⁰, *cf.* 2 Tim. 2¹⁶⁻¹⁸). In 2 Jn. 10f. the Church is forbidden to render hospitality or give any greeting to those who do not bring the true teaching.

In the case of the incestuous person, Paul wished the sentence to be pronounced by the church with his co-operation. But other passages show that he was conscious of the right and the power to exercise discipline by his own authority (1 Cor. 4¹⁸⁻²¹, 2 Cor. 13²,¹⁰). Where the church acts, the will of the majority (2 Cor. 2⁶ *mg.*) is accepted, and in this instance Paul is willing to accept the punishment for the wrong done him, though he obviously does not regard it as adequate, and now pleads with the church to console the offender (2 Cor. 2⁵⁻¹¹), assuring it also that he too has forgiven him.

Social and Ethical Problems.—The new religion naturally created problems as to the relation in which the Church and the Christian stood to the State and society. The relations between the Empire and the Church are sufficiently dealt with elsewhere (pp. 616, 631, 774f.). The social problems, however, call for some discussion.

(*a*) **Slavery.**—At certain points in particular the social problems raised by the new religion meet us in the NT and provide us with illustrations of what has just been said. We must remember in this connexion the flood of enthusiasm which swept through the early Christian communities; the brotherly love which made all Christians feel themselves bound to each other by the closest possible tie; the unsettling influences of the Pauline doctrines of freedom and equality, of the cancelling of social and even natural distinctions in Christ. These revolutionary principles naturally made the problem of slavery acute. The Gospel proclaimed liberty to the captive; it taught the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; loyalty to Christ took precedence of the closest bond of blood; every Christian was bound to see a brother in his fellow-Christian. The Gospel appealed with special power to the destitute, the broken-hearted, the outcast, and the slave. Slaves probably formed a large proportion in the Gentile Church, and where the masters were converted, slaves would often follow their example. In such cases the slave might presume on his Christianity so far as to imagine that God would pass over his misconduct or his slackness (Col. 3²⁵). Slaves who met with their masters on equal terms in the church, especially where the slave outshone the master in spiritual gifts, might find it difficult to maintain at home the appropriate submissiveness and obedience. The NT writers (Eph. 6⁵⁻⁷, Col. 3²²⁻²⁵, 1 Tim. 6¹f., Tit. 2⁹f., 1 P. 2¹⁸⁻²⁰) emphatically enjoin strict and prompt obedience, hearty service as faithfully rendered as if the master's eye was upon them, due respect to masters whether unbelievers or Christians, honesty, patience in the endurance of wrong. No doubt the main motive is that such conduct is right in itself. But it is also urged that it is a duty owed by the slave to his Lord, that retribution for misdeeds and reward for fidelity will certainly be bestowed by God, and that Christianity should not be discredited by the slave's shortcomings. And Paul had probably in mind the same principles, which guided his handling of the Christian's relation to the State, that everything should be done to dispel the suspicion that the Gospel was undermining the fabric of society. Accordingly he gives no countenance to any movement towards emancipation from the side of the slave, nor does he even urge it on the masters. On the contrary, he sends back the slave Onesimus to his master Philemon, in a letter exquisite for its tact and delicacy, reminding Philemon how much he owes him, commending the converted runaway to him, "no longer as a slave, but more than a slave, a

brother beloved;" yet not asking for emancipation, though he seems to hint at it in the words "knowing that thou wilt do even beyond what I say" (Phm. 21). Many think that in 1 Cor. 721 Paul exhorts the slave not to avail himself of an opportunity of emancipation. His general principle is that Christians should abide as they are. If he really wished the slave to refuse emancipation we may excuse the advice, with which we can hardly agree, by his expectation of Christ's speedy return, when slavery would cease, and by his principle that the Christian should accept his position as Divinely appointed. But the tense of the Gr. verb is unfavourable to the sense "go on using your present position." And would Paul, who knew the moral horrors, the infamous atrocities to which slaves were exposed, helpless victims as they were of their owner's cruelty, helpless ministers to his lusts, have pushed his principle to so perilous an extreme?

(*b*) **Women.**—A similar problem was raised with respect to women. We can see from 1 Cor. 112–16 that there was a tendency at Corinth to carry the principle of Christian liberty and equality to its extreme consequences here as in other relationships. The "emancipated" woman wished to throw aside the veil, the sign of her inferiority, and to pray and prophesy in the assemblies with bare head like a man. Paul opposes this, partly, no doubt, on the practical ground that for Christian women to outrage the conventions of respectable society would at once stamp Christianity as breaking the fences to the natural modesty of her sex, and thus hinder its progress; partly because he apprehended danger to them from the angels if they ventured on these exercises without the protection of a veil (1110*); partly because he really regarded woman as naturally inferior to man. Elsewhere (Gal. 328), it is true, he rises to the level of the full Christian principle that in Christ Jesus there can be no male and female. This brings us to the question of the relation between the sexes. The Jews held marriage in honour, and the NT betrays no sympathy with any tendency to forbid it. It is false teachers who do this (1 Tim. 43). A tendency to exalt celibacy is perhaps to be seen in Rev. 144, and Paul preferred the unmarried state. But he can think and speak of marriage in the loftiest way (Eph. 522–33), and this must not be forgotten when we study the specific discussion in 1 Cor. 7. There he is dealing with a series of questions put to him by the church, not writing a dissertation on marriage. Taken by itself, it might suggest that he had no higher conception of marriage than that it was a second-best safeguard against impurity. It is nevertheless surprising that the more ideal aspects are here omitted. His attitude is dominated to some extent by his eschatology. The interval that is to elapse before the return of Christ is short, the woes of the Messiah are at hand. Those who are free from family ties will do well to maintain their freedom and be spared the agony of seeing the sufferings of those whom they love. The same expectation is probably responsible for the failure to speak of marriage as the appointed means for continuing the race. The new condition of things would soon be ushered in, in which they would neither marry nor give in marriage. Partly, however, Paul's own idiosyncrasy finds expression here. Superior to the physical need which finds its lawful satisfaction in marriage, he wished that all men might be as himself. But he recognises that this is his individual gift, and that many are not constituted as he is. For them marriage is the only safe course; and marriage must be real marriage. It is morally perilous to practise abstinence, except for a brief period, and then only for prayer. A woman is not to leave her husband; but, if she does so, she must not contract a new union, nor must the husband leave his wife. In the case of a mixed marriage, where the heathen is willing to continue the relationship, the Christian is not to dissolve it; but if the heathen breaks it off, the Christian must not seek to prevent the separation in the hope of saving the heathen partner by this irritating pertinacity. If a husband dies, his widow is free to marry again, but only a Christian, and she would do better to remain a widow. The most difficult problem is raised by the section on virgins (25–38). Here Paul is apparently dealing not with the relationship of father and daughter, but with a "spiritual marriage" (pp. 839f.).

(*c*) **Asceticism in Diet.**—The false teaching at Colossae did not, so far as we know, seek to regulate relations between the sexes, but it inculcated asceticism with reference to food and drink (Col. 216). It was characterised by severity to the body; its ordinances were: "Handle not, nor taste, nor touch" (221). These prohibitions Paul repudiates as belonging to the realm of the elemental spirits, from which the Christians had escaped by their death with Christ (220), and into which they ought not to sink back.

A similar question arose in the Roman church, and was discussed by Paul in Rom. 14. There was a class of scrupulous persons, whom he calls "weak," who would eat no flesh and apparently drink no wine. Another class, spoken of as the "strong," despised the scruples of the weak. The weak, in their turn, judged the strong as less religious than themselves. What were the opinions on which the weak brethren acted? Is Paul dealing with the question of eating meats offered to idols? He uses the same word, "the weak," as in 1 Cor. 8–10, and gives the same advice, that no Christian should by his liberty destroy the brother for whom Christ died. The language in the two discussions is also similar. But this amounts to very little. In both cases unity was imperilled by strained relations, and Paul would naturally give the same advice. He makes no reference to the idol feasts, or to the possibility that meat purchased in the market might have been offered to idols. Nor is it likely that "the weak" belonged to the Judaizing party, who regarded the Levitical laws as to clean and unclean meats as still binding. Such a doctrine would probably have been associated with views on circumcision and other matters, which Paul would have treated less mildly than he treats the views of "the weak." And the abstinence is not simply from unclean meats, but from all meats whatsoever. To be a Jew it was not necessary to be a vegetarian. Besides, the Law did not prohibit wine, so that in neither particular is the description applicable to strict Jews. The practices are therefore best explained as due to an ascetic tendency. Such a form of asceticism might easily arise out of tendencies that are constantly reappearing, and that were later very prominent in certain forms of Gnosticism. There is no need to postulate any particular external influence (*e.g.* Essene) to account for their presence in the Roman church.

(*d*) **Meat Offered to Idols.**—Among the practical problems which contact with the heathen environment forced upon Christians was that of meat offered to idols. It met them at several points. The flesh that remained was frequently sold in the meat market. The purchaser knew nothing of its origin, unless he could institute inquiries, and even then there was a

risk that he might be misled. There was therefore a danger that meat bought for his own use, or eaten at the house of another, had been consecrated to an idol. If, then, the idol was a real spiritual power, such meat was infected with his evil energy, and the Christian was in danger of falling under his dominion. But, quite apart from this, social life, and especially the club-feasts, involved dedication of food to idols, and the question was whether the consistent profession of Christianity did not involve a break with social life altogether. The problem receives special discussion in 1 Cor. in reply to the church letter. The majority of the church apparently was in favour of the more liberal course on the ground of their spiritual insight. Since they knew that an idol was nothing, eating meat offered to idols was a matter of complete indifference. The non-existent has no virus with which to infect the participant in what is devoted to it. Paul first criticises the basis of their action. If it is a matter of superior knowledge, the guidance of life by it tends to make a man feel a superior person; it fills him with conceit, which is an anti-social force. These questions must be settled by love. The rule of life is not to be individual self-gratification, but the development of the community.

Apparently the church letter had asserted that all have knowledge, and are aware that an idol is nothing (1 Cor. 8^7). Paul reminds them that this knowledge is not possessed by all. For, in spite of a theoretic recognition of the idol's non-existence, the old relationship still works so powerfully that, when they eat meat which has been sacrificed to an idol, they cannot treat it as ordinary meat, but as meat tainted by its heathen consecration. They cannot shake themselves free from the old associations. Apparently examples of Christians participating in banquets at an idol's temple were known to Paul. Possibly it was defended on the ground that the weak brother would be edified (10 *mg.*), *i.e.* he would be educated out of his narrowness. Paul retorts: "Yes, edified to the ruin of his soul." It has been argued by J. Weiss that 10$^{1-22}$ is from a different letter than 8, 10$^{23-33}$, the former handling the problem much more radically than the latter by its strict prohibition of food offered to idols. In ch. 8 Paul seems to adopt the standpoint that, since an idol is a nonentity, eating of meat sacrificed to it is intrinsically indifferent, but should be avoided if the conscience of the scrupulous is likely to be injured by carrying this knowledge of the idol's nonentity into practice. In 10$^{1-22}$, however, he introduces a new thought, that the heathen sacrifices were offered to demons, and therefore were intrinsically harmful, since the table of Christ and the table of demons were radically incompatible. In 23–33 he seems to revert to the standpoint of 8. But there is no insuperable difficulty in taking the chapters as they stand as an integral part of the same epistle. In 8 Paul deals with the problem from the presuppositions of the liberal section. An idol is nothing, therefore no defilement can come from idol sacrifice. Very good, but what if this principle leads you to eat idol food, and others who do not share your intellectual illumination are encouraged to do so? They are not emancipated from the thraldom of the old associations, and therefore while they may not be damaged by the intrinsic mischief of the food, they violate their conscience and thus are spiritually ruined. You must waive your rights for the sake of the weak, just as I waive my apostolic rights to maintenance (ch. 9). But is it true that idol food is so harmless as you assert? An idol is nothing, and, were that all, your standpoint would be intellectually justified. But behind the lifeless block there works a living power of evil; the sacrifices go to the demons. And since the sacrificial banquet is a communion feast, participation in an idolatrous feast involves those who partake of it in communion with demons. This means that the Christian who acts in this way tries to combine two fundamentally incompatible things, communion with Christ and communion with demons, with the one in the Lord's Supper, with the other in an idol banquet. But the question then arises: if the idol sacrifice is infected with demoniacal virus, is it not best to abstain from meat altogether, since part of the sacrificial victim is exposed for sale in the market, and there is no guarantee that anyone who purchases meat there can avoid meat that has thus come from the temple? Paul escapes by a robust common sense, what was a very obvious inference from his own principles. Meat in itself is quite harmless food, for the earth belongs to God, not to the demons. In the meat market you are away from the temple sphere. The meat is not eaten as a religious rite, as in the other case, but as common food. So buy it without fear. And if you are invited to a meal act in the same way, unless you are notified by your host or someone who is present that the meat has been offered in sacrifice. In that case abstain for the sake of the other's conscience.

It may be thought surprising that Paul makes no reference to the decrees of Ac. 15^{29}*, where the Gentiles addressed are required to abstain from things sacrificed to idols. That passage, however, is of uncertain text and interpretation (pp. 793f.), and it is possible that the decrees are purely ethical and require abstinence from idolatry, fornication, and murder (so G. Resch and Harnack). If the generally accepted text and interpretation are retained, various alternatives are possible. Paul may have been ignorant of the decrees, if Luke has misdated them, or he may have felt that there was no need to consider them binding on the Corinthian Church. In Rev. 2^{20} the prophetess Jezebel teaches "to commit fornication and eat things sacrificed to idols." Here the phrase is quite unambiguous, but the passage contains no attack on Paul.

Literature.—See the bibliography appended to the article on "The Apostolic Age." The following may be added: Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*; Hatch, *Organisation of the Early Christian Church* (Harnack translated this into German, with important additions); Harnack, *Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel, Sources of the Apostolic Canons, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*[2], *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries*; Loening, *Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristentums*; Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*; Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*; Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*; Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*; Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*; Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*; Sanday, *The Primitive Church and Reunion*; Turner, *The Organization of the Church*, in *The Cambridge Mediæval History*, vol. i.; Bartlet and Carlyle, *Christianity in History*; Swete (edited by), *Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry*; Schmiedel, *Ministry* and *Spiritual Gifts*, in EBi; Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*; Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister*; Wright, *Some NT Problems*; Walker, *The Gift of Tongues*; Zscharnack, *Der Dienst der Frau in den ersten Jahrhunderten der christlichen Kirche.*

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

By Principal A. J. GRIEVE

The chronology of the NT affects a period of roughly a hundred years, whether we regard it from the standpoint of the literature (which was produced between A.D. 50 and 150), or the events recorded therein (which cover approximately the first century of our era). The range is thus very much shorter than that of OT chronology, and correspondingly simpler. Yet it presents problems of its own, and some that are by no means easy to solve. It is natural that we should desire to ascertain with all possible exactness the dates of events so closely bound up with the early story of Christianity as the birth, public ministry, and death of Jesus, the conversion and death of Paul, the times at which the various gospels, epistles, and other literature were produced. Unfortunately for our quest, the early Christians, with rare exceptions, were not interested in chronology; as men who had "no continuing city," they were largely indifferent to the secular events of their own day, and the bearing which these might have on their own faith; and those who recorded the story of Jesus and the early church were guided by a religious rather than an historical interest, and arranged the narrative at least as much on the lines of subject-matter as of time sequence. This is obvious in Mt. and Mk., and even in Lk. and Ac., though the writer of these two books, alone among NT writers, does give us at a few points parallel dates of secular history. There are time-notices in the fourth gospel, but the writer's aim is not to put the life of Jesus into chronological relation to the history of the first century, but to unfold the drama of the Passion.

The earliest attempts to arrange a chronology of NT, especially as regards the life of Jesus, were made towards the end of the second century by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and a little later by Hippolytus and Julius Africanus. But these investigators were hampered by the causes indicated above, and also by the different methods by which the years of reigning monarchs were reckoned; *e.g.* the 15th year of Tiberius (Lk. 3ı) may be 29, 28, or 26, according as we reckon from the death of Augustus or from Tiberius's association with Augustus by a special law, the date of which (13 or 11) is not certain. The imperial year was sometimes adjusted to the civil year by counting the fraction as a whole and beginning a second imperial year every January, sometimes by omitting the fraction and reckoning the reign from a fixed date. The complexity is increased by the Julian reform of the calendar, by which the year 46 B.C. received 445 days, to bring the civil and the solar years into line. On the other hand, the Jewish calendar is a perfect labyrinth. The Paschal full moon was the pivot of the system. It was originally calculated by observation, but this became impossible when Jewry was scattered. The beginning of any month was fixed by the visibility of the new moon, a very haphazard affair. Then if at the end of the month Adar the barley was not within a fortnight of being ripe, a 13th month (Veadar) was intercalated, but this was forbidden in Sabbatical years, and two intercalary years could not come together. Add to this that the correlation of the lunar with the solar year depended on the first Paschal full moon after the spring equinox, and that the equinox was variously calculated. Further, while the Jewish civil year began with Tishri (September), the religious and regal year began with Nisan (April), years being counted from the former, months from the latter.

When we take all these matters into consideration—and many of them have the closest bearing on the dates we desire to fix—it is not to be wondered at that the most painstaking research has not been able to arrive at any chronological scheme which is more than approximately correct.

Chronology of the Gospel History.—We are here concerned with three events in the life of Jesus: the Birth, the Baptism, and the Crucifixion, and the intervals between them.

The Nativity.—It was Dionysius Exiguus, a monk of Rome in the 6th cent., who fixed our Christian era, making the Roman year 753=1 B.C., and 754=A.D. 1. This, however, is too late. We learn from Mt. that Jesus was born in the reign of Herod, and from Josephus[1] that Herod died in the early spring of the year corresponding to 4 B.C. Mt.'s story of the massacre of infants under two years of age, and the stay (of unknown length) in Egypt, lead us to put the birth of Jesus some three years before Herod's death; and we may note Kepler's identification of the "star" of Bethlehem with the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces in May, October, and December of 7 B.C. The evidence of Lk. 2ıff. is dealt with in the commentary on that passage, where reference is also made to Tertullian's testimony. It would seem that the enrolment began in 8 or 7 B.C. and ran into the next year.[2]

The Baptism.—This event occurred soon after John began to preach, which was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (Lk. 3ı), *i.e.* A.D. 28 or 29 if we date from

[1] *Ant.* XVII. viii. 1; *cf.* XIV. xvi. 4, iv. 3. *Cf.* also XVII. xiii. 2; *B.J.*, II. vii. 3; *Ant.*, XVIII. iv. 6; XVII. vi. 4, ix. 3. These passages refer to (*a*) the reign and decease of Herod himself, (*b*) those of his successors.

[2] We have no data for determining the month and day of the birth. The traditional Western date (Dec. 25) goes back to Hippolytus. The idea is that Gabriel appeared to Zacharias on the Day of Atonement (early in Oct.), and that there were some six months between the conception of John the Baptist and that of Jesus, which has been celebrated on March 25. Edersheim suggests the influence of the feast of the Dedication of the Temple (Dec.); but other and more universal factors, *e.g.* the winter solstice, have perhaps to be taken into account. The traditional Eastern date (Jan. 6) goes back to the Basilidian Gnostics, but only with them as a celebration of the Baptism. *Cf.* note 3 on p. 654, col. 1.

Augustus's death, A.D. 26 or 27 if we reckon from Tiberius's co-regency. Jn. 2¹³,²⁰ also comes into consideration; the first Passover after the Baptism was the 46th year of the building of Herod's Temple. As the Temple was begun in the 18th year of Herod's reign,[1] *i.e.* 19 B.C., this brings us to A.D. 27 (spring). Jesus would then be some 33 years of age, which agrees sufficiently with the statement in Lk. 3²³ that He was about 30 [2] when He began (to teach).

The Length of the Ministry.—Irenæus, misled by presbyters in Asia Minor perhaps going back to Papias, on the strength of Jn. 8⁵⁷, thought the ministry must have lasted ten or even twenty years. But a more general opinion in the 2nd and 3rd centuries was one year (so the Clementine Homilies, Clement of Alexandria, Julius Africanus, Hippolytus in his later works, and Origen in his earlier). This is nearer the truth, and derives some support from Lk. The second and longer half of the account of Christ's ministry (9⁵¹–19²⁸) covers only a few months; and if the first and shorter half (4¹⁴–9⁵⁰) covers a longer period, the whole can hardly embrace more than a year. It is possible that 4¹⁹, "the acceptable *year* of the Lord," may have some bearing on this. But on the whole a year is hardly enough. The Synoptic tradition as represented in Mk. mentions three springtides (2²³, "plucking the ears of corn"; 6³⁹, the 5000 on "the green grass"; and 14¹, the Crucifixion Passover), which gives a two years' ministry. It is from the fourth gospel that the popular idea of a three years' ministry is derived; but though this gospel gives us a remarkable chain of time references (2¹³–²³, 4³⁵, 5¹, 6⁴, 7², 10²², 11⁵⁵), perhaps meant definitely to stiffen the looser Synoptic record, there are difficulties of reading, interpretation, or arrangement in nearly all of them. Thus ch. 6 should most probably precede ch. 5. In 6⁴ Origen and others (probably wrongly) omit "the Passover." The nameless feast of 5¹ has been chased all round the calendar.[3] The sayings (4³⁵) about four months to harvest and fields already white to harvest are baffling. If the first is literal we get January, if the second, May, as the time of the utterance. But in the upshot Jn. agrees with Mk. in three Passovers (2¹³,²³, 6⁴, 11⁵⁵), with indeterminate time-notices between them. Among the early writers, Melito, Heracleon, Tatian, and Hippolytus *On Daniel* held a similar view of a two or three years' ministry. Bacon,[4] however, drastically reduces the Johannine date to a single year.

The Crucifixion.—This is perhaps the most vital point in NT chronology, and certainty is unfortunately beyond our present knowledge. Jesus "suffered under Pontius Pilate," and Pilate was procurator in Judæa A.D. 26–36;[5] he was returning to Rome (to answer a charge of cruelty in Samaria) when Tiberius died on March 16, A.D. 37. The Crucifixion therefore cannot have been later than the Passover of 36. We know also (Mt., Jn.) that it was during the high-priesthood of Caiaphas. Caiaphas assumed this office in A.D. 18 in succession to Annas, and he was removed from it by Vitellius, consul and governor of Syria, in favour of Jonathan, who in turn made room for Theophilus just after the Passover of 37. Jonathan was thus high-priest for 36, and cannot have been appointed before the Passover of that year. The last Passover of Caiaphas was thus 36.

[1] Josephus, *Ant.* XV. xi. 1.
[2] So RV correctly. AV is wrong here. The puzzling word *carhomenos* is not represented in Syr. Sin.
[3] R. Harris, *Sidelights on NT Research*, lect. 2.
[4] *The Fourth Gospel*, chs. 15f.
[5] Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, iv. 2.

Hardly anyone (except Westcott, who suggested Thursday) has doubted that Jesus was crucified on a Friday. There has been more debate as to the day of the Jewish month. The Passover was always at the full moon of Nisan, the lambs being slain in the afternoon of the 14th and eaten after sunset, *i.e.* at the beginning of the 15th. The Synoptic tradition appears to place the Crucifixion on the 15th (regarding the Last Supper as the Passover). There is, however, some ambiguity about the use of the word "preparation" (Mk. 15⁴², Jn. 19¹⁴); see also Lk. 22¹⁵*. It seems more than likely that the Last Supper is to be identified not with the Passover meal itself but with the Qiddush or Sanctification for Passover.[1] The fourth gospel definitely implies that the Crucifixion preceded the paschal meal, and was therefore on the 14th Nisan; and this view, which was also that of the early church,[2] is most generally held by modern scholars.

Our problem, therefore, is to find in what year, when Pilate was procurator and Caiaphas high-priest, the 14th of Nisan fell on a Friday. We may limit the range to the period 28–36, for Pilate, who came in 26, had clearly been some time in office before the Crucifixion. The task is very difficult, because, as stated at the beginning of this article, not only were the Jewish months lunar, but we do not know how the beginning of the year was fixed or the exact relationship between the first day of the Jewish month and the astronomical new moon.

Mr. C. H. Turner,[3] who has thoroughly surveyed all the evidence and reviewed the investigations of earlier students like Salmon,[4] reaches the conclusion that the choice lies between 29 (March 18 or April 15), 30 (April 7), 33 (April 3). In favour of 29 is the evidence of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who say the Crucifixion was in the 15th year of Tiberius (Julius Africanus says the 16th), and that of Hippolytus, Tertullian, Lactantius, and the *Acta Pilati*, which assign it to the consulship of L. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fifius (or Rufus) Geminus, *i.e.* A.D. 29. On the other hand, Phlegon, writing in the time of Hadrian, records an earthquake as occurring in Bithynia A.D. 32–3, and a remarkable eclipse. He derives the notice of the eclipse from the gospels, and probably brings the undated phenomenon into connexion with the dated one. Eusebius adopted the date 33, and made it popular. Hippolytus, Tertullian, and the *Acta Pilati*, mentioned above, give March 25 as the actual date. But no full moon occurs near this date in any of the possible years. Epiphanius, however, had seen copies of the *Acta* which gave the day as March 18. The early alteration to the 25th was probably because the 18th was deemed out of the question as preceding the equinox.

Turner's conclusions have not gone unchallenged. Bacon[5] "can say with almost absolute certainty the Crucifixion did *not* occur in 29 A.D.," and he refers to Fotheringham[6] and Achelis.[7] He traces the adoption of what he deems the erroneous date to the quartodecimans of Cappadocia and their natural desire to commemorate annually the exact day of the Crucifixion. For the complicated Jewish lunar calendar

[1] G. H. Box in JThS, iii. 357.
[2] *Cf.* 1 Cor. 5⁷, 15²⁰. The first-fruits of barley with which Paul compares the Resurrection, were offered on 16th Nisan. *Cf.* also the Quartodeciman controversy in the 2nd cent.
[3] Art. "Chronology of NT" in HDB.
[4] *Introduction to NT*, lect. 15.
[5] *The Fourth Gospel*, 390f.
[6] *Journ. of Philol.*, 1903, pp. 100ff.
[7] *Gött. gel. Nachr., phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1902, pp. 707ff. Turner replies to this in EB iii. 894.

they substituted the vernal equinox of the Julian calendar, which in 29 fell on Friday, March 25. Another section, who observed the anniversary on March 18, had the double advantage of meeting the lunar conditions of the year 29, in which the full moon fell on that day, and of coinciding with the astronomical equinox of the Julian calendar when the sun enters Aries. That in this year of the consulship of the Gemini the two spring equinoxes, March 18 and 25, fell on Fridays is enough, in Bacon's opinion, to account for the early and universal adoption of the year 29. He believes that Lk. started from this point and elaborated the synchronisms of Lk. 3¹ on its basis, allowing for a one-year ministry.

Before leaving this much-disputed question we should notice the argument in favour of the year 36,[1] when Pilate and Caiaphas were still in their respective offices. The contention is that John the Baptist was not beheaded till 34–5. Herod Antipas was married to the daughter of Aretas, king of Petrea; and when he took Herodias from his brother Herod Philip, his wife complained to her father and he made war on Antipas. Antipas in turn complained to Tiberius, who sent Vitellius against Aretas. While the expedition was in progress Tiberius died, *i.e.* in 37. Aretas and Antipas were thus at strife in 35–6,[2] and we may reasonably suppose that the cause of the strife would not have been more than a year or two earlier. Whether the astronomical calculations suit the 14th Nisan, 36, is doubtful; but the theory enables those who hold it to interpret the census under Quirinius (Lk. 2¹*) as the well-known census of A.D. 6 (Ac. 5³⁷), and gives point to Lk. 23¹¹ (Herod's soldiers). On the other hand, it nullifies the date of the return from Egypt in Mt. 2¹⁹–²³, and obliges us to interpret Herod in Mt. as Herod Antipas. It is worth noting that Josephus says that popular opinion regarded Antipas's defeat by Aretas as Divine retribution for the murder of the Baptist, which has been held to imply that John died just before the war. Yet 28 is a more suitable date than 34 for the elopement of Herodias and the description of Salome as a damsel. Herodias was about thirty-seven and her daughter seventeen or eighteen in 28. And retribution does not always follow swiftly on the heels of crime.

The difficulty as to the date of the conversion of Paul if the Crucifixion is placed as late as 36 is dealt with below.

The best working result seems to be:—

Birth of Jesus, 6 B.C.
Baptism, A.D. 27 (possibly 28).
Crucifixion, A.D. 29 (March 18).[3]

Chronology of the Apostolic Age and of Paul's Life.—This is unfortunately as uncertain as the chronology of the gospel history. Our difficulties begin with the length of time that elapsed between the Crucifixion and the conversion of Paul. A series of summaries in Ac. divides that book into six sections or periods, terminating respectively at 6⁷, 9³¹, 12²⁴, 16⁵, 19²⁰, 28³¹. We may anticipate the later discussion by noticing that the last three are each about the same length, say six years. The first three from the Crucifixion (in 29) to the death of Herod Agrippa (44, a certain date) cover about fifteen years, and the presumption is that each of them was about five years. More explicitly, early work in Jerusalem was from 29 to 34, the extension in Palestine from 34 to 39, and the extension to Antioch, with the beginning of Paul's activity, from 39 to 44. The conversion of Paul is to be placed in the second period, *i.e.* between five and ten (say seven) years after the Crucifixion. This is, however, a very general and precarious conclusion. Paul's own data as given in Gal. 1f. have now to be reckoned with. The interpretation of Gal. 1¹⁸ ("after three years") and Gal. 2¹ ("after fourteen years") varies greatly. It is necessary to bear in mind the inclusive method of reckoning in such phrases; *e.g.* "after three days" might only mean from Friday night to Sunday morning. The first question is whether the "fourteen years" follow the "three years," or include them and go back to the Conversion. Then comes the further question of the correlation of the two visits mentioned in Gal. with the three in Ac. (9²⁶, 11³⁰, 15). The general opinion now is that the fourteen years date from the Conversion, and on the whole that Gal. 2=Ac. 15,[1] Gal. 1¹⁸=Ac. 9²⁶, and that Ac. 11³⁰ is not mentioned in Gal. But a recent view (held by Emmet[2] and others) is that, because Gal. was written at the close of the First Journey and before the Council of Ac. 15, Gal. 1¹⁸=Ac. 9²⁶, and Gal. 2=Ac. 11³⁰. A further complication is introduced by Dr. Menzies' theory[3] that the narrative of the Council in Ac. 15 is misplaced, and should precede the story of the First Journey in Ac. 13f. He identifies Ac. 11³⁰ with Gal. 2.

We evidently need to try and fix the date of the famine. This is usually given as A.D. 46, when there was a widespread one; but one that afflicted Judæa early in the reign of Claudius (which began in 41) suits the passage better. If we put it in 43 and allow time for the collection of relief at Antioch and its despatch to Jerusalem, Paul would be in the capital in 44. If this is the occasion of Gal. 2, and we reckon thirteen or fourteen years backward, we get 30 as the approximate date of the Conversion, *i.e.* one year after the Crucifixion. This is Harnack's view. Ramsay reckons back from 46 and so gets 33. Turner inclines to the older theory that Gal. 2=Ac. 15, and reckons from 49 (Council of Ac. 15), bringing the Conversion to 35, or indeed 36. Those who deem a few months sufficient for the record of Ac. 1–8 are thus enabled, if they desire, to accept the theory already mentioned, that the Crucifixion was in 36, and that Paul was converted not very long afterwards. We have seen that Harnack puts no long interval between the Crucifixion and the Conversion, and there is something to be said (in view of 1 Cor. 15⁸) in favour of a year as against six or seven years, or even against three or four. If the student will have it so, he must decide for himself whether he will assign the two events to the earlier date, 29–30, or the later, 36.

We are still faced with the difficulty of what Paul was doing during the thirteen or fourteen (ten or eleven, if we regard the three as included in the fourteen) years between his Conversion and the second visit to Jerusalem. A very slight change ("diadetōn" for "diaidetōn") in the original of Gal. 2¹ would give us "after *four* years" in place of "fourteen." Let us see how this works out:—

Four years from the Council in 49 (Gal. 2=Ac. 15) =45.
Seven years (*i.e.* taking the four as subsequent to the three)=42.

[1] Keim, Hausrath, Schenkel, and, more recently, K. Lake in Exp., Nov. 1912.
[2] *Cf.* Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6, v. 1, "the 20th year of Tiberius," *i.e.* 33 or 35.
[3] E. Masini also arrives at this date in an article, "When was Jesus Christ born?" (Exp., March 1917). He fixes the date of the birth as Sunday, November 28, 6 B.C. But see Exp., Nov. 1917, p. 362.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 790, 858. [2] *Cf.* p. 770. [3] p. 794.

Four years from the famine visit in 46 (Gal. 2= Ac. 11)=42.
Seven years from the famine visit in 46=39.
Four years from the famine visit in 44=40.
Seven years from the famine visit in 44=37.

On the inclusive method the period to be subtracted would be a year less in each case, and the dates a year later. Even if we put the famine visit in 43, as is quite permissible, we can hardly get an earlier date than 37 for the Conversion. This would, of course, suit 36 as the date of the Crucifixion.

On the whole, there does not seem sufficient reason for altering the text in the interests of those who (1) put the Crucifixion in 36, and at the same time (2), putting Gal. at the end of the First Journey, make Gal. 2₁=Ac. 11₃₀, and fix the famine visit in 43 or 44. The present writer inclines to (2), but with regard to (1) feels that on the whole the difficulty of putting the Crucifixion so late as 36 is greater than supposing an interval of six years between the Crucifixion and the Conversion, especially when combined with the textual emendation referred to. Nor is so long an interval necessary if we follow Harnack's scheme, by which the Crucifixion is dated 29, the Conversion 30, and (fourteen years thence) the famine visit (Ac. 11₃₀ =Gal. 2) 44.[1]

It has been thought that the mention of Aretas (2 Cor. 11₃₂) implies that Paul's escape from Damascus could not have been earlier than 37, since the evidence of coins shows that Aretas was not in possession of the city before that year. But all that Paul says is that Aretas had an ethnarch or representative in Damascus (as the Jews had in Alexandria), and this was possible before the city passed under his control. The relation of the famine visit in Ac. 11₃₀ to the death of Herod Agrippa and the other incidents of Ac. 12 is not quite clear, but we do know that Herod died in 44. The date of the famine has been discussed. If we reckon it as 43, thirteen years takes us back to 30; if we put it in 46, we must add fourteen years to the three (say, a total of sixteen) to bring us to 30 as the date of the Conversion.

When we consider the chronological data given in Ac. for Paul's journeys we are not greatly helped. The apostle spends eighteen months at Corinth (Ac. 18₁₁) on the Second Journey; three years at Ephesus (19₈–₁₀, 20₃₁) and three months at Corinth on the Third. Two years were spent in Cæsarea (24₂₇), and two at Rome (28₃₀). The length of the intervening periods is purely conjectural.

Some valuable evidence is afforded by archæological discovery. The names of the proconsuls of Cyprus for 51 and 52 are known, so that Paul's visit (Ac. 13) must have been before 51. The name of Sergius Paulus occurs in inscriptions, but with no indication of date. We have sure ground for the date of Paul's stay in Corinth. An inscription found at Delphi fixes the beginning of Gallio's proconsulship in Corinth in the spring of 52; this brings the apostle thither in 50. Our great disappointment is our inability to settle the date of the arrival of Festus (Ac. 24₂₇). Paul says Felix has been "for many years a judge unto this nation" (24₁₀). Felix succeeded Cumanus as procurator in 52. Lightfoot thought "many years" must be at least six or seven; therefore Paul's words were spoken in 58 or 59, and Felix was superseded in 60 or 61. But Felix had held a responsible position in Palestine before 52, and Paul's words would have been appropriate as early as 55. It is true that Josephus gives a long list of events occurring in Felix's procuratorship as having happened under Nero (who began to reign in 54), but they may have been more contemporaneous than successive. According to Eusebius, Festus arrived in the second year of Nero, but we do not know his authority. When Felix reached Rome he was prosecuted for misgovernment, but was acquitted through the influence of his brother Pallas. Now Pallas was removed from office in the winter after Nero's accession (54–5). The question is whether Felix was recalled in the reign of Claudius, or whether Pallas, though not in office, was able to retain some influence. In any case we cannot put the event so late as 60, for by that time Poppæa was in power, and would have supported her Jewish countrymen against Felix. Harnack puts the recall of Felix in 56, Turner in 58. On this it follows that Paul arrived in Rome in 57 or 59 (spring). The "two years" mentioned in Ac. 28₃₀ brings us to 59 or 61, and there then arises the vexed question of a release, a period of journeying west and east, and a second arrest (see pp. 772, 881). We know that Paul suffered a violent death in Rome, and it is generally held that this was not before the persecution of 64, and may have been later, though before Nero's death in 68. But it may have been as early as 62, on the charge of inciting to riot. Any charge was good enough for condemnation by Nero. The probability is that Peter shared the same fate between 64 and 68.

The last definite chronological data furnished by the NT writings are found in Rev. Here all the features point to the time of the persecution under Domitian (p. 928), *i.e.* in the last decade of the first century.

A few words will suffice for other dates in NT history. The death of James, son of Zebedee, in the reign of Herod Agrippa, must fall between 41 and 44. With this we may compare the well-attested early tradition that the Twelve left Jerusalem twelve years after Jesus' death. The last NT reference to the church in Palestine is Ac. 21₁₈, when Paul brought the Gentile fund to Jerusalem, and James the brother of Jesus is pre-eminent. Josephus[1] tells us that James suffered martyrdom in 62; Hegesippus[2] put it nearer the destruction of Jerusalem, perhaps about 67, when the Christians migrated to Pella in Peræa. For Peter and John, see the Introductions to the Epistles bearing their names. The dates of the different books of NT are discussed in the commentary at the appropriate pages.

A Table of Tentative Dates in the Life of Paul.

Conversion	30 or 37
Fifteen days in Jerusalem (Gal. 1)	32 or 39
In Syria, Cilicia, and Antioch	32 (or 39)–44
Visit to Jerusalem (Ac. 11, Gal. 2)	44
Cyprus and Galatia	45–48
Conference in Jerusalem (Ac. 15)	49
Second Mission Tour begins	50
In Corinth	50–52
Ephesus, Galatia, Corinth (brief visit)	52–55
Macedonia (2 Cor. 1–9)	55
Three months in Corinth	55–56
Arrest in Jerusalem	56
Detention at Cæsarea	56–58
Voyage to Rome	58–59
Imprisonment in Rome	59–61

The following table, taken in substance from HDB (1424), will show the different schemes adopted by leading authorities:—

[1] Of course Gal. 2 can be chronologically identified with Ac. 11 without any alteration of text.

[1] *Ant.*, xx. ix. 1. [2] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II. xxiii. 11–18.

	Harnack.	Turner.	Ramsay.	Lightfoot.
Crucifixion	29 or 30	29	30	30
Paul's conversion	30	35–36	33	34
Second visit to Jerusalem	44	46	46	45
First Journey	45	47	47	48
Council at Jerusalem	47	49	50	51
Arrival at Corinth	48	50	51	52
Third Journey	50	52	53	54
Arrest (Pentecost)	54	56	57	58
Arrival at Rome	57	59	60	61
Death	64	64–65	65	67
Peter's martyrdom	64	64–65	80	64

ROMAN EMPERORS (*cf.* p. 612).

Date of Accession.

Augustus	31 B.C. (Battle of Actium.—Irenæus and Eusebius date the accession from the death of Julius Cæsar, 44 B.C.)
Tiberius	A.D. 14
Caligula	„ 37
Claudius	„ 41 (Jews expelled from Rome, 44.)
Nero	„ 54 (Fire at Rome and persecution of Christians, 64. Outbreak of Jewish War, 66.)
Galba, Otho, Vitellius	A.D. 68–69 (Period of civil strife.)
Vespasian	„ 69 (Fall of Jerusalem, 70.)
Titus	„ 79
Domitian	A.D. 81 (Persecutions in Rome and Asia Minor, 93–96.)
Nerva	„ 96
Trajan	„ 98
Hadrian	„ 117
Antoninus Pius	„ 138
Marcus Aurelius	„ 161

RULERS OF JUDÆA.[1]

Herod the Great, king		37–4 B.C.
Archelaus, ethnarch		4 B.C.–A.D. 6
Procurators:	Coponius	A.D. 6– 9
	Marcus Ambivius	„ 9–12
	Annius Rufus	„ 12–15
	Valerius Gratus	„ 15–26
	Pontius Pilate	„ 26–36
	Marcellus	„ 36–37
	Marullus	„ 37–41
Herod Agrippa I., king		„ 41–44
Procurators:	Cuspius Fadus	„ 44–46
	Tiberius Alexander	„ 46–48
	Cumanus	„ 48–52
	Antonius Felix	„ 52–58 (?)
	Portius Festus	„ 58 (?)–61
	Albinus	„ 61–65
	Gessius Florus	„ 65–66
Fall of Jerusalem		„ 70

Literature.—In addition to the ancient authorities cited in the discussion, see Turner, art. "Chronology of NT" in HDB, "NT Chronology" in EB; Hitchcock, art. "Dates" in DCG; Zenos, art. "Dates" in DAC; Maclean, art. "Chronology of NT" in HSDB; Von Soden, art. "Chronology (NT)" in EBi; Wieseler, *Chronol. Synopse der Evang.* and *Chron. des apost. Zeitalters;* W. M. Ramsay's books; Harnack, *Chron. der altchristl. Litt.*; O. Holtzmann, *NT Zeitgeschichte*[2], pp. 117–147.

[1] Several of the dates are to be taken as approximations only. Our chief authority is Josephus.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HERODS.

ANTIPATER,
Governor of Idumæa

ANTIPATER,
Procurator of Judæa, *d.* 33 B.C.

HEROD THE GREAT, *d.* 4 B.C.,
married five women, had ten children, including

- ARISTOBULUS.
  - HEROD AGRIPPA, *d.* A.D. 44 (Ac. 12).
    - HEROD AGRIPPA II. (Ac. 26).
    - BERENICE.
    - DRUSILLA, *m.* (2) Felix (Ac. 24).
  - HERODIAS, *m.* (1) Herod Philip, (2) Herod Antipas.
  - HEROD, king of Chalcis.
- ALEXANDER (whose descendants were kings of Armenia).
- HEROD PHILIP, *m.* Herodias, who divorced him.
  - Salome.
- ARCHELAUS, king of Judæa 4 B.C., deposed A.D. 6.
- HEROD ANTIPAS, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, *m.* (1) daughter of Aretas, (2) Herodias.
- PHILIP, tetrarch of Ituræa, *m.* Salome.

The following table is based on that given in Moffatt, INT, xviff.; *cf.* Moffatt, *Historical NT*, 79ff. It will be understood that in the second and fourth columns the dates are often only approximate or even conjectural.

	Roman History.	*Jewish and Christian History.*	*Pagan Literature.*	*Jewish and Christian Literature.*
6 B.C.	...	Birth of Jesus	...	...
4 B.C.	Birth of Seneca	Death of Herod the Great	...	...
	...	Herod Antipas to A.D. 39	...	...
A.D. 6	...	Philip tetrarch to A.D. 34	...	...
	Census of Quirinius	Revolt of Zealots under Judas	...	*Assumptio Mosis*
	...	Annas high-priest to 15	...	*Slavonic Enoch* (1–50)
14	Accession of Tiberius	...	...	...
18	...	Caiaphas high-priest to 36	...	...
26	Pilate procurator of Judæa	Preaching of John the Baptist	...	...
27	...	Baptism of Jesus	...	...
29	...	Crucifixion of Jesus	...	...
30 or 35	...	Conversion of Paul	...	...
37	Accession of Caligula	Birth of Josephus	...	...
38	...	Jews persecuted in Alexandria	...	...
41	Accession of Claudius	...	...	...
44	Romans in Britain	Revolt of Theudas	Seneca *flor.* (*d.* 65).	Philo *flor.* (*b.* 20 B.C.)
46	...	...	...	**Galatians.**
49	...	...	...	**1 and 2 Thessalonians**
50	...	Jews banished from Rome	...	...
52	Felix procurator of Judæa	Agrippa II. (50–100)	Persius *flor.* (34–62)	**1 and 2 Corinthians** (52–54)
54	Accession of Nero	...	Petronius Arbiter	...
56	...	Arrest of Paul	...	**Romans**
58	Festus procurator of Judæa	...	...	**? James**
59	...	Paul in Rome	...	...
60	...	...	...	**Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians (?), Philippians**
62	...	James of Jerusalem died	...	...
64	Burning of Rome and Persecution of Christians	Death of Paul and Peter (?)	...	**1 Peter**
66	Revolt of Boadicea in Britain	...	...	...
	Revolt of Jews in Palestine	...	...	...
69	...	Birth of Polycarp	...	...
70	Judæa a separate province	Fall of Jerusalem	...	**Mark**
		Abolition of Sanhedrin		
75	Epictetus in Rome	...	...	Josephus, *Wars of Jews*
	Colosseum building	...	Pliny, *Natural History*	...
79	Accession of Titus	...	...	...
	Destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum	...	...	...
80	...	...	...	**Matthew**
				Hebrews
81	Accession of Domitian	Rabbinic School at Jamnia	...	*Gospel acc. to Hebrews*
				Jude
	Agricola in Britain	...	...	*4 Esdras*
90	Severity towards Jews and Christians	Synod of Jamnia; OT Canon	Martial	...
	Epictetus at Nicopolis		Juvenal	...
93	...	John the Presbyter (Ephesus)	Plutarch *flor.* (48–120)	Josephus, *Antiquities*
94	Philosophers expelled from Rome	...	Quintilian	...
			Tacitus, *Agricola*	

TABLE (*continued*).

	Roman History.	*Jewish and Christian History.*	*Pagan Literature.*	*Jewish and Christian Literature.*
96	Accession of Nerva	Cerinthus	...	**Revelation** Clement of Rome, *Ep. to Corinth*
98	Accession of Trajan	...	...	**Luke** and **Acts** (? *c.* 85) ...
100–115	Pliny's correspondence with Trajan on Christians in Bithynia (112)	Martyrdom of Symeon (107)	Tacitus, *Hist.* (100) Tacitus, *Annals* (115)	**John, 1 John** **Pastoral Epistles** (in present form)
	Jews revolt in Cyrene, Cyprus, etc. (113)	Martyrdom of Ignatius (115)	Pliny, jr., *Letters*	**? James** **2 and 3 John** Gnostic Lit. begins *Ascensio Isaiæ* (part) *Book of Elxai* (?) *Didaché* *Gospel of Egyptians* *Roman Symbol*
117	Accession of Hadrian	Jews revolt in Palestine	...	*Ep.* of Polycarp
	...	Birth of Irenæus	...	*Ebionite Gosp. of the Twelve*
120ff.	Hadrian's Rescript	Basilides in Alexandria	Suetonius	Quadratus, *Apology*
	Wars with Picts and Scots	...	...	Aquila's version of OT *Preaching of Peter* *Sibyll. Or.*, v. 1–51 (?)
130	...	...	...	*Epistle of Barnabas*
135	...	Insurrection of Bar-Cochba	...	Papias, *Exposition of Dominical Sayings* Hermas, *The Shepherd*
140	Antoninus Pius (138–161)	Marcion in Rome	...	*Epistle to Diognetus*, i.-x Aristides, *Apology* *2 Clement*
150	Marcus Aurelius co-regent (147–161)	Marcion's Canon	...	*Apocalypse of Peter*
		Irenæus, Tatian, and Hegesippus in Rome	...	**2 Peter**
150–5	...	Martyrdom of Polycarp (155)	...	Tatian: *Oratio ad Græcos*
	...	Rise of Montanism	...	Justin, *Apology; Dialogue with Trypho* *Gospel of Peter*

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS

By Mr. H. G. WOOD

The results of critical study of the records concerning Jesus have often been represented as largely negative. The issue is said to be a fresh sense alike of the fragmentary character of our information and of the strangeness of the figure of Jesus Himself. To-day we realise that the life of Jesus can never be written. The material is wanting. Neither in quality nor in extent do the gospels satisfy the requirements of a modern biographer. At best they offer us certain memorabilia of the public ministry of Jesus, hardly adequate to construct the story of the year or years during which He evangelised His people, and barely sufficing to mirror the chief features of His message. Where the modern mind is most curious, the gospels seem to be least communicative. Men would fain enter into the secret of the inner life of Jesus, unravel the mystery of His growth up till the time of His showing unto Israel, and trace yet further the development of innermost convictions which conditioned His activity as a prophet. But the facts that the gospels tell us little or nothing of the early life of Jesus, and that almost every story consists of a simple record of outward act and utterance, with few hints as to inward feeling or historical setting, seem at first sight to defeat these hopes of analysing motive and tracing growth. It is indeed only within narrow limits that any such hopes may be realised. For the secret of Jesus belongs to Himself and to them that love Him, and even His loved ones are not in complete possession of that holy mind.

The narratives of the first and third evangelists regarding the birth of Jesus help us but little to interpret His history. Apart from the suspicion that they are later legendary additions framed to answer questions with which the earliest accounts of Jesus were not concerned, they do not serve to explain, except indirectly, the circumstances under which Jesus entered on His ministry. Luke's account of His visit to Jerusalem when He was twelve years old is more valuable for this purpose, as it shows us Jesus conscious of His filial relation to God even in boyhood. But even in that incident the return to Nazareth and the subsequent life in obedience to His parents are not the least significant features.

Jesus was brought up in Nazareth of Galilee, and it is possible to reconstruct with some confidence the environment in which the first thirty years of His life were spent. Nazareth (p. 29) itself seems to have been a busy little town of some 15,000 inhabitants. It was by no means out of the world. One of the roads by which merchant caravans passed from Damascus to Philistia and Egypt wound round the foot of the hill on which Nazareth stood, while the neighbouring hills to the south offered a view of a stretch of country rich in memories of the history of Israel. The same hills would enable a boy to watch companies of pilgrims journeying to and from Jerusalem, and from the hills to the north the varied traffic of an imperial highway came under observation.[1] Is it hazardous to suggest that the references which Jesus makes to the Gentiles reflect the impressions of his boyhood? As a boy He watched the representatives of the great outside world hurrying past on the main roads near Nazareth. What are they seeking? Two characteristics of the Gentiles would be early discovered—their preoccupation with commerce and their standard of greatness. The merchant caravans betray the anxious thought about the morrow, which sets men seeking after things to eat and drink and clothes to wear. Imperial dignitaries, or a suitor for a kingdom like Archelaus, posting along the highway, are typical of the great ones among the Gentiles, who lord it over them. The first impressions of that outside world, with its commercialism and its imperialism, would be conveyed to Jesus by all that He saw on the great roads.

Scattered hints in the gospels afford some idea of the conditions of home-life in Nazareth. In the parable of the Importunate Friend (Lk. 11 5f.) the householder whose slumbers are disturbed does not need to rise to answer the door. He conducts a conversation with his neighbour from the bed which he shares with his children. This is not a large house, and its furniture is simple. After dark, one lamp, rightly placed, suffices to give light to all in the kind of house in which Jesus lived. The streets and marketplace in which the children play their games of pretence by day (now marriages and now funerals engaging their attention) become the outer darkness when night falls; for there are no windows through which the lamps shine, and no street lighting. If you are without you must carry your own lamp, and woe betide you if you forget the oil. The familiar contrast of the outer darkness and the lighted home imaged for Jesus the contrast between gaining and losing the Kingdom.

The domestic economy apparent in the parable of the Importunate Friend must likewise have been familiar to Jesus. He lived among people who had no great margin, whose supply of daily bread, baked at home, did not suffice to cover sudden additional calls. They were not poor, if the word "poor" suggests slum-poverty to us. But they were people who did not always find it easy to make ends meet, who knew what it was to be anxious about the morrow and wonder where to-morrow's bread was coming from. It may perhaps be suggested that when Jesus speaks of the difficulty of sewing patches of new cloth on to old and worn-out garments the illustration is homely in the sense that the fact had been appreciated in His own home in Nazareth.[2] If Joseph died as Jesus was coming to manhood, and

[1] G. Adam Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, pp. 433f.

[2] *Cf.* T. R. Glover, *Conflict of Religions*, p. 121.

while His brothers and sisters were still young, Jesus Himself, we must suppose, became the chief wage-earner and shared with Mary the cares of the household. He certainly watched the leaven at work in the meal when she made the bread, and He may well have rejoiced with His mother over the successful search for a lost coin. A carpenter in Nazareth would come into direct contact with the daily labours and domestic life of his neighbours. He would make yokes and ploughs for peasant-farmers, and domestic utensils for diverse homes. This would result in a natural understanding of the problems of simple homes and trades.

Not all the neighbours of Jesus belonged to the poorer classes. He would know by report at least the local manor-house, where the great householder lived with his retinue of slaves. There were many rich fools in Galilee whose highest wisdom expressed itself in building larger barns—a vanity from which the fowls of the air are free. The conditions of life in the households of these rich men are also familiar. When the master goes out to feast with Dives and stays late, the slaves must wait and watch for his return: when he sets out on a journey he entrusts his property to his slaves and looks to receive his own back with interest. The slaves themselves differ in rank and character. Some are in positions of responsibility: they act as bailiffs and factors and control their fellow-servants. Some receive many talents; others only one. When they are in fault they must throw themselves on the mercy of their lord, and those who most need mercy are not always most ready to show it. Those who have been most closely associated in daily work and life—men-servants who share the same bed, or women who grind at the same mill—will be found to be separated in character and fate. The life of the slave class provides Jesus with many a parable.

It would be easy to multiply particulars of the social background revealed in the teaching of Jesus,[1] but perhaps what has been written in the previous paragraphs suffices to bring out the form in which the contrast of rich and poor was presented to the mind of Jesus, and also to recall the fact that Galilee was the province in which Jews came into most frequent contact with Gentiles. It is not so easy to give a satisfactory picture of the condition of religious and political thought and feeling in Galilee in the time of Jesus.

The Galilæans seem on the whole to have been less gloomy and less fanatical than the Judæans. The facts that they dwelt in a fair and pleasant land, that they were prosperous, and that the Roman yoke pressed but lightly on them, as there was a Jewish king in Galilee when Pontius Pilate was governor in Judæa, combined to make the Galilæans more contented than their fellow-citizens in the south. And yet it was in Galilee that the Zealot movement had its rise and its greatest influence. Perhaps their wealth itself and their natural desire to assert their patriotism eventually drove them in the Zealot direction. They could provide the means for war; they possessed at once the wealth, the industry, and the courage; and, therefore, many even during the boyhood of Jesus were looking to armed revolt as the method of realising God's Kingdom, while in the last crisis Galilee proved the strength of the insurrection. They might be the more inclined to seek salvation by the sword, as it was difficult for them to fulfil the Pharisaic ideal of bringing in the Kingdom through keeping the Law. The presence of numerous Gentiles helped to put the highest standard of legal orthodoxy out of reach of the Galilæan. Moreover, contact with Gentiles inclined many Galilæan Jews towards a laxer view of the claims of the Law. The favourable attitude of the Jewish elders towards the centurion whose case they commended to Jesus (Lk. 7ff.) can hardly have been an isolated example of the good feeling which must often have prevailed between Jews and Gentiles in Galilee. Many Galilæans would endorse the position of enlightened Jews of the Dispersion who strove to commend their religion to God-fearing Gentiles. For all this seeming laxity Judæa despised Galilee. This people with lax religion and a bad accent were clearly under a curse (Jn. 749, Mt. 2673). From among them no prophet would arise (Jn. 741,52).[1] The Galilæans must have resented this, and possibly their political enthusiasms as Herodians or as Zealots were the stronger in consequence.

However this may be, Jesus grew to manhood at a time when Messianic speculations were many and various. Some looked for the coming of the Kingdom through war, others through the perfect observance of the Law. Yet others were busy with discussions of times and seasons. They held that the Kingdom would come only through some supernatural intervention, so they studied apocalyptic forecasts, and set in order the scenes of the last great act in the human drama. (See article on "Apocalyptic Literature.") It must not, however, be supposed that the apocalyptic literature current in the time of our Lord was mainly concerned with the interpretation of visions and symbols. This literature must rather be regarded as the refuge of the mystic from the pressure of legalism. Under the ægis of great names from the past, like Enoch and Moses, men secured liberty to develop their thoughts as to the Kingdom of God and His Christ. In some of these writings the hope of immortality and the duty of forgiveness attained clearer expression than they ever reached in the OT. There seems to have been in Galilee in the second century B.C. a deep spiritual religious life, and Galilee continued to be "the land of the religious mystic and seer," the abode of the less rigid school of Pharisaism, when Jesus and His disciples were preaching the Kingdom.[2] And whether they went far into apocalyptic writings or not, many Galilæans were waiting for the consolation of Israel, and were convinced that only a new apocalypse, a fresh revelation of God, would meet their need. God must visit and redeem His people. Such men and women felt themselves to be in the position of the poor in the Psalms. They would not put their trust in princes, nor yet in horses and chariots. They could not hope to win the fulfilment of God's promise by their own fulfilment of the Law. They hungered and thirsted after righteousness, but they were too conscious of their failure to expect to earn a reward. Unless God still heard the poor man when he cried, there was no hope for Israel.[3] Among the poor in spirit Jesus would find this yearning after a new revelation of God (see further p. 637, and the article on "Contemporary Jewish Religion").

In His home and in the synagogue with its school,

[1] For this topic consult Weinel, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, p. 75; T. R. Glover, *The Jesus of History*, ch. ii.

[1] Nathanael's question in Jn. 146 may imply, not that Nazareth was a town of peculiarly bad morals, but that being in Galilee it could not produce the Christ.

[2] See Charles, *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments*, esp. pp. 156f.

[3] See Sanday, *Outlines of the Life of Christ*, pp. 22f.

Jesus would become familiar with the religious tradition of His people. He never received the education of a scribe, the kind of training which moulded the mind of Paul (Mk. 62, Jn. 715). He handled the Scriptures with a freedom which distressed the bibliolaters of His day, and yet the OT was to Him the word of God. If we may judge from direct quotations attributed to Jesus, Isaiah among the prophets and Deuteronomy among the law-books most influenced Him, and the next place might be assigned to certain of the Psalms and some passages in Daniel. Jesus found in the OT the anticipation, if not the interpretation, of His own experience, and to it He turned in the crises of His life. The revelation at the baptism came to Him clothed in the words of Ps. 2 and Is. 42. With passages from Deuteronomy He met and foiled each temptation. In the light of the concluding chapters of Malachi He interpreted the significance of John the Baptist. The well-known prophecy of Zechariah may have suggested the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. In Isaiah and in Ps. 118 Jesus found the clue to the failure of His people to receive Him. Is. 53 probably sustained His conviction that His death would be a ransom for many. The language of the Pss. expressed His last thoughts upon the Cross. The mind of the Christ was clearly at home in the OT.

With regard to the apocalyptic writings (p. 431) the case is not so clear; but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that at least the Book of Enoch and the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs must be ranked among the books which influenced our Lord as well as His apostles. Where in the gospels the title "Son of Man" is clearly Messianic, and the Son of Man is endowed with supernatural attributes, it is difficult to deny the influence of the Book of Enoch as well as of Dan. 713. The picture of the last judgment in Mt. 25, as well as the conception of Gehenna, seems also to reflect the teaching embodied in Enoch. The bringing together of the two great commandments, and the teaching about forgiveness in the Sermon on the Mount, are apparently anticipated in the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs.[1] Whether or no there is direct literary dependence, it is clear that Jesus accepted in some important particulars the language and thought of a circle which had been influenced by these apocalyptic writings. At the same time we must beware of speaking as if Jesus were dependent on literary sources for inspiration. His teaching cannot be constructed out of quotations: it is no mere echo of earlier writers. With the possible exception of the entry into Jerusalem on an ass, His attitude and His conduct never seem to be determined by preoccupation with a particular passage of Scripture. That the successive phases of the ministry of Jesus were guided by some established system of eschatological development, as Schweitzer apparently believes, seems to me a fanciful theory. So far as I can judge, there is no such dependence on a literary tradition to be traced in the story of Jesus. That His life in God was nourished by the OT and by apocalyptic books is true, but His life is still His own.

In the fifteenth year of Tiberius (*i.e.* A.D. 26 or 27; *cf.* p. 652), John the Baptist began his ministry. In outward appearance and in spirit he seemed to the people to resemble Elijah. The burden of his message was a call to repentance—national repentance. This summons he addressed to the whole people, including their leaders. The severe asceticism in food and dress which he practised, itself served to set forth the fasting which should accompany repentance. The call to repent was urgent, because John thought the Kingdom of God was about to come, and it would come in a revelation of wrath, a fire of judgment. Messiah Himself could not be far off, and He would appear suddenly among His people as their judge. All who hoped to stand before Him must repent, and prove the genuineness of their repentance by receiving baptism—a rite which would serve both as a pledge of forgiveness and as a sign of a complete break with the past. John does not seem to have set up any new standards of conduct. He demanded a more rigid adherence to recognised moral laws. He called for charity and for simple honesty. Josephus and the gospels agree as to the wide popular influence that John exerted. His message roused the nation, though he wrought no miracle to attest his prophetic claim. The people were thrilled, because here at last they felt they were in the presence of a man sent from God.

The profound impression made by John the Baptist can be understood only when we recall the long period that had supervened since the last of the recognised prophets. The whole development of Judaism had tended to perpetuate the silence of the prophets. "From the time of Ezra the Law not only assumed the functions of the ancient pre-exilic prophets, but also so far as lay in its power made the revival of such prophecy an impossibility." Pseudonymous apocalypses were the natural literary form of the period between the Old and New Testaments, because no one dared speak in his own name. "Anyone who like the ancient order of prophets appeared personally before the people as a representative of God, independent of traditional law or ordinance, was practically regarded as an impostor."[1] Now John the Baptist did thus appear like one of the old prophets, and the people responded, though their leaders were naturally perplexed and felt as if they had lost their bearings.

Among the many Galilæans who flocked to John's baptism, came Jesus from Nazareth. The thirty obscure years were ended, and He was about to enter on a new way of life. Why did He seek baptism? Did He need to repent? The first evangelist evidently felt that the baptism of Jesus created a difficulty, since it seemed to cast doubt on His sinlessness, but the scruple of John and the answer of Jesus (Mt. 314f.) do not explain the motive of Jesus in coming to John. When the Gospel of the Hebrews suggests that His relatives persuaded Him to be baptized, the explanation is fuller but less convincing. There is no reason to suppose that the question of His own sinlessness entered into the mind of Jesus or His friends at the time of the baptism. The baptism of Jesus is His identification of Himself with the sinful people whom He came to save. His sharing in the national response to John's appeal meant that He too, like the common people, believed John to be a genuine prophet, believed the Kingdom to be at hand, and believed the whole nation to be in need of repentance. In taking up this attitude Jesus entered on the path which led to a breach with the religious leaders of His people. He was committing Himself to the quarrel with Pharisees and Sadducees.

Jesus then came to John to be baptized, and at His baptism He received a vision and heard a voice from heaven, "Thou art my beloved son: in thee am I well pleased." The later evangelists tend to emphasize

[1] See Charles, *Testament of the XII Patriarchs*, pp. xcliff., *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, vol. ii. pp. 292f., *Religious Development*, pp. 153–8.

[1] Charles, *Religious Development*, pp. 39–41.

the objective character of the vision, and to the fourth evangelist it is simply an outward sign granted to John the Baptist to enable him to distinguish the Messiah. But the primary importance of the vision was for Jesus Himself. It is naturally interpreted as implying the full development of the Messianic consciousness in Jesus. In the baptism it was revealed to Him that He was the Coming One of whom John spoke, He was destined to be the Christ. The attempt to find the significance of the baptism in the growth of a sense of Sonship which is still not distinctively Messianic seems to do less than justice to the incident, as it compels us to surrender the Messianic character of the story of the Temptation, and fails to explain how the filial consciousness of Jesus stood in relation to the ministry of John the Baptist. Jesus felt Himself compelled to take some part in the work of the Kingdom of God, and it was not that of a simple herald like John the Baptist. For had He been called merely to repeat John's message He would never have been driven into the wilderness by the overwhelming nature of the call of God. The vision marked out Jesus for an isolation among men which was to endure more than the forty days in the desert. He knew Himself to be greater and other than John the Baptist.

The Temptations all arise in connexion with the fulfilment of the Messianic office. As the Christ, Jesus is conscious of possessing certain Divine powers. How are these powers to be used, and how will the recognition of His Messiahship be secured? In the first temptation He meets the natural desire to satisfy His own immediate needs by the exercise of Divine prerogatives. Miracle presents itself as a tempting short-cut to the solution of a commonplace economic problem. But Jesus may not use His power either to satisfy His own material needs or to provide easy solutions for the practical difficulties which He will have to face in the course of His ministry. If we follow Mt.'s order, the second temptation turns on the suggestion that a power which may not be used for personal ends may legitimately be exerted to prove the Messianic claim of its possessor. "A sign from heaven" is expected by the people. Such a sign is described and promised in the psalm where it is said, "He shall give his angels charge concerning thee." Let Jesus prove His Messiahship by throwing Himself from the Temple, trusting God's promise. This will not fail, and the proof of God's care will convert the nation. The reality of the temptation lay in the strength of the popular expectation. Had He given such a sign from heaven, thousands would have acclaimed Him. Even at the last had He come down from the cross, they professed they would have believed in Him. But Jesus always set on one side this demand for a sign, as being a temptation. He was not to win men by providing easily for material needs: He was not to overawe them by an external sign whereby, as men thought and think, the truth of religion would be writ plain across the face of heaven. The third temptation held out the lure of world-wide power. The Christ shall be great after the pattern of Alexander. Once in power and authority, He may mould the minds of men as He will. "The act of homage to the evil spirit to which Christ was tempted was the founding of his Messianic kingdom upon force." "But he deliberately determines to adopt another course, to found his empire upon the consent and not the fears of mankind, to trust himself with his royal claims and his terrible purity and superiority defenceless among mankind, and, however bitterly their envy may persecute him, to use his supernatural powers only in doing them good. This he actually did and evidently in pursuance of a fixed plan."[1] When Jesus left the wilderness, the principles He was to follow in His ministry had clearly been established as a result of conflict with temptation. Jesus, because He is the Christ, may not minister to Himself, and will live in utter dependence on God, whose word will guide Him. He cannot give the people the sign they naturally expect, and He will, therefore, fail to satisfy the obvious test to which the leaders of the people will appeal. He may not seek or use political and military power, and thereby He will disappoint the hopes of the Zealots.

According to Mk. 1^{14}, Jesus did not begin to preach as soon as the Temptation was ended. At least, He did not at once return to Galilee. He seems to have remained in close association with the work of John the Baptist until the latter was arrested. The fourth evangelist may be right in suggesting that Jesus even entered upon His own prophetic ministry in the neighbourhood of the Jordan, and in Jerusalem itself. There is something attractive in the early date which the fourth evangelist assigns to the cleansing of the Temple. If that incident really implies a hope of a restored and purified Temple worship, it would more fittingly occur at the beginning than at the end of the ministry. That Jesus began to make disciples, and that some may have begun to suspect His secret even then, is not improbable. The call of the first four disciples on the shores of the lake of Gennesaret would be more readily understood if they had met with Jesus before. At all events, Mark's narrative implies a period between the Temptation and the beginning of the public ministry in Galilee, and during that period Jesus seems to have been working with John, and may have made His own first appeal to Jerusalem.

The imprisonment of John the Baptist apparently determined Jesus to return to Galilee and continue John's ministry among His own people. The Synoptists suggest that Jesus repeated the substance of John's message. He preached repentance, and based His appeal on the same ground, the nearness of the Kingdom. But the ministry of Jesus was no mere continuation of the movement initiated by the Baptist. The people were quick to appreciate the difference. The most clearly contemporary verdict on Jesus contrasts Him as a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber with the austere prophet who came neither eating nor drinking. The difference between the Masters is reproduced in the conduct of their followers. The disciples of Jesus do not fast like those of John. They have found a new joy. A message which had been a threat when John uttered it, became an invitation on the lips of Jesus. Men marvelled at His gracious words. If Jesus were the Messiah, He was not the Messiah whom John had led his followers to expect. He did not apparently sift wheat from chaff or baptize with fire. He did not proclaim the day of vengeance of our God, but the acceptable year of the Lord.

In form the message of Jesus might coincide with that of John, in essence it was distinct. To John the nearness of the Kingdom spelt judgment; when Jesus says the Kingdom is at hand it implies a present opportunity. Jesus knows the Kingdom is near because He Himself possesses the power to bestow the blessings of the Kingdom, healing of mind and body, the driving out of evil spirits, the forgiveness

[1] Seeley, *Ecce Homo*[30], p. 15. On the story of the Temptation read a most striking chapter in Dostoieffsky's *The Brothers Karamazoff*. See also pp. 702f. (Mt. 4$^{1-11}$).

of sins, the life of trust in God and of joyous fellowship with men. He no longer invites men to an outward baptism—a seal of their fitness to receive blessings hereafter. He offers them the substance of the sign—the liberation of the soul from sin and sickness. The ministry of healing itself created a broad difference between the work of Jesus and the work of His forerunner. John wrought no miracle. Jesus carried with Him a healing influence of strange power. Men marvelled at the apparent ease with which He performed His cures. He used no elaborate system of exorcism. With a word He silenced and expelled demons. He possessed a natural authority to which evil spirits at once submitted. No form of disease, not even death itself, could defy His power to save. The message of the nearness of the Kingdom acquired a new meaning when it was enforced by the expulsion of demons and the healing of disease.

Repentance also became something more than John had in mind, when Jesus became the preacher. John urged men to make a more rigorous application of old standards. Jesus called them to adopt new standards. He invited them to accept principles in virtue of which the Law itself might be criticised. He proclaimed a new righteousness—a new righteousness not so much made reasonable as made possible by the advent of the Kingdom. For the teaching of Jesus is not an interim-ethic, it is not moral heroism turned into common-sense through belief in an impending crisis. It is rather, as Seeley saw, a summons to a new moral endeavour, an appeal to virtue to become enthusiastic and take the offensive. It demands a revolution in human life, for the sake of the revolution, and Jesus demands such a change in men, because the power of God is already working through Him in a new way.

These two characteristics, the miracles of healing and the new ethical demand, differentiate the ministry of Jesus from that of John. Both spring out of Jesus' conscious possession of powers that belong to the Kingdom of God. They are so fundamental that we must attempt a further analysis of them before proceeding with the development of the story.

The ministry of healing raises many questions. There is first the problem of historicity. It cannot be claimed that all stories of miracle recorded in the gospels are equally well attested. Suspicion and doubt of varying kinds and degrees attach to many of them. We may doubt the withering of the fig-tree (Mk. 11_{12-14}*), because such a miracle of destruction seems to us unlike Jesus, or because it seems to be an instance in which a miracle has grown out of a parable. We may suspect the stater in the fish's mouth (Mt. 17_{27}*), because it comes to us only on the testimony of the first gospel, because the occasion of the miracle is trivial, and because the basis of the story is a folklore motive. The strange silence of the Synoptists may make us hesitate to accept the raising of Lazarus (Jn. 11) as history. A more *a priori* and, in my judgment, less defensible canon of evidence may lead some to discard what are called nature-miracles, *i.e.* stories which imply that Jesus exercised creative control over inanimate nature, as when He is said to have stilled the tempest, or multiplied the loaves, or walked on the sea. But whatever suspicions attach to particular stories, there remains a large number of stories of miraculous cure which can be denied only if we are prepared to discredit our primary authorities altogether. The curious developments of the Christ-myth are sufficient warning against the irrationality of so distrusting our witnesses Stories like those of the paralytic, of the man with the withered hand, of the Gadarene demoniac, or of Jairus' daughter, are not open to serious doubt. The broad fact of the ministry of healing, and many of the particular incidents, are guaranteed by evidence which cannot reasonably be disputed. And the facts so evidenced go beyond any parallels from the records of modern spiritual healing. It is not a tenable position to say we will accept as credible of Jesus only such cures as seem possible to our present powers of faith-healing or healing by suggestion. The confidence and the achievement of Jesus certainly went beyond anything to which men have attained to-day.

If it be true that Jesus wrought wondrous cures, the character of some of these cures raises another problem of some difficulty. Many of the stories related of Jesus are stories of the healing of demoniacs, and in some of the cases of the cure of disease the disease is attributed to evil powers (*e.g.* Lk. 13_{16}). From Mk.'s gospel it appears that the driving out of demons was an essential part of the proclamation of the Kingdom. Jesus Himself clearly believed in demons, and saw a proof of the nearness of the Kingdom in the downfall of their power. He apparently accepted the popular diagnosis of disease as due to demonic influence.

From the historian's point of view the prominence thus given to the driving out of demons is to be expected in a genuine popular tradition, and in a religious movement which embraced not many rich, not many wise, and not many noble. But for faith it raises the question of the limitations of the knowledge of Jesus. If the belief in demons be entirely illusory—a modern assumption which is seldom questioned, though it is certainly questionable,—then Jesus was involved in a popular error. If the belief were only in part erroneous—and that it was and is in part superstitious can scarcely be doubted,—then our records do not lead us to suppose that Jesus Himself ever said anything to correct the element of mistake in a belief which He shared with the common people. The same issue in principle is raised by our Lord's unquestioning acceptance of the current Jewish traditions as to the character and authorship of OT writings. So far as the driving out of demons is concerned, it may be argued that no relief could be brought to the demon-possessed by denying the existence of these evil spirits. Mere negations are useless to restore spiritual health and freedom. Only a positive assurance of the reality of God's protection could lay for ever these spectres of the mind. And it was the work of Jesus to solve the religious problem, not to raise the scientific question. At the same time, traditional orthodoxy finds it hard to admit that Jesus may have been mistaken in matters of ordinary human knowledge. Belief in the infallibility of Jesus is the modern form of Docetism (p. 916). Moreover, the absence of the critical attitude in Jesus with reference to astronomy, medicine, or literary traditions makes it difficult for us to-day to recognise the real kinship between the scientific spirit of inquiry and the mind of Christ.

We must not, on account of these difficulties, belittle or ignore the considerable part which exorcism and the work of healing played in the ministry of Jesus. The significance of this side of the gospel records is well brought out in the following paragraph from *Ecce Homo*:[1] "Of his two great gifts, the power over nature and the high moral wisdom and ascendancy over men, the former might be the more astonishing, but it is the latter which gives him his everlasting

[1] *Ecce Homo*[20], p. 177 (ch. xvi).

dominion. He might have left to all subsequent ages more instruction if he had bestowed less time upon diminishing slightly the mass of evil around him, and lengthening by a span the short lives of the generation in the midst of which he lived. The whole amount of good done by such works of charity could not be great, compared with Christ's powers of doing good; and if they were intended, as is often supposed, merely as attestations of his divine mission, a few acts of the kind would have served this purpose as well as many. Yet we may see that they were in fact the great work of his life; his biography may be summed up in the words, 'he went about doing good'; his wise words were secondary to his beneficial deeds; the latter were not introductory to the former, but the former grew occasionally and, as it were, accidentally out of the latter. The explanation of this is that Christ merely reduced to practice his own principle. His morality required that the welfare and happiness of others should not merely be remembered as a restraint upon action, but should be made the principal motive of action, and what he preached in words he preached still more impressively and zealously in deeds. He set the first and greatest example of a life wholly governed and guided by the passion of humanity."

The foregoing paragraph incidentally raises the question of the evidential value of miracles. That Jesus did not deliberately work miracles as proof of His Messianic claim needs no demonstration. He refused to give any such sign. It is also clear that the miracles attributed to Him did not suffice to convince the religious leaders of Judaism that God was with Him. They did not deny the miracles, but they thought they might be explained by postulating diabolic control, or more charitably they could be regarded as parallel to the miracles of earlier prophets or contemporary rabbis. Thus the miracles possessed no overwhelming evidential value for those who witnessed them. Yet Jesus does appeal to His works as testifying to the nearness of the Kingdom, and they remain to-day as the expression of a Divine compassion. But Jesus did not regard the power to heal as a prerogative to be kept peculiarly His own. He bestowed His gift on His disciples, and welcomed in others the faith which claimed a share in this grace. It was part of the life of the Kingdom. And this fact throws doubt on the theory that miracles were only intended to give support to the nascent Church. It strengthens the view that true faith should possess the power to heal at the present time.

The new ethical demand, which Jesus made upon men when He preached repentance, was likewise the natural outcome of the life of the Kingdom of God, the expression of the life which Jesus was bringing to men. To attempt to systematise the teaching of Jesus is to risk obscuring it. As has been already suggested, many sayings of Jesus are occasional in character, utterances drawn from Him by particular circumstances. Though such utterances reveal one spirit, they are misused if we treat them as hard-and-fast rules. We may so systematise as to lose the sense of spontaneity in the speech of Jesus.[1] The sentence of Pascal's should be borne in mind: "Jesus Christ speaks the greatest things so simply that it seems as if He had never thought upon them." The teaching, like the ministry of healing, is the inevitable self-revelation of Jesus.

The root and ground of the character which Jesus sought to create in men was trust in God. Men's want of faith caused Him to marvel: the disciples' little faith and slowness of heart to believe drew down His rebukes. Wherever He came across men and women exercising faith, they won His glad recognition and His praise. He went out of His way to encourage and stablish trust in God. Genuine faith, however small, was capable of working marvels. The root trouble with men is a mistake about God, and only faith can make them whole.

The emphasis then in the teaching of Jesus falls on the first commandment, on the maintenance of the right attitude towards God. Obedience to the first commandment is made possible through the knowledge of God which Jesus comes to bring. The secret of trust in God is disclosed through the Sonship of Jesus, through learning to know God as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ

God, as revealed in Jesus, is a God whose tender mercies are over all His works. "He providently caters for the sparrow and Himself attends its obsequies." The world of nature is instinct with God and reveals His ceaseless care. He is kind even to the thankless. He knows men's needs before they open their mouths, and the least details of our lives are not left out of God's thought toward us. God's Fatherhood is thus revealed in providence, but it is even more clearly expressed in His purpose for mankind. For God is already fulfilling His promise to His people, through the message of John the Baptist and the coming of Jesus. It is God's will that His Kingdom should come upon earth, and He is always working to that end. God is drawing near to man in Jesus, and therein is His Fatherhood supremely manifest. The sense of the nearness and the reality of the God of love is Jesus' gift to men. This sense of nearness is expressed in His use of the term "Abba," in addressing His Father. Negatively it is apparent in the abandonment of the customary terms of address of Jewish piety, and in the absence of the adjective "holy." Moffatt points out that Jesus uses the term "holy," in relation to God, only once in the four gospels. The word implied a sense of distance that was untrue to the experience of Jesus.[1]

The faith in God which Jesus desired would put an end to anxiety and fear. The danger of riches is that they fill the mind with cares which are at bottom distrust or forgetfulness of God. The mainspring of the service of Mammon is want of faith. If men believed in God's care and sought His Kingdom they would not be anxious about the morrow. Nor would they be fearful about the Kingdom itself. Their prayer would not be anxious prayer. Part of the meaning of repentance, as Jesus preached it, lay in getting rid of anxiety and fear.

The demand for sincerity is associated with the demand for courage, and like the latter is conditioned by the thought of the Fatherhood of God. Because God sees in secret, all unreality in worship stands condemned. If men are to enjoy God's presence, the heart must be pure, and righteousness must be inward. It is not enough to avoid the outward act: the root of the evil in thought and feeling must be taken away. Defilement comes from within. It is the tree that must be made good. So anger out of which murder comes is to be condemned no less than murder itself, and the lustful desire is no less sinful than committed adultery.

Again, the nature of God compels us to link the second commandment inseparably with the first. We

[1] *Cf.* Glover, *Conflict of Religions*, p. 119.

[1] For this whole subject, consult Moffatt, *Theology of the Gospels*' ch. 3.

must love our neighbours as ourselves, and we must do this that we may be like our Father in heaven. The saying, "Be ye perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect," has been described as the most courageous appeal ever made to men. "The doctrine sounds heroic to ordinary human nature, but Jesus does not present it as heroic. He grounds His demand upon the natural attitude of the Father, upon what Francis of Assisi called 'the great courtesy of God.'"[1] From this main principle of love all other particular duties will follow. It embraces alike what Seeley calls the law of forgiveness and the law of resentment. It particularly engages us to charity in judgment and humility in service.

The ideal of faith, purity and love, which Jesus set before men, is clearly not dependent on any particular forms of worship. As we have seen, Jesus did not apparently continue John's baptism, and the repentance He desired was not associated with any rite. Indeed, the ritual side of the Law was definitely subordinated to the ethical in the mind of Jesus. Mercy and not sacrifice is God's demand from men. Sabbath observance and laws of ceremonial cleanness are at best but secondary elements in religion. Reconciliation with one's brother is a condition precedent to acceptable worship. We cannot pray aright unless we forgive as we pray. Repentance, as Jesus taught it, was to revolutionise the spirit and contents of men's prayers. Prayer itself remained the essence of the religious life, the way in which men were to maintain their communion with God and to hasten the coming of His Kingdom.

Jesus did not lay down rules even with regard to prayer. He encouraged men to pray and gave them a guide to prayer. But He did not appoint times and seasons, nor was the Lord's Prayer offered as a stereotyped form. The whole ideal of Jesus is of this free inward character. "Jesus laid a good deal more stress on unconscious instinct than most moralists do." Goodness by rule was of little value in His eyes. He valued goodness as a man's self-expression. His consequent quarrel with precisians and Pharisees, together with the fact that His own attitude is so unstudied, justifies the sense of kinship which many great artists and unconventional individualists have claimed to feel with Jesus. There is more than a half-truth in the sentence, "He who would lead a Christ-like life is he who is perfectly and absolutely himself." But some who have recognised this free breath of individuality in Jesus have failed to understand the primacy which Jesus assigned to faith in God and love to men. The message of Jesus was not "Be yourself" in the sense of becoming whatever self happened to be most attractive or powerful in youth. Jesus knew that some men would have to become eunuchs for the sake of the Kingdom of God, and that to escape damnation some would need to go through life with a personality apparently maimed. Here the artist and the individualist have not found it so easy to acclaim Jesus.

One other general aspect of the teaching may be touched on before we return to the narrative. The teaching of Jesus has been criticised because it includes an appeal to rewards and punishments. A virtue which desires any other reward than itself is dubious virtue, and to many minds there seems to be something attractive in what may be termed hopeless heroism, in the idea that man's highest virtue is to defy unmoved an inexorable fate. Is there not something lower in a teaching which assures men that they shall in no wise lose their reward? On this two observations seem necessary. First, the rewards which Jesus offers are not external or material. They consist in fellowship with God. Secondly, Jesus could not be silent as to rewards and punishments without being insincere. The certainty of gain or loss is bound up with His confidence in the nearness of the Kingdom and in the goodness of God. Since God is not the God of the dead but of the living, "an absolute value attaches to our personalities as they are directed to the ends of God." Jesus could not endorse the kind of heroism which some men count morally superior to His teaching, because, unless Jesus was fundamentally mistaken, that heroism is founded on a lie.

When Jesus began to publish abroad the good tidings of the Kingdom in Galilee there is no reason to suppose that He encountered immediate hostility. The message and the messenger were welcome. The synagogues were open to Him, and He attended the synagogue services habitually. His withdrawal to desert places and the adoption of an open-air ministry did not arise in the first instance from the antagonism of the authorities, but from the dangerous pressure of the crowds that sought to hear Him or came to be healed in the towns (Mk. 145). Indeed, Jesus found that He could not Himself reach the many who wanted to come into contact with Him, or whom He desired to evangelize. He had to tear Himself away from Capernaum lest the importunity of His friends should deprive other cities of their share in His ministry (Mk. 135f.). From among the men who attached themselves to Him He organised a group of twelve (Mk. 313–19*), who should proclaim the Kingdom over a wider area than He Himself could cover; and we need not suppose that the task of evangelization was confined to twelve, though Lk.'s account of the mission of the seventy may be motived by the idea that Jesus must have appointed heralds for the traditional seventy nations of the earth as well as for the twelve tribes of Israel. In any case the consciousness that the fields were white already to harvest impelled Jesus to send forth labourers into the harvest. The note of urgency runs through the directions which Jesus gave to those who were to evangelize Galilee. They were to travel quickly and with the barest equipment (*cf.* Mk. 67–13 and Lk. 102–12, omitting 3, which does not seem to belong to this context).

This insistence on the need of delivering the message with haste seems to reflect the view that the time for repentance is short.[1] The nearness of the Kingdom requires that invitation and warning be carried far and wide as quickly as possible. But the eagerness of the people to hear, and the knowledge that the disciples will be hindered in their preaching by their power to heal, may also account for the stringency of the injunctions which the Master laid upon His followers. If the wider appeal through the disciples was not attempted until the ministry in Galilee was well advanced, another motive may have come into play. Jesus may have begun to suspect that His own opportunity of calling men to repentance was likely to be short. He has come to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, but a year soon ends, and the forces are gathering which point to the passing of the season of God's favour.

[1] Moffatt, *op. cit.* p. 104.

[1] If Mt. 1023* was uttered with reference to this situation, Jesus must have supposed that the Son of Man might come before the disciples returned from journeying through the cities of Israel. It is, however, improbable that Mt. 10 is confined to directions for the earliest missionary work of the Twelve. From 16 onwards a later situation seems to be implied.

The later antagonism between Christianity and Judaism may have coloured the evangelists' record of the conflict of Jesus with the Pharisees. They would be tempted to regard it as existent from the very beginning, and to dwell on the denunciations which fell from the lips of Jesus. Yet the suspicions of the Pharisees must have been aroused in the first period of the Galilæan ministry, and apparently deepened into hostility before Jesus made His wider appeal to the people through the agency of the disciples. The conflict turned on no petty personal issue, but on a profound religious difference. There is little reason to suppose the Pharisees to have been prompted by jealousy of a teacher unaccredited by the schools. They came to feel that Jesus held lightly what they held dear. Their ideal of preciseness and exactitude, of the painstaking fulfilment of the Law in detail, was clearly rejected by Jesus. The traditions of the elders which the Pharisees prized as forming a hedge round the Law, Jesus readily disregarded or condemned. He defends His disciples when they give up the practice of fasting. He treats the carefully thought-out regulations for ceremonial cleanness as if they had no sanction in the Divine Law, and as if they had no significance for true religion. The Law itself is really abrogated when Jesus denies that things from without can defile a man. Nor does the prophet of Nazareth halt there in His criticism of the Law. He considers the Mosaic law on the subject of divorce as an accommodation to human weakness rather than the expression of God's will. "He looses where Moses binds, and binds where Moses left men free." Even the Sabbath is not safe in His hands. He and His disciples are lax in their observance of the day of rest, and He refuses to treat the fourth commandment as an absolute rule. Finally, He claims the power to forgive sins which belongs to God alone.[1]

With such evidence of heresy and blasphemy the Pharisees could not fail to set themselves in opposition to Jesus. The quarrel could not be avoided unless they were willing to change their whole conception of the Law. Since they were not prepared to do this they were obliged to resist and explain away the favourable impression made by Jesus' words of grace and deeds of mercy. If here and there among the people men asked, "Can this be the Christ?" it was easy to point out that Jesus came from Galilee, whereas the Christ when He comes is either of unknown origin or is born in Bethlehem of the house of David. The widespread belief that Jesus was a prophet had to be met by discrediting His miracles and defaming His character. The demons, it was urged, yielded to one who was in league with Beelzebub and who was Himself possessed. As a religious teacher Jesus was manifestly disqualified by want of Rabbinic learning, while His claim to be a prophet foundered on His association with publicans and sinners. If He had been a prophet He would have held aloof from all such. The Man of Nazareth was obviously a sinner.

The breach between Jesus and the Pharisees did not at once become irreparable. It is sometimes supposed that Jesus habitually assailed His critics with invective —a supposition that is supported by the unfortunate and surely misleading setting given to some of the woes on Pharisees and lawyers in Lk. 11*. Certainly the charge of casting out demons by Beelzebub is repudiated with indignation, and the anger of Jesus was aroused whenever He was aware that the Pharisees were watching Him with hostile intent or were seeking to trap Him (*e.g.* Mk. 3₂, 8₁₁, 12₁₅, Jn. 8₁–₁₁). But it is clear that during the first period of the ministry at least, Jesus was often in friendly contact with Pharisees. More important still is the fact that Jesus met His critics, not with denunciation, but with gentle irony (Mk. 2₁₇), and with the most wonderful of His parables. If their conception of the Law prevented the Pharisees from understanding Jesus, it was not because He did not make an almost irresistible appeal. It is sometimes forgotten that the parable of the Prodigal Son is addressed to the Pharisees, and in view of this fact we cannot say that Jesus never attempted to win them. The story recorded at the end of Lk. 7, or the *pericope adulteræ* (Jn. 7₅₃–8₁₁), would suffice to show how Jesus sought to reach the hearts of these men. Yet clearly, during the closing scenes of the ministry, Jesus passed from appeal to denunciation. He was not content to deny what they said of Him: He brought charges against them. He accused them of hypocrisy, of self-satisfaction and display, of love of honours and lack of humility. He reproached them with extortion, and some of His teaching about wealth is thought by Lk. to have been directed against the Pharisees. He denounced their casuistry, and the want of a sense of proportion which made them treat niceties of legal observance as of equal importance with its weightier matters. Perhaps the most serious charge of all lies in the assertion that they were blind leaders, who kept men out of the Kingdom while refusing to enter themselves. The woes in Mt. 23 are expansions of the woe on the man through whom offences come. The denunciations of the Pharisees are prompted by compassion for the people they misled.

It is suggested that these strictures on the Pharisees are one-sided. As a class they were not avaricious or consciously divorcing practice from profession. The charge of hypocrisy springs, it is urged, from the inability of the man of intuitive religion to believe that little formal acts of religious observance pedantically fulfilled can be inspired by a genuine piety (*cf.* Herford, *Pharisaism*, ch. 3). The Law did not mean to Jesus what it meant to the Pharisees, and consequently He could not understand them. We are in the presence of an unfortunate but inevitable antipathy, and it is time we recognised in Pharisaism "a religion entitled to be judged on its own merits and by its own standards."

On some points this plea for a revision of judgment will probably be established. In reference to love of money or pride of place, either Jesus or the evangelists would seem to be condemning a whole class for the faults of some members of it. But a complete reversal of judgment cannot so easily be conceded. The want of a sense of proportion and the tendency to seek a meritorious righteousness of one's own are the inherent weaknesses of religions of Law through all time. And after all no religion is entitled to be judged by its own standards, and every religion must bear the burden of its failures. To rehabilitate Pharisaism as a spiritual religion we must excuse the Crucifixion. Jesus charged the Pharisees with continuing the spirit of their fathers who slew the prophets, and history has sustained the charge.

The conflict of Jesus with Pharisaism raises the question of His attitude towards the Law. Jesus clearly regarded the Law and the Prophets as the word of God, and claimed to fulfil them. This claim is interpreted in Mt. to mean detailed observance (Mt. 5₁₇–₂₀, 23₂,₂₃). But manifestly Jesus did not accept legal standards in the sense implied in such passages. He took from the OT all that accorded with His own life. The rest He ignored or treated as of temporary

[1] On the whole subject see Herford, *Pharisaism*, esp. ch. 3.

significance. He offended the wise and prudent because He never attempted to interpret or allegorise the OT in harmony with His own views. Like a child, He assumed that the true meaning of the OT coincided with His own intuitive reading of God's will and nature. It is sometimes said that the attitude of Jesus towards the Law was ambiguous, that He was never consciously disloyal to it while He was in fact departing from it. It would be truer to say that Jesus was never concerned to give systematic expression and theoretic justification to His view of the Law. Hence arose some hesitation in the minds of His Jewish disciples, who tried to combine their inherited reverence for the Law with the spirit of freedom they learnt from their Lord; but we do not gather that the Pharisees charged Him with inconsistency (*cf*, Mt 23*2f.**).

In reviewing the relations of Jesus with the religious leaders of His people, we have passed beyond the earlier stages of His public ministry. In Galilee the growing enthusiasm of the people proved even more embarrassing than the deepening hostility of the Pharisees. The message of John, repeated by Jesus, would of itself occasion excitement, and roused hopes of a speedy national deliverance. According to Jn. 6*15* the crowd on one occasion would have taken Jesus by force to make Him king. The obscure passage in Mt. 11*12* may also refer to the popular ferment of the time. The people were like shepherdless sheep, wanting leaders. Their eager expectations of the military overthrow of Rome were destined to be exploited by unscrupulous men and to end in national disaster. The urgency of the appeal of Jesus springs from a consciousness of danger: the failure of it issues in a sense of doom (Mt. 11*20–24*, Lk. 13*1f.*, 19*41–44*, Mk. 12*1–12*).

The enthusiasm stirred by the preaching of Jesus was so great that He had to take measures to avoid the crowds. But in His teaching also He set Himself to remove misconception as to the nature of the Kingdom, and to urge patience and quietness. The adoption of the parabolic method seems to have been intended to allay excitement. Some of the parables directly enforce the lesson of patience. The parable of the Tares deprecates hasty, violent destruction in the interests of the Kingdom. The point of the parable of the seed growing secretly can scarcely be the certainty of the harvest, but rather the quiet steadiness of growth about which man need not be anxious. Jesus deliberately discouraged speculation about the consummation of the Kingdom, as witness His answers to such questions as "Are there few that be saved?" or "Wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" (see further Lk. 17*20*, 19*11f.*). He prepared men to wait and watch and pray without losing heart. He dwelt too on the immediate blessings of the Kingdom (*cf*. Mk. 10*30*, and such parables as Mt. 13*44–46*). The essential thing is to be ready for the Kingdom when it comes, by entering into the life of the Kingdom before it comes.

Moreover, though the ministry of Jesus was confined to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, yet His appeal was not national in character. He repudiated the Zealot movement, and some of the teachings in the Sermon on the Mount probably have a direct reference to the contrary spirit of militant nationalism (*e.g.* "Resist not evil," and "Love your enemies"). The attitude of Jesus towards Samaritans, alike in His teaching (*e.g.* the parable of the Good Samaritan) and in His conduct (*e.g.* the rebuke to the disciples who would have called down fire on inhospitable Samaritans), indicates His rejection of Jewish national exclusiveness. The ideal He set before men was not Jewish but universal.

How long a time Jesus spent in teaching the people concerning the Kingdom we do not know. If we may accept the testimony of John, it must have been long enough to permit of several visits to Jerusalem on the occasion of different feasts. But whether the period were long or short, it was brought to a close by the deliberate decision of Jesus to withdraw from Galilee and abandon for the time at least His public ministry (Mk. 7*24*). The motives for this decision we can only conjecture. Schweitzer, basing himself on Mt. 10*23* (but see pp. 665, 710), suggests that Jesus expected the Kingdom to come with power while His disciples were carrying the good news through Galilee, and that He withdrew from Galilee in perplexity at the non-fulfilment of His expectations Schweitzer successfully criticises the earlier theory that the work of evangelisation was abandoned for lack of popular response. Jesus gave up teaching the common people with reluctance and with difficulty. It was hard for Him to be hid, and the crowds still heard Him gladly. But Schweitzer's own theory seems arbitrary and unnecessary. It implies that Jesus came to entertain the prospect of death only because His hope of an immediate coming of the Kingdom was disappointed. That He even held the hope in the form suggested by Schweitzer is more than doubtful. The cross as a possibility must have been present from the first to the mind of One who took up John's work when John was put in prison. It might well become a probability or a certainty, in view of John's death, of Herod's desire to kill a greater than John (Lk. 13*31*), and in view of the avowed hostility of the religious leaders and the inadequate response of the nation to the call to repentance. The taking up of the cross into the purpose of Jesus is necessarily a mystery; but when once the certainty of it had become clear to Jesus Himself, it was natural that He should seek to be alone with the disciples. It becomes important for Him to know how far they have understood Him, and to prepare their minds for the strangeness of His end. He breaks off the public ministry in order to train the Twelve in the shadow of the cross.

In the course of this period of wandering, when they were in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi, Jesus asked His disciples for their verdict on Himself. The story of the great confession implies that He had not openly proclaimed Himself Messiah even to the Twelve. His every act and word raised the question, "What manner of man is this?" but the popular desire, expressed in the sentence, "If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly," had not been directly satisfied. The evidence of demons had been silenced, the sign from heaven had been refused. The great confession summed up the impressions of those whom He had chosen to be with Him. Their faith was unforced, and rooted in experience.

Since the disciples have penetrated into the secret of His person, Jesus can disclose to them the secret of His passion. The thought of a suffering Messiah is unfamiliar and unwelcome. The loyalty of Peter resents such a fate for his Master, and the faith of the disciples cannot grasp this prediction of betrayal and death, even when Jesus says that those who follow Him must be ready to lay down their lives for His sake. The vision on the Mount of Transfiguration, which sets the Divine seal on the disciples' confession, is accompanied by a bewildering reference to resurrection from the dead. What does it mean? Is not Elijah to come before Messiah and prepare the way for Him? Why should He die and rise from the dead?

When the three chief apostles put this question about Elias to their Lord, they learnt that Elijah had come already in the person of John the Baptist, and his death anticipated the suffering of Messiah. Throughout this time of converse with the Twelve, Jesus dwelt on the necessity of His death and the certainty of His resurrection. The disciples remained perplexed, and when Jesus set His face to go to Jerusalem they followed with wondering awe. Up to the last they could not believe it possible, but when it happened they did not altogether lose faith in Him. He had foreseen and foretold it. More than that, He had chosen it.

Some hints are given in the gospels as to the way in which Jesus regarded His death. He accepted it as God's will for Him. "The cup that My Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?" The sufferings of the Son of Man were necessary in the sense that they have been foretold by the prophets. Yet Jesus was not the victim of fate. His death was His own willed act. The Johannine saying, "No one taketh my life from me, but I lay it down of myself," is borne out by the Synoptic picture of Jesus deliberately seeking Jerusalem and forcing the issue on the rulers and the people.

Jesus pointed His disciples to the cross as creating for them a new standard of greatness. The Gentile ideal which underlies the title of Alexander the Great was to disappear before greatness measured by service and self-sacrifice. The death of Jesus is His complete self-sacrifice in the service of God and men. He gave Himself a ransom for many. He died to complete His ministry. The call to repentance and the message of forgiveness had not found a full response in men's hearts. But the cross will arrest men. It will awaken a sense of sin, and bring an assurance of forgiveness, which even the words of Jesus could not create. Jesus looked upon His death as the condition of His world-wide influence. "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

Jesus went up to Jerusalem to make His last appeal to His people, a little before the Passover, probably in the year A.D. 29.[1] He challenged the authorities by openly acting as if He were Messiah. The triumphal entry into the city and the cleansing of the Temple courts are alike assertions of Messianic dignity, while the point of the question about David calling Messiah Lord seems to be that it rebuts a criticism urged against the claim of Jesus to be regarded as Messiah. In the parable of the wicke husbandmen Jesus represents Himself as being God's last messenger to the chosen people. The rulers could not remain indifferent or passively hostile. They sought to discredit Jesus by trapping Him with hard questions, and it is possible that the question about tribute did alienate patriotic feeling, and inclined the people to shout "Crucify." However, the popularity of Jesus, at least with the Galilæans who had come up for the feast, seemed dangerous to the politicians associated with the high priest. If the raising of Lazarus be history, this crowning miracle may well have strengthened a popularity which alarmed the Sadducean party. The action of Jesus in cleansing the Temple ignored their authority and threatened their pockets. They resolved to get rid of Him, and were glad when Judas turned traitor. Jesus Himself had no doubt as to the issue of the conflict. When Mary anointed His feet in the house in Bethany, He interpreted it as an anticipation of His burial. He spoke much of judgment and of the doom in which the Jewish Temple and the Jewish State would be overthrown. In rejecting Him His people sealed their fate. The woes on the Pharisees are part of a final warning to the nation. On the other hand, His disciples were encouraged with the assurance of His triumphant return. They were told to look for His appearing within that generation. They were to be ever ready to meet the bridegroom, for He comes suddenly at an hour when men think not.

In the upper room, Jesus strengthened His disciples with something more than the hope of His return. He linked the meal they were sharing with the thought of His sacrificial death, and turned what seemed to be the overthrow of all their hopes into the strongest bond of their fellowship. On the eve of the passion, Jesus thinks not of Himself but of His followers. His last gift to them is the gift of His body broken and His blood shed for them. He has nothing else to leave to them, but in this bequest He leaves with them a peace which the world cannot give or take away. For His body sacrificed in death is the pledge of the new covenant, wherein men know the Lord and He remembers their sins no more. It is also the final standard of character for the Christian. "If I, your Lord and Master . . . ye also" (Jn. 13^{14}). The narratives in Mt. and Mk. do not suggest that Jesus expressly desired the repetition of the scene in the upper room. It is doubtful if we ought to say that He ordained the sacrament. But it was natural that whenever the disciples met to break bread they should recall what Jesus did on that last night when He was betrayed. Jesus had made the sharing of bread and wine a means of life-giving remembrance of His sacrifice.

From the upper room Jesus and His disciples passed to Gethsemane. In the garden Jesus entered into an agony of sorrow, and prayed that the cup of suffering might be taken away from Him. Some have seen in this prayer evidence that up to the last Jesus hoped to avoid the necessity of death, and perhaps even on the cross expected a saving intervention from heaven. Such a petition, it is urged, is not consistent with the confident predictions of the end recorded in the gospels, and these predictions must therefore be regarded as an afterthought. But it is not surprising that Jesus should shrink from the death He had foreseen. It is a natural wish rather than a hope which prompts the prayer; and the very form of it, "Abba Father, all things are possible to thee," suggests that the request is for something beyond human power or expectation (*cf.* Mk. 10^{27}). Nor is it necessary with other interpreters to explain the agony of Jesus by some fierce onset of Satan, or by some vision of the world's sin or of God's wrath. There are depths of mystery in this troubling of the soul of Jesus which we may not fathom. But the actual situation would of itself account for the prayer in which Jesus completed the sacrifice of obedience. The lament over Jerusalem, or the sentence from John's prologue, "He came unto his own and his own received him not," would suffice to afford a clue. The thought of all that was involved for His people in their rejection of Him may well underlie the prayer in Gethsemane. If the willingness to die was with Jesus from the first, and was indeed bound up with the call to repentance, yet the necessity of death lay in the failure of the Jews to respond to the call, and Jesus, even when the cross was clearly inevitable, could not reconcile Himself to that failure.[1]

[1] See pp. 653f.; also Turner's article "Chronology" in HDB.

[1] *Cf.* Schlatter, *Das Wort Jesu*, p. 551.

It would serve no useful purpose to try to retell the story of the arrest, of the trial, condemnation, and crucifixion of Jesus. The whole procedure was hurried and irregular, and this circumstance has raised doubts in some minds as to the historicity of the narrative. But these features of the story are neither unparalleled nor unnatural. There were obvious reasons for haste in the desire to get rid of Jesus before the feast and before any attempt could be made to rally popular feeling to His side. It is noteworthy that the Sadducean party were most directly responsible for the death of Jesus. The crucifixion must be laid at the door of the exponents of expediency. The parts played by Judas and by Pilate remain obscure. The motives of the former are left unexplained, while the conduct of the latter does not seem to correspond with what is known of him through Josephus. This element of obscurity makes some suspect the presence of myth or legend. If there is any force in such suspicion it will attach to the shadowy figure of Judas, whose end is recorded in divergent legends, and whose part in the tragedy might have been suggested by OT passages. But the silence of the evangelists as to the motives of Judas does not really throw doubt on the story of the betrayal, which is credible in itself (*cf.* 1 Cor. 11_{23}*). The arrest of Jesus could not have been effected so easily and quietly without treachery. As to the conduct of Pilate, it is not more strange that the presence of Jesus at his judgment-seat should make an unusual impression on him and soften his normal brutality, than that the same presence should waken generosity in Zacchæus, or gentleness in the dying thief. It is possible that his hesitation in passing sentence was due more to the desire to play with the Jewish leaders than to pity for Jesus. In any case the nature of the accusation which implied that Jesus was a rival to Cæsar seems to have been skilfully urged upon him by the Jewish authorities, and Pilate must have felt that he had no option. The tendency of the evangelists, especially Lk., is to minimise the responsibility of Pilate, and draw attention to his protestations of the innocence of Jesus. But though Pilate saw through the meanness of the chief priest and his supporters, yet either because he feared to give the Jews a handle to be used against himself at Rome (Jn. 19_{12}), or because the very demeanour of Jesus made him half afraid and half suspicious, he gave the order for the crucifixion, and "suffered under Pontius Pilate" became the article of the Creed whose historicity is least open to doubt.

In their accounts of the crucifixion itself the evangelists differ. Mt. follows Mk., while Lk. adopts an alternative authority, and Jn. offers yet a third narrative which affords but few points of contact with his predecessors. Of the seven words from the cross, one only is recorded in Mt. and Mk., though they mention a loud cry at the last, which may be variously interpreted in Lk. 23_{46} and Jn. 19_{30}. Jn. and Lk. agree in omitting the cry of anguish and despair recorded in Mt. and Mk. This cry itself shows that "Jesus on the cross was not protected from suffering either by unconsciousness or by the sense of God's nearness. It shows further that even then He thought only of what the Father was doing with Him. The disciples heard from the cross no reproaches against men. The crushing weight of His suffering lies in the fact that God has forsaken Him."[1] Jn. represents the reality of the suffering of Jesus simply by the word "I thirst." This is not so searching as the record of Mk.

Lk., on the other hand, is concerned to show Jesus exercising mercy even on the cross. On the way to the place called Golgotha Jesus bids the women of Jerusalem weep for themselves, thus giving utterance for the last time to the foreboding of national disaster which had contributed something to the great sorrow of Gethsemane. On the cross Jesus prayed for His enemies, if we may regard the words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," as part of the genuine text of Lk. 23_{34}. The force of the passage is weakened by Seeley's interpretation, who says that Jesus prays for the Roman soldiers and not for His avowed enemies, the Jewish leaders. This interpretation is in favour whenever we find it difficult to pray for enemies, and if it had been adopted in the early church the variation in the MSS. might have been avoided. For, as Dr. Rendel Harris suggests, the omission of this passage from several MSS. may be due to the difficulty which many Christians had in believing that Jesus could have prayed for the Jews. Unless, however, we give the wider scope to this prayer, the parallel petition of Stephen the protomartyr is the more generous, and to admit this is to transgress the rule, "The disciple is not greater than his Lord." Moreover, 23_{34} seems to continue in spirit 23_{30}f. Jesus is still thinking of His people and praying for them. In the story of the penitent thief Lk. shows how even on the cross Jesus won a social outcast to the Kingdom. For the incident is not recorded to encourage deathbed repentance, but to show how the sight of Jesus in the suffering of death extorted admiration and even faith from a hardened criminal.

Jn. dwells on the thought of the cross as the completion of Christ's work on earth. The perfect work was done when Jesus said, "It is finished." It is not difficult to see the truth of this. The humiliation of Jesus, which is His glory, was fully accomplished only on the cross. Yet, in another sense, the work of Jesus, and so His history, did not end with the cross. He had foretold His resurrection, and within a few days after His passion His disciples had become convinced that He was risen from the dead.

The evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus has probably been more rigorously analysed and more variously interpreted than has been the evidence for any other historic event.[1] It seems clear, however, that the disciples were convinced by appearances of Jesus which they themselves distinguished from other vision experiences with which they were familiar. It is further to be noted that these appearances were confined to men and women who had previously been disciples, though an exception must be made in the case of Saul. These Resurrection-appearances were also limited to a certain period of time. No one claims to have seen the Lord in this way after the revelation to Saul on the Damascus road. The witnesses to the Resurrection agreed in believing that the tomb in which the body of Jesus had been laid was empty on the first day of the week. On these points, viz. the special character of the appearances of the Risen Lord, the limitation of such appearances to chosen recipients and to a particular time, and the fact of the empty tomb, the evidence of the NT is in substantial agreement. The difficulties and discrepancies in the gospels seem to arise from the combining of two lines of tradition which varied as to the place where Jesus first manifested Himself to His disciples after He was

[1] *Cf.* Schlatter, *Das Wort Jesu*, p. 554.

[1] The best study from the critical standpoint is K. Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus*. See also G. H. Gilbert, *Jesus*, pp. 275ff. Latham's *Risen Master* is valuable.

risen from the dead. Mt. (possibly following Mk.) and the appendix to Jn (Jn. 21) place the earliest appearances in Galilee. Lk. apparently rules out the Galilæan tradition (contrast Lk. 246 with Mk. 167), and regards Jerusalem and the neighbourhood as the scene of the events which established faith in the Resurrection. This conflict of testimony is not easy to resolve, and unless the lost ending of Mk. should be recovered it is not likely that scholars will reach any very secure answer to the problem.

The Resurrection-story and the Resurrection-faith do not seem explicable except on one of two hypotheses. The historian requires either the empty tomb or at least a series of visions of an objective character, *i.e.* visions which point to a definite centre of personal influence outside the recipients of the visions. Attempts to explain the facts by means of mere subjective visions founder on the general characteristics of the evidence presented in the gospels. Also the psychological conditions alike for the creation of such subjective visions and for the building up of legend were clearly wanting. We are thrown either on the traditional orthodox faith in the empty tomb, which does least violence to the actual evidence, or on what may be called the objective-vision hypothesis which on doctrinal grounds commends itself to some modern minds.[1] The issue involved is stated thus by K. Lake: "The crucial point is the definition we give to Resurrection. If we hope for this in our case in such a way as to resuscitate the human flesh which will be laid in the ground, we must postulate the same for the 'firstborn from the dead.' If we do not believe and would not desire this for ourselves, it is illogical that we should believe that it was so for him." A somewhat similar position may be urged with reference to the Virgin-birth. It is claimed that Jesus is estranged from us, and could not have been tempted like as we are, if His birth were not parallel to the birth of other men. He must be like His fellows both in His entry into life and in the manner of His resurrection. But it seems to be doubtful whether we are justified in pressing such considerations in either case. If Jesus be a unique embodiment of God's love, it would not be strange that He should be differentiated from other men in the circumstances of His birth and in the sequel to His death. It is safer to keep to the critical side of the question, and it seems clear that the historic evidence for the empty tomb is strong, and incidentally much stronger than the evidence for the Virgin-birth.

It is worth while to point out that the insistence on the kinship of Jesus with ourselves is the valuable element in either of the views of the Resurrection which we have been considering. The resurrection of the body is important if only thus we can be assured that the essential humanity of Jesus lives in God for ever. This thought is put in Jean Ingelow's lines:

> "And didst Thou love the race that loved not Thee?
> And didst Thou take to heaven a human brow?
> Dost plead with man's voice by the marvellous sea?
> Art Thou his kinsman now?"

The central element in the Resurrection-faith is the belief of the disciples that the same Jesus with whom they walked in Galilee, and who suffered on the cross, had come back to them. If Lake and others are right in supposing that the body is not an essential part of our personal life, then they are right also in asserting that the resuscitation of the body of Jesus was not needed for the continuance of His true humanity. The great religious values which traditional Christianity sought to maintain in the affirmation of the empty tomb could thus be preserved on the alternative hypothesis. But it may be that Paul is right in supposing some connexion to exist between a future spiritual body and the present physical body, and it will also seem to many that the triumph of love over death would have remained incomplete had the body of Jesus seen corruption.

We may conclude this article with a paragraph concerning the Messianic claim of Jesus. There is a growing agreement among scholars to the effect that Jesus used the title "Son of Man" (Mk. 8^{31}*) of Himself, and that this title is Messianic. It is to be interpreted in the first instance in the light of the use of the phrase in the Book of Enoch. There the Son of Man is a supernatural being to whom is entrusted the final judgment over mankind. Jesus claimed to be this Son of Man, and this meant that He thought Himself destined to judge all men hereafter (see esp. Mk. 14^{62} and Mt. 25$^{31-46}$). Some scholars argue that this was the paramount factor in the consciousness of Jesus. They urge that if Jesus identified Himself with the special type of Messiah found in Enoch, we need not look further for an explanation of the devotion of the disciples. It must also be recognised that if Jesus looked on Himself as the Enochian Son of Man, He identified Himself with a Jewish delusion.

The difficulties in this view lie in the exclusive attention given to one particular aspect of the teaching of Jesus. In the Gospels the title "Son of Man" is not associated only with the idea of judgment as in Enoch. It is connected with the thought of the Suffering Servant of the Lord. When Jesus speaks of Himself as Son of Man, he does not simply identify Himself with the Enochian Messiah.[1] Moreover, we cannot but ask what prompts the identification, and the answer is only to be found in recognising that the filial consciousness of Jesus precedes and creates the Messianic consciousness. This some scholars of the eschatological school are slow to admit, but the question, "Why did Jesus regard Himself as Son of Man?" must be pressed. And why did His disciples accept this self-valuation from their Master? If a visionary announced himself to be the Enochian Son of Man he would not thereby win devotion. The first disciples confessed Jesus to be the Christ (without fully understanding what kind of Christ He was) because they felt Him to be worthy of honour and power Divine. The developing Christology of the NT is just the recognition of the worth of a Person whose character and history compel this tribute.

Literature.—For the background of the history the chief authority is Schürer's *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ.* Other works are Hausrath's *History of the New Testament Times;* Fairweather, *The Background of the Gospels;* Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*[2]*;* Muirhead, *The Times of Christ.* See also bibliographies appended to articles on "Apocalyptic Literature" and "Contemporary Jewish Religion."

The fullest survey of the literature on the life of Jesus is Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus;* to this may be added Weinel and Widgery, *Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After;* Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research.*

Of the larger lives of Jesus: Keim, *Jesus of Nazara;* Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah;* and B. Weiss, *The Life of Christ,* seem to be the most

[1] *Cf.* Streeter in *Foundations,* and K. Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus,* ch. 7, and esp. p. 253.

[1] *Cf.* Moffatt, *Theology of the Gospels,* p. 159.

important. There are other works by Farrar, Geikie, Réville, O. Holtzmann, N. Schmidt, and D. Smith. Smaller works by Stalker, Sanday, Bousset, Gilbert, Rhees, Kent. To these add Fairbairn, *Studies in the Life of Christ*; B. H. Streeter in *Foundations*; Seeley, *Ecce Homo*; J. A. Robertson, *The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Jesus*; J. F. McFadyen, *Jesus and Life*; *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*; and articles in EBi. (Bruce), HSDB (W. P. Paterson), ERE (Mackenzie), and *The Standard Bible Dictionary* (Denney). On the character of Jesus, Glover in *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* (published separately as a pamphlet); Fosdick, *The Manhood of the Master*.

On His teaching: The works on NT theology mentioned in *General Bibliographies*; Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*; Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*, *The Training of the Twelve*, *The Galilean Gospel*; von Schrenck, *Jesus and His Teaching*; Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*; Du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels*; Stevens, *The Teaching of Jesus*; Montefiore, *The Religious Teaching of Jesus*; T. R. Glover, *The Jesus of History*; Moffatt, *The Theology of the Gospels*; Schlatter, *Das Wort Jesu*; Loisy, *Jesus et la tradition Évangelique*; Robertson, *Our Lord's Teaching*; Rashdall, *Conscience and Christ*.

There is also a large literature on special problems, with reference both to history and to theology. On some of these, works on apologetics may be consulted.

On the historicity of Jesus:—Negative works: J. M. Robertson, *Pagan Christs*, *Christianity and Mythology*; W. B. Smith, *Der vorchristliche Jesus*, *Ecce Deus*; Kalthoff, *The Rise of Christianity*; Drews, *The Christ Myth*, *The Witnesses to the Historicity of Jesus*. On the positive side: Case, *The Historicity of Jesus*; Conybeare, *The Historical Christ*; Rossington, *Did Jesus really Live?*; J. Weiss, *Jesus von Nazareth*, *Mythus oder Geschichte*; Loofs, *What is the Truth about Jesus Christ?*; Thorburn, *The Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels*, *Jesus the Christ: Historical or Mythical?*

On the miracles: Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*; Mozley, *Eight Lectures on Miracles*; J. Wendland, *Miracles and Christianity*; Illingworth, *The Gospel Miracles*; Headlam, *The Miracles of the NT*; E. O. Davies, *The Miracles of Jesus*; J. M. Thompson, *Miracles in the NT*; Sanday, *Bishop Gore's Challenge to Criticism*; Sanday and N. P. Williams, *Form and Content in the Christian Tradition*.

On the supernatural birth:—(*a*) Negative works: Lobstein, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*; Soltau, *The Birth of Jesus Christ*; Cheyne, *Bible Problems*; articles, *Mary, Mother of Jesus*, and *Nativity* in EBi. (*b*) Positive works: Sweet, *The Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ*; Orr, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*; Box, *The Virgin Birth of Jesus*; Knowling, *Our Lord's Virgin Birth*; Thorburn, *The Doctrine of the Virgin Birth*; and articles, *Birth of Christ*, *Immanuel*, *Virgin Birth* in DCG.

On the Resurrection:—W. Milligan, *The Resurrection of our Lord*; Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus*; Orr, *The Resurrection of Christ*; Sparrow-Simpson, *Our Lord's Resurrection*, *The Resurrection and Modern Thought*; the article *Resurrection and Ascension Narratives* in EBi (Schmiedel).

On the Parables: Trench, *Notes on the Parables of our Lord*; Bruce, *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*; Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*; Bugge, *Die Hauptparabeln Jesu*; G. Murray, *Jesus and His Parables*; L. E. Browne, *The Parables of the Gospels*.

On the Messianic, eschatological, and related problems: Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*; Holtzmann, *Das messianische Bewusstsein Jesu*; Garvie, *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*; E. A. Abbott, *The Son of Man*; Shailer Mathews, *The Messianic Hope in the NT*; J. Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu von Reiche Gottes*[1] (2nd edition much expanded and less extreme); Titius, *Jesu Lehre vom Reiche Gottes*; Schweitzer, *Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimniss*, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (E. trans. under the title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*); Muirhead, *The Eschatology of Jesus*; Wernle, *Die Reichsgotteshoffnung*; Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'Église*; Tyrrell, *Christianity at the Cross Roads*; Sharman, *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future*; von Dobschütz, *The Eschatology of the Gospels*; E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*; Emmet, *The Eschatological Question in the Gospels*; Worsley, *The Apocalypse of Jesus*; Dewick, *Primitive Christian Eschatology*; L. Jackson, *The Eschatology of Jesus*; Winstanley, *Jesus and the Future*.

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

By Canon B. H. STREETER

What is the Synoptic Problem? A problem exists whenever there is a set of facts which have something about them which seems to call for special explanation. In the case of the first three or Synoptic Gospels, this "something" is the nature of their parallelism with one another. In three different biographies of the same person it is only natural to find that a good many incidents or sayings are given by more than one of them, but the remarkable thing about the first three gospels is, that whenever they give an account of the same incident they commonly do so in language which is often almost word for word identical. Now, if this identity or close resemblance of wording occurred only in the reports of *sayings* of our Lord, it might possibly be accounted for by supposing it to be due to the fact that the sayings were accurately remembered and reported by the several biographers—though even in the case of reported sayings of great men there is usually (unless, indeed, they have been taken down in shorthand at the moment) considerable divergence in the accounts of different reporters. But, where incidents or scenes are described, it is a fact of universal experience that no two persons will describe the same event, or set of events, in identical or anything like identical language. Thus, for instance, when one reads in two different newspapers accounts of the same battle or of the same football match, even when the main facts recorded are much the same, the minor details noticed by the two reporters are very different, and the language chosen to describe the whole set of circumstances is still more so. If, on the other hand, we see in two papers a report of the same event in substantially the same terms, we at once take it for granted that both papers are using the same reporter or the same newsagency. Now, although each of the first three gospels gives sayings, incidents, and details of incidents not given by the others, such passages amount to less than one-third of the total number of those which occur in more than one gospel. In fact, the resemblances between the Synoptic Gospels are exactly of that character which, if they occurred in three different journals, we should attribute to the fact that these had one or more special correspondents in common, whose contributions had been somewhat freely edited. Accordingly we are driven to the conclusion that the first three gospels, though independently written, cannot be treated as entirely independent biographies of our Lord, but that each of them must obviously have drawn much of his information from a source or sources also accessible to one or both of the others. The question, therefore, of how many and of what nature were these sources, and whether it is possible for us in any way to reconstruct them—a question of great historical as well as literary importance—forces itself upon the attention of all close readers of these gospels, and constitutes what is known to scholars as the Synoptic Problem.

A solution of the problem has been sought along two main lines:

1. The Oral Tradition Theory. On this view there once existed one or more cycles of stereotyped official Church tradition learnt by heart by Christian teachers; the first three gospels represent different versions of this official tradition slightly modified in its transmission through the memory of three separate authors, and supplemented by each with additions from his own private stock of knowledge. This theory is now abandoned by almost all scholars.

2. Theories of Documentary Dependence. These explain the occurrence of similar matter in more than one evangelist by their common use of one or more written documents. An explanation along these lines known as the "Two Document Hypothesis," is now very generally accepted.

The result of a hundred years' discussion has been to bring about a practical unanimity among scholars with regard to certain points; a general but not unanimous agreement with regard to others; and to make clear the exact nature of the comparatively minor issues about which there is still no general agreement. It will be convenient to state briefly what are the main points of agreement and disagreement, before giving in detail the facts and reasons which bear out these conclusions.

(1) There is an almost universal agreement that the greater part of the resemblances between the first three gospels is due to the fact that Matthew and Luke, working independently, incorporated into their gospels, with omissions and slight modifications, the Gospel of Mark or a document closely resembling Mark. But it still remains an open question whether the document they used was a copy of the Gospel of Mark which differed from our gospel only in a few variant readings, or whether it was an earlier and slightly shorter edition of Mark, or *Ur-Marcus* as it has been named by German scholars.

(2) A majority of scholars, but by no means such an overwhelming majority as that which accepts the above conclusion, believe that Matthew and Luke used in common, not only a "Marcan" document, but a second written source that has since disappeared—a source consisting principally, if not entirely, of sayings of our Lord. This hypothetical source used to be spoken of as the "Logia" or the "Double Tradition," but all recent scholars allude to it as "Q" (German *Quelle*, source).

(3) Assuming the existence of this second source Q, it would appear that in a few places Q and Mk. overlapped, each containing a version of the same set of sayings. Whether these versions represent independent traditions, or whether Mk. is in regard to these few passages dependent on Q, is a point on which expert opinion is very evenly divided.

The theory that Mt. and Lk. incorporated with a

few slight verbal changes the greater part of one or, more probably, of two, previous historical works, seems, at first sight, a little strange. It is certainly not at all the kind of thing which a modern author would do. No doubt all historians draw the greater part of their materials from previous historians or from documents which their own researches have unearthed, but with modern writers it is a point of honour completely to recast and rewrite in their own language anything that they have drawn from their predecessors; and whenever they reproduce the exact wording of any previous authority, the fact is always made clear by the employment of inverted commas. The notion, however, that to transfer to one's own writing without acknowledgment whole pages of a previous author, is an act of literary piracy, is quite modern. It is due partly to the value attached to style for its own sake (a thing which existed, of course, among the Greeks and Romans, but, so far as we know, was not felt by Semitic historians), but still more to the idea of "property" in what one has written, fostered by the modern law of copyright. Among Semitic orientals and in Europe in the Middle Ages, the idea, that, if you draw your information from a previous writer, it is the proper thing to draw only the facts and to re-express them in your own words, simply did not exist. It was a universal practice of historians and chroniclers to take over previous writings word for word, just omitting here and there incidents which seemed to them unimportant, but altering the language only where it seemed to them desirable in the interests of compression or where a passage might bear an interpretation which they disliked. Students of the OT will at once recall the evidence which points to the view that all the historical books of the OT were put together on this "scissors-and-paste" method by compilers working on earlier documents. And there is one case which presents the closest analogy to the problem of the Synoptic Gospels, viz. the relation of the Book of Chronicles to the earlier books of Samuel and Kings. Here we still possess the earlier sources which the Chronicler used, and we can see how he has transferred bodily into his own narrative huge portions of Samuel and Kings almost word for word; and we can see also the kind of editorial omissions and alterations which he has made, and can as a rule easily detect the motive of them. Thus the Two Document Hypothesis outlined above, though it seems strange in view of modern literary practice, is strictly in accord with what is known of Jewish practice elsewhere. There remains to present in outline the facts and considerations which point to its being the true solution of the problem.

Matthew and Luke depend on Mark

The facts which point to the dependence of Mt. and Lk. on a document identical with, or at least very similar to, Mk. may be summed up under five main heads.

1. The substance of approximately two-thirds of Mk. is reproduced by *both* Mt. and Lk., and the remaining one-third, except for thirty verses, is reproduced alternately by *either* Mt. *or* Lk. The only passages of Mk. which are absent from *both* Mt. and Lk. are as follows: 2$_{27}$, 3$_{20}$f., 4$_{26-29}$, 7$_{3}$f., 7$_{32-37}$, 8$_{22-26}$, 9$_{29,48}$f., 13$_{33-37}$, 14$_{51}$f.; total, thirty verses. The only other passages of Mk. which are absent from Mt. are as follows: 1$_{23-28,35-38}$, 4$_{21-25}$,[1] 6$_{30}$, 9$_{38-41}$, 12$_{40-44}$; total, twenty-five verses, and these are all present in Lk. Thus the whole of Mk., except fifty-five verses, reappears in Mt.

The passages of Mk. absent from Lk. are more numerous, and cannot be defined quite so closely, because, in many cases, Lk. gives (though always, be it noted, in another context) what looks like another version of the section of Mk. which in the Marcan context he has not reproduced. The following passages of Mk., though present in Mt., have no equivalent in Lk.: 1$_{6}$, 4$_{33}$f., 6$_{17-29}$, 6$_{45-8}$$_{26}$, 9$_{9-13,43-47}$, 10$_{1-10,35-41}$, 11$_{12-14,20-22,24}$f., 14$_{26-28}$; total, 129 verses. 74 of them, *i.e.* more than half, are in the one continuous passage, 6$_{45-8}$$_{26}$, of which Mt. also omits 13.

The following passages of Mk. do not appear in Lk. in the same context as in Mk., but what may be regarded as different versions of the same incident or saying, occur in a different context. Mk. 1$_{16-20}$, *cf.* Lk. 5$_{1-11}$; 3$_{22-30}$, *cf.* Lk. 11$_{14-23}$; 4$_{30-32}$, *cf.* Lk. 13$_{18}$f.; 6$_{1-6}$, *cf.* Lk. 4$_{16-30}$; 9$_{42}$, *cf.* Lk. 17$_{2}$; 9$_{50}$, *cf.* Lk. 14$_{34}$; 10$_{11}$f., *cf.* Lk. 16$_{18}$; 10$_{42-45}$, *cf.* Lk. 22$_{25-27}$; 11$_{23}$, *cf.* Lk. 17$_{6}$; 13$_{21-23}$, *cf.* Lk. 17$_{23}$; 14$_{3-9}$, *cf.* Lk. 7$_{36-50}$; 14$_{29-31}$, *cf.* Lk. 22$_{31-34}$; 15$_{16-20}$, *cf.* Lk. 23$_{11}$; total, fifty verses.

2. In surveying the contents of Mk. as a whole we noted that most of Mk. appeared in *both* Mt. and Lk., and most of what was not in both appeared either in one or the other, Similarly, if we take any one average incident which occurs in all three gospels and underline[1] in red, words which occur in all of them; in blue, words occurring in Mk. and Mt. only; and in black, words occurring in Mk. and Lk. only, we shall find that most of the actual words used by Mk. occur in both Mt. and Lk., and most of the residue in either one or the other.

3. Again, if we observe the order of incidents, we note that, in general, the Marcan order is preserved by *both* Mt. and Lk., but wherever Mt. departs from Mk.'s order, Lk. supports Mk.; wherever Lk. appears to depart, Mt. supports Mk. The section Mk. 3$_{31-35}$, which occurs in a different context in each gospel, is the one exception, and in no case do Mt. and Lk. agree together against Mk. in a point of arrangement.

In the matter of order two interesting points should be noted:

(*a*) In the section Mt. 8–13, which corresponds to Mk. 1$_{29-6}$$_{13}$, while Lk. usually agrees with Mk.'s order, Mt. varies it to a very remarkable degree. But in the second half of his gospel, Mt. does not depart at all from the Marcan order.

(*b*) Allusion was made above to cases where Lk. *appears* to depart from the Marcan order in places where Mt. agrees with it. Strictly speaking, however, it would be more correct to say that, in the main body of the story, Lk. omits certain passages where they occur in the Marcan context but inserts different versions of them (doubtless drawn from Q or some other source) in another context (*cf.* the list of fifty verses given above). But in his account of the Passion he seems to follow wholly or in part a tradition or document which related certain details in a slightly different order. (Cf. *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 76–84.)

4. If we examine carefully the way in which the Marcan and non-Marcan material is distributed throughout Mt. and Lk. respectively, we shall see that it is best explained if each author originally started with the Marcan material as his main source, and used this as a kind of base round which he could, as it

[1] But sayings similar to Mk. 4$_{21-25}$ occur in Mt. in other contexts

[1] The student is strongly advised to do this in one or two typical passages, *e.g.* Mk. 2$_{13-17}$, 11$_{27-33}$ and parallels.

were, build in the non-Marcan material—each working on a simple and straightforward, but on an entirely different, plan.

Of course, certain sections of the non-Marcan matter are, as it were, dated by internal evidence: *e.g.* the additional details of the Temptation or of the Passion story *could* only have been inserted at the beginning or end of a gospel. But the greater part of the non-Marcan matter consists of parables or sayings *plus* an occasional incident which, so far as internal evidence is concerned, might just as well have been spoken or have happened at any time between these dates. So far as we can judge, the evangelists had very little to guide them as to the exact occasion to which any particular incident or saying which did not occur in the Marcan outline should be assigned. This would appear to be the only explanation of the curious fact that there is not a single case (later than the Temptation story) in which Mt. and Lk. agree in inserting a piece of Q material in *exactly* the same context of the Marcan outline. The arrangement, then, of the non-Marcan matter in the Marcan outline, must have been determined by literary, and not by strictly historical, considerations.

Matthew's method is very simple. Whenever a thought occurs in Mk. akin to one which is also found in the non-Marcan material, he inserts that particular piece of non-Marcan matter into that particular context in the Marcan story. Sometimes he only adds a single non-Marcan verse to an appropriate Marcan context; *e.g.* the non-Marcan saying on divorce (Mt. 19$^{10-12}$) is appropriately fitted on to the Marcan discussion of the same topic. Sometimes, starting in this way from a Marcan nucleus, he expands it with non-Marcan additions into a long discourse. Thus the seven verses of Mk.'s sending out of the Twelve (Mk. 6$^{7-13}$) become the forty-two verses of Mt. 10. Again, the apocalyptic chapter (Mk. 13) is not only much expanded in Mt. 24 but supplemented by the apocalyptic parables of Mt. 25. So the anti-Pharisaic parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mk. 12$^{1-12}$) attracts to itself two others, the Two Sons, and the Marriage of the King's Son. So, again, the Sermon on the Mount, far the longest and most important block of non-Marcan matter, is inserted in such a way as to lead up to and illustrate the Marcan verse, "And they were astonished at his teaching: for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes" (*cf.* Mk. 1^{22}, Mt. 7^{29}); while the parable of the labourers in the vineyard is presented as an illustration of the Marcan saying, "The first shall be last and the last first" (Mt. 19^{30}–20^{16}, Mk. 10^{31}). *Cf. Oxford Studies*, pp. 147–159.

Luke's method, though equally simple, is quite different. Except for the account of the rejection at Nazareth and the call of Peter, which he gives in a version and context different from Mk.'s, the whole of the non-Marcan matter assigned to the interval between the Temptation and the Last Supper is inserted in three blocks, *i.e.* Lk. 6$^{20-83}$, 9$^{51-18^{14}}$, 19$^{1-27}$. It is interesting to note, by the way, that each of these blocks consists partly of Q matter (*i.e.* matter also found in Mt.) and partly of matter peculiar to Lk., in the proportion, roughly speaking, of half and half.

5. A close study of the actual language of the parallel passages in the gospels shows that there is a tendency in Mt. and Lk., showing itself sometimes in one, sometimes in the other, and often in both, to improve upon and refine Mk.'s version. This points to the conclusion that the Marcan form is the more primitive. The force of this argument depends upon the cumulative effect of an immense mass of small details such as those collected and tabulated in Sir John Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 117–153. Some of these small variations amount to a toning down or removing of phrases which might cause offence or suggest difficulties (p. 700); *e.g.* Mk. 6^{5}, "He *could* do there *no* mighty work," becomes in Mt. 13^{58}, "He *did not there many* mighty works." Mk. 10^{18}, "Why callest thou me good?" becomes "Why askest thou me concerning the good?" Mt. 19^{17}. Others are stylistic and grammatical improvements. Mt. and Lk. are both written in better Greek than Mk. There is also a tendency to compress the story (*a*) by leaving out picturesque though unimportant details, *e.g.* Mk. 4^{38}, "In the stern . . . on a cushion"; 8^{14}, "They had not in the boat with them more than one loaf"; (*b*) by leaving out the repetitions and redundances which are characteristic of Mark's style. Sometimes Mt. leaves out one portion, Lk. the other member, of such a redundant expression; *e.g.* in Mk. 1^{32} we have the words, "Evening coming on, when the sun set." Of this Mt. reproduces, "evening coming on," Lk. "the sun having set."

The net result of the facts and considerations briefly summarised under the foregoing five heads is to put it beyond dispute that Mt. and Lk. must have made use of a source which both in content, in order, and in actual wording was extremely like Mk. But, if so, the most obvious inference is that this source was indeed no other than our Mk.; for the existence of our Mk. is an undoubted fact, while that of an Ur-Marcus or a "Marcan cycle" of stereotyped tradition is a mere hypothesis.

The theory that the common source was *exactly* identical with our Mk. presents two difficulties.

1. If the common source used by Mt. and Lk. was identical with our Mk., why did they not incorporate it whole? Are not the omissions they make from the Marcan document most naturally explained by the theory that the version they used did not contain them, *i.e.* that it was an "Ur-Marcus" or primitive Mk. of which our gospel is an expanded version?

In considering the question whether it is likely that Matthew or Luke purposely omitted any section in their source, it is important to remember that they were not professing like scribes to reproduce exactly a written document; they were historians using earlier authorities, and, like all historians, selecting from these such material as seemed to them most important. Moreover, if, as is probable, they wished their work not to exceed the compass of a single roll, space would be an object, for, as it is, both Mt. and Lk. are considerably longer than the ordinary contents of a roll (*cf.* Sanday in *Oxford Studies*, pp. 25ff.). In the case of many of the Marcan incidents not reproduced by Matthew or Luke, there are obvious reasons, usually of an apologetic nature, why these evangelists may have thought them less worth reporting; and if, in others, we can detect no particular motive, we cannot assume that there was none, for we do not know exactly all the circumstances or personal idiosyncracies of writers so differently situated from ourselves.

The question, it should be noted, is one raised much more acutely by Lk.'s omissions than by those of Mt. Mt. omits only some fifty-five verses of Mk., and in most cases reasons can be conjectured why the omitted passages might have been regarded as unimportant, or even from an apologetic point of view objectionable. Moreover, the fact that twenty-one of them occur in Lk. creates a presumption that these at least are original in Mk. On the other hand, Lk. omits much more freely. In one case (Mk. 6^{45}–8^{26}), the omission runs to sixty-four consecutive verses,

Hence the hypothesis that the original Mk. lacked at least Mk. 645–826, if not also other sections, and that these were inserted in Mk. later on (though, of course, before it was used by Mt.) deserves serious consideration. If, however, the result of such consideration is against the view that this long passage is a later insertion in Mk., a strong general presumption is created against the view that any of the shorter passages omitted by Lk. were not in the original Mk. Now Sir John Hawkins (cf. *Oxford Studies*, pp. 61ff.) has shown, by a careful tabulation of minute linguistic peculiarities, that the style and vocabulary of the section Mk. 645–826 agree with that of Mk. in many very striking ways in just those points in which the style and vocabulary of Mk. differ from Mt. and Lk., and, indeed, from all other NT writers. Hence it seems clear either that this section was present in the copy of Mk. used by Luke, and its contents were purposely or accidentally omitted by him; or that he used a mutilated copy of Mk. from which this section had dropped out. No doubt a third possibility logically remains, *i.e.* that this section was a later insertion in Mk. by the original author himself, but this seems to be ruled out by the evidence to be adduced in the next section, that the text of Mk. used by both Mt. and Lk. had been revised after it *finally* left the hands of the original author.

2. There are, scattered up and down the gospels, in places where all three are parallel, some 220 cases where Mt. and Lk. agree against Mk. in some minute turn of expression. Often they agree in using an aorist instead of an historic present, in using a different conjunction or preposition, in omitting a redundant expression, in substituting a synonymous word like "calls" for "says"; and, in most cases, the result is a slight stylistic or grammatical improvement. There are less than twenty instances where the words in which Mt. and Lk. agree against Mk. are in any way striking—a list and discussion of these is given in Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 210; *cf.* also Burkitt, *Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 42ff. There are only three where the agreement extends to more than two consecutive words. Of the whole 220 there are barely half a dozen which could not in themselves be explained as due to coincident alterations of the Marcan text made *independently* by Mt. and Lk., and if there were fewer of them this would be the obvious view to take. But 220 instances of concurrent stylistic or grammatical improvement, however natural and obvious and however minute, are too many to be put down to mere coincidence. A far more probable explanation is that the text of Mk. had undergone a slight grammatical revision before it was made use of by Matthew and Luke. This view, however, be it noted, is the very opposite to an Ur-Marcus hypothesis, for it means that our text of Mk. represents, *on the whole*, an earlier not a later edition of the primitive source than the text which was used by Matthew and Luke, though doubtless in some cases Matthew or Luke has preserved a more primitive reading.

The Hypothetical Document Q

There remain to be explained a considerable number of passages which are common to Mt. and Lk. but which do not occur at all in Mk. These obviously must have come from some other source or sources. The simplest hypothesis, and the one which commends itself to the vast majority of scholars, is that these passages, or at any rate the bulk of them, were derived from a single written document. This hypothetical document is usually referred to as Q. It is obvious, however, that more complicated theories (*e.g.* that the material in question was derived not from one but from two documents, or from one or more cycles of oral tradition) can never be definitely disproved. But if it is found that the hypothesis of a single document will adequately explain the facts, it is much the most probable, for the following reason. The gospels of Matthew and Luke are clearly shown by internal considerations to have arisen respectively in the more Jewish and the more Gentile wings of the Church; moreover, on points of such intense interest as the accounts of the Infancy, the Passion, and the Resurrection, the versions they give are divergent in the extreme. Hence it would appear that the cycle of traditions current in the churches where they respectively worked were widely removed from one another. The parallelism between Mt. and Lk. has been shown to be due, in regard to the greater part of it, not to a common cycle of tradition, but to a written document which still survives in our Mk. But if, where we have the best reason to think that they depend on tradition, we notice divergence, while the majority of cases of parallelism are seen to be documentary in origin, it follows that the remaining cases of close parallelism are much more likely to be due to a documentary source than to a common cycle of tradition. Moreover, the fact that the churches in and for which Matthew and Luke wrote were churches with very different traditions makes it more likely that the documentary sources common to both were ancient and of considerable length than that they consisted of a number of scraps. Hence, since the whole of the Q matter would not make up a document half the length of 1 Cor., it is improbable that it represents the contents of more than one "primitive gospel."

The following passages are found in Mt. and Lk. but not in Mk. Every student should bracket off in his New Testament Q passages in red, Marcan in blue, otherwise it is impossible to grasp the very different ways and contexts in which they appear in Mt. and Lk. respectively.[1]

Lk. 3$^{7-9,16f.}$	=Mt. 3$^{7-10,11f.}$ (*cf.* Mk. 1$^{7f.}$)	John's preaching.
Lk. 4$^{1-13}$	=Mt. 4$^{1-11}$ (*cf.* Mk. 1$^{12f.}$)	Temptation.
Lk. 6$^{20-23}$	=Mt. 5$^{3f.,6,11f.}$	Beatitudes.
Lk. 6$^{27-33,35-49}$	=Mt. 5$^{44,39f.,42}$, 7^{12}, 5$^{46f.,45,48}$, 7^{1}, 15^{14}, 10$^{24f.}$, 7$^{3-5,16-20}$, 12^{35}, 7$^{21,24-27}$	Sermon on Plain, on Mount.
Lk. 7$^{1-10}$	=Mt. 8$^{5-10,13}$	Centurion's Servant.
Lk. 7$^{18-20,22-28,31-35}$	=Mt. 11$^{2-11,16-19}$	John's Message.
Lk. 9$^{57-60}$	=Mt. 8$^{19-22}$	"Foxes have holes," "Let dead bury dead."
Lk. 10^{2}	=Mt. 9$^{37f.}$	"Harvest plenteous."
Lk. 10$^{3-12}$	=Mt. 10^{16}, 10^{a}, 11–13, 10^{b}, 7$^{f.}$, 14$^{f.}$ (*cf.* Mk. 6$^{6-11}$)	Mission Address.

[1] Wherever in this list a saying is given similar to one which occurs also in Mk., the verbal agreements of Mt. and Lk. against Mk. are so striking, or the saying is so inextricably bound up with the Q context, that the hypothesis that it was derived by Mt. and Lk. from Mk. is untenable, Mt. often seems in such cases to conflate the Marcan and the Q version.

Lk. 10 13–15	=Mt. 11 21–24	Woe to Chorazin.
Lk. 10 21f.	=Mt. 11 25–27	"I thank thee, Father."
Lk. 10 23f.	=Mt. 13 16f.	"Blessed are your eyes."
Lk. 11 2–4	=Mt. 6 9–13	Lord's Prayer.
Lk. 11 9–13	=Mt. 7 7–11	"Ask and it shall be given."
Lk. 11 14–23	=Mt. 12 22–27 (*cf.* Mk. 3 22–27)	Dumb Demon. "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils."
Lk. 11 24–26	=Mt. 12 43–45	"When unclean spirit goeth out."
Lk. 11 29–32	=Mt. 12 38–42 (*cf.* Mk. 8 12)	No sign given. Jonah and Queen of the South.
Lk. 11 33	=Mt. 5 15 (*cf.* Mk. 4 21)	Candle and bushel.
Lk. 11 34f.	=Mt. 6 22f.	Light of the body the eye.
Lk. 11 39–44,46–48	=Mt. 23 25f.,23,6,27,4,29–31 (*cf.* Mk. 12 38–40)	Woes to Pharisees.
Lk. 11 49–52	=Mt. 23 34–36,13	"I send you prophets." Zacharias.
Lk. 12 2–9	=Mt. 10 26–33 (*cf.* Mk. 4 22, *hidden*, and Mk. 8 38, *ashamed*)	"Nothing hidden . . . confess me before men."
Lk. 12 10	=Mt. 12 32 (nearer than Mk. 3 28f.)	"Whoso says word against Son of man."
Lk. 12 22–32	=Mt. 6 25–33	"Take no thought."
Lk. 12 33f.	=Mt. 6 19–21	"Where your treasure is."
Lk. 12 39–46	=Mt. 24 43–51	Unfaithful Steward.
Lk. 12 51–53	=Mt. 10 34–36	"Not peace but a sword."
Lk. 12 54–56	=Mt. 16 2f. (neutral text om.)	Signs of the times.
Lk. 12 58f.	=Mt. 5 25f.	"Uttermost farthing."
Lk. 13 18f.	=Mt. 13 31f. (*cf.* Mk. 4 30–32)	Mustard Seed.
Lk. 13 20f.	=Mt. 13 33f.	Leaven.
Lk. 13 23f.	=Mt. 7 13	"Strait gate."
Lk. 13 28f.	=Mt. 8 11	"Abraham, Isaac, etc."
Lk. 13 34f.	=Mt. 23 37–39	"Jerusalem, Jerusalem."
Lk. 14 26f.	=Mt. 10 37f. (*cf.* Mk. 8 34)	"If any man cometh after me."
Lk. 14 34f.	=Mt. 5 13 (*cf.* Mk. 9 50)	Savourless Salt.
Lk. 15 4–7	=Mt. 18 12–14	Lost Sheep.
Lk. 16 13	=Mt. 6 24	Serving two masters.
Lk. 16 16	=Mt. 11 12f.	"Law and Prophets till John."
Lk. 16 17	=Mt. 5 18	"Not one jot or tittle of law."
Lk. 16 18	=Mt. 5 32 (*cf.* Mk. 10 11f.)	"Whoso putteth away wife."
Lk. 17 1f.	=Mt. 18 6f. (*cf.* Mk. 9 42)	Concerning Offences.
Lk. 17 3f.	=Mt. 18 15,21f.	Concerning Forgiveness.
Lk. 17 6	=Mt. 17 20 (*cf.* Mk. 11 22f.)	"Faith as grain of Mustard Seed."
Lk. 17 23f.	=Mt. 24 26f. (*cf.* Mk. 13 21)	Apocalyptic Sayings.
Lk. 17 26f.	=Mt. 24 37–39	Apocalyptic Sayings.
Lk. 17 34f.	=Mt. 24 40f.	Apocalyptic Sayings.
Lk. 17 37	=Mt. 24 28	Apocalyptic Sayings.
Lk. 22 30	=Mt. 19 28	"Sit on twelve thrones."

To this list should be added the doubtful parallel

Lk. 19 11–27	=Mt. 25 14–30 (*cf.* Mk. 13 34)	Parable of Pounds=Talents.

And the still more doubtful

Lk. 14 15–24	=Mt. 22 1–10	Parable of Wedding Feast=Marriage of King's Son.

Two points require to be noted:

(*a*) The degree of parallelism varies considerably. Thus in the section of John the Baptist's preaching beginning, "O generation of vipers . . ." (Mt. 3 7–10, Lk. 3 7–9), there are 63 words in Mt. and 64 in Lk., of which 62, *i.e.* about 97 per cent., are common to both. In the Parable of the Lost Sheep (Mt. 18 12–14, Lk. 15 4–7), Mt. has 64, Lk. 81 words, of which only 26, *i.e.* 36 per cent. of mean total, is common to both. The closeness of resemblance in the former case seems to demand a common *written* source—the latter, if it stood alone, would perhaps suggest rather two independent versions. But both these are extreme cases. In the vast majority of parallels the percentage of common words would be intermediate between these two. The question then arises, "Is it possible that there would be such variety in exactness of reproduction if both editors were following one written source throughout?" This question can be answered; for we know that they both followed Mark, and can test the varying degrees of verbal agreement between them in such passages. Two passages I have noted as showing the verbal resemblances between the gospels at their maximum and minimum respectively. In the parallel Mt. 21 23–27=Mk. 11 27–33=Lk. 20 1–8, there are in Mt. 115 words, in Lk. 118. Of these, 75, *i.e.* about 64 per cent., are common to both. On the other hand in the parallel Mt. 13 18–23=Mk. 4 13–20 =Lk. 8 11–15, Mt. has 129 words, Lk. 110; of these 38, *i.e.* 31 per cent. of mean total, is common to both.

We see, therefore, that on the assumption that Q was a written document, Matthew and Luke agree in reproducing it with considerably greater verbal exactness than they do Mark. This is only what we should expect, seeing Q is mainly discourse, Mark mainly narrative. We should also note that the percentage of words common to Mt. and Lk. does not represent all that is preserved of the actual language of the common source, but merely all that we can certainly identify as such. Thus, in the above parallels, no less than 73 per cent. and 70 per cent. respectively of the words used by Mk. are preserved in *either* Mt. or Lk.

(*b*) A glance at the extraordinarily divergent order in Mt. and Lk. in the list of parallels given above shows at once that if these were derived from a single source it has been cut up into pieces and entirely rearranged, either by Matthew or by Luke or by both. A more detailed examination shows that whatever may be the

case with Lk. the order in Mt. is largely due to the editor of that gospel. We have already seen how Matthew fits in non-Marcan matter into the Marcan framework on the principle of putting together sayings of a similar character, and that in several cases he expands a given nucleus into a long discourse. Five of these stand out conspicuously: Mt. 5–7, 10, 13, 18, 23–25. In all of these we find put together Q matter (found also in Lk. but in separate passages and different contexts), matter peculiar to Mt., and also matter derived from Mk. Occasionally, even passages from *different places in Mk.* appear together in one of the discourses of Mt.; *e.g.* Mt. 10 includes matter from Mk. 6$_{6-11}$, 13$_{9-13}$, and 9$_{37}$. Clearly, therefore, these long discourses of Mt. are compilations by the editor of this gospel, and therefore the position of any saying in one of these discourses is no clue at all to its original context in Q.

Three of these require special examination:

1. The Sermon on the Mount (Mt. 5–7) is, in effect, Lk.'s Sermon on the Plain enormously expanded, partly with matter peculiar to Mt. and partly with Q matter which is found scattered elsewhere in Lk.

2. Mt. 10 consists of (*a*) the situation and discourse of the mission of the Twelve from Mk., (*b*) the discourse (from Q) given by Lk. at the sending out of the Seventy, (*c*) two appropriate passages from elsewhere in Mk., (*d*) matter peculiar to Mt.

3. Mark has three short Woes to Pharisees (Mk. 12 38–40), followed almost immediately by a long apocalyptic discourse (Mk. 13). In Mt. 23–25 this has attracted a still larger mass of Woes and apocalyptic sayings and parables ingeniously fitted together from Q and Matthew's special tradition.

Now, if we eliminate from the parallel lists of Q passages given above those passages which occur in Mt. in the Sermon on the Mount (5–7), the Mission Charge (10), and the warning of Judgment (23–25), but which do not occur in Lk. in the shorter but corresponding discourses of the Sermon on the Plain (Lk. 6 20ff.), the Charge to the Seventy (Lk. 10$_{1-11}$), or the apocalyptic section (Lk. 17$_{22-37}$),[1] and if we also eliminate certain detached sayings[2] of one or two verses which Mt. has fitted in elsewhere in appropriate (usually Marcan) contexts, we find there is a broad agreement in the order of the rest.

Luke's Order.	Matthew's Order.
John Baptist's Preaching.	John Baptist's Preaching.
Temptation.	Temptation.
Sermon on the Plain.	Sermon on the Mount.
Centurion's Servant.	Centurion's Servant.
John Baptist's Message.	
Aspirants to discipleship, Lk. 9$_{57-60}$.	Aspirants to discipleship, Mt. 8$_{19-22}$.
A Mission Charge (in Mt. 10 combined with Mk.'s charge to the Twelve).	A Mission Charge (in Lk. 10 to the Seventy).
	John Baptist's Message.
Woes to the Cities.	Woes to the Cities.
"I thank thee, Father . . ." etc.	"I thank thee, Father . . ." etc.
The Beelzebub Controversy.	The Beelzebub Controversy.
Parable of Unclean Spirit.	Sign of Jonah.
Sign of Jonah.	Parable of Unclean Spirit.
Mustard Seed and Leaven.	Mustard Seed and Leaven.
Concerning Offences.	Lost Sheep.
Lost Sheep.	Concerning Offences.
On Forgiveness.	On Forgiveness.
Apocalyptic Sayings, 17$_{23}$ff.	Apocalyptic Sayings, 24$_{26-28}$, 37–41.
Parable of Pounds.	Parable of Talents.

[1] Lk. 17$_{22-37}$ has been called "the Apocalypse of Q" in contrast to the Apocalypse of Mark (Mk. 13).

[2] These are:
Mt. 8$_{11}$f. = Lk. 13$_{28}$f.
Mt. 11$_{12}$f. = Lk. 16$_{16}$.
Mt. 13$_{16}$f. = Lk. 10$_{23}$f.
Mt. 15$_{14}$*b* = Lk. 6$_{39}$*b*.
Mt. 17$_{20}$ = Lk. 17$_{6}$.
Mt. 19$_{28}$*b* = Lk. 22$_{30}$*b*.
Mt. 23$_{12}$ = Lk. 14$_{11}$. = Lk. 18$_{14}$.
Cf. *Oxford Studies*, pp. 156ff.

Thus at any rate a kind of skeleton of the original order of the Q sections is common to both Mt. and Lk. This fact materially strengthens the hypothesis that the bulk at least of the Q matter comes from a single written source. Even more light, however, is thrown on the question of the original order of Q by the facts already noted as revealing the manner in which Matthew and Luke respectively treated their other source, Mark.

It will be remembered that (1) whereas Mt. makes many rearrangements of Mk.'s order, Lk. makes very few—the chief apparent exceptions being really cases of following another source, (2) in combining Marcan and non-Marcan matter, whereas Mt. carefully fits them together so as to make appropriate contexts, Lk. pursues the simpler method of reproducing his sources alternately, following one source at a time in its original order. Hence there is a strong presumption that the original order of the Q sections is very much what it is in Lk.

The preceding arguments make it extremely probable that Matthew and Luke used a second written source besides Mk. It is, however, quite another matter to reconstruct this source, for the following reasons:

1. The verbal resemblance between parallel passages varies considerably. In many cases it is so close that we are almost compelled to assume a documentary source, and in the light of that assumption we argue that the passages where the parallelism is less close probably came from the same source. Yet some exceptions to this general rule must be allowed for. Some few of the short detached sayings of a proverbial ring, even though verbally almost identical, may, as a matter of fact, have come down independently in floating tradition; and still more this may be true of some few of the cases where the parallelism is less close. But it is impossible to identify either of these exceptional cases.

2. We have seen above that whereas over 70 per cent. of the actual words used by Mk. are reproduced by *either* Mt. *or* Lk., the number of Marcan words found in *both* Mt. *and* Lk. varies between 64 per cent. and 31 per cent. Hence anything like the well-known attempt in Harnack's *Sayings of Jesus* to reconstruct the *ipsissima verba* of Q is doomed to failure—if only because it leaves each reconstructed Q saying with less words than in either Mt.'s or Lk.'s version, whereas, since both these writers have a tendency to shorten, the original necessarily contained more words than either.

3. Both Matthew and Luke, especially Luke, omit sections of Mk., but not always the same sections. Hence there is no doubt that some sections of Q have been lost for ever; some occur in Mt. only, some in Lk. only. Less than two-thirds of Mk. is reproduced by *both* Mt. and Lk., hence we may infer that Q was probably at least half as long again as the list of parallels on pp. 675f., and included many sections which are peculiar to either Mt. or Lk.; while, at the same time, it may *not* have included a few of the sayings in that list of parallels.

A few passages peculiar to Mt. or Lk. may be conjecturally identified as from Q by the help of two principles:

(*a*) Since Lk. seems normally to reproduce his sources in their original order, short passages in Lk. occurring in Q contexts may probably be assigned to Q, though absent from Mt. Thus Lk. 9$_{51}$–10$_{25}$, 11$_{1}$–12$_{59}$, 13$_{18-35}$, and 17$_{22-37}$ may well be solid blocks of Q.

(*b*) Mt. includes some passages susceptible of a Judaistic interpretation (*e.g.* 5$_{19}$, 10$_{5}$f.,$_{23}$, 18$_{17}$,

231–3), and others appropriate mainly to Palestinian controversies (2316–22) or conditions (524). Lk.'s strong Gentile interests would have inclined him to omit these, while Mt., himself a universalist, would hardly have introduced them unless they stood in an important source. Hence many, if not most, of the passages in Mt. which have a peculiarly Jewish flavour should probably be assigned to Q, especially since, on other grounds (cf. *Oxford Studies*, pp. 210ff.), we may regard Q as an early Palestinian document.

The Relation of Mark and Q

Though we cannot exactly reconstruct Q, it is quite clear that some incidents occurred in both Q and Mk. Thus the versions of John Baptist's Preaching, the Temptation, and of the Beelzebub Controversy in Mt. and Lk. are considerably fuller than in Mk. In the additions which they make they are closely parallel; also in the detailed wording of what all three have in common there are many small points of agreement of Mt. and Lk. against Mk. Again, in the wording of the Parable of the Mustard Seed, there are many close agreements of Mt. and Lk. against Mk., and, moreover, in both Mt. and Lk. it is combined with the twin Parable of the Leaven. So, also, Mk. gives a discourse at the sending out of the Twelve; Lk., besides reproducing this in its own context, gives a similar but longer one at the sending out of the Seventy; while Mt. combines the two discourses, thus showing that the second stood in Q. There are, also, several short sayings which it is clear, stood both in Mk. and in Q in slightly different forms. Seeing that Q can only be reconstructed very roughly, it is impossible to be sure that there were not cases of this overlapping of Mk. and Q which we can no longer detect. A list of the cases where this overlapping is reasonably certain may be derived from the list of Q passages above by noting the references given to a parallel in Mk.

Two interesting questions remain, too intricate to be discussed here, in regard to which no consensus of opinion among scholars is as yet in sight:

1. Did Mark draw from Q (possibly from memory only); or, where Mk. and Q overlap, does each represent an independent tradition of the actual words spoken? In either case it would seem that the Q tradition is the fuller and better one. (*Cf. Oxford Studies*, pp. 166ff., Moffatt, INT, pp. 204f.)

2. Did Matthew or Luke, or either of them, use Q, not in its original, but in two differently expanded forms which included the greater part of the material peculiar to their respective gospels?

[It may be added that Wellhausen has argued that Mk. was earlier than Q and left little authentic matter to be gleaned by later writers. He considers that not merely Mt. and Lk. but Q also were indebted to Mk. This view has met, and is likely to meet, with scant sympathy from critics; but it has been reiterated by its author in the second and greatly expanded edition of his *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*.—A. S. P.]

Literature.—Synopses of the Greek Text: Rushbrooke, *Synopticon*, printed in different colours and types; A. Wright, *Synopsis of the Gospels* (with notes arguing for oral transmission theory); Tischendorf, *Synopsis Evangelica*[6] (all four Gospels, badly arranged); Huck, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien* (the most convenient); Colin Campbell, *First Three Gospels in Greek*[2]. Synopses of English Text: W. A. Stevens and F. D. Burton, *A Harmony of the Gospels* (all four Gospels); J. M. Thompson, *The Synoptic Gospels* (excellently arranged). The most important works on the Synoptic problem in English are: Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*[2] (exhaustive collection and analysis of all the data); *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, edited by Sanday; Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Part II.; Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*; Burton, *Some Principles of Literary Criticism and their Application to the Synoptic Problem*; Buckley, *Introduction to the Synoptic Problem*; Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus*; Abbott, *Diatessarica*; Salmon, *The Human Element in the Gospels*; Patten, *Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*. See also recent Introductions to NT, and commentaries and dictionary articles on the Gospels. Short Popular Studies Burkitt, *The Earliest Sources of the Life of Jesus*; Burton, *A Short Introduction to the Gospels*; J. A. Robinson, *The Study of the Gospels*; Wernle, *Sources of our Knowledge of the Life of Christ*. The most important works in German are: H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien* (for the author's later views see his *Einleitung in das NT* and his commentary in HC); Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte*; B. Weiss, *Das Marcusevangelium und seine synoptische Paralleln, Das Matthäusevangelium und seine Lucas-paralleln, Die Quellen des Lukasevangeliums, Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*; Wernle, *Die Synoptische Frage*; Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*[2]. In French: Nicolardot *Les Procédés de Redaction des trois premiers Évangelistes*.

A TABLE OF THE SECTIONS IN MARK, WITH THEIR PARALLELS IN MATTHEW AND LUKE.

The dagger indicates sections a portion of which is peculiar to Mark (*cf.* p. 673, col. 1, *ad fin.*).

(For sections in Matthew and Luke but not in Mark see p. 675f. For sections peculiar to Matthew and Luke respectively see below and p. 680.)

Mark.	Matthew.	Luke.
1 1–8.	3 1–6, 11f.	3 1–16, 15–18.
1 9–11.	3 13–17.	3 21f.
1 12f.	4 1–11.	4 1–13.
1 14f.	4 12–17.	4 14f.
1 16–20.	4 18–22.	5 1–11.
1 21–28.	4 13*b*, 728f., 424f.	4 31–37.
1 29–34.	8 14–17.	4 38–41.
1 35–39.	4 23–25.	4 42–44.
1 40–45.	8 1–4.	5 12–16.
2 1–12.	9 1–8.	5 17–26.
2 13–17.	9 9–13.	5 27–32.
2 18–22.	9 14–17.	5 33–39.
†2 23–28.	12 1–8.	6 1–5.
3 1–6.	12 9–14.	6 6–11.
3 7–12.	12 15–21.	6 17–19.
3 13–19.	10 2–4.	6 12–16.
†3 20–30.	9 32–34, 12 22–32, 36f.	11 14–23, 12 10.
3 31–35.	12 46–50.	8 19–21.
4 1–20.	13 1–23.	8 4–15.
4 21–25.	5 15, 10 26, 72, 13 12, 25 29.	8 16–18, 6 38, 11 33, 12 2, 19 26.
4 26–29.	Nil.	Nil.
4 30–34.	13 31f., 34f.	13 18f.
4 35–41.	8 18, 23–27.	8 22–25.
5 1–20.	8 28–34.	8 26–39.
5 21–43.	9 18–26.	8 40–56.
6 1–6.	13 53–58.	4 16–30.
6 7–13.	9 35–38, 10 1, 5–16, 11 1.	9 1–6, 10 1–12, 13 22.
6 14–29.	14 1–12.	9 7–9, 3 19f.
6 30–44.	14 13–21.	9 10–17.
6 45–56.	14 22–36.	Nil.
†7 1–23.	15 1–20.	Nil.
7 24–30.	15 21–28.	Nil.
†7 31–37.	[15 29–31.]	Nil.
8 1–10.	15 32–39.	Nil.
8 11f.	12 38–42, 16 1–4.	11 29–32.
8 13–21.	16 5–12.	12 1.
8 22–26.	Nil.	Nil.
8 27–9 1.	16 13–28.	9 18–27.
9 2–13.	17 1–13.	9 28–36.
†9 14–29.	17 14–20.	9 37–42, 17 5f.
9 30–32.	17 22f.	9 43–45.
†9 33–50.	18 1–9, 5 13.	9 46–50, 17 1f., 14 34f.
10 1–12.	19 1–12, 5 31f.	16 18.
10 13–16.	18 3, 19 13–15.	18 15–17.
10 17–31.	19 16–30.	18 18–30.
10 32–34.	20 17–19.	18 31–34.
10 35–45.	20 20–28.	22 24–27.
10 46–52.	[9 27–31], 20 29–34.	18 35–43.
11 1–11.	21 1–11.	19 28–38.
11 12–14.	21 18f.	[13 6–9.]
11 15–19.	21 12f., 17.	19 45–48.
11 20–25.	21 20–22, 17 20, 6 14, 18 35.	Nil.
11 27–33.	21 23–27.	20 1–8.
12 1–12.	21 33–46.	20 9–19.
12 13–17.	22 15–22.	20 20–26.
12 18–27.	22 23–33.	20 27–38.
12 28–34.	22 34–40.	20 39f., 10 25–28.
12 35–37.	22 41–46.	20 41–44.
12 38–40.	23 1, 6f.	11 43, 20 46f.
12 41–44.	Nil.	21 1–4.
†13 1–37.	24 1–36.	21 5–33.
14 1f.	26 1–5.	22 1f.
14 3–9.	26 6–13.	[7 36–50.]
14 10f.	26 14–16.	22 3–6.
14 12–16.	26 17–20.	22 7–14.
14 17–21.	26 21–25.	22 21–23.
14 22–25.	26 26–29.	22 15–20.
14 26–31.	26 30–35.	22 31–34.
14 32–42.	26 36–46.	22 39–46.
†14 43–52.	26 47–56.	22 47–53.
14 53–65.	26 57–67.	22 54f., 63–71.
14 66–72.	26 69–75.	22 56–62.
15 1–5.	27 1f., 11–14.	23 1–5.
15 6–15.	27 15–26.	23 18–25.
15 16–20.	27 27–31.	Nil.
15 21–32.	27 32–44.	23 26–43.
15 33–39.	27 45–54.	23 44–47.
15 40f.	27 55f.	23 48f.
15 42–47.	27 57–61.	23 50–56.
16 1–8.	28 1–10.	24 1–11.

PASSAGES PECULIAR TO MATTHEW.

The student should mark these in black brackets in his NT.

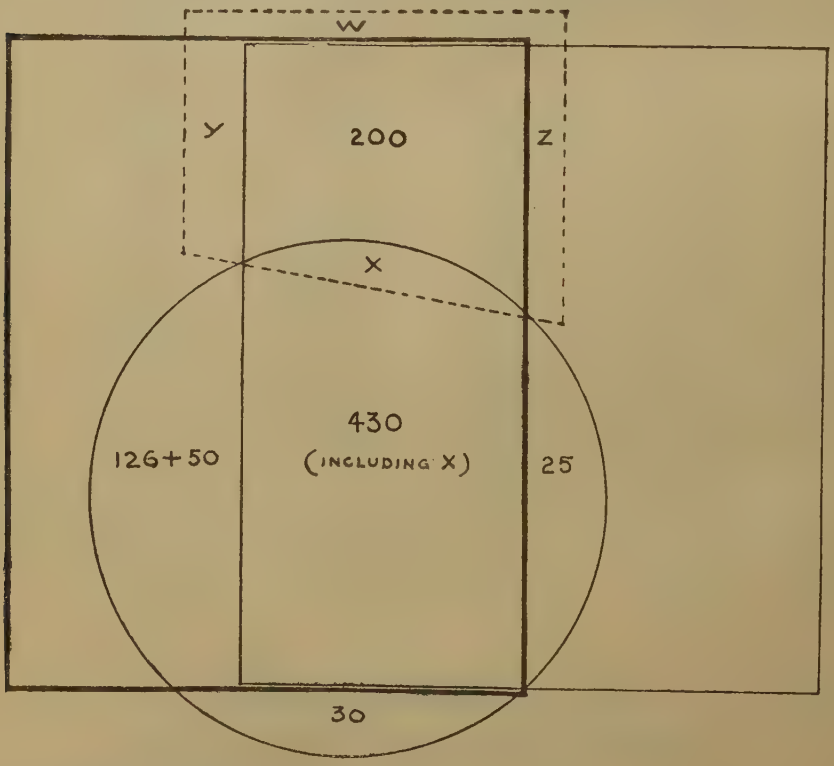
1 1–2 23.
3 14f.
4 13–16.
5 1, 5, 7–10, 14, 16, 17, 19–24, 27f., 31, 33–37, 38–39*a*, 41, 43.
6 1–4, 5–8, 10*b*, 13*b*, 15, 16–18, 34.
7 6, 12*b*, 15, 19f., 22.
8 17.
9 13*a*, 27–31, 32–36.
10 5*b*–6, 8*b*, 16*b*, 23, 25, 36, 41.
11 1, 14f., 20, 28–30.
12 5–7, 17–21, 36f., 40.
13 14f., 24–30, 35, 36–43, 44–46, 47–50, 51f., 53.
14 28–31, 33.
15 12f., 23f., 30f.
16 12, 17–19.
17 6f., 13, 24–27.
18 4, 10, 14, 16–20, 23–35.
19 10–12, 28*a*.
20 1–16.
21 10f., 14–16, 28–32, 43.
22 6f., 11–14.
23 2f., 5, 7*b*–10, 15–22, 27*b*–28, 32f.
24 12, 14*b*, 20*b*, 30*a*.
25 1–13, 31–46.
26 1, 25, 50*a*, 52–54.
27 3–10, 19, 24f., 43, 51*a*–53, 62–66.
28 2–4, 9f., 11–15, 16–20.

PASSAGES PECULIAR TO LUKE.

This list does *not* include the sections (*cf.* p. 673, col. 2 lines 15ff.) which Mk. has in a different version.

1 1–25 2.
3 1f.,5f.,10–14,23–38 (*cf.* Mt. 1 1–17).
4 1–3,15.
5 39.
6 24–26,34.
7 3–6*a*,11–17,21,29f.,40–50.
8 1–3.
9 3 1f.,43,51–56,61f.
10 1,17–20,29–37,38–42.
11 1,5–8,12,16,27f.,36,37f.,40f.,45, 53f.
12 1–21,32–33*a*,35–38 (*cf.* Mt. 25 1–13), 41,47f.,49f.,52,54–57 (*cf.* Mt. 16 2f.).
13 1–5,6–9 (*cf.* Mk. 11 12–14), 10–17, 22f.,25–27 (*cf.* Mt. 25 11f.), 31–33.
14 1–6,7–14,15–24 (*cf.* Mt. 22 2–10), 28–33.
15 1f.,7,8–32.
16 1–12,14f.,19–31.
17 1–10,11–19,20f.,22,25–27.
18 1–8,9–13*a*,34.
19 1–10,11–27 (*cf.* Mt. 25 14–30),39–44.
20 34–35*a*,36*b*,38*b*.
21 19,20,22,24,26*a*,28,34–38.
22 15–18,28–30*a*,31f.,35–38,43f.,48f., 51,53*b*,61*a*,68,70.
23 2,4–12,13–19 (*cf.* Mk. 15 6–9), 27–32,34*a*,36,39–43,46*b*,48,51*a*, 53*b*–54,56*b*.
24 10–12,13–35,36–49,50–53.

DIAGRAM TO ILLUSTRATE EXTENT BOTH OF INDEPENDENCE AND OF OVERLAPPING OF MT., LK., MK., AND Q.



Thick square = Mt. 1068 verses (RV).
Thin „ = Lk. 1149 „
Circle = Mk. 661 „
Dotted figure = Q { (about) 200 verses in Mt. and Lk. but not in Mk.
x „ „ with parallels in Mk.
y „ preserved by Mt. but not by Lk.
z „ „ Lk. „ Mt.
w „ lost completely.
Numbers = approximate number of verses in section in which they are placed.

MARK [1]

By Mr. H. G. WOOD

"Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without, however, recording in order what was either said or done by Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him; but afterwards, as I said, (attended) Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs (of his hearers) but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's oracles. So then Mark made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he heard, or to set down any false statement therein."

This famous testimony of Papias (Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor, *c.* 125) is clearly intended to apply to the second gospel. The evangelist is the Mark who figures in the NT (Ac. 12 and 15, 2 Tim. 4^{11}). Papias' tradition need not be taken at its face value. With regard to Mk.'s accuracy, it protests too much. On other sides, the character of the gospel itself supports it. That some of the material comes from Peter is not improbable, since the narrative only becomes detailed when Peter appears on the scene. The strong evidence for an Aramaic background to the gospel favours the view that Mk. is an interpreter, if not of Peter, then at least of early Palestinian tradition.[2] The whole purpose of Mk.'s work is evangelistic; his aim is to make men believe in Jesus as the Son of God. His work, therefore, may very well be a record of preaching. Many of Mk.'s stories must have been often used in the earliest propaganda of the Church. It is not impossible that his record is based on Peter's sermons in Rome, and in any case the readers expected are Gentile, possibly Roman, Christians. That the gospel lacks order is only partially true. It points to a clear development in the ministry of Jesus. After a glimpse of the simple beginnings in Galilee, we come to the period when the interest evoked is national, when Jesus organises His disciples for evangelisation, and when the official classes become definitely hostile. Then, almost in the full tide of His influence, Jesus gives up the public ministry in order to prepare the inner circle of disciples for the apparent disaster of the Cross. Finally, Jesus Himself leads the way to Jerusalem to challenge the authorities and accept His doom. A narrative that exhibits such a development cannot be called disorderly, but Papias' informant is so far right that we cannot claim chronological accuracy for Mk. in detail.

Mk. is now generally recognised as the earliest of our existing gospels. The limited scope of the book, which corresponds with the range of the earliest apostolic witness (Ac. 1^{22}), suggests its priority to the more inclusive narratives of Matthew and Luke. A detailed comparison of the gospels usually shows the divergences of Lk. and Mt. from Mk. to be of a secondary character. Mk. describes the human emotions and characteristic gestures of Jesus more freely than do his fellow-evangelists (study, *e.g.*, Mk. 3^{5}, 10^{14,21}, 3^{34}, 9^{36}, 10^{16} with parallels). The numerous disparaging references to the disciples in Mk. which are either toned down or omitted in the other gospels also point to the priority of Mk. (See Mk. 4^{13}, 6^{52}, 8^{17}f., 9^{10,32,34}, with parallels, and see note on 4^{13}.)

Mk.'s treatment of the Twelve has been held to indicate a bias in favour of Paul. Some scholars detect a high degree of artificiality in Mk.'s narrative, due to a Pauline tendency or to some other theological presupposition (see especially Bacon, Loisy, and Wrede). At the same time, Mk. is charged with an almost over-popular interest in the miraculous. The naïve realism, which undoubtedly characterises the gospel, is not readily compatible with the apologetic, now obscure, and now subtle, which these scholars suppose the evangelist to have forced on his material. The readers who delighted in the detailed stories of exorcism, *e.g.* 5$^{1-20}$ and 9$^{14-29}$, would hardly have followed the attempt to elevate Paul by depreciating the Twelve. Where references to the dullness of the disciples seem artificial, they are still best explained as an over-zealous repetition of a characteristic feature of the earliest apostolic tradition.

To date the gospels is always hazardous. If the second gospel be really a record of Peter's preaching at Rome, it cannot be earlier than 63. Chapter 13 does not show any knowledge of the fall of Jerusalem. The gospel was, therefore, probably in existence before 70. If the view that Acts was drawn up to assist Paul's defence before Nero could be established, Mk.'s date must be put back still earlier.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Montefiore,** Salmond (Cent.B), Glover, Bacon, Allen; (*b*) A. B. Bruce (EGT), Gould (ICC), **Menzies, Swete,** Plummer (CGT); (*c*) B. Weiss (Mey.), Holtzmann, Lagrange, Wohlenberg (ZK), Loisy, **Klostermann** (HNT), J. Weiss (SNT), **Wellhausen;** (*d*) Chadwick (Ex.B), Horton, *The Cartoons of St. Mark.* *Other Literature:* Wrede, *Messiasgeheimnis;* J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium;* J. M. Thompson, *Jesus according to S. Mark;* Bennett. *The Life of Christ according to St. Mark;* Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity,* vol. ii.

I. 1–13. A brief introductory section showing how the work of John the Baptist, and the baptism and temptation of Jesus, led up to the ministry in Galilee.

1 is perhaps best taken as the title to the whole book. It may be a late addition, but it represents the writer's point of view. Like Luke, he relates what Jesus *began* to do. The life, death, and resurrection of Jesus form in themselves the beginning: the end is not yet. Moreover, the gospel is the fact

[1] Additional notes on many passages in this gospel will be found in the commentaries on Mt. and Lk. For Table of Parallel Sections see page 679.

[2] See Allen in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem;* Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*^{2}; and Rendel Harris in ET, xxvi. 248.

of Jesus Christ. For Mk. "Jesus is not the herald but the content of the gospel" (Wellhausen).

2–8. As was foretold in Isaiah, Christ's coming was prepared for by the appearance of a prophet, in the person of John (p. 661), who called the Jewish people to repent, and to prove their repentance by baptizing themselves or letting themselves be baptized in Jordan, that they might be fitted to receive the Messianic forgiveness. His appeal had a profound effect, which Mk. describes with a characteristic touch of popular exaggeration when he says *all* the land of Judah responded. This response grew with time, for the imperfect tenses used in 5 imply a continuous succession of hearers and converts. John wore the rough garment associated with earlier prophets (Zech. 13$_4$), while his leather girdle recalled Elijah (2 K. 1$_8$). His food was drawn from the desert. His severe simplicity of dress and diet (*cf. Ascension of Isaiah*, 2$_{10}$f.) emphasized the call to repentance. It was a time to fast. One utterance of John's arrests Mk., and seems to him worth recording. John spoke of a greater than himself, to whom he was not worthy to render even the humble service usually assigned to slaves. Through this mightier one would come the gift of the Spirit. John was essentially a forerunner.

2f. The reading of RV in 2 is probably correct, though the passage is not from Is. but combines Mal. 3$_1$ and Ex. 23$_{20}$, while 3 reproduces LXX of Is. 40$_3$, which construes "in the wilderness" with "the voice of one crying," and not as Heb, with "make ready the way." The LXX rendering and some further alterations make the passages more readily applicable to John. Possibly they were linked together and ascribed to Is. in an early work of testimonies (*i.e.* a collection of OT texts intended to convince or confute the Jews; *cf.* p. 700) which Mk. used or from which they were inserted into his text.—**8.** Loisy thinks the reference to the Holy Ghost is due to Mk., who gives a Christian colouring to John's saying. Elsewhere (Mt. 3$_{11}$f.) John anticipates a Messiah who comes to judgment. Did he contrast his own baptism by water unto repentance with Messiah's baptism by fire unto judgment? If so, Mk. has changed an original "with fire" into "with the Holy Ghost." But in view of Ezek. 36$_{25-27}$, John may well have spoken as reported in Mk. (see further ERE, ii. 375, 381).

9–11. The Baptism of Jesus.—While John was drawing crowds to the Jordan, Jesus came from Nazareth (p. 29, Mt. 2$_{23}$*) in Galilee (an obscure village unknown except through the Christian tradition) and was baptized, thus recognising in John's preaching the call of God to His people. In the very act by which He shared the national repentance and attributed Divine authority to John's mission, He received a vision and heard a voice which revealed to Him His own place in this movement. The Spirit of God rent the heavens and came down on Jesus as a dove (the symbol to the Jews of purity and harmlessness: see Lk. 2$_4$, Mt. 10$_{16}$), thus marking Him out as the mightier one of whom John spoke. By Mk. the vision was probably regarded as objective, and therefore visible to John and the crowd if present. But it is not said that John saw the vision or recognised the Christ in Jesus. The vision is significant as being the consecration of Jesus to the Messianic office. (See further, pp. 661f.)

12f. The Temptation.—Henceforth, in a new and special sense, Jesus is under the control of the Spirit, who now drives Him into the wilderness, where He is tempted by the adversary. He is alone amid the haunts of wild beasts, but the angels serve and sustain Him. Mk.'s verses read like a summary of a longer story, but the references to the wild beasts and to the apparently continuous ministry of angels, which seems to exclude fasting, suggest that the story summarised differed from the accounts of the Temptation given in Mt. and Lk. The length of time spent by Jesus in the desert is given as forty days. This is a conventional number, paralleled in OT stories (*e.g.* Gen. 7$_{17}$, Ex. 24$_{18}$, 1 K. 19$_8$). This and other details have sometimes been regarded as proof that the story of the Temptation is a myth. But that the decisive vision should be followed by a period of retirement and temptation is natural enough. (See further, p. 703.)

I. 14–III. 6. The First Period of the Galilean Ministry.

I. 14f. Jesus Announces in Galilee the Nearness of the Kingdom.—Not immediately after the Temptation, but after the arrest of John (6$_{17}$), Jesus returned to Galilee from the south country and took up John's message. Like John, Jesus calls men to repent because God's kingdom is near. But the menace of judgment uttered by John becomes good tidings on the lips of Jesus. If the phrase "believe the gospel" is due to Mk. and not to Jesus, it rightly characterizes the contrast between Jesus and His forerunner; *cf.* 2$_{18}$f., Lk. 4$_{17}$f., Mt. 11$_{18}$f.

16–20. The Call of the First Disciples.—The sudden call and unhesitating response argue, according to Porphyry (*c.* A.D. 300), either the incompetence of the lying historian or the stupidity of the disciples. But Mk. does not imply that this was the first these men had seen or heard of Jesus (*cf.* Jn. 1$_{35-51}$*). He does, however, suggest the attractive power of Jesus, which he regarded as supernatural. At a word men left all to be with Him. It must have seemed foolish to those who did not know Him.

21–39. A Specimen Day in Capernaum.—With His first followers, Jesus went to Capernaum (p. 29), "a border town in the kingdom of Antipas, on the high road from Ptolemais to Damascus" (HNT, *ad loc.*; Mt. 4$_{13}$*). Mk.'s information now becomes more detailed, and he records the events of the first Sabbath as perhaps Simon himself recalled them.

21–28. Jesus visits the synagogue and proclaims His message there. Throughout the earlier period of His Galilean ministry the synagogues seem to have been open to Him (*cf.* 39, 3$_1$, Lk. 4$_{16}$). Of the content of His teaching, Mk. tells us nothing. He only brings out the contrast between Jesus and the scribes. They taught from authorities, balancing one traditional opinion with another. Jesus spoke with authority as one commissioned of God. The same confidence and sense of power which were felt in His words were apparent in His dealings with demoniacs. Jesus uses no incantation or adjuration. He simply gives His commands and the evil spirits obey Him. This fact apparently interests Mk. and his readers even more than the sayings of Jesus. The astonishment aroused by the teaching was turned into amazement by the miracle, and the fame of the new prophet spread through Galilee.

[**22. and not:** better "yet not." The scribes taught with authority, but that of Jesus was of a different stamp.—A. J. G.]

22–27. Of the two words "astonished" and "amazed" the latter seems to be the stronger. It implies fear (see 10$_{32}$ and the parallels to this passage). The first word is more frequent in Mk. who elsewhere (6$_2$, 10$_{26}$, 11$_{18}$) attributes the same effect to the teaching of Jesus.

24. Did the demoniacs, as Mk. suggests, openly

acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah? If so, how did they reach the conviction, and why does their confession not influence the public? These questions raise difficulties. Some scholars hold that Mk. has given his own interpretation to inarticulate cries. "The testimony of the demons exists for the reader, but did not exist for the spectators." Consequently the motive assigned for enjoining silence in 134 is mistaken. Wrede holds that the demons' confession and their repression by Jesus are alike unhistorical. He groups along with this material, the passages in which those healed of their complaints are told to keep silence, *e.g.* 144, 543, 736, and also the passages in which the disciples are forbidden to reveal the Messianic secret, *e.g.* 830, 99. The historic fact, according to Wrede, is that Jesus was not recognised as Messiah during His lifetime. Mk. accounts for this, by supposing that Jesus did not wish to be recognised. Therefore the demons are silenced, miracles of healing are not to be mentioned, the disciples may not say anything. Yet in Mk.'s view the Messianic secret must have been penetrated. Demons and disciples must have confessed. Miracles must have been impressive evidence. His narrative is full of contradictions because he tries to reconcile his conviction of the Messiahship of Jesus with the fact that the Messianic claim was not made public during the lifetime of Jesus. Wrede's ingenious theory rests on an illegitimate grouping of details, which do not require and are not capable of a common explanation. Thus in 144 and 736 the enjoining of silence is as intelligible and as historic as it is pointless and artificial in 543. That some demoniacs addressed Jesus as Messiah, that such confessions aroused wonder but not faith in the people, and that Jesus sought to silence the demoniacs (the injunction and the word used were normal in exorcism) may well be historic fact. For the whole subject, see p. 663, Nevius, *Demon-Possession and Allied Themes*, and Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, i. 125–146.

29–31. The Miracle of Healing in Simon's House.—Jesus and His disciples were apparently Simon's guests in Capernaum. Simon's wife's mother (? the hostess) was sick, and the members of the household appealed to Jesus. He lifted her up and not only freed her from fever, but restored her to strength so that she was able to prepare the meal. Fever usually leaves a patient weak, but "when the Lord bestows health, restoration is immediate and complete" (Jerome).

32–34. at even when the sun did set: Simon's wife's mother was healed on the Sabbath. When the Sabbath was over, the house was besieged with sick persons. Jesus healed many. Each case seems to be treated individually. Mk. especially mentions the cure of the possessed.

35–39. The Decision to Leave Capernaum.—The concourse of sick embarrasses Jesus, either because the work of healing tended to obscure His message or because Capernaum threatened to monopolise His attention. Simon may have remembered how the Master left the house and went out of the city to pray. To Simon's surprise, Jesus does not seize the favourable opportunity of Capernaum. God's herald may not remain stationary. Everywhere the proclamation is accompanied by the expulsion of demons. Their overthrow is proof of the nearness of God's kingdom.

35. and there prayed: "No Christology is true which makes a Christ for whom prayer is either unnatural or impossible" (H. R. Mackintosh, *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, p. 399).—**38. for to this end came I forth** is interpreted theologically in Lk. 443* and by many modern commentators, but the phrase may mean simply "That is why I left Capernaum," or "that was my purpose in setting out to evangelize." The ambiguity proves the priority of Mk.

40–45. The Healing of the Leper.—By placing this incident at this point in his narrative, Mk. gives a further reason for the difficulty which met Jesus on His return from Capernaum. The story with Mk.'s ending connects closely with ch. 2. We have here a work of healing (not, as some think, a request to Jesus to declare the man free from leprosy), but the original interest centres on the sayings of Jesus embedded in the story.

40. HNT cites Epictetus III. 1014f.: "Why then do you flatter the physician? Why do you say, 'If thou wilt, sir, I shall be well'?"—**41.** An early reading gives "moved with anger" instead of "with compassion." If this reading be original, the flattery of "if thou wilt," or the implied doubt of His goodwill may occasion the emotion (*cf.* 1014–18; see also Temple, *Kingdom of God*, pp. 25f.).—**43.** The word "strictly charged" suggested strong feeling, as also the verb "thrust him out" (Gr. *exebalen; cf.* 112). Apparently the scene of the incident is a house, into which no leper should have come (Lev. 1346).—**44.** Jesus enjoins the carrying out of the Law (Lev. 142–32). Perhaps omit comma after "commanded" (RV), since "for a testimony unto them" is not emphatic, and does not mean "to testify to the priests that a prophet has arisen" (so Swete). That would defeat the object of the injunction of silence.

II. 1–III. 6. A group of incidents designed to illustrate the growth of hostility on the part of scribes and Pharisees. At first they merely make silent criticisms (26), then they question the disciples (216), later, they challenge Jesus Himself (218), and later still, they resolve to get rid of Him (36). The theme continues into the following section (see HNT, p. 18). The arrangement of these incidents is due to the evangelist and is not necessarily chronological.

II. 1–12. The Healing of the Paralytic.—Loisy (pp. 86–88) regards the discussion of the right to forgive sins as artificially interwoven by Mk. into a simpler story of healing. He says it is not like Jesus to prove a spiritual claim by the argument of a miracle. Jesus refused to work "signs." The power to forgive is also asserted by Jesus personally as a Messianic endowment. This conflicts with the attitude towards the Messianic secret (p. 670) preserved elsewhere in the gospel. But forgiveness is undoubtedly one of the blessings of the kingdom (*cf.* 412). It is the offer of forgiveness which is challenged by the Pharisees when they ask why Jesus eats with sinners, and why His disciples do not fast. There is an inward connexion between the three incidents in Mk. 2. The work of evangelization requires Jesus to forgive sins as well as to drive out demons and heal diseases. These are so many inseparable features of the gospel (*cf.* Lk. 418f. and Mt. 115*, where the miracles must not be allegorized, as Schmiedel suggests). Bodily healing and forgiveness go together. Because of their union the visible influence of Jesus over disease confirms His power to forgive, which cannot be tested by sight. It is as herald of the kingdom rather than as Messiah that Jesus claims this authority. Mt. 98 suggests either that the term "Son of Man" is not Messianic in Mk. 210 or that the term is due to the evangelist. But Mt. 98 means, not that men as men have this power, but that a fresh gift of God has come to mankind in and through the announcement of the nearness of the

kingdom. A new ministry of reconciliation is entrusted to men.

1. Follow *mg.*—**4.** Wellhausen suggests that "they uncovered the roof" is a misunderstanding of an Aram. phrase which means "they brought him up on to the roof." This is probably correct, and in that case the picturesque detail about breaking up the roof may be an addition inspired by the false rendering of an Aram. original.—**5.** "Teknon," an affectionate form of address. *Cf.* Lk. 15^{31}, and Cæsar's last words, "Kai su, Teknon," not "Et tu, Brute."—**6.** It should be noted, Jesus is accused of blasphemy, not of laxity as to conditions of forgiveness (see Montefiore, i. 78).—**8.** Mk. attributes supernatural knowledge to Jesus. Jn. 2^{23} does not lack a Synoptic root.—**9, 11f.** "Arise, take up thy bed and walk." The threefold repetition reflects popular oral tradition. The proof of the complete cure by carrying one's bed is also a feature in popular tales of healing. *Cf.* Lucian, *Philopatris*, xi., "Midas picked up the bed on which he had been lying and went off to the country." The word for "bed" in Mk. is a vulgar one, and implies the small mattress of a poor man.

II. 13–17. The Call of Levi. Jesus Eats with Tax-Collectors.—These two incidents are only loosely connected with each other and with what precedes. The notes of time are of the vaguest. The call of Levi, who is collecting tolls for the Tetrarch of Galilee on the highroad (p. 615), closely resembles the call of the first four disciples. There is nothing to suggest that the meal is a thanksgiving feast. In the large company of guests, some Pharisees (pp. 624, 666f.) mingle. They appear here in the gospel for the first time. The idea of holiness through separation is involved in their very name. Tax-collectors had a bad reputation in ancient society. A passage in Lucian classes them with adulterers and sycophants. The "sinners" seem to be people who were careless of the Law and perhaps even loose livers. It is very strange that Jesus the prophet chooses such company. Jesus meets the Pharisaic suggestion with a proverbial saying and a statement of His own aim in evangelizing. "He did not avoid sinners, but sought them out: this was a new and sublime contribution to the development of religion and morality" (Montefiore, i. 86).

15. The concluding words are taken by Swete and Wellhausen with the next verse. "And there followed also scribes of the Pharisaic party." This is attractive.—**16.** "Scribes of the Pharisees" an unusual and awkward phrase, as, according to Wellhausen, there were no scribes of the Sadducees. —**17.** Loisy (p. 93) and J. Weiss attribute the last sentence to the evangelist, as the reference to His mission is theological, and if genuine the saying involves ironical use of Pharisaic terms. These objections are not final. Jesus was certainly conscious of a Divine mission, and may well have defined it in such terms.

II. 18–22. The Question of Fasting.—Both the followers of John and the Pharisees agree in the practice of fasting to express repentance. Jesus called men into an experience of joy, surely the joy of forgiveness. By His presence and call He made men feel as if they were taking part in a bridal feast while they waited for the kingdom. They were keeping festival in anticipation of yet intenser joy. This new life could not consort with the old traditional forms of religion. This is the broad sense of the section. In many details it is difficult. The union of disciples of John and the Pharisees seems unnatural. 20 is clearly a prediction of the Master's death. But it is only after the great confession (8^{29}) that Jesus begins to speak of His death even to His disciples. If genuine, the saying belongs to a later period. Some scholars treat 20 as the evangelist's afterthought. In that case 19 in its present form must be surrendered too, as it is bound up with 20 (see Wellhausen). Possibly some simpler saying has been recast by Mk. That 20 refers to the death of John the Baptist is improbable. His disciples did not begin to fast after his death. Fasting was part of his call to repentance. In 21 and 22 we have two brief parables drawn from home-life. The piece of undressed cloth tends to shrink, and if used to patch an old garment will make a fresh rent in it. Wine-skins worn thin with use and time cannot resist the fermentation of new wine. They crack if men attempt to preserve new wine in them (*cf.* Jos. 9^{13}). These parables do not necessarily belong to the discussion that immediately precedes them. "The protest against half-heartedness and false compromise might have been spoken on many occasions. They indicate the breach between the original Christian temper and Judaism in general." 22 especially shows that the new religion must make new forms for itself. For Jesus' use of illustrations in couples, *cf.* *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 195.

II. 23–28. Sabbath Observance.—This incident occurs in the summer: "the only clear reference to a season of the year in the gospel." The disciples offend by reaping on the Sabbath. The evangelist brings together two answers. The first admits the validity of the Law and pleads historic exceptions. The second lays down a general principle by which the Law is to be interpreted. The aim of the Law must be considered. On 27 Sabatier comments: "A saying, wonderful alike in its depth and its simplicity, which denies not only the Pharisaic idea of the Sabbath but also the scholastic idea of the Church and the absolutist notion of the State."

26. The reference to Abiathar is a mistake, probably due to the evangelist, possibly to a glossator. But the act of David is described with some traditional embellishments. David's entry into the sanctuary and the presence of his companions are suppositions not necessarily involved in 1 S. 21$^{1-7}$ (Loisy, p. 101).—**27. And he said unto them:** a simple formula frequently prefixed to detailed sayings of Jesus, and often used by Mk. to link together utterances which came to him isolated in tradition; *cf.* 4^{11,13}, 7^{9}, 9^{1}.—**28.** If "Son of Man" (8^{31}*, p. 691) be Messianic, the verse is best taken as representing the evangelist's conclusion. The alternative is that it means "man."

III. 1–6. The Sabbath Healing which Determined Pharisaic Hostility.—(See p. 666.) Mk. links this synagogue incident with his first (1^{21}) by the word "again." Jesus is no longer unknown; He is suspect. Another healing in a synagogue may be used as the basis of a charge against Him. He challenges with a question the opponents who are watching Him. Is it not a more loyal observance of the Sabbath to save life as Jesus proposes to do than to be plotting evil against another man as the Pharisees are actually doing? (This interpretation seems to be more attractive than that adopted in HNT, Loisy, or Pfleiderer; who says, "He recognises no third course between the fulfilment of duty by doing good and the transgression of duty by not doing good: for the omission of a possible work of love is in itself an evil-doing which cannot be justified by any Sabbatic ordinance.") The refusal of the Pharisees to answer the question moves Jesus to anger. This is one of the few passages peculiar to Mk. which attributes anger to Jesus (*cf.* 10^{14}); passionate grief rather than wrath is meant. The evangelist "had

little power of analysis and had not precise nomenclature for emotions shading into one another." (See *The Practice of Christianity* by the author of *Pro Christo et Ecclesia*, p. 92, but note also Fairbairn's sentence, "A character incapable of indignation is destitute of righteousness, without the will to give adequate expression to its moral judgments.") The result is the determined hostility of the religious and political leaders of Galilee, who even plot His destruction. (The plot to kill is perhaps introduced too early into the story. See Menzies.)

1. The Gospel to the Hebrews adds that the man was a mason who asked Jesus to give him back the use of his arm to save him from the disgrace of begging. Such an addition is clearly an afterthought, and does not develop the main interest of the story. *Cf.* a more clearly irrelevant addition in the story of the rich young ruler (10₁₇–₃₁).—**his hand withered:** the attempt to derive this story from that of king Jeroboam (1 K. 13₆, see Loisy, p. 107) seems to depend on the word "withered," a very slight connexion!—**5. when he had looked round:** characteristic of Jesus according to Mk.; *cf.* 3₃₄, 10₂₃, 11₁₁, and 10₂₁. The "kind but searching glance."

III. 7.–VII. A new stage in the work of Jesus. "Up to this point Christ's ministry is purely Galilean in scene, actors and horizon alike." Now crowds come from long distances and from all parts of the country. The attention of the religious authorities at Jerusalem is drawn to Him (*cf.* 22). The work of evangelization is shared with twelve chosen disciples. The teaching of Jesus undergoes a twofold change. The seashore and the desert replace the synagogue, and the parables become Christ's customary form of utterance. How long this period of wider activity continues we do not know, nor is it quite clear at what point in his narrative Mk. would conclude it. But in 7₁₇ff. he begins to throw stress on the training of the Twelve, which has definitely led to the abandonment of the public ministry in Galilee when we reach 9₃₀f. Perhaps 7₂₃ forms the point of transition.

III. 7–12. An editorial paragraph descriptive of the new development in the ministry. It is made up of popular generalizations, from which we gather that Jesus had to protect Himself against growing crowds by retiring from the cities to the sea-shore, and by securing a boat as a shelter. His work of healing and exorcism continues, the confessions of the demons becoming more explicit (see Swete on the phrases "Son of God," 3₁₁, and "Holy One of God," 1₂₄). The work of healing is itself a message of forgiveness (2₁–₁₂*) for the diseases healed are described as "plagues," a word used in OT of Divine chastisement (see HNT and Swete). The whole paragraph suggests that the definite hostility of the Pharisees was followed by considerable changes in the scope and method of the Galilean ministry, and the suggestion is probably well founded.

III. 13–19. The Appointment of the Twelve.—That Jesus associated with Himself an inner circle of twelve men is not open to reasonable question. If the number twelve be mythical, it must be suggested by the twelve tribes of Israel. The fact that His own ministry was confined to Israel, makes it natural for Jesus Himself to have acted on the suggestion. To trace the number, with the exponents of the Christ-myth, to the signs of the Zodiac, or the twelve apostles of the Jewish Patriarch of Alexandria (who are not known to have been twelve) is a gratuitous absurdity. The choice of the Twelve was made when Pharisaic hostility and popular enthusiasm increased the burden of the task of evangelization. Mk. emphasizes the *choice* of Christ. He called whom He would (*cf.* Jn. 15₁₆). These men are chosen *to be with Jesus*, a phrase peculiar to Mk. which discloses the meaning and the secret of discipleship. Bousset rightly asks, "In which of the OT prophets does personal intercourse with disciples, this gradual outpouring of the wealth of the soul into the souls of others, play such a part as it does in the case of Jesus?" (*Jesus*, p. 17). But the Twelve are also to be sent out to proclaim the nearness of the Kingdom. We may note that Mk.'s phrase suggests repeated tours, not one outstanding expedition such as is presupposed in Schweitzer's theory. Hence the name "apostles" (*mg.* in 3₁₄ is perhaps part of the text; see Swete). In the list that follows, Mk. and Mt. agree in the name Thaddæus, while Luke has Judas the son of James. The identification of Matthew with Levi rests on Mt. 9₉ and 10₃. The nickname "Sons of Thunder," given to James and John has now been shown by Rendel Harris to be connected with the cult of twins. The sons of Zebedee were probably twins. Thomas is also a twin (see Jn. 11₁₆, 14₂₂*, 20₂₄, 21₂). There is, therefore, some reason for suspecting that the apostolic list has been affected by folklore concerning twins. Simon the Cananæan (the word has nothing to do with Canaan) is rightly identified by Lk. (6₁₅) as a Zealot (*cf. mg.* here). This is not a reference to his zeal but to his previous political opinions (pp. 609f., Ac. 5₃₇*). Swete says, "This Simon cannot have belonged to the more advanced Zealots, who were associated with sedition and outrage." But why cannot Jesus have converted and chosen an advanced Zealot? If He did, the fact is of some importance. The teaching of Jesus is perhaps more directly aimed at the Zealots than we sometimes suppose (see Windisch, *Der Messianische Krieg*; also Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith*, chaps. i. and ii.). [In *Harvard Theological Review*, Jan. 1917, Lake argues very cogently from Josephus that the use of the name Zealot to describe a Jewish sect or party cannot be earlier than A.D. 66. He thinks Mt. and Lk. may have made an error, or that we have been wrong in translating or explaining, and that Mt. and Lk. simply meant Simon the Zealous, a reference not to party but to personal character.—A.J.G.] The meaning of the name Iscariot is still obscure.

16. The Ferrar group of MSS read, "And He made first Simon." The text adopted in RV is certainly corrupt, and some previous mention of Simon is required. This reading is perhaps better than *mg.*

III. 20–35. The Answer of Jesus to the Verdict of the Jerusalem Scribes and the Intervention of His Family.—The introduction of this section would naturally link with 6. Jesus returns home (presumably, to the house of Simon in Capernaum) after the second scene in the synagogue in 3₁–₆. Mk. has broken the thread of the original tradition in order to insert the list of the apostles. He certainly divides 2₀f. from 3₁–₃₅ in order to associate with the judgment of the relatives of Jesus the still more outrageous verdict of the scribes from Jerusalem. The statement that the relatives of Jesus thought Him beside Himself (perhaps in a state of unbalanced ecstacy), is peculiar to Mk. It is, however, necessary as leading up to the closing incident of the chapter. "The incident in which Jesus disowns His family is only intelligible in Mk." On the other hand, Mk. does not, like Mt. 12₂₂, cite a particular miracle as the occasion of the charge that Jesus was in league with the Evil One. He may regard the saying as a deliberate verdict of the official leaders of religion on the whole activity of Jesus.

The relatives of Jesus doubted His sanity: the scribes denied His moral sincerity.[1] The reply to the scribes is given in *parables* (mentioned now for the first time). The scribal theory of exorcism was easy and convenient, but it implied an illogical division in the Satanic power. Since the overthrow of the spirits of evil is obvious, the advent of the higher power must be presupposed. Like one of the OT prophets, Jesus repudiates passionately the thoughtless denial of the purity of His inspiration. The sin against the Holy Ghost seems to lie in the intellectual laziness and moral insincerity which prefers to confound black and white, rather than recognise the coming of God in a new and unexpected quarter. Mk. may derive his version of the utterance of Jesus from Q (pp. 672, 675, 678). But it differs from the parallels in Mt. and Lk. at one or two points especially in 28, "sons of men," where Mt. and Lk. have a reference to the "Son of Man." It is difficult to decide the question of priority (see Montefiore, i. 117). It is more important to recognise that Mk. seems to know some record or records of the teaching of Jesus from which he inserts sayings that bear on the points of special interest to himself and his readers. What Jesus said about exorcism concerns one of these points.

22. Beelzebub = "lord of flies" (*cf.* 2 K. 1*2*). The better reading is Beelzebul, the meaning of which is doubtful, perhaps "Lord of dung" or "Lord of the habitation" (see Swete).—**31–35.** The crowd that gathered in 20 is still round Jesus, so His mother and brethren can reach Him only by sending a message. Jesus refuses to recognise their claim to interfere, and enlarges the bounds of the Holy Family to include as His kinsfolk all who do God's will. This incident, undoubtedly historic, is difficult to reconcile with the story of the Virgin Birth. The silence as to Joseph is sometimes attributed to dogmatic reasons, but is better explained by the probability that he was already dead.

IV. 1–34. Teaching by Parables.—This section illustrates the method of teaching which the evangelist regards as characteristic of this period of the ministry. In it he combines some general observations about the use of parables, with what was originally a brief account of teaching delivered on one day. A comparison of 1 and 35 represents Jesus as entering a boat in which He stays all day and in which He crosses at night to the other side. Yet in 10 He is supposed to effect an escape from the people, whom He is again addressing in 26, as if no interruption had occurred. The original narrative must then have consisted of a group of parables. Into this have been inserted some general comments and an interpretation of the parable of the Sower. Mk. regards the parables as obscure enigmas designed to hide the truth from the common people (see especially 10–12, 34). But the original purpose can only have been to make the message of Jesus clearer. Each parable illustrates some aspect of the kingdom. Though doubtless Wellhausen is right in warning us against excluding allegory too rigidly, and against supposing that parables must all be interpreted in the same way, yet as a rule the point of comparison is to be sought in the whole situation or action described in the parable. The story of the Sower may have been originally intended to illustrate the differing receptions given to the appeal of Jesus, and its main purpose was probably to impress a sense of responsibility on His hearers (9). The general discussion of parabolic teaching (10–12) forms an awkward interruption of the address to the crowd, and is also difficult in itself. Can Jesus have made use of parables in order that men might not be converted and forgiven? Such a view conflicts with the nature of the parables themselves and with express statements in 21f. and 33. Consequently it is suggested, *e.g.* by Loisy, that this is later reflection due to the fact that apostolic Christians no longer understood the parables, and concluded from this that they must have been still more obscure to the Jews, whose unbelief must be attributed to the counsel of God (see Rom. 9f. and especially 11*8*–10). But though the saying attributed to Jesus in 11f. cannot give the explanation of His use of parables, it may still rest on a genuine utterance misapplied by the evangelist, *e.g.* "I speak to them in parables *because* their heart is fat" (so Merx). In view of Mt. 11*20*–*27*, 12*38*ff. we know that Jesus reflected on His failure to convert His people, and He may have felt that His mission to Israel was strangely similar to that of Isaiah (see Is. 6*9*ff.)

13–20. The interpretation of the Sower is introduced by a question which implies the astonishment of Jesus at the disciples' failure to understand the parable. Mk. records a number of rebukes to the disciples for want of faith or of understanding, *e.g.* 4*40*, 7*18*, 8*17*. The gospel dwells on the obtuseness of the Twelve. Is this an attempt to give effect to a dogmatic assumption that Jesus called exceptionally wicked and foolish men to follow Him? (so Wrede), or is it partisanship anxious to depreciate the Twelve in order to elevate Paul? (so Loisy, p. 133). That some of the contexts of these passages are of doubtful historicity favours some such hypothesis; but the earliest tradition, if genuinely apostolic, would dwell on the failings of the first disciples. These passages are best understood as reflecting and sometimes extending what must have been a prominent feature of the apostles' account of their fellowship with their Lord. He constantly surprised them. The interpretation that follows has been attributed to the later apostolic Church rather than to the Master, on the grounds that it allegorises and so misses the main point of the parable, and further that some phrases refer not to the historical circumstances of the work of Jesus but to general features of the later Christian mission. The first argument is inconclusive, and while the influence of later conditions may be traced in the vague and general character of the interpretation, it may still rest on genuine reflections of Jesus as to the causes which led men to reject His message. We know that fear of persecution and love of wealth were among the chief obstacles to discipleship which He recognised on other occasions.

21–25 seems still to be addressed to the disciples. Mk. has collected some isolated sayings, and inserted them here, for the purpose of denying that the Christian mystery mentioned in 11 was an esoteric doctrine. Secrets are given to the disciples in trust for the world, and a man's advance in the knowledge of the kingdom is in proportion to his loyalty to what has previously been entrusted to him. Somewhat similarly, after the cursing of the fig-tree, Mk. adds a saying about forgiveness (11*25*), to hint that only a forgiving spirit may expect miracles. (Loisy thinks Mk. tore these sayings from their context in a document like Q. It is more probable that they came to him as fragments of floating tradition which he pieced together as best he

[1] [Spitta suggests (*a*) that "his friends" (21) means not "his relatives" but "his disciples," (*b*) that the subject of the verb rendered "is beside himself" is "the crowd," which has fallen out of the text together with the miracles recorded by Mt. and Lk.—A. J. G.]

could. See a careful study by H. A. A. Kennedy in ET, xxv. 301f.)

26–32. The teaching in parables to the multitude is now resumed, and two further examples are given, those of "the seed growing secretly" and "the mustard seed." The first is peculiar to Mk. Loisy interprets it thus: "The kingdom of God is also a sowing whose inevitable growth is independent of men's will and even of the will of the sower. Like the labourer, Jesus sows the kingdom by preaching the gospel: it is not His work to bring the harvest, *i.e.* the complete coming of the kingdom, and one must not grow impatient if its coming does not follow at once: that is God's business. . . . It is none the less certain that the harvest will come without delay." This is the right line of interpretation; the emphasis falls, not on the gradual character of growth, but on its independence of human willing and desiring when once man has done his part. In the mustard-seed, attention is directed to the immense difference between the beginnings of the kingdom and its consummation. We should note that all these parables imply that the kingdom is already present in germ through the activity of Jesus Himself. They are also characteristic of the simplicity and naturalness of the illustrations used by Jesus.

33f. These verses seem to apply to the general practice of Jesus at this period rather than to the events of one day. 33 gives the true purpose of parabolic teaching; 34 embodies the evangelist's later theory, which leads him to regard such a saying as Mk. 7[15] as a parable.

IV. 35–V. 43. Four Wonder-Stories.—The stilling of the tempest, the healing of the demoniac and of the woman, and the raising of Jairus' daughter form one of the most graphic sections of Mk.'s narrative. These stories have clearly been often told, and the evangelist delights to tell them. They seem to rest on unmistakable history. Thus the reference to the other little boats (4[36]) reproduces an insignificant detail that naturally remained in the memory of an eye-witness (*cf.* Wellhausen). Other details, such as "asleep *on the cushion*" (4[38]), or the command to give the little girl something to eat (5[43]), while not beyond the writer's power of invention, are still so artless as to point back to genuine tradition. The early character of Mk.'s version is apparent from the changes adopted in Mt. and Lk. The suggestion of complaint in the disciples' question, "carest thou not that we perish?" is toned down in Mt. and Lk., while the disciples' fear (Mk. 4[41]) is turned into wonder in the parallels. Similarly, Mk.'s story of the raising of Jairus's daughter is incomparably more dramatic and more convincing in its claim to be primitive and historic than Mt.'s. In atmosphere and style these stories are undeniably popular. The apparent personification of wind and sea, the description of the demoniac, his association with tombs (demons are recruited from the spirits of the dead), the request of the demon that Jesus should not torture him, which is paralleled in a similar appeal of a vampire to Apollonius of Tyana (see Philostratus, iv. 25), the demand of Jesus to know the demon's name (a piece of information necessary for successful exorcism, in the popular view, *cf.* Gen. 32[29]*), the evasive answer of the demons, and their supposed transference into the herd of swine—all these are elements of beliefs about demons widely held among the common people. How far Jesus shared these beliefs, it is difficult to say. But He did not deny them, and in so far as He adopted them, His attitude cannot safely be explained as due to conscious accommodation on His part. It should be noted that these beliefs determine the way in which such a story as the healing of the demoniac is told. If a sudden movement of the lunatic in the course of healing frightened the pigs, onlookers with such beliefs (and the man himself) would conclude that the demons had taken up a fresh residence and would describe the event accordingly. The Huxley-Gladstone controversy as to our Lord's destruction of property would not have been raised on a more critical appreciation of the material offered for discussion (see Gould). Again, the account of the woman (for legends, see Swete) who had suffered much of many physicians and had only grown worse (details omitted by Mt. and softened in Lk.), and the description of her healing by the transference of some mysterious power through physical contact, belong to the circle of ideas current among peasants and humble folk. Perhaps the retention of the original Aramaic words in 5[41] is also in keeping with popular custom. Some of Mk.'s phrases, which Lk. avoids, point the same way. Thus, of the expression in 5[23], *eschatōs echei*, "at the point of death," the grammarian Phrynichus says only the canaille use it. These stories come from men who were neither wise nor noble. They are a tribute to Jesus from lowly minds. Their dramatic power and popular appeal do but emphasize their central interest—the impression they convey of the spirit of Jesus. Particularly in the first and third stories, everything turns on faith. The confidence of Jesus is contrasted with the fearfulness of the disciples. The disciples' want of faith is rebuked, the synagogue-ruler's sorely-tried faith is encouraged, the woman's exercise of faith is rewarded and publicly praised. The memorable acts and utterances of Jesus which make these stories unique, are all concerned with the maintenance of simple trust in God—a trust that triumphs over natural dangers, demonic powers, disease, and even death.

IV. 35f. The connexion which Mk. makes in these verses with the story of the day's preaching is disregarded by Mt. and Lk., perhaps rightly.—**V. 1.** The scene of the healing of the demoniac is doubtful. Gerasa is in Arabia and does not suit the circumstances. Gadara, though a district on the south of the Sea of Galilee, has no city and steep place close to the water's edge. Origen's preference for Gergesa is probably justified. For description of the most probable site, Kersa, see Thomson, *Land and Book*, p. 376f.—**7.** The confessions of the demons become ever more explicit in Mk. The term "the most high God" suggests that the sufferer was a Gentile (*cf.* Ac. 16[17], and note Cumont, *Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, p. 190). The fact that the man is a Gentile may explain why he is sent to evangelize his kinsfolk and neighbours, while others are bidden keep silence.—**20.** Decapolis (p. 33, Mt. 4[25]*), the Gentile district known as the Ten Cities, lies south-east of the lake of Galilee. The names of the cities vary in different lists (see Swete).—**43.** The command to keep the miracle secret could not be carried out, and seems to be a thoughtless addition of a conventional detail by Mk. But it may be that some such request was originally made, to enable Jesus to depart unobserved.

VI. 1–6. The Rejection of Jesus at Nazareth.—Mk.'s reason for inserting this incident at this particular point is obscure. It seems to belong to the early period. Jesus is once more in the synagogue as His custom was at the first, and the presence of the disciples is especially mentioned, as if they were not yet habitually in His company. Perhaps Mk. places the incident here as a first sign of waning public interest. The disciples, in the next section, are warned to expect

similar indifference and antagonism. Jesus' own country is clearly Nazareth (*cf.* 19). The very familiarity of the townsfolk with Jesus obscures His greatness for them. As an Indian saying has it, "There is always a shadow under the lamp." They were too close to Jesus to appreciate Him. Mk. alone has the reference to "kinsfolk" in 4. This perhaps presupposes the incident in 31f. Mk. is also unique in the freedom with which he speaks of the restraint laid upon Jesus by the hostility of the Nazarenes. He does not hesitate to attribute the emotion of wonder to Jesus. Want of faith surprised Him. This is significant. It shows how natural trust in God seemed to Jesus.

3. The reading, "Is not this the carpenter?" is the best attested for Mk., but it is doubtful whether Mt. is not more original in reading, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" Either reading might give offence to some Christians and be liable to change; either reading suffices to remind us that the early life of Jesus was associated with the everyday tasks of a Jewish artisan. The names of the brothers of Jesus may be mentioned because they had become leaders in the Church. There is no ground for questioning their blood-relationship to our Lord. The plain sense of the passage is, sons of the same mother, and indeed of the same father (Mt. 125*).

VI. 6–13. The Missionary Activity of the Twelve.—Wellhausen is sceptical as to the historic worth of this paragraph, as also of the section on the appointment of the Twelve. But Mk.'s view, that the disciples were not sent out to evangelize until they had been with Jesus some time (*cf.* 314), is probable, as is also his view that their evangelistic activities ended when Jesus Himself withdrew from Galilee. He is clearly convinced that this missionary work of the Twelve was a real event which influenced the course of the history. Apparently it drew Herod's attention to Jesus (14), and the return of the Twelve initiates a new development in the life of Jesus, viz. His wish for retirement (30 points back to 12). The directions themselves, as Loisy contends, read like a summary of a longer speech. Mk. may well be dependent on Q or some earlier record at this point. According to Mk., Jesus permitted the use of staff and sandals, which is forbidden in Mt. and Lk. The wallet, the use of which is forbidden, may be the religious beggar's collecting-bag. The disciples are not to imitate the wandering heathen priest who collects offerings for his shrine (Deissmann, *New Light on the New Testament*, p. 42f.). The directions reflect the actual practice of the earliest Christian missionaries (with 11 *cf.* Ac. 1351, 186). The anointing with oil (Jas. 514) is not mentioned elsewhere in the gospels. It is not traced back to the command or practice of Jesus. On the general character of this missionary preaching, Montefiore (i. 150) notes that "apostolic" poverty was a new thing in Judaism.

8. *Mg.* "brass" may be adopted almost in our slang sense of the word; Mk. uses a vulgar term for "money."

VI. 14–29. Herod and Jesus. The End of John the Baptist.—Wellhausen, J. Weiss, and Klostermann would begin a new period with this section—the period of constant wandering, in which Jesus is mostly outside Galilee, *e.g.* in the districts of Tyre and Sidon (724), Decapolis (731), Bethsaida (822), Cæsarea Philippi (827). The restless journeying across the lake, and the avoidance of Galilee, would be explained by the fact that the suspicions of Herod have been aroused. This characterisation of the period is correct and the hint as to its cause is also probable (*cf.* Lk. 1332). 14–16 seems to lead up to a reference to the hostility of Herod which is forgotten in the eagerness of the writer to tell the story of John's end. But Mk. does not make a sharp division here. The story of Herod and John the Baptist is intended to fill up the interval during which the apostles are away from Jesus (*cf.* the insertion of the discussion with the scribes (322–30) between the two parts of the story of the attempt made by the relatives of Jesus to interfere with His work). The historical worth of this section is doubtful. Lk., who seems to have fuller and more accurate information concerning Herod, corrects the saying of 16 (see Lk. 99) and omits the account of John's end. It is unlikely that Herod thought John to have risen again. The beheading of John is narrated in a popular form, not without inaccuracies and improbabilities. In true popular style Mk. speaks of Herod Antipas as "king" (614) instead of using the technical term "tetrarch" (Herod was ruler of Galilee and Peræa). Philip was the husband of Salome not of Herodias. Salome was probably married already, and could no longer be described as "a damsel," at the time of her supposed dance. Josephus assigns a political not a personal motive for the execution of John. The whole narrative is coloured perhaps by the story of Jezebel and Elijah, and certainly by the book of Esther (*cf.* 23 with Est. 72). However, John's rebuke of Herod based on Lev. 1816, 20f., and the consequent enmity of Herodias may well be historical, and it is possible to combine Mk. and Josephus (see p. 654, and Schürer, *Hist. of Jewish People*, I. ii. 21f.).

[**26. reject:** E. A. Abbott suggests "break faith with her" (*Johannine Vocabulary*, p. 322); this is accepted by Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 12, and by Souter, *Pocket Lexicon*, p. 7. Field, *Notes*, p. 30, suggests "disappoint."—A. S. P.]

VI. 30–44. The Feeding of the Multitude.—Mk. regards the disciples' need of rest after their missionary labours as the occasion for retirement. The hostility of Herod may also have contributed to the decision to withdraw to a desert place. The pressure of the public on the time and energies of the disciple-band is, however, put in the foreground. The eagerness of the crowd defeats the purpose of Jesus. Though He has withdrawn to avoid them, He goes forth to welcome them. To Him they seem like the shepherdless flock described in Ezek. 34. Their political and religious leaders are worthless, and their first need is teaching. Jesus is touched by the crowd's half-unconscious search for leadership. Mk. preserves (34) his tantalizing silence as to the content of Jesus' teaching. He is more interested in the care of Jesus for men's physical hunger than in His concern for their spiritual and political dangers. For us the fact that Jesus was moved by compassion to meet both physical and spiritual needs is of great significance. But the story, as it stands, is not easy of acceptance. The resort to miracle here seems to conflict with the story of the first Temptation. Is there adequate occasion for the miracle? And yet a miracle it clearly is to Mk., not a last supper with the crowd nor a sacramental meal. The breaking of the bread is simply Jewish custom, not a peculiar feature of the Last Supper, while the lifting of the eyes to heaven comes into liturgical use from the story and not *vice versa* (see HNT and Wellhausen). Is it possible that Strauss (*Life of Jesus*, 1846 ed., i. 80, ii. 422) was justified in tracing the miraculous element in this story to the influence of antecedent expectations regarding the Messiah, such as are reflected in Jn. 631? Or has 2 K. 442–44 influenced the passage?

Two points need to be borne in mind. First, we must remember the attitude of Jesus towards hunger as revealed in the companion narrative (82), and in such passages as 543, Mt. 611, 2535. Is it going too far to say that Jesus was peculiarly sensitive to the evil of physical hunger? If so, the conflict with the story of the Temptation may be more apparent than real. He might have satisfied the needs of others by miracle, though He refused to make bread for Himself. Secondly, the Jews and the first Christians did not rigidly distinguish between the world of nature and the world of men. We, to-day, are inclined to believe in miraculous changes where human will and faith directly operate, and rigidly to limit the sphere of such changes. The first Christians were clearly of opinion that their Master, who could heal diseases, could also control nature. They held that famine could not baffle Jesus. This conviction needs to be pondered.

37. The reference to 200 pennyworth of bread is found in Jn. 6, where the green grass is also mentioned. These coincidences deserve study. Does Jn. depend on Mk. or does he independently endorse Mk.? A penny was a labourer's daily wage. The whole sum might be reckoned at about £50 of our money. The green grass suggests spring, but does not allow any final deduction as to the time of year.—**40.** Mk. here uses a curious phrase comparing the companies to "garden-beds." The resemblance lies in form, not in colour, since the word refers to vegetables rather than flowers.

VI. 45–52. Jesus Dismisses the Crowd and Walks on the Sea.—The first verses of this section apparently touch on an unexplained crisis in the life of Jesus. Why does He compel the disciples to leave Him? Why does He spend the night alone in prayer? Is the dismissal of the crowd a farewell, like Paul's farewell to the elders of Ephesus? The word used in 46 occurs in Ac. 1818,21. There is, as J. Weiss sees, significant history here to which the evangelist does not give the key. "Jesus seems to be in a condition of soul which makes the presence even of the disciples insupportable and communion with His heavenly Father indispensable" (SNT, i. 131). Possibly Jn. 615 suggests the reason why Jesus constrained the disciples to depart. The miracle that follows is difficult. It involves a *display* of power over nature which is unlike Jesus. One is tempted to believe that allegory has been materialized here. In any case, the story is most helpful when allegorized as in G. Matheson's hymn, "Jesus, Fountain of my days" (Baptist Church Hymnal, 337, Cong. Hymnary, 395). But the incident is associated with good history in 45f., and the reference to the apostles' dullness is probably of apostolic origin. Nor is it easy to assign a motive for the story, if it be legend.

VI. 53–56. The Ministry of Healing Resumed.—The disciples having set out for Bethsaida (p. 29), in the NE. corner of the lake, arrive at Gennesaret (p. 29) on the NW. side. The change of destination is usually attributed to the adverse wind. But Mk. says nothing of a change of course. The wind dropped, and, according to Jn. 621 the disciples reached at once the place they first intended to reach. Either we must with John correct Mk.'s Bethsaida to Capernaum or else 53–56 is the true continuation of 30–32, and Mk. has inserted the feeding of the 5000 and the walking on the sea into the narrative of another journey. The general description of healings is supplemented by the reference to the desire to touch the hem of Christ's garment. The example of the woman with the issue of blood had clearly been influential.

VII. 1–23. The Washing of Hands and the Traditions of the Elders.—This discussion with the Pharisees serves to bring out the antagonism of Jesus to the restrictions which separated Jews from Gentiles. Perhaps for this reason it is associated with the story of the Syro-Phœnician woman. In substance it is connected with the disputes recorded in chs. 2f. The Jerusalem scribes of 322 reappear in 71. Into the original story some explanations are inserted, *e.g.* the reference to Jewish washings in 3f. and the interpretation of "common" by "unwashed" (2) and of "Corban" by "gift" (11). These insertions are probably due to Mk. himself. There is a characteristic touch of exaggeration in ascribing these customs to "*all* the Jews" (*cf.* 15). The washings are ceremonial—to avoid religious defilement due to contact with Gentiles or with legally unclean objects in the market-place. The reply of Jesus to the challenge of the Pharisees consists of three main utterances, 6–8, 9–13, 14f. The quotation from Is. 2913 may be due to the evangelist, since it is close to LXX and the point urged is not apparent from the Heb. The direct answer of Jesus begins with 9 and consists of two parts: (1) To follow the traditions of the elders may annul the law of God instead of safeguarding it; (2) Religious impurity cannot be contracted from without. "Inward defilement, the defilement of the heart by the sins of the heart, is the only possible religious defilement" (Montefiore, i. 168, 170). The first involves the discussion of Corban. The term was used as a formula in vows. "This form of speech, 'a gift, by whatsoever thou mayest be profited by me' does neither argue that he who thus spake devoted his goods to sacred uses nor obliged him . . . to devote them; but only restrained him . . . from helping him by his goods to whom he thus spake." So J. Lightfoot (*Works*, xi. 218) rightly explains the use of the phrase, which does not imply that the goods are actually made over for the use of the Temple, as Loisy and Menzies suggest. Herford (*Pharisaism*, pp. 156–162) and Montefiore point out two difficulties: (*a*) the binding character of vows is laid down in the Law, *e.g.* Nu. 302, and is not a matter of men's traditions; (*b*) it appears that Rabbinic teaching as recorded in the Mishnah did permit the annulling of vows which conflicted with duty to parents. With regard to (*a*), either Jesus was not conscious that His argument directly infringed Mosaic Law, just as in 14f. He criticises Lev. and not simply Pharisaic tradition, or else He regards the whole Pharisaic attitude towards the Law as a human tradition. The reverence which sets legislation about vows on an equality with the fifth commandment is a teaching of men which conflicts with God's will. The violence done to conscience in attempting to believe in the equal inspiration of all Scripture is a vain worship. As to (*b*), while we cannot, in view of later evidence, charge Pharisaism as a whole with this rigid maintenance of vows, there must have been some scribes in the time of Jesus who held the strict view, that a hasty vow, probably uttered in anger (this seems suggested by the cursing of father and mother in 10) was binding, even if it involved neglect of parents. (See Mt. 151–20*, Montefiore, i. 166, and Menzies, *Hibbert Journal*, iv. 791f.).

[**3. diligently:** lit. "with the fist" (*mg.*) but the meaning of this is quite uncertain. The rendering "up to the wrist" is grammatically questionable, and this applies to that in the *Westminster Version*, "do not eat save only after washing their fingers," the Gr. being supposed to mean "to the juncture of the fingers." Possibly the clenched fist was rubbed

against the palm of the other hand. Allen says, "It suggests some particular method of ceremonially cleansing the hands, the precise nature of which we do not know."—A. S. P.]

17–23. forms the development and interpretation of the principle laid down in 15. The catalogue of things that defile may be compared with the list of sins in Gal. 519f., Rom. 129f.—**19.** Follow RV in regarding the phrase "making all meats clean" as referring to Jesus. A late addition, emphasizing the far-reaching significance of the position taken up by Jesus. (*Cf.* Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 118, *brōma*.)—**22. an evil eye:** not the malignant power familiar in folk-lore, but the spirit of envy (*cf.* Mt. 2015).

VII. 24–30. The Healing of the Greek Woman's Daughter.—Jesus now leaves Galilee and withdraws to Gentile districts, not to evangelize them, but to avoid Herod and the Pharisees, and to train the Twelve. A Greek, *i.e.* a pagan, woman discovers Him, and requests Him to heal her daughter. Jesus asserts His conviction that His mission is to the Jews. The assertion is somewhat harsh, only softened by the diminutive "little dogs," *i.e.* household dogs. This must be original. The woman's wit is seen in the way she catches up and builds on the very word which Jesus uses. If Jesus said "dogs" and the woman changed it to "little dogs," the repartee is dulled. Mt. says the woman's request was granted because of her faith. Mk. implies that Jesus yielded out of admiration for the quickness of her answer. "Jesus is won, not by the recognition of Jewish primacy, but by the ready wit of the woman" (so HNT rightly, against Menzies and others). This in itself stamps the incident as historical, and throws a valuable light on the person of Jesus. The cure is wrought at a distance, as in the case of the centurion's servant (Mt. 85f.).

24. And from thence: the district of Gennesaret is the last place named (653). Presumably the reference is to Gennesaret.—**27. Let the children first be filled** is not given in Mt. 1526, and is probably no part of the original saying. It embodies the principle on which "the subsequent mission of the Church was regulated" (Swete), and may reflect Pauline influence, as Loisy supposes.

VII. 31–37. The Healing of a Deaf-Mute.—The cure of the Syro-Phœnician woman's daughter threatens the privacy Jesus sought in Tyre. He therefore withdraws to Decapolis (another Gentile district, Mt. 425*), going northward through Sidon, and presumably reaching Decapolis by a circuitous route which avoided Galilee. (Wellhausen's conjecture, Bethsaida for Sidon, is unnecessary.) The incident that follows is peculiar to Mk. Jesus heals a deaf-mute, by means not unusual in that age (*cf.* account of healings by Vespasian in Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 81). Mt. omits this story, perhaps because the methods employed (*cf.* 823) savour of magic. Mk., a popular writer, is interested in the details and in the actual word used. The rare word *mogilalos*, "with an impediment in his speech," recalls Is. 355f., and the conclusion, "He hath done all things *well*," possibly means, "How exactly He fulfils the prophecy!" It is Messiah's part to loose bonds, *i.e.* restraints imposed by demonic power (*cf.* Lk. 1316). The desire of Jesus to do this miracle privately and keep it secret is intelligible, and need not be traced to any dogmatic presupposition of Mk. The failure of His wishes is also intelligible.

VIII. 1–10. The Second Feeding of the Multitude.—This narrative is now generally regarded as a second version of the incident recorded in ch. 6. Indeed Wendland, Wellhausen, and HNT treat 81–26 as a doublet of 634–52, 71–23,31–37. That both accounts of the feeding of the multitude are closely followed by disputes with the Pharisees and miracles of gradual healing may not be as significant as they suppose. Certainly, the demand for a sign is not a doublet of the discussion about defilement, nor is the healing of the blind man at Bethsaida an alternative version of the Ephphatha story. The case of the feeding of the 4000 is more suspicious. For details as to parallels and differences between 634–44 and 81–10, see Menzies' note on the latter passage. The repetition of this miracle is improbable. In spite of Swete, the question of the disciples in 4 is psychologically strange, if a previous miracle had taken place. Lk.'s omission of the second narrative may be due to his recognition that we have here two versions of the same incident. Moreover, the story does not suit its present context in Mk. It is placed on Gentile soil where Jesus did not preach, and in a period when He was no longer engaged in preaching. Mk., knowing a second version of this story, seems to have regarded it as a distinct event, and inserted it at this point, perhaps to show that Jesus did for the Gentiles what He had previously done for the Jews. If so, this is symbolically suggestive, and historically inaccurate.

8. The word for "baskets" is different from that used in 643. It is the kind of basket in which Paul was let down from a wall in Damascus (Ac. 925). The numbers of the baskets in each case are supposed by many scholars to be symbolical, twelve representing the apostles who serve the Jews, seven the deacons who serve the Gentiles. The evangelist's knowledge of this symbolism is doubtful.—**10.** The text of this verse and the locality of Dalmanutha remain obscure (Mt. 1539*). Perhaps the verse should go with the next paragraph.

VIII. 11–13. The Request for a Sign Refused.—The Pharisees require some special authentication from Jesus beyond exorcisms and healings. They are said to tempt Jesus either because their question was intended to embarrass, or because unintentionally (like Peter in 33) they renewed what had been one of the three great temptations (Mt. 45–7). Mk. alone records the emotion of Jesus. He sighed in spirit. This question and answer are clearly historical, and may have been taken by Mk. from Q. The warning against the leaven of the Pharisees naturally follows.

VIII. 14–21. The Blindness of the Disciples Rebuked.—This is a difficult paragraph. 15 contains a genuine utterance of Jesus which does not necessarily belong to its present context. Lk. gives it in another connexion (Lk. 121) and Wellhausen points out that 14 and 16 seem artificially separated by 15. Again, if 1–9 is really a doublet of 630f., then the form at least of 19f. is due to the evangelist. But the rebuke of the disciples for anxiety about bread and for failing to understand the warning against the "Pharisees and Herod" (united here as in Mk. 36) may well be historical. Loisy holds that the rebuke is again artificial, the evangelist blaming the disciples for not perceiving the truths of Paulinism symbolised in the miracles of feeding the multitudes. But it is doubtful how far these miracles were symbolic in the mind of the evangelist, and he certainly gives no hint of Loisy's interpretation here.

VIII. 22–26. The Blind Man of Bethsaida.—This cure is described and wrought in a thoroughly popular manner. The use of spittle (733) was widespread in those days. A similar cure is attributed to Vespasian (Suet. *Vesp.* ch. 7). HNT adds a Greek parallel, "Alcetas Halicus. The same being blind saw a vision. The god

seemed to come to him and force open his eyes with his fingers, and he first saw the trees which were in the temple." To take this story as symbolizing either the education of the disciples (Loisy) or the conversion of Israel in two stages (Bacon) is to misunderstand the naïve popular character of the gospel.

VIII. 27–IX. 1. The Great Confession, and the First View of the Cross.—Here opens a new section of the gospel. The tendency to seek retirement with the Twelve, pronounced from 631 onwards, now dominates the story. Jesus devotes Himself to training the Twelve in the shadow of the Cross. This concentration on His disciples becomes possible when they pierce His secret. The full significance of the confession is only apparent if Jesus has not previously revealed Himself or been recognised as Messiah (*cf.* HNT). It constitutes a decisive development. The scene is laid near Cæsarea Philippi (p. 32), a largely Gentile town on the east side of Jordan, not to be confused with Cæsarea on the coast. The praise bestowed on Peter in Mt. 16 17f. is not recorded in Mk. If Mk.'s dependence on Peter is to be proved by his showing "a special regard for Peter," the proof is wanting. But Eusebius rightly suggested that Mk.'s silence may reproduce the natural silence of Peter. A genuinely Petrine record might fail to praise Peter.

The charge to keep silence seems to be sufficiently explained by the intention of Jesus to await the Father's revelation (*cf.* Mt. 16 17) and by His unpopular expectation as to Messiah's task and end. Either from now on Jesus spoke much with the Twelve of the death He anticipated, or else the evangelist assumes that Jesus must have foreseen His fate and so boldly attributes such foresight to Him. The chief difficulty of the first alternative is found in the conduct of Jesus at Jerusalem, which "makes the impression that He journeyed thither, not in order to die but to fight and conquer, and that in looking forward to the conflict His own death presented itself not as a certainty, but at the most as a possibility" (Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, ii. 34f.). This assumes that Jesus must have regarded His death either as certain or as possible. But why may He not have considered it overwhelmingly probable—a judgment which would not exclude flashes of hope that even now Israel might repent? The difficulty of the second alternative is that it compels us to discard so much that looks like genuine tradition, *e.g.* the parable of the husbandmen, the answer to the sons of Zebedee, the lament over Jerusalem, and the upbraiding of the cities of Galilee, not to mention the whole development of the ministry from public evangelization to private communion with the Twelve, as Mk. conceives it. Such a surrender of material is not defensible. The note of necessity—the Son of Man *must* suffer—is best explained by the use of the same verb in Lk. 24 26. Prophecy points this way and must be fulfilled.

31. The term "Son of Man" (p. 670) is used mainly in two connexions, (*a*) in predictions of Messiah's suffering, and (*b*) in reference to His triumphant return to judgment (*cf.* 38). As a Messianic term, the latter is its original connexion (*cf.* Dan. 7 13*, Enoch 69 26f.). In the gospels it is used only by Jesus, apparently of Himself. As it is His self-designation as Messiah, it is not to be expected in public utterances except in the record of the closing days. Consequently Mk. is probably mistaken in supposing that the sayings in 34–38 were addressed to the crowd. This supposition conflicts with 30 and is corrected in Mt. 16 24.—**32. openly:** not "publicly," as Loisy insists, but "frankly," "without reserve"; *cf.* Eph. 6 19f.—**33.** *Cf.* Mt. 4 10. Peter unwittingly becomes a tempter. There is no need to assume literary dependence of Mk. on Mt. or Q at this point.—**34. let him deny himself:** "cease to make himself the object of his life and action" (Gould). —**take up his cross:** may have been added after the Crucifixion, which would certainly give it special force; but cross-bearing criminals were not unknown in Palestine, and such a phrase would be intelligible before the death of Jesus. Discipleship, Jesus says, now means immediate readiness for a criminal's end. It meant later for an apostle "bearing the sentence of death in one's self" (2 Cor. 1 9).—**35–37** are primarily eschatological. "He who finds martyrdom in this life will live again in the kingdom. He who avoids martyrdom . . . will lose his life in the next world" (Montefiore, i. 210f.; his whole discussion of this section is admirable).—**38. adulterous and sinful generation:** the words must be interpreted from prophetic usage (*cf.* Is. 1 21, Hos. 9 1, *et passim*).—**IX. 1** is added here though not necessarily spoken on this occasion. Menzies and others question its genuineness in its present form. If it conflicts with 13 30, some simpler saying must have been modified by those who lived to see nearly the whole generation pass away.

IX. 2–13. The Transfiguration and the Coming of Elijah.—After an interval, defined with curious exactness as six days, which may reflect the influence of Ex. 24 16, the three most intimate disciples of Jesus receive a Divine endorsement of His Messianic claim in a vision on a mountain-top (probably a slope of Hermon, not Tabor, see pp. 29, 32). Jesus was transfigured before them. Mk. dwells on the changed appearance of His clothes, which is described in a vigorous phrase. He does not say much of the more personal change in Jesus, nor does he mention the spiritual occasion of the transformation. "As He prayed," Lk. tells us. Both Moses and Elijah are seen talking with Jesus. Law and Prophecy meet and bear witness to Jesus as the Messiah. To the presence of Moses and Elijah is added the direct testimony of the Divine voice from the cloud. The voice which addressed Jesus as God's Son at His baptism now reveals Him as God's Son to the three disciples. The cloud itself confirms the Messianic claim. "And the glory of the Lord shall be seen, even the Cloud, as in the days of Moses it was visible and as when Solomon prayed" (2 Mac. 2 8). Peter's unfortunate interruption (5) is held by Loisy to break the unity of the story. He would regard it as an insertion by the Paulinist Mk., who insists that even in this vision Peter failed to appreciate the Messianic dignity of His Master. Similarly, "Dr. Carpenter thinks the transfiguration is Pauline. Peter would like to find room for Moses and Elijah along with Christ. This is not Paul's view" (Montefiore, i. 217; *cf.* also Jerome quoted by Swete, "You are wrong, Peter. Do not ask for three tabernacles, since there is one tabernacle of the gospel, in which the law and the prophets are fulfilled"). Carpenter's view is better than Loisy's, in so far as it takes Peter's remark as an integral part of the story. But both fail to explain the excuse added for Peter (which one does not expect from a Paulinist), and it is almost incredible that such a remark should have been put into the mouth of Peter in order to condemn his Judaistic tendencies. It might convey such a suggestion to a learned commentator like Jerome. It would hardly have made any such impression on the earliest readers of the gospel. It is more intelligible as a genuine reminiscence from Peter himself. Wellhausen and Loisy suggest,

without sufficient reason, that the whole story may be a Resurrection-appearance in Galilee transferred to this point in the narrative to bring out the significance of the Great Confession (see summary of Wellhausen in Montefiore, i. 217). The Transfiguration is really best understood as a mystic experience of self-dedication and Divine assurance, which Jesus actually went through soon after the decisive disclosure to the disciples of what lay in store for Him. Though the story is told from the point of view of the disciples, who emphasize its influence on them, its true character, as Lk. hints, lies in its being a record of the inner life of Jesus (*cf.* E. Underhill, *The Mystic Way*, p. 117f.). Perhaps for that reason even the other apostles were not to hear of it, till after the Resurrection. The question of Elijah is not necessarily raised either by 1 (HNT, pp. 73f.) or by the vision of Elijah, as Origen suggests. It arises out of the whole programme sketched in 831 and reaffirmed by allusion in 9. The Son of Man is to suffer and rise again. But what, then, of the part traditionally attributed to Elijah (*e.g.* Mal. 45) in Messiah's coming? Jesus affirms that Elijah is to play his part and yet Messiah must suffer. Indeed Elijah has come in the person of John the Baptist, and the fate of John foreshadows the fate of Jesus. That Jesus regarded John as fulfilling the ministry of Elijah is of great importance for understanding how He came to anticipate His own death. The Scriptures pointed the same way. The reference in 12 must surely be to Is. 53. The Scripture suggesting the fate of Elijah will be either 1 K. 192,10 or some apocalyptic writing such as underlies Rev. 116f.

IX. 14–29. The Healing of the Demoniac Boy.—This story is told in greater detail by Mk. than by Mt. or Lk., who omit the conversation between Jesus and the boy's father (20–24). Perhaps they wished to avoid representing Jesus as asking a question for information (21). In any case, they lose genuine and valuable material (especially 23f.). Possibly AV is right in giving us the singular, "he came," in 14, instead of RV, "they came." If so, the story may not originally have followed the Transfiguration, and Mk. may have designed the contrast which is reproduced in Raphael's picture. The references to the scribes and their discussion with the disciples in 14–16 seem to have little to do with the demoniac boy. The apparent irrelevance of these details is probably a sign of their historical accuracy (*cf.* 436*). The amazement of the crowd at the sight of Jesus (15) has been traced to the influence of Ex. 3429f. or to the sudden and opportune character of His intervention. J. Weiss seems to be justified in citing 1032 as the best parallel. Throughout this section, the very presence of Jesus evokes awe and wonder. Men are conscious of His dedication unto death. The expectation of the end also prompts or colours the exclamation in 19. Loisy sees in this an artificial rebuke to Jews and Judaizers, inserted by the evangelist. Weiss, with more insight, regards it as one of the most impressive sayings of Jesus which we possess. It suggests how lonely Jesus felt Himself to be in His faith in God, and how He longed to be set free from the apparent failure of His preaching in Galilee (*cf.* Lk. 1250). As Mk. records it the miracle is accomplished in two stages (*cf.* 822f.). The closing stage (26f.) recalls the story of Jairus' daughter. It is not necessarily suggested by it. The query of the disciples in 28 (follow AV or RVm, not RV text) forms a natural sequel. The answer of Jesus (29) is perhaps better reported in Mt. 1720. Prayer plays no part in the previous story. Possibly the saying reflects the experience of the early Church, which found prayer and fasting necessary for some kinds of exorcism.

23. RV is here more correct and more vivid than AV. —25. The reference to the coming together of the crowd is not expected. Mk. has not told us that Jesus had taken the man aside. Mk.'s references to the crowd seem sometimes confused (*cf.* 834).—29. There is good authority for retaining the word "fasting" in this verse. "If it is not the true reading, it is the true experience."

IX. 30–32. Further Prediction of the Passion.—Jesus now journeys through Galilee, avoiding public attention. Mk. explains the desire for privacy as due to the purpose of Jesus to devote Himself to the disciples. Some scholars suggest that the necessity of avoiding a collision with Herod may have been the real motive. But apart from the question of Herod's hostility, this section of the gospel represents Jesus as breaking off the public ministry to train the Twelve. Mk. is probably right both as to the main motive of seeking privacy and as to the central theme of the teaching given to the disciples. In this second summary prediction of the end, the verb *paradidonai* is used for the first time. The delivering up of the Son of Man may refer not simply or chiefly to the act of betrayal but to the thought of "the Father delivering up His Son for us all" (*cf.* Abbott, *Paradosis*). The failure of the disciples to understand is not due to any obscurity in the words used, but to the unexpected character of their contents, and to the suggestion that this is God's plan for His beloved Son.

IX. 33–50. A Conversation with the Twelve.—This section illustrates the kind of teaching which Jesus gave in private to His disciples. It may embody fragmentary recollections of a particular discussion, but more probably Mk. has strung together utterances and incidents belonging to different occasions, the connecting links being sometimes the mere repetition of a single word, such as "cause to stumble" (42f.), or "fire" (48f.), or even "in my name" (37,39). The latter half of 37 and 41 are paralleled in Mt. 1040–42, where they are rightly connected more closely together.

33–37. The question of precedence seems to have occupied the minds of the disciples more than once. It reveals the ideas of the Kingdom which made it difficult for them to understand the Cross. Jesus corrects their ambitions by laying down the principle of greatness through service which is further developed in 1042f. The introduction of the child, and the saying about receiving a little child, do not seem to continue the lesson. Mk. has omitted the pointed sayings recorded in Mt. 183f. Mk. alone gives us the characteristic action of Jesus in throwing His arms round the child (*cf.* 1016). The phrase "in my name" is ambiguous. Swete says, "on the ground of My Name," *i.e.* "the act being based upon a recognition of his connexion with Me." This is supported by parallels, and in that case, the child represents humble believers who bear Christ's name. But perhaps it means simply "for My sake" (see Montefiore).

38–40. The Exorcist who Stood Outside the Apostolic Succession.—The disciple John now recalls the case of one who effected cures in the name of Jesus, but did not join His followers. If historic, this incident reveals the freedom with which the disciples brought their questions to Jesus. Its historicity has been challenged on the ground that such exorcisms in the name of Jesus would not have taken place in His lifetime. Loisy regards the reference to receiving little ones and the lesson of tolerance in this incident, as a plea for a frank recognition of Paul by the original apostles.

But we do not know that any such plea would have been either necessary or intelligible when the gospel was written. Neither 37 nor the description of the exorcist really fits the position of Paul and his relations with the Twelve. No Paulinist would defend Paul by claiming that he would not readily speak evil of Christ (39). Nor is the use of the name of Jesus in exorcism during His lifetime incredible, if Jesus exerted the influence over demons which Mk. attributes to Him.

41–50. 41 is the complement of 37, but it also connects with the verses immediately preceding. The disciple who receives a child for Christ's sake is richly rewarded. Conversely, not only a spiritual skirmisher like John's exorcist, but anyone who renders the least service to a disciple is within the circle of blessing. On the other hand, the man who shakes the faith of a humble believer deserves a severe punishment. The following verses (43–48) turn from offences against others to offences against one's-self. Jesus urges men to make the hardest sacrifices to avoid fatal temptations. RV rightly omits 44,46. The scene of corruption in the accursed valley of Gehenna (Jer. 731*) is described in words taken from the last verse of Isaiah. The valley, which lies to the south-west of Jerusalem, had been defiled by Moloch-worship (p. 480). In Enoch (271, see Charles's note) it was the appointed place of punishment for apostate Jews. The description implies eternal loss rather than everlasting torture.

49f. Detached sayings, which suggest first that every man must be purified by fire (? persecution or the last judgment) though not all must be punished by fire, and second, that the contribution of the disciples to the health of the world depends on their own wholesomeness. The need of harmony among the disciples brings us back to the starting-point of 34.

X. 1–12. The Question of Divorce.—Mk. represents Jesus as travelling up to Jerusalem through Peræa (p. 33) and not through Samaria. Leaving Capernaum, He crosses the Jordan and resumes His public ministry. Under these circumstances some Pharisees come to Him with their question as to the lawfulness of divorce. They tempt Him by their question, seeking either to bring Him into conflict with the Law or to embroil Him with Herod, whose conduct He must condemn as John did. The former reason is more probable. When Jesus asks His questioners for the verdict of Moses, they naturally appeal to Dt. 241f. This law Jesus sets aside, by laying down a far-reaching principle of interpretation which suggests that "the Mosaic Law was in certain cases a kind of second best," and by citing from Gen. (127) a passage emphasizing the Divine purpose of marriage. Wellhausen would interpret 6 thus: "But in Genesis Moses wrote 'Male and female created He them.'" "Jesus does not overthrow Moses with the higher authority of God, but Deuteronomy with Genesis" (HNT). He corrects Moses by Moses. "Nowhere does Jesus go nearer to denying the absolute divinity, permanence, and perfection of the Law. Yet one can see that he was not himself conscious of doing so" (Montefiore, i. 238). Paul seems to be thinking of 9 in 1 Cor. 710. In this discussion Jesus condemned "the dominant Jewish law of divorce." The case of the breaking of marriage by adultery is not directly considered. The exception introduced in Mt. 199 probably interprets the teaching of Jesus aright. This passage does not establish the absolute indissolubility of marriage. There is no reason to suppose that Jesus differed from Shammai in regarding adultery as justifying divorce. The additional answer given to the disciples places man and woman on an equality of right and responsibility. Loisy supposes 12 to be due to Mk., who is thinking of Roman society. But the saying may be uttered with the case of Herodias in view. (See Allen's defence of the passage, summarised in Montefiore, i. 241f.)

X. 13–16. Jesus Blesses the Children.—That the more original form of this story is given by Mk. is clear from the reference to the annoyance of Jesus at the disciples' action (14) and from the naturalness of 16. Jesus does not simply place His hands on the children, He puts His arms round them and blesses them much. The verb used is intensive, and far removed from any official benediction. Jesus welcomes and appreciates children, not simply the childlike. It would be tempting to interchange 937 and 1015, but there is no warrant for such a transference. The attitude of Jesus towards children is not, I think, paralleled either in NT or ancient literature (*cf.* Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 285f.; "Apart from the gospels, I cannot find that early Christian literature exhibits the slightest sympathy towards the young").

X. 17–31. The Great Refusal, and the Obstacle of Riches.—The contrast between this incident and that which precedes it is caught by Shakespeare, *Richard II*, V. v. 10f. That Mk. designed the contrast is improbable. The incident in 17–22 is clearly historic. The unwillingness of Jesus to be addressed as "good," His referring the seeker after eternal life back to the commandments, and the keen personal interest which the questioner aroused in Jesus ("Jesus looking on him loved him," a phrase peculiar to Mk.)—all these traits guarantee the historicity and originality of the story. 18 cannot be intended to lead on to a confession of Divinity; it is rather the expression of that humility which was part of the moral perfection of Jesus. The insertion of the words "Defraud not" is peculiar to Mk., and perhaps it was thought to be appropriate to a rich man (*cf.* Jas. 54). The counsel of perfection (21) which the rich man rejects must not be generalised. It is "a test of obedience and faith which the Lord saw to be necessary in this particular case" (Swete). However, this man was not to be an isolated case. The influence of the passage on St. Antony and St. Francis of Assisi is well known. The addition to the story in the Gospel of the Hebrews, in which Jesus upbraids the man for neglecting the poor, is not in harmony with the rest of the story. In 23–31 Jesus enforces the lesson of the man's sorrowful departure. Wellhausen adopts *mg.* in 24 and would transpose 24 and 25. This is attractive, as it explains the growing astonishment of the disciples, if Jesus first declared it to be difficult for the rich to enter the kingdom, and then difficult for anyone to enter.

The paradox of the camel and the needle's eye must not be weakened by supposing the camel to be a rope or the needle's eye to be a gate. Jesus regards the obstacles between men and the kingdom as almost insurmountable, but He knows that with God's help they may be surmounted. Peter then says the disciples have carried out the demand made by Jesus on the rich man. The saying is prompted perhaps not by complacency, but by the desire to know whether this sacrifice gives them the hope of eternal life. In reply, Jesus assures them of their reward. Perhaps with Wellhausen we should put a full-stop at "hundredfold" in 30. This may end the original utterance, and, in any case, the exceeding greatness of the reward is to be realised both now and hereafter. The present reward is the fellowship of the Christian Church—only to be enjoyed by sharing persecution. If Peter's

remark were self-congratulatory, 31 might be construed as a rebuke, but more probably it means that "many who are now rich and prominent shall in the life to come be last, *i.e.* excluded, while . . . the disciples who have 'lost' all on earth, shall be foremost in the Kingdom of God" (Montefiore). *Cf.* p. 665 and Mt. 5 11f.*

X. 32–34. Jesus Leads the Way to Jerusalem.—This paragraph might be regarded as introducing the last section of the gospel, the story of the Passion. The goal of the journey is now disclosed, and there is to be no more delay. The disciples follow in amazement (*cf.* 9 15) and in fear. Did they entertain dim forebodings of death (*cf.* Jn. 11 16), or were they simply overawed by the strange resolution of their Master? The third and most detailed prediction of the end is inserted here by Mk. It has been observed that each prediction seems independent of the others. Jesus might be making His first utterance in each case, and the disciples do not grow in understanding. This impression may be due to Mk.'s lack of skill as a narrator. His view, that Jesus more than once foretold the Passion and that the disciples could not believe it, may still correspond with facts.

X. 35–45. The Request of the Sons of Zebedee. The Christian Standard of Greatness.—In spite of anticipation of ill, the disciples continued to hope for a kingdom of worldly power, and to dispute as to their places in such a kingdom. Wellhausen claims that the reference to glory in 37 is apocalyptic in character, and that the disciples may have been expecting a brief period of trial before the final splendour. If so, they have some dim idea that the cup and the baptism[1] mean suffering. They claim to be ready for it. The assurance of Jesus that they shall share His cup is held to point to the martyrdom of the two brothers. Perhaps it strengthens the tradition that John was martyred early in the Church's history, like James (p. 744; also Ac. 12 2*). But the passage might have been retained though John were still alive. The seats of honour are at God's disposal. The suggestion that this sentence is intended to leave room for Paul to take the highest place is probably mistaken. In the following discussion with the disciples, we have one of the great transmutations of values wherein Jesus dethroned Alexander the Great and Napoleon. The last phrase, "to give his life a ransom for many" has been attributed to the evangelist for the following reasons: (1) the parallel in Lk. 22 26 stops short at this phrase; (2) the words suggest the Pauline doctrine of redemption, and may be derived from it; (3) vicarious sacrifice is here an unexpected and unnatural development of the idea of service. On the other hand, the actual phrase is not Pauline, and the reference to "many" is best interpreted by Is. 53 11f. (See the penetrating discussion in Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, p. 221.) If Jesus anticipated His death He must have interpreted it as service and as redemptive service. Paul was not the earliest Paulinist.

X. 46–52. Blind Bartimæus.—This story is remarkable for the use of the Messianic title, "Son of David," which Jesus does not reject. Critics have taken this as evidence that the reserve about the Messianic claim of Jesus was no longer being practised. But the blind beggar might have jumped to the conclusion, without any change of attitude on the part of the disciples, and his use of the term would not necessarily exert great influence. Certainly from now on Jesus does not enforce silence in this regard. The appeal of the beggar is not rebuked like the confession of the demoniacs. The name Bartimæus is given only in Mk.

XI. 1–10. The Triumphal Entry.—This incident Wellhausen and HNT regard as opening a new section of the gospel, which they end with 13 37. Jesus is now close to Jerusalem, Bethphage ("house of young figs") being apparently between Jerusalem and Bethany (? "house of dates," so Swete, or "house of unripe fruit," EBi, col. 548) and forming one of the limits of the Sabbatic zone round Jerusalem. In the neighbourhood of this village, Jesus adopts a plan which possessed and seems to have been intended to possess Messianic significance. As if all had been arranged beforehand, two disciples are sent to bring an unused colt from the neighbouring village. Jesus knows that all will be ready for Him, and that the assurance of the speedy return of the colt will persuade the owners to release it. The procession formed by the disciples and casual wayfarers, Galilean pilgrims perhaps, follows the road along the Mount of Olives, where, according to Zech. 14 4, Yahweh would appear, and where popular Jewish belief expected the Messiah to appear (Wellhausen, p. 94). Though to the evangelist the incident is Messianic, it is possible that the crowd did not hail Jesus as Messiah. The agreement of the evangelists as to the cry of the multitude does not extend beyond 9, which may constitute the original utterance. It is based on Ps. 118 26—a welcome often addressed to those who came up for the Passover. Hosanna (="Save now") is derived from the same psalm. Is 10 Mk.'s expansion? The term Hosanna seems to be misunderstood in this verse. Mt. 22 11 also suggests that the crowd did not regard Jesus as the Messiah. Swete attributes Mk. 11 10 to some few members of the crowd. All hailed the prophet, some recognised the Christ.

XI. 11–14. The Cursing of the Fig-Tree.—Though it is difficult to believe that Jesus spent only one crowded week in Jerusalem, Mk. here becomes confidently precise in chronology, and he tells the story of the fig-tree, distinguishing the stages in it, as if he were following exact recollections. On the first evening, Jesus surveyed the Temple, not as if He had never seen it before, but to determine His course of action. After looking round, He withdrew to Bethany. The next day occurred the incident of the fig-tree—a difficult story, absent from Lk. One is tempted to suppose either that the parable of the barren fig-tree (Lk. 13 6–9*) has been transformed into incident, or, as HNT suggests, that the story grew round some conspicuous dead tree in the vicinity of Jerusalem. As Mk. relates it, it does not read even as an acted parable, symbolic of judgment on the fruitlessness of Judaism.

XI. 15–19. The Cleansing of the Temple.—Jesus now follows up His survey of the Temple with an attempt to abolish the market set up in the outermost court, the court of the Gentiles, for the convenience of Jews who had to purchase sacrificial victims and who wished to obtain by a dear exchange the half-shekel wherewith to pay their Temple-tax.[1] Mk. alone says (16) that Jesus reinforced the standing rule against using the court as a thoroughfare. The phrase "for

[1] Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 102, quote an illiterate papyrus of 2nd cent. B.C., where the passive of "baptize" must mean "flooded or overwhelmed by calamities." Epictetus similarly uses it to mean "sink."

[1] [On the significance of this incident as an immediate cause of the Crucifixion, see Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith*, p. 39: "Financial interest rather than theological hatred was the real cause of the accusation of the priests, though they dressed it up in a partly political, partly religious form."—A. J. G.]

all nations" in the quotation from Is. 567 is also found only in Mk. It suggests that the robbery may have consisted not so much in the sharp practice of the money-changers as in depriving the Gentiles of all their share in the Temple and its worship. To the last, the people were astonished at His teaching; it was ever new to them. The nightly withdrawal of Jesus from the city ensured both quiet and safety.

XI. 20–25. The Power of Faith.—On the third day of the week, Peter draws attention to the withered fig-tree, and Jesus uses it to illustrate the great power of faith. The teaching does not seem to spring very directly out of the incident. The reference to removing mountains is rightly interpreted metaphorically. In effect, the mountains are the obstacles which prevent the easy access of man to the holy city of God. To faith these obstacles must yield (see Swete). Mk. himself seems to have felt that the power of faith is dangerously illustrated by the withering of the fig-tree, for he adds a sentence (25) about the necessity of possessing the spirit of forgiveness. Faith will not work capricious miracles. "Our desires are not to be the measure of our prayers, unless reason and religion be the rule of our desires" (Jeremy Taylor). The phrase "your Father which is in heaven" occurs here only in Mk. It seems to be an echo of the Lord's Prayer.—26 has been added to Mk. from Mt. 615.

XI. 27–33. First Encounter with Religious Leaders on the Question of Authority.—On the Tuesday, an official deputation meets Jesus in the Temple, and asks by what right He has taken upon Himself police duties like the control of the market. Who has given Him permission to clear the court of the Gentiles and even to teach in the Temple? The one decisive question which Jesus puts in reply is not a subtle evasion of an attempt to trap Him into a Messianic confession. The nature of John's authority raised a fundamental issue on which Jesus and the Pharisees were at variance. To Jesus John was a man sent from God. That conviction underlay His whole activity. The men who would not recognise John as a prophet, and who yet had not the moral courage to deny his authority, could not understand Jesus, and deserved no direct answer. For all that, the question of Jesus, so far from evading theirs, clearly answered it.

XII. 1–12. The Parable of the Vineyard.—The genuineness of this parable is disputed—(1) because it is allegorical in character; (2) because it reflects a later situation and assumes Christ's death; (3) because it embodies an open claim to Messiahship which is inconsistent with the prudent and guarded answers of Jesus to questions about authority. That this parable, unlike most others, is an allegory, does not render it suspect as an utterance of Jesus (41–34*). That such a parable is out of place before the death of Christ involves the dubious assumption that Jesus could not have viewed His death as marking the end of God's mercy to Israel. While the Messianic claim is more boldly asserted here than elsewhere, yet throughout this section of the gospel, there is less reticence about the Messiahship, and the moral of the parable is not explicitly drawn—which does harmonise with the prudence of the sayings of Jesus. On the other hand, if a later composition, the story is, in some respects, strange. Why do the details not fit the Crucifixion, if they are composed after the event (contrast Mk. 128 with Mt. 2139)? and why is there no allusion to the Resurrection? (See Burkitt, *Trans. of Third Congress of Religions*, ii. 321f.) The opening of the story is based on Is. 51f., while the words of the husbandmen in 7 recall Gen. 3720. The story describes the history of Israel, and implies that Jesus felt Himself to be God's last appeal to His people, and also thought their rejection of Him would issue in His becoming the foundation of a new community which should inherit God's kingdom. The quotation in 10f. is from Ps. 118 22f. It is used in Ac. 411 and 1 P. 24,7.

XII. 13–17. The Question of Tribute.—The Pharisees and the Herodians perhaps represent the two horns of the dilemma by which they try to catch Jesus. The Pharisees leant to the popular view which chafed at tribute, and which found its extreme expression in the Zealots (*cf.* Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. 16). The Herodians probably desired the *status quo* which ensured Herod's throne. If Jesus says it is lawful to pay tribute, the Pharisees will denounce Him to the people; if He says it is not lawful, the Herodians will denounce Him to the authorities. The flattering address, which shows that truth may be spoken in flattery, does not conceal the fact that the question is a trap, not a serious inquiry. Mk. notes a dramatic pause, while the questioners fetch a denarius to show to Jesus. Of the final answer of Jesus, Lord Acton says, "Those words . . . gave to the civil power, under the protection of conscience, a sacredness it had never enjoyed and bounds it had never acknowledged: and they were the repudiation of absolutism and the inauguration of freedom." That this was the intent of the utterance may be doubted (see views of Loisy and Wellhausen, in Montefiore, i. 281). That the words as usually interpreted have exerted some such influence is undeniable.

XII. 18–27. The Question of the Resurrection-Life.—The Pharisees having withdrawn in confusion, the Sadducees (mentioned here only in Mk., *cf.* pp. 619f., 624, 637) bring forward a scholastic problem designed to show that the strict carrying out of the Levirate law (p. 109, Dt. 255–10*, Ru. 111–13*) would produce an absurd situation in a future life, and therefore the Law does not contemplate a resurrection. Jesus answers that they have not understood the Scriptures, nor the power of God which raises men to a life of a different order from the present. The resurrection-life of the just needs not to be continued by marriage. They are like the angels—a comparison which trenches on another Sadducean denial; for the Sadducees did not believe in angels (Ac. 238). The argument from Ex. 36 embodies a somewhat Rabbinic interpretation of the passage, but it rests on the feeling "which does not allow the faithful to admit that a good God ceases, through the death of those who have served and loved Him, to be their God, or that He abandons them to nothingness. Those who have lived for God can never be dead for Him" (Loisy). It used to be supposed that Jesus argues here from a passage in the Pentateuch in order to impress the Sadducees, but the idea of the Fathers, that the Sadducees recognised the Pentateuch only as Scripture, is now abandoned (HNT).

XII. 28–34. The Greatest Commandment.—This further question does not seem to be put in a spirit of hostility. The scribe may have been a Pharisee who admired the answer Jesus had given to the Sadducees. There was no real doubt as to the greater commandment. The Shema (Dt. 64f.) was repeated daily by the Jews. It was the foundation-text of their monotheism, which was "not a speculative theory but a practical conviction" (pp. 618f.). Jesus adds to it Lev. 1918. Love to God finds its only adequate fulfilment in love to one's neighbour. God's worship lies in social duty.

Love to one's neighbour must be rooted in love of God. Wellhausen says, "the combination was first effected in this way by Jesus"; this is not certain, and, at any rate, "in this Jesus stood in complete and conscious agreement with Pharisaism" (Schlatter, *Das Wort Jesu*, p. 221). The commendation which Jesus gives to the scribe implies a kingdom already present. Loisy regards this story as an explanation of Lk. 10$_{25-28}$. He considers the repetition of the answer to the question clumsy. But surely it is effective and original story-telling. Loisy also suggests with more justification that the fear to ask Jesus further questions would come more appropriately after the preceding story. There was nothing to frighten men in the scribe's experience.

XII. 35–37. Is Messiah David's Son?—Jesus now asks His hearers a question. The exact purpose and significance of the question are not easy to determine, but apparently Jesus held that the Messiah (who is Himself) does not depend on Davidic descent for His authority. He is more than the heir of David's glory. This implies either that Jesus did not claim to be of the house of David or else that He set little value on this connexion. The quotation is from Ps. 110$_1$, and the argument assumes that David wrote this psalm. This attribution was traditional, and was "accepted by our Lord and His Apostles on the authority of the recognised guardians of the canon" (Swete). Jesus starts from the scholarship current in His day. His use of that scholarship does not bind His followers to its acceptance to-day.

XII. 38–40. A Warning Against the Scribes.—These verses read like a summary of or a fragment from the longer discourse in Q. The reference to widows' houses is found only in Mk. Its meaning is obscure. Did they take rich fees for pious services, or press the rights of creditors against widows harshly? Alike their social ambitions and their impoverishing of widows turn their prayers into pretence. These criticisms seem rather sweeping if aimed at a class. But it is difficult to judge, without the actual context and without fuller knowledge of Jesus' contemporaries.

XII. 41–44. The Widow's Mites.—After teaching in the court of the Gentiles, Jesus sat down near to the treasury in the court of the women. He watched those who came to contribute. "As (a poor widow) brought her last coin as an offering to God, she received high praise from Jesus; we do not hear that He ended her poverty. A love which can give up all, ranked in His eyes as the highest wealth a man can win" (Schlatter). Jesus admired both the generosity and the faith of the woman. Trusting God, she could surrender all she had. Jesus pronounced poverty blessed in so far as the poor stand always nearer to genuine sacrifice than the rich, who may give largely of their superfluity, *i.e.* of that which costs them little.

42. mites: p. 117.

XIII. 1–37. The Eschatological Discourse.—The first two verses contain our Lord's prediction of the fall of Jerusalem. To the Jews, such an anticipation would seem blasphemous (*cf.* Ac. 6$_{14}$). The discourse that follows does not explicitly develop this prophecy. For "the abomination of desolation" (14) is only a vague reference to the laying waste of Jerusalem, though it does foreshadow some signal profanation of the Temple. (The phrase comes from Dan. 9$_{27}$, 11$_{31}$*, and means a profanation that provokes horror; *cf.* also 1 Mac. 1$_{54}$, 6$_7$.) The subject of this, the longest speech attributed to Jesus in Mk., is the signs of the end, rather than of the fall of Jerusalem, though the end of the age and the destruction of the city would be closely associated in the mind of the evangelist. Three stages are indicated. There is first (5–13) a period of wars and natural calamities. During it the Christians must expect and face persecution. This is followed (14–23) by the great tribulation, itself heralded by the insult to the Temple. This tribulation will come suddenly and affect the whole country-side of Judæa. At both stages, false prophets and false Christs will arise and deceive many. Even this is not the end. After that tribulation, the powers of nature shall be shaken, and the Son of Man will appear (24–27). The conclusion of the chapter enforces the duty of watchfulness, on the double ground that the end is near, and yet that the precise hour is incalculable (28–37).

That the discourse is composite appears from the parallels (see notes) in Lk. and Mt. In particular, 15f. is given in a better context in Lk. 17$_{31}$f. and is not reproduced in Lk. 21$_{21}$. The genuineness of the discourse as an utterance of Jesus, has been disputed on the following grounds: (*a*) The setting forth of signs of the end is inconsistent with the reply of Jesus to the Pharisees in Lk. 17$_{20}$f. Similarly, the distinguishing of preparatory stages does not fit in with the emphasis on the suddenness of the coming of the Son of Man, which is characteristic of the Lucan passage, nor with the general tone of Mk. 13$_{32-37}$. (*b*) These signs of the end are customary features of Jewish apocalyptic (p. 432). The belief in a great tribulation heralding the Messiah is Rabbinic. The Rabbis had their doctrine of the woes, or birthpangs (8) of Messiah. The characteristics of each stage are based on OT passages; with 12 *cf.* Mi. 7$_6$, with 19 *cf.* Jl. 2$_2$ and Dan. 12$_1$, and with 24f. *cf.* Is. 13$_{10}$, 24$_{23}$, Ezek. 32$_7$. (*c*) The whole discourse deals with questions raised by the later experience of the Church (so Loisy, pp. 367f.). It has, therefore, been suggested that a Jewish apocalypse, which may be held to have included 7f., 12, 14, 17–22, 24–27, 30, has been edited, together with genuine utterances of Jesus, in order to strengthen the faith of Christians about thirty or forty years after the Crucifixion, when they were perplexed by the delay of the appearing of their Lord. The parenthesis to the reader in 14, if it is not a later gloss, suggests that a writing of some kind, not a report of a speech, forms the basis of the chapter. This hypothesis removes many difficulties, *e.g.* the problem of reconciling 30 and 32. But we do not know how far Jesus entered into detail as to the events leading up to the end. The prediction of Jerusalem's fall, the anticipation of disaster and tribulation for His own people, the warning against anxiety whether in the presence of war or of persecution, the exhortation of watchfulness, clearly come from Jesus Himself.

32. This is one of Schmiedel's "pillar-passages" (EBi., col. 1881). A passage admitting a limit to Christ's knowledge must be trustworthy history, according to Schmiedel. Certainly later commentators found the verse difficult. Some Fathers identify the Son with the Church. But Dalman holds that the absolute use of the terms, "the Son" and "the Father," unique in Mk., point to the influence of later theology at least on the wording of the saying (*Words of Jesus*, p. 194). Whatever the original form of the saying, it belongs with Mk. 10$_{40}$. [The position in the climax accorded to the Son, above the angels, is specially noteworthy.—A. S. P.]

XIV. 1–2. The Decision of the Chief Priests.—Two days before the Passover, *i.e.* on Wednesday, if the feast day began on Friday at even, the religious leaders

resolve to destroy Jesus, if possible before the feast begins. This decision explains the haste which marks the closing scenes. It also gives the preference to John's view that the Last Supper was not held on the Passover night, but on the night before (pp. 653, 743, 1 Cor. 5*7b**).—**1.** The seven days of unleavened bread followed the Passover (pp. 102f.). For the coupling of the two *cf.* 2 Ch. 35*17*.

XIV. 3–9. The Anointing of Jesus.—Lk. records a parallel incident (not an alternative version of the same story) earlier in the life of Jesus. Jn. (12*1*) places the event six days before the Passover. This change may be motived by symbolism, as the Paschal lamb was chosen on 10th of Nisan. But Mk.'s date is not indisputable. He inserts the story here as a preparation for the death of Christ (see especially 8). The alabaster vessel and its contents are alike precious. The woman makes her last use of both. She breaks the cruse, perhaps in honour of the guest. Renan seems to have found such a custom in the East (see Swete). Or it may be, that another practice of the Hellenistic age has suggested this detail. "In anointing the dead, it was usual to break the flask and lay it in the coffin" (HNT). More simply we may suppose that the woman, in her eagerness, could not wait to open the vessel. [The breaking of the vase may have its ultimate root in the well-known custom of breaking what has been used by a sacred person, in order that the sanctity thus communicated to it may not prove dangerous to any one who might use it hereafter. Plates used for the meals of a sacred person are, in harmony with this taboo, frequently destroyed (p. 200, Lev. 6*24–30**). Or in view of the custom mentioned in HNT, the breaking of the vessel may symbolise the death of the body (*cf.* 8).—A. S. P.] Jesus defends this seeming waste. Immediate social utility is not the final guide to devotion. The woman seized a unique opportunity. The chance of serving Christ in the poor would continue and is likely to continue.

3. Simon, not otherwise known.—**spikenard:** note *mg.* There is little support for rendering *liquid* nard. [Fritzsche has argued strongly for the rendering "drinkable," since ointments were drunk mixed with wine. But "genuine" is much more probable. Or *pistikes* may be equivalent to *pistakes* and refer to the Pistacia Terebinthus, the resin of which, with other sweet scents, was mixed with oil of nard. See EBi., 4750f.—A. S. P.]—**8f.** is assumed to be unhistorical by many scholars. But the foreboding of death might have taken the form of 8, and there seems to be no special reason for adding 9 unless it were a genuine saying.

XIV. 10f. The Betrayal.—Judas helps the chief priests in the way they need. He undertakes to hand over Jesus quietly, without attracting the crowd. Schweitzer supposes Judas to have betrayed the Messianic secret which gave the chief priest confidence to put his question in 62. But no such betrayal was necessary. Judas explained the time when, and the place where, Jesus could most conveniently be arrested. Mk. gives no hint as to his motive.

XIV. 12–16. Preparation for the Last Supper.—Mk. regards the last supper as the Passover; contrast Jn. 13*29*, 18*28*, 19*14*. In this incident Jesus shows "a supernatural knowledge of circumstances as yet unrealised," as in the case of the triumphal entry (Mk. 11*1*f.). But is it not possible that here we have some pre-arrangement intended to baffle Judas and the chief priests? The room, at any rate, is ready, furnished with carpets and couches.

XIV. 17–21. Jesus Reveals the Treachery of Judas.—The other evangelists regard Judas as present at this meal. Mk. implies it, but does not explicitly state it. The reference to the Twelve in 17 may be simply conventional (*cf.* 1 Cor. 15*5*). "He that eateth with me" (18) may not point to the immediate feast, but to Ps. 41*9* (HNT), and 20 may simply strengthen this. Mk. does not describe an actual discovery of Judas, nor indicate how Judas departed, if he was present. With 21 *cf.* 9*42*.—**18. as they reclined** (*mg.*): it was no longer the custom to stand at the Passover.

XIV. 22–25. The Bread and the Wine.—After the eating of the lamb, the householder broke bread and distributed it, and then sent round the cup of blessing. Jesus seems to have invested this part of the meal with special significance. He associates it with His approaching death, He links the thought of His death with an act of communion which binds the disciple-band together. He couples His sacrifice with the new covenant which is to bring men forgiveness and direct knowledge of God (*cf.* Jer. 31*31–34**), and with the hope of that day when He will drink a new kind of wine with His own in God's kingdom. "Newness" is characteristic of the kingdom.

XIV. 26–31. On the Way to the Mount of Olives Jesus Foretells the Failure of the Disciples.—Having concluded the feast by singing the second half of the Hallel (Pss. 115–118), Jesus and His disciples go out to the Mount of Olives. Jesus warns His disciples that they will desert and deny Him. The warning is associated with Zech. 13*7*—perhaps due to later reflection.

30. The reference to the *second* cockcrow is peculiar to Mk. The detail has also been disputed on the ground that cocks were forbidden to be kept in Jerusalem. This is not a serious difficulty. Mk. may have misunderstood a simple reference to cock-crow, a term well-established in popular reckoning of time (*cf.* 13*35*). Also the prohibition may not have been effective.—**31.** The vigour of Peter's protest is emphasized in Mk.

XIV. 32–42. Gethsemane.—On the other side of the brook Kidron, in a garden called Gethsemane (=oil-press) Jesus took the three most intimate disciples aside to help Him bear the burden of surrender. It has been suggested that they were not physically close enough to Jesus to hear the words of His prayer. Then, later, they must have been spiritually close enough to interpret the scene aright. Mk. uses a forcible phrase in 33. Jesus began to be "full of terror and distress" (Weymouth). The second verb implies perplexity. Réville holds that the last part of 38 "was obviously spoken by Jesus of Himself, and did not merely refer to the sleeping condition of the disciples." The words describe "the torments He was enduring." Perhaps the boldest interpretation of Gethsemane is given in Heb. 5*7–10*. Phil. 2*8* may also refer to it. The disciple who was ready to die with Jesus is unable to watch with Him one hour. The closest companions of Jesus cannot share His inner travail. Neither on the mount of transfiguration nor in the garden do they know what to answer (*cf.* 40 with 9*6*; Rendel Harris, *Memoranda Sacra*, p. 92).

37. The name Simon has not been used since 3*16*. Is this significant?—**41. it is enough:** HNT and Wellhausen say, "Enough of sleep." De Zwaan has discovered that the word is often used in papyri on receipt-forms. It may then refer to Judas. "He has received" (the bribe). He has succumbed to the temptation. This is attractive (Exp. 1905, p. 459f., Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, pp. 57f.).

XIV. 43–50. The Arrest.—Judas, familiar with

Gethsemane, now comes with a band hastily armed with clubs and short swords such as private persons carried. They come as if expecting resistance, and one of them loses an ear (there is no miracle of healing in Mk. at this point). They treat Jesus as a bandit. A bandit will be preferred to Jesus by the crowd, when the choice is offered to them. The agreed sign by which Jesus is to be betrayed is the kiss with which the pupil used to salute his Rabbi.—**49. I was daily with you in the temple:** Mk. has only told us of three days. A longer ministry in Jerusalem seems implied.

XIV. 51f. The Young Man who Fled Naked.—A curious little incident peculiar to Mk. Is it a popular addition to the story, recalling Gen. 39¹² (so HNT), or is it a fulfilment of Am. 2¹⁶ (so Loisy)? It is more naturally interpreted as a personal experience of the evangelist, as his signature to his portrait of Jesus.

XIV. 53–65. The Trial before the Sanhedrin.—This trial is irregular in many ways. It was unlawful to hold such a trial at night. It is not, therefore, unhistorical (Montefiore, i. 345f.). Mk. speaks of the whole Sanhedrin meeting and of all condemning Jesus (55,64). This is his customary popular exaggeration, prompted here by desire to throw the guilt on all the religious leaders of Judaism (*cf.* 15¹). The trial is really a preliminary investigation—a search for a charge on which Jesus may be condemned and handed over to Pilate. It is not certain that the Sanhedrin had lost the power of capital punishment, but under the circumstances, the leaders desired to thrust the responsibility for the death-sentence on to Pilate. Wellhausen thinks the first line of testimony, the saying of Jesus against the Temple, was the true foundation of the charge of blasphemy (*cf.* 13¹*). To claim to be Messiah was not blasphemy. Montefiore rightly comments: "Though the prediction about the Temple may have been nearer blasphemy than the claim to be Messiah, still . . . it was not technically blasphemy . . . and if 'blasphemy' could have been stretched to suit one offence, it could also have been stretched to suit the other" (i. 350). Jesus died for claiming to be king of the Jews, and He died in the confidence of His ultimate triumph.—**60.** For the silence of Jesus, *cf.* Is. 53⁷.—**65.** This scene seems to be reflected in 1 P. 2²⁰–²³. Some trace it to OT influence; see Mi. 5¹ (RV), Is. 50⁶, 53³.

XIV. 66–72. Peter's Denial.—Peter had followed into the inner court of the chief priest's palace (54). Here he is challenged by a maid-servant. He denies all knowledge and understanding of her meaning. The redundancy of the sentence befits his embarrassment. Later, in the porch that gave access to the courtyard, the maid repeats her challenge. Peter denies again. The third denial is accompanied with oaths. Mk. retains his second cock-crow.

72. The word rendered "when he thought thereon" is obscure. It may also mean "answering." Peter recalled the word of Jesus, and his tears were his answer (see Swete). [J. H. Moulton points out that the verb is found in the papyri in the sense "to set about" doing a thing. So here "he set to and wept," which is practically equivalent to RV. See also Allen's note.—A. S. P.]

XV. 1–15. Jesus before Pilate.—A second meeting of the Sanhedrin held in the daylight regularizes the condemnation arrived at overnight. They now take Jesus to Pilate (governor of Judæa, A.D. 26–36, see p. 653) who was in Jerusalem during the Passover. The narrative is clearly incomplete. No formal accusation by the Sanhedrin is recorded. Pilate's conduct throughout is not characteristic of the man of ruthless cruelty, revealed in Philo, and in Lk. 13¹. The description of his part is, therefore, doubted by some, who say it is determined by Mk.'s desire to make the Jews entirely responsible. The crowd calls out "Crucify"; Pilate hardly pronounces the sentence. Indeed Pilate recognised the innocence of Jesus and the harmlessness of His followers. But Pilate may have been impressed by Jesus, and his conduct might be determined by a wish to play with the Jewish rulers. This would be quite in keeping with what we know of him.

6. The custom of releasing a prisoner is not otherwise attested (Jn. 18³⁹*). It may have been a practice adopted by Pilate.—**7.** Barabbas (="son of the teacher," probably) was a fairly common name (Mt. 27¹⁶f.*).—**10.** Pilate rightly perceived that the priests were mainly responsible.—**16.** Scourging usually preceded crucifixion (*cf.* Josephus, *Wars*, II, xiv. 9).

XV. 16–20. The Soldiers Mock Jesus.—"This narrative in its brief intensity is very poignant." Some scholars suggest that Jesus is treated like the central figure in a scene from a mime (was there a popular play, *The King with the Crown of Thorn*?). Others detect a resemblance to the mocking of the human sacrificial victim in the Persian Sacæa or other Oriental festival. But the accusation against Jesus would prompt the mockery. He has claimed to be king. He shall wear a triumphal crown like Cæsar's. It shall be made of thorns.—**16.** The prætorium seems to be the residence of the governor and his bodyguard. It was probably the fortress Antonia on the north-west of the Temple precinct (see Swete).

XV. 21–32. The Crucifixion.—Usually the criminal himself carried his cross (*i.e.* the cross-bar, probably not the upright). Jesus seems to have been exhausted by the scourging and by His own sorrow. Simon of Cyrene was forced into His service. The reference to Simon's children is pointless unless they were known to Mk.'s readers (HNT). Rufus is mentioned in Rom. 16¹³ and Alexander in Ac. 19³³, 1 Tim. 1²⁰ (but they are not necessarily the same men as those to whom Mk. refers). The drugged wine used to be offered by Jewish ladies. They mixed *frankincense* (Jer. 6²⁰*) with the wine, not myrrh, which was not soporific. Jesus meets death with senses undulled. The clothing of the crucified one was the perquisite of the soldiers. The casting of lots recalls Ps. 22¹⁸. The affixing of a tablet to publish the ground of punishment was not unusual. The railings of the spectators reproduce the charges against Him, especially 29, 32. Unconsciously, they disclose His glory, "He saved others." General Booth is reported to have said, "They would have believed in Him, had He come down; we believe in Him because He stayed up."—**25. the third hour:** *i.e.* 9 A.M. Jn. 19¹⁴* cannot easily be harmonised with this note of time. The reticence of this verse and indeed of the whole story is remarkable.

XV. 33–41. The Death of Jesus.—At the sixth hour (12 noon) there was a preternatural gloom over Judæa (reject RVm "earth"). This was not an eclipse, which could not occur at full moon. Either the sun was actually clouded at the time, or the incident is suggested by such a passage as Am. 8⁹ or by the belief that nature mourns heroes (see Plutarch, *Pelop.* 295*a*). When the darkness had lasted for three hours, Jesus uttered the one word from the Cross recorded in Mk. and Mt. If spoken in Aramaic "Eloi, Eloi," the misunderstanding that follows is strange. The Heb. Ēli, Ēli might be so misunderstood. We do not know the exact significance of this strange and seemingly desolate

cry. The words come from Ps. 22 1. "Strange to think that is the cry of the feeling of Jesus. One is almost tempted to say that there, as in a supreme instance, is measured the distance between feeling and fact. So He felt; and yet mankind has been of another mind, that there, more than in all else that He was or did, there was God" (Glover). The offer of vinegar (*cf.* Ru. 2 14) may be an act of kindness. The waiting for Elijah is mockery, or curiosity. After six hours' torture Jesus died, with one more inarticulate cry. The rent veil of the Temple symbolises the effect of His death (*cf.* Heb. 10 19f.). The manner of His death—the strength of His cries and the suddenness of the end—convinced the centurion that He was more than man. "The captain stands at the end of the gospel as the type and forerunner of the countless bands of heathen who have been won over to the message of the crucified One" (J. Weiss). The evangelist then mentions some of the women who watched afar off and to whom he may have owed some of his information. The loyalty of the women surpassed that of the disciples. Mary of Magdala (p. 29) must not be identified with the woman that was a sinner mentioned in Lk. 7 37. Salome is described in Mt. 27 56 as mother of the sons of Zebedee.

XV. 42–47. The Burial of Jesus.—Dt. 21 23 enjoined the burial of dead criminals before nightfall (*cf.* Josephus, *Wars*, IV, v. 2). The day of the Crucifixion being the preparation for the Sabbath, *i.e.* Friday, the carrying out of the law was doubly desirable. It required courage to approach Pilate, but Joseph of Arimathæa enjoyed sufficient distinction to venture. Pilate granted him the corpse (the brutal technical word is used). Joseph hastily placed the body in a rock-tomb, the characteristic mode of burial at that time and place. The stone which covered the entrance to the tomb was a protection against wild beasts and thieves (Menzies). The women marked the spot and prepared to render the last offices of love.

XVI. 1–8. The Women Find the Tomb Empty.—The true gospel of Mk. ends with the strange discovery made by the women when they visited the tomb early on the first day of the week. This can hardly be the original ending. Indeed the last sentence is not complete. It runs in Gr. *ephobounto gar* ("for they feared"), and though sentences ending with the particle *gar* (=for) are not unknown in Gr., *e.g.* in Philostratus, yet as the end of a chapter or a book such a sentence is intolerable, and the verb "they feared" calls for an object, perhaps "the Jews." Moreover, this story of the women is clearly intended to lead up to other stories of appearances in Galilee to Peter and the Twelve, which are not narrated (see especially 7). Either Mk. never completed his book or its original ending has been lost.

The historicity of this story has been questioned, sometimes on account of the haziness of detail, but more often on account of the difficulty of believing in the miracle of the empty tomb. For an ingenious but not altogether convincing attempt to save the historicity while denying the miracle see Lake, *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, pp. 246f. But the issue cannot satisfactorily be discussed on the interpretation of the story in isolation (see further the Introduction to 1 Cor. 15).

XVI. 9–20. These verses constitute the longer of two alternative endings found in some MSS. In an Armenian text (of A.D. 986) the longer ending is attributed to Ariston, the Presbyter, perhaps the Aristion who was among the authorities of Papias, at the beginning of the second century. It is a summary, based on the gospels and Acts; 9 refers to Jn. 20; 12 rests on Lk. 24; 17f. on Ac. 2 28. In style and vocabulary it is distinct from the rest of the gospel. To this longer ending should be added (in 14) the passage recently discovered in Codex W, the Detroit MS of the gospels. It is included in Moffatt's translation of the NT. Moffatt also prints the shorter alternative ending referred to in RVm. It runs thus: "But they gave Peter and his companions a brief account of all that had been enjoined. And after that Jesus Himself sent out by means of them from east to west the sacred and imperishable message of eternal salvation."

MATTHEW

By Principal A. J. Grieve

Introduction.—A well-known passage in Eusebius (*Hist.*, iii. 39) quotes Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis (*c.* A.D. 125) as saying: "Matthew, in the Hebrew dialect, compiled the Logia, and each one interpreted them according to his ability." Irenæus (*c.* 180) has a similar remark (*Haer.*, iii. 1), and adds a date: "When Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the Church." Papias's statement has been taken by many scholars to refer to a collection of sayings of Jesus,[1] with a certain amount of narrative, in fact the hypothetical source called Q (pp. 672, 675f.) which lies behind our First and Third Gospels. Our Mt. is not the work of an apostle (an eyewitness would not have depended so much on earlier writings), nor is it a translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original. But if Matthew did as Papias asserts, we can understand how his name would be given to the Gospel which most completely incorporated his work.

Contents and Sources.—After describing the birth and infancy of Jesus (1f.) and the mission of John the Baptist (3$_{1-12}$), the Gospel narrates the Baptism and Temptation of Jesus (3$_{13-17}$). The account of His work in Galilee (teaching, healing, the call of the Twelve, and the effect on the people, on the authorities, and on Himself) take up 4$_{18}$–15$_{20}$. Thence to the end of 18 the narrative deals with work outside Galilee, in the midst of which comes the decisive episode of Cæsarea Philippi. 19f. describes the journey to Jerusalem, 21–28 the Passion and Resurrection. The article on the Synoptic Problem has shown (p. 673f.) how greatly indebted Mt. is to Mk. in subject-matter, language, and order of events. This was his first main source, though he often abbreviates it, for he had much other material which he was anxious to use without exceeding the length of an ordinary papyrus roll. And while we may trace an impulse to omit or soften passages in Mk. which seem derogatory to the Messiah or the Twelve, we may easily go too far in ascribing such motives to our evangelist, who was perhaps mainly concerned with the simple task of saving space (see H. J. White, in *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1915). Mt.'s second main source was Q, quite as useful to him as Mk., and besides these he appears to have had (*a*) the little manual of OT passages (*testimonia*) which the early Church deemed prophetic of incidents in the life of Jesus, (*b*) a number of Palestinian traditions which may have come to him orally. These include incidents in the Infancy and Passion Narratives (especially portions of 27), but also sections like 14$_{28-31}$, 17$_{24-27}$, 21$_{10}$f.

Characteristics.—The tendency of Mt. to group and classify his material has often been noticed. There may be some intention of providing a systematic manual for the use of converts and the instruction of youth. Attempts have been made to show that he is fond of numerical schemes, groups of three, seven, five, or ten incidents or topics, but they are not always successful. More important than such matters of form is the purpose that dominates the book. This is the presentation of the Messiahship of Jesus, His royal dignity and prerogatives. This aim can be traced from the genealogy and the adoration of the Magi, through the whole of the teaching (with its claim to supersede the Law), down to the Passion with the unconscious testimony of the inscription on the cross, and to the final assertion of all authority in heaven and on earth. In like manner the true heirs of the kingdom, His *ecclesia*, are those who accept the Messiahship of Jesus. There is throughout a blending of the Judaic and the supra-Judaic that makes one think of the author as the shining example of a "scribe instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven" (13$_{52}$), bringing out of his store things new and old. These and other characteristics are noted in the course of the following commentary.

Date and Authorship.—The Gospel must have been subsequent to that of Mk., *i.e.* some time after A.D. 70 (*cf.* 22$_{7}$*). The letter of Clement to the Corinthians (*c.* A.D. 95) has some similarities, the Ep. of Barnabas seems to quote 22$_{14}$ as Scripture, but the date of this work is uncertain (70–132). In any case the Gospel was known to Ignatius (*c.* 110) and to Hermas (*c.* 120). Archdeacon Allen pleads for a date as early as 50, but the usually received opinion is 80 or 90. This conclusion is partly suggested by what appear to be reflections of Church life, thought, and organisation, belonging to the last decades of the first century. The Gospel breathes the air of Palestine, but its compiler was one somewhat out of touch with Jerusalem, and there came to him traditions of very varying value. He is an archæologist, but not a critical one. More than this we can hardly say, but we cannot simply brand as pseudonymous a production which had its genesis in the sagacity and affection of the erstwhile customs-officer. It is good that Matthew's name should remain in the title.

The writer of these notes wishes to acknowledge his special obligations to the works of Mr. C. G. Montefiore and Dr. A. H. M'Neile. It only remains to insist that the plan of this commentary on Mt. necessitates the reader's study of what has been written on the parallel sections in Mk. by Mr. Wood. Only so can he get a proper treatment of the passages that occur in both Gospels.

Literature.—*Commentaries*; (*a*) Morison, Slater (Cent.B), Smith (WNT), **Plummer**, Anderson, Micklem (West.C); (*b*) Allen (ICC), Bruce (EGT), **M'Neile**, Carr (CGT); (*c*) **Wellhausen**, Zahn (ZK), Zöckler, B. Weiss (Mey.), Holtzmann (HC), Klostermann and Gressmann (HNT), Merx, Nösgen, J. Weiss (SNT), Rose, Baljon; (*d*) Maclaren, *Expositions of Holy Scrip-*

[1] F. C. Burkitt and Rendel Harris, however, argue that it was a collection of *Testimonia* or OT proof-texts of the Messiahship of Jesus.

ture, Gibson (Ex.B); Articles in Dictionaries, Introductions to NT, the Gospels, and the Synoptic Problem; Works on the Life and Teaching of Christ (as on pp. 670f.); Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*; Bruce, *With Open Face*; Lukyn Williams, *The Hebrew Christian Messiah*.

I. 1–17. The Genealogy of Jesus (*cf.* Lk. 3 23–38).—The Biblical part of this genealogy (2–12) is taken from 1 Ch. 1–3, with some help from Ru. 4 18–20, Gen. 38 16ff., and other OT passages. It contains devices for assisting the memory, *e.g.* (*a*) three groups each of fourteen names, though one name is missing from the third group (*cf.* 17); (*b*) the three fourteens may be connected with the number (three) and the numerical value (fourteen) of the letters in the Heb. name David; (*c*) notes like "of Rahab," "of Ruth" (5), "of her of Uriah" (6), and the reference to the Captivity (11). There are some slips in the Gr., *e.g.* Asaph (*mg.*) for Asa, Amos (*mg.*) for Amon. Three generations are omitted in 8 through a confusion of the Gr. name for Uzziah; and Jehoiakim, son of Josiah, is confused with Jehoiachin (Jeconiah, 11) of the next generation. The second group should really have included eighteen names (*cf.* Cod. Bezae in Lk. 3 23ff.). Shealtiel and Zerubbabel (12) are the last biblical names; the remainder rests on tradition, and varies widely from Lk.'s list. It is incredible that son should unfailingly succeed father in David's line for twenty generations: the Heb. for "his son" often means simply "his heir." Legal, not physical, descent is meant throughout. The rabbis regard Rahab as a famous proselyte (*cf.* Heb. 11 31, Jas. 2 25). While Mt.'s list is of kings and (after the Exile) of claimants to the throne, Lk.'s may be a list from the Bethlehem land-register of owners of Jesse's property. During the Exile no Jew held the land, and to fill the gap the names of Shealtiel and Zerubbabel as heirs of David might be inserted (Wright, *Synopsis*[3], 299). The explanation that Lk. gives the line of Mary is not found in early Christian writers. Their view (Eusebius, *Hist.*, i. 7) was that Joseph was the real son of Jacob (Mt.) but the legal son of Heli through a levirate marriage (p. 110, Dt. 25ff.*).

Wright shows that, dividing Lk.'s list into four sections, we reach the following results:

1. Jesus–Salathiel: 593 years, 22 names, average 27 years. (Mt. 13 or 14 names, average 43.)
2. Neri–Nathan: 383 years, 20 names, average 19 years. (Mt. 14 names, average 27.)
3. David–Abraham: Mt. and Lk. each 14 names with average of 67 years.
4 is peculiar to Lk.—years patriarchal and uncertain.

The genealogies warn us not to worship the *letter* of Scripture. They were the best the time could produce, and we must not expect more. The Jews were more interested in genealogy than in accuracy. Mt., while he proclaims Jesus the son of David, introduces into the pedigree four women—Gentiles and sinners—a fitting prelude to the story of One who came not to call the righteous, and was known as the friend of the outcast. These women may have been included to retort on the Jews themselves a reproach that was sure to arise, or had arisen, against Mary. With a royal house having such a history they could not throw stones at the Christians. Perhaps the whole genealogy was drawn up to meet the objection of the scribes that Jesus could not be the Messiah as He was not descended from David (*cf.* Mk. 12 35*, Jn. 7 40ff.).

1. An introduction to 2–17, or less probably to 1f. or to the whole book.—**16.** The Sinaitic Syriac version (*c.* A.D. 200), reads "Jacob begat Joseph. Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the virgin, begat Jesus who is called the Messiah" (see JThS, Jan. 1910), but this need not be the original reading.

I. 18–25. The Birth of the Messiah.—In Mt., Joseph has the principal rôle; in Lk., Mary. Six inspired dreams are narrated in Mt., three of them with "the angel of Yahweh." Five are in chs. 1 and 2, the sixth in 27. Early writers like Justin Martyr claimed credence for the virgin birth of Jesus because records of pagan religion were full of similar marvels. Philo is witness for similar Jewish beliefs about the patriarchs. One curious early idea was that Mary conceived by a shaft of Divine light through the ear.—**18. Holy Ghost:** in the OT sense, "the power of God in active exercise."—**19. righteous:** conscientious in observing the Law, "and (yet) not willing," etc. Lk. mentions no scruples and no thought of repudiation.—**21. Jesus:** Heb. Joshua, "Yahweh is salvation."—**his people:** the Jewish nation.—**22f.** Not part of the angel's address, but Mt.'s comment (*cf.* Is. 7 14*). This introduces us to a marked feature of Mt., his use of OT., which has been referred to in Introd. See further the Comm. of Micklem (xxxi ff.); Burkitt, *Gosp. Hist.*, pp. 124–128; and especially R. Harris, *Testimonies*.—**25** is not a statement of the perpetual virginity of Mary, a doctrine bolstered up by one of two suppositions—that the brothers of Jesus were (*a*) Joseph's children by a former marriage (Origen, Clem. Alex.), (*b*) cousins of Jesus, sons of Mary the wife of Alphæus (Mt. 27 56 = Mk. 15 40), "brother" merely implying kinship (Jerome, Augustine). See "Brethren of the Lord," HSDB and HDB 1 320.

II. Three Incidents of Christ's Childhood.

II. 1–12. The Visit of the Magians.—"The religion of the Magi well deserved the double honour of stimulating the growth of the doctrine of the Future Life in Judaism, and of offering the first homage of the Gentile world to the Redeemer" (J. H. Moulton, "Magi," HSDB). [See on the relations of this story to Magianism, J. H. Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 282–285. He says, "The narrative might have been composed by a Magus for the accuracy with which it portrays Magian ideas." In a Jew the "correct colour" is interesting. The star was not a planet or conjunction of planets, since "the planets were malign for the Magi." He thinks it was a new star, such as occasionally flame out in the sky, dwindling speedily and fading from sight. The stars were connected with the Fravashis, and the quest of the Magi was "for an identification of the Fravashi they would associate with it." The Fravashi is a man's spiritual counterpart. "An apparition of a bright Nova in the sky would suggest the Fravashi of a great one newly born" (ERE, vol. vi., p. 118). See 18 10*, Ac. 12 15*.—A. S. P.]

The astronomer Kepler regarded **the star** as a new star combined with a conjunction of Jupiter, Venus, and Mars in the sign "pisces," which signified Judæa, the whole being interpreted by the Chaldæan astrologers according to the rules of their art. To Mt. it was a fulfilment of Balaam's prediction in Nu. 24 17. *Cf.* also Test. Levi 18. There is a story that in A.D. 66 Tiridates of Parthia went with a train of three Magi laden with presents to Nero, "whom they worshipped as Lord and God, even as Mithras." If the anti-Christ of early Christian belief received such homage, the real Messiah could not have received less. Note that no number is given in Mt. The story has been embellished in later tradition by the addition of a Magus who could not join the others, but sacrificed his life in a deed of kindness and had a vision of

Christ. An ancient commentator says that gold is the symbol of kingship, frankincense (Jer. 620*) of deity, myrrh of mortification (it was used to anoint the dead).

While Mt. selects this story Lk. supplies its counterpart, the homage of the lowly and simple shepherds. The quotation (Mi. 52) in 6 follows neither Heb. nor LXX, but perhaps some Palestinian midrash. (Mt. 1f. as a whole is a kind of midrash, *i.e.* not history pure and simple, but history with a purpose.) It gives "land of Judah" for "Ephrathah," inserts the negative "in no wise," and reads the Heb. consonants as "princes" or "leaders" instead of "thousands."

For a thorough study of "the star in the East," and especially of the word *anatolè*, by Dr. E. A. Abbott, see Exp., Dec. 1916.

II. 13–18. The Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents.—While Mt. says Jesus was born before Herod's death (how long before he does not say), Lk. suggests, by his reference to Quirinius, that it was after. But see Lk. 21–3*.

15. Hos. 111*. It looks as though Mt. made the incident fit the quotation, *cf.* Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 413. A second-century Jewish tradition speaks of Jesus working as a labourer in Egypt, and practising magic ere he returned to Palestine and proclaimed Himself a God. There were a million Jews in Egypt in the first century A.D.

In place of the slaughter of the Bethlehem children Lk. gives the story of the presentation in the Temple. The massacre is not narrated by Josephus, though he dwells on Herod's crimes (*cf.* p. 609). It may be an echo of a Jewish legend about Abraham's escape from Nimrod, and also recalls the story of Pharaoh (Ex. 115–210).

17. Then was fulfilled: Mt. does not here say "in order that"; he will not attribute to Herod (or to Judas, 279) a Divine purpose. See Jer. 3115*. The "two years" (16) suggests not that the Magi arrived two years after the Birth, but that the star appeared two years before it, and their quest had lasted so long.

II. 19–23. The Settlement at Nazareth.—By Herod's will Archelaus (p. 609) held the title of King till the Emperor Augustus forbade it. In Galilee, another of Herod's sons, Antipas (p. 609), was tetrarch. There is here no thought that Nazareth (p. 29) was Joseph's previous home. He goes there because (*a*) Judæa might be dangerous, (*b*) prophecy must be fulfilled. For Mt. the question of the Messiah's birthplace does not arise; Joseph and Mary live in Bethlehem, and it would be there. Lk.'s knowledge of Nazareth is better than Mt.'s. The closest OT connexion with 23 is that Is., Jer., and Zeph. refer to Messiah as the branch (*Nezer*) of the house of David. "Nazarenes" was a contemptuous name given to the early Christians; Mt., to consecrate it, snatches at the faintest prophetic allusion (*cf.* Ac. 225*). It is curious that Nazareth is not mentioned in OT, Josephus, or the Talmud, but that seven miles from the present village there was Bethlehem of Zebulun (Josh. 1915), called in the Talmud "Zoriyah" (?=Notzeriyah), *i.e.* the Nazarene (or Galilean) Bethlehem. Did Jesus really belong to this place? The double name "Bethlehem-Nazareth" might easily account for the variant tradition as to His birthplace.

III. 1–12. John the Baptist (Mk. 12–8*, Lk. 31–17).—The common Synoptic material begins here. The chief difference from Mk. is the addition of 7–10 from Q (p. 672), *cf.* Lk. 37–9, where the words are addressed not to the Pharisees and Sadducees, but to the crowd. In Mt.'s view the Pharisees thought to escape the coming judgment by the mere rite of baptism, and he makes John ask who indicated to (not "warned") them that such escape was possible. More than outward repentance is needed—a better life, and more than a claim to Abrahamic descent (*cf.* Jn. 833–59). Judgment goes by character, not by race; for unrighteousness there is no escape. 11f. expands Mk. 17f. and intensifies the idea of judgment. Mt. combines Mk.'s "Holy Ghost" and Q's "fire." For the figure in 12 *cf.* Jer. 157.

3. kingdom of heaven: lit. "of the heavens." Mt., in accordance with the Jewish practice of avoiding the Divine name, uses this phrase, as Jesus probably did. Mk. and Lk., writing rather for Gentile readers, employ "kingdom of God." Both phrases have the same meaning (*cf.* p. 662; also Mt. 2143*).—**7. Pharisees** (520*) **and Sadducees** (*cf.* p. 624).—**brood of vipers:** scorpions and snakes are frequently driven from their holes by moorland and forest fires in Palestine.—**11. bear:** better "take off" (*cf.* Jn. 126).

III. 13–17. The Baptism of Jesus (Mk. 19–11*, Lk. 321f.).—**14f.** (Mt. only) meets the objection to the acceptance by a sinless Jesus of a baptism connected with repentance (p. 661). Jesus maintains ("suffer it now") that a temporary necessity must be acknowledged. Until the new revelation is ready, all **righteousness,** *i.e.* Divine ordinances, must be duly observed. For John's sense of unworthiness *cf.* Lk. 58 (Peter). The message of the voice (17) is a combination of Ps. 27 and Is. 421 (the Gr. word for 'servant' also means "child"), where the context speaks of the spirit. Read, therefore, "This is my Son, the Beloved," the Beloved being a Messianic title (Eph. 16). There is some reason for holding that the original announcement was simply, "Thou art my Son" (*cf.* Cod. Bezae in Lk. 322), and that we have here the influence of the Transfiguration narrative, an influence much expanded in the Ebionite Gospel and Justin (*Tryph.* 88) by reference to a light. Jesus Himself probably realised His Sonship before His Messiahship. There is nothing in Mt. (especially if we omit 14f., *cf.* 112–6*), as there is nothing in Mk. and Lk., to suggest that vision or voice came to anyone but Jesus.

IV. 1–11. The Temptation (Mk. 112f.*, Lk. 41–13*).—Jesus' sudden recognition of His Sonship or Messiahship and of the responsibility thus laid upon Him, found natural expression in His retirement into solitude. In the dreary wilderness of Judæa (p. 31), which overhangs the north of the Dead Sea, He grapples with the problem of what is involved in being God's Son, of how the Messiah must do God's will. The narrative is taken (as in Lk.) from Q. There are three episodes, each containing a proposed course of action and a Scriptural reason for its rejection. The second and third scenes are transposed in Lk., but Mt. probably preserves the original order. Both Mt. and Lk., like Mk., lay stress on the impulse of the Spirit, and mention the forty days as preceding the three episodes, though Lk. (like Mk.) makes the whole period one of temptation, and adds that, when all was over, the devil left Him only "for a season." Curiously, Lk. omits any reference to angelic succour.

Attempts have been made to trace the story to the influence of the temptation-narratives of earlier heroes like Abraham and Job, or even of Buddha or Zoroaster. Others find its source simply in the belief that one of the functions of the Messiah was to overthrow Satan; others again regard it as a summary in imaginative form, placed in the forefront of the Gospel, of the temptations which Jesus met in the course of

His ministry (*cf.* Mk. 831–33, Jn. 615, Lk. 2228). There is no need for any of these assumptions, though the experience serves as an epitome of Jesus' ideals, motives, and heroism throughout His ministry. The historicity of the narrative is guaranteed by its fitness at this point, and by the agreement of its significance with the purpose and method of Jesus. The story, which illustrates His supreme skill as a teacher, must have come from Jesus Himself, perhaps in the days that followed Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi. In similar fashion Isaiah had, some time after the experience itself, communicated to his disciples his vision in the Temple "in the year that king Uzziah died (Is. 6)."

Hungry, and with no apparent means of getting food, Jesus is confronted with the proposal to satisfy His need by turning stones into bread (*cf.* 79). This would be a natural and reasonable use of the power associated with His new office. But the proposal ignores the eternal truth that man is spirit, and that his life is sustained by other food than bread (Dt. 83). We must not overlook the "If" of the temptation. The truth of the revelation of the Sonship might so easily be tested. Jesus repudiates the spurious test and chooses the real, *i.e.* the perfect obedience, in which God's earlier "son" Israel had failed. *Cf.* Jn. 434.

The background of the second proposal is the popular apocalyptic Messianic hope. It finds its parallel in the later demand of the Pharisees for a sign (1238ff., 161ff.; Jn. 218), some manifest supernatural proof of the Messiah's credentials. "If thou art the Messiah, cast thyself down; angels will shield thee from harm." The Messiah is to descend on the clouds of heaven; do this, as it were, and show that you have a charmed life. But in Jesus' view man has no right, even if he has the power, to force the hand of God. The Divine protection is promised not to the presumptuous, but to the ordinary wayfarer who sets his love and trust on God. Jesus rejects the temptation to attain quick popularity and success by unfair means. (The "pinnacle of the Temple" was only visited in thought, and may have been suggested to Jesus as He stood on the edge of some cliff in the wilderness.) But *cf.* the way in which Ezekiel (Ezek. 83) was carried about by the hand of the Spirit.

Nor does the third proposal take us out of the desert. Lk. 45 says nothing of a mountain; spiritual or mental exaltation is quite sufficient. On some rocky summit with a far-reaching view comes the suggestion to broaden the field of Messianic service by laying aside the spiritual ideals which had already taken shape in Jesus' mind. But to secure the dominion of the earth on such terms would be virtually to worship Satan. "To seek sovereignty for the sake of sovereignty without waiting for God's hour, to share the interests and the passions of the world, . . . to aim at an ordinary royalty and adopt the means that might lead to it, human policy, cunning, and violence, would be to abandon the cause of God for that of the devil" (Loisy).

M'Neile summarises thus: "The first temptation is to doubt the truth of the revelation just received, the second to test it, and the third to snatch prematurely at the Messiahship which it involves." Thus in each case the temptation turns on the consciousness of being called to the Messianic office. In each case the struggle was between the popular conception of that office and man's supreme allegiance by which even the Messiah is bound. The conflict and its issues are in true accord with the years of preparation in Nazareth and the consecration to the Kingdom consummated in the baptism, and with the subsequent life of Jesus. It marked the accomplishment of an abiding and absolute harmony between His fellowship with God and His conception of the Messiahship.

Dr. Peake has kindly supplied the following note: The primary purpose of the first two temptations is to undermine the conviction of Sonship, and, this having failed, the third seeks to set the mission of Jesus on wrong lines. The first two are brought into the same category by the common formula, "If thou be the Son of God." Reaction follows on the radiant ecstasy of conviction, the critical intellect is tempted to doubt the reality of the experience. Everything depended in His future work on the certainty of His Divine Sonship; it was this, then, that must be tested beforehand to the uttermost. "Abandoned by God and on the edge of death, can you be God's Son? Perhaps, but in a matter so momentous make sure. If you are God's Son, you will have miraculous power; turn the stone into a loaf and the prodigy will reaffirm your conviction, and incidentally preserve you for your mission." The plausibility of the suggestion masked its fatal character. Jesus detects its subtlety. To work a miracle that He might reassure Himself would imply that He had already begun to doubt; the mere acceptance of the challenge would have involved defeat. Humanly speaking, death by hunger stares Him in the face. But He remains absolutely sure of His Sonship, and therefore of His preservation to fulfil His task. He stakes Himself and His destiny not on physical nourishment, but on the word of God. And this is not for Him just a vague generality, it has a very definite application. The word of God He has in His mind is the word He has heard by Jordan. The word of His Father, the witness of the Spirit to His Sonship—on these His absolute conviction is based, in spite of all that contradicts it. And, as a loyal Son, He leaves Himself and His fate in the Father's hands; on His vigilant watchfulness He utterly depends. From this dependence the second temptation starts, but exaggerates it into a presumptuous dependence which would force God's hand (see above). But here also the primary intention is to commit Jesus to a test which implies doubt. The result of both is that the conviction of Jesus remains impregnable. The attack on this is abandoned, and the third temptation is aimed at reducing His work to a failure by inducing Him to lower His ideal, and accept a political Messiahship, to gain a swift but worthless success (see above). Jesus leaves the wilderness unshaken in His conviction, unswerving in His loyalty to the loftiest ideal. *Cf.* p. 662.

2. forty days: *cf.* Moses (Ex. 2418) and Elijah (1 K. 198), and the forty years of Israel in the desert (Dt. 82).—**5. pinnacle:** lit. "wing," therefore some projecting turret or buttress rather than a spire or summit.—**9.** Jesus shared the common opinion that the world of His day lay in the grasp of Satan. Messiah's task was to break his power and restore the Divine sovereignty.—**11.** The victor receives the food and the angelic succour which He had refused when they involved sin.

IV. 12–17. Jesus Announces the Kingdom in Galilee (Mk. 1l4f.*, Lk. 414f.).—More precisely than Mk., Mt. gives John's arrest by Herod Antipas as the reason why Jesus began to preach. Galilee was part of Antipas' realm, but it was remote from the scene of John's work and imprisonment, hence perhaps the word "withdrew." Mt. anticipates Jesus' settlement at Capernaum in his desire to work in a fulfilment of one of his Messianic *testimonia*. "Galilee (lit. the

district) of the nations" was a tract in the old tribal territory of Naphtali, which had a large heathen population. It gave its name to the larger (NT) Galilee. Is. 9if.*.

13. Capernaum: either the modern Khân Minyeh or (more probably) Tell Hûm, close to the northernmost point of the Lake of Galilee. *Cf.* p. 29, and Mk. 121*. Jesus made it "his own city" (91).—**17. From that time:** *cf.* 1621, where the phrase introduces the period of *private* instruction to the disciples.

IV. 18–22. The Call of the First Disciples (Mk. 116–20*; contrast Lk. 51–11 and Jn. 135–51). *Cf.* p. 665.—The account is almost identical with that in Mk., except that Mt. omits the mention of the "hired servants" left with Zebedee. He also transfers Mk.'s "straightway" from the call of Jesus to the response of the brothers.

IV. 23–25. Summary of Work in Galilee (*cf.* Mk. 139, Lk. 444).—Mt. here departs from Mk.'s order; he is about to give an account of the teachings of Jesus (5–7) before an account of His healings (81–17). *Cf.* the résumé at 935. The note of good tidings omitted in 17 (Mk. 115) is here (23) introduced. The cures are confined to *the* people, Jews. The legend of king Abgar of Edessa and his correspondence with Jesus is based on the mention of Syria (24).

25. Decapolis.—Certain Hellenised towns, originally ten in number (hence the name), all, except Scythopolis, lying E. of Jordan. For purposes of trade and to guard against absorption by their Semitic neighbours they formed a league, but were subjugated by Alexander Jannæus (104–78 B.C.). Pompey in 64–63 B.C. gave them municipal freedom and other rights, but brought them into the Roman province of Syria, whence some of them were later transferred to the direct authority of Herod. *Cf.* p. 33.

V.–VII. The Sermon on the Mount.—This is the first of five blocks in which Mt. collects the greater part of the words of Jesus. He places it here in view of Mk. 121. Attempts to locate the mountain or the exact time are useless in view of the fact that the sermon is a collection of material, not a discourse spoken in one place at one time.

V. 2. opened his mouth: a Semitic redundancy.

V. 3–12. The Beatitudes (*cf.* Lk. 620–23).—These nine sayings (eight if we reckon 10–12 as one, or regard 11f. as having originally stood elsewhere; seven if we omit 5) have analogies in OT (*e.g.* Pss. 11, 321, 8915; Pr. 832; Is. 3220) and in other parts of the Gospel and NT (*e.g.* 1316, Lk. 1237, Jas. 112, Rev. 1413). **Blessed** connotes happy and successful prosperity. **the poor** (3), *i.e.* the pious in Israel, not necessarily, though usually, poor in worldly possessions, yet rich in faith (Jas. 25). Lk. perhaps keeps the original wording, but Mt. gives the right interpretation by adding **in spirit.** *Cf.* W. Sanday in Exp., Dec. 1916. **Theirs is the kingdom of heaven,** *i.e.* potentially; the actual possession is still (4–9) in the future. We are not to limit **mourn** (4) to penitence for sin; one of the titles of the Messiah was "Comforter." **Meek** (5) is the antithesis of arrogant; the idea of inheritance goes back to the Hebrew occupation of Canaan, and is used in Ps. 37 and in apocalyptic writings; here it is another aspect of the possession of the Kingdom (*cf.* 1929, 2534). If we follow some early (chiefly Latin) authorities in transposing 4 and 5, we get a good contrast between "heaven" (3) and "earth" (5). Lk. omits 5. In 6 **and thirst after righteousness** (Gr. "*the* righteousness," *i.e.* the longed-for blessing in the coming Kingdom) is a gloss; Lk. is to be preferred. The "poor" (in spirit) already possess righteousness in the form of moral goodness. They also have the compassionate spirit, and they shall receive compassion in the coming Kingdom (7). For the connexion between righteousness and mercy *cf.* Ps. 3610, 8510. To possess the Kingdom is to see God (8), and this is for the pure in heart (as distinct from the ceremonially pure); *cf.* Ps. 243f. Note the complementary truth of 1 Jn. 32f. The peacemaker (not, as was generally believed, every Israelite) shall be called (*i.e.* "shall be"; the name stands for the nature) in the coming age God's son (9), because he shares God's nature (*cf.* 45, also Lk. 2036). **Righteousness** in 10 is (contrast 6) a quality for which the "poor" are persecuted; the saying connects with the first beatitude and completes the golden chain. 11f. is an expansion and application of 10. The persecuted are to rejoice because of, not despite, the persecution (*cf.* Lk.); **in heaven** means "with God" (Dalman, *Words*, 206ff.). While the teaching of Jesus often reflects the current thought of His day on the question of rewards and punishments (*cf.* p. 665), viz. that they were graduated and quantitative, we also find in it new elements which transform the idea, and so even eliminate it. Reward is *qualitative* and identical for all (201–16,* 2521–23), it is the Kingdom of Heaven (53–10), it is given to those for whom it has been prepared (2023). *Cf.* also 2514f., Lk. 17gf., and M'Neile, pp. 54f.

V. 13–37. Mt. here brings together material (*a*) found scattered in Lk., (*b*) peculiar to himself.

V. 13–16. Salt and Light.—Good men are not only rewarded in the coming age, they help the world now and save it from both insipidity and corruption. To appreciate the value of salt one must live in a land where it is rare, and much more highly prized than sugar. The second clause of 13 (*cf.* Mk. 950, Lk. 1434) was a current proverb; salt was heavily taxed, and therefore often so adulterated as to lose its salinity. With the third clause *cf.* Heb. 64–8, 1026–29, and the fate of Judas Iscariot. With 14 *cf.* Ro. 219 (Jews), Phil. 215, Ac. 1347, Jn. 812. The connexion between the two parts of 14 is the conspicuousness of an elevated character. Ideally a true disciple (15) cannot hide his light (the word translated **bushel** means a measure holding about a peck); actually it is only too possible (16). In 15 the light may be the influence of preaching (*cf.* Lk. 816, 1133); in 16 it is the influence of deeds (*cf.* 1 P. 212).

V. 17–VI. 18. Righteousness, Legal and Real.—After laying down the principle that the Law is not destroyed or annulled, but developed and transcended (17–20), Jesus applies it to (*a*) the teaching of the Scribes (21–48), (*b*) the life of the Pharisees (61–18).

17–20. On the attitude of Jesus towards the OT see pp. 663, 666f., also M'Neile in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 216ff.; Kent, *Life and Teachings of Jesus*, pp. 126f.

17. Jesus was never accused of destroying the moral teaching of the prophets, and here He deals only with the Law. He declares that His mission is to preserve it by revealing its depth of meaning, by carrying it forward into that which it had been designed to bring about—the Kingdom of God.—**18f.** seems misplaced; 19 may be a later gloss, no "commandments" have been mentioned; 20 continues the thought of 17.—**18. jot:** Gr. *iota*, Heb. *yod*, the smallest letter in the alphabet.—**tittle:** the stroke above an abbreviated word. The Gr. is "horn," and perhaps denotes the projecting tip whose presence or absence changes a Heb. letter and may make a great difference in a word. —**till all things be accomplished** repeats the thought

of "till heaven and earth," *i.e.* the present age, "pass away." Many Jewish sayings speak of the perpetuity of the Law.—**19.** The Jews recognised that the 613 commandments in the Law were not equally important; some were "heavy," others "light." Nor would the Kingdom of Heaven bring equality to all its members (*cf.* 11*f.** *supra*, 181–4).—**20** continues 17.—**scribes:** "a comparatively small body of men who (*a*) expounded the Law, (*b*) developed it, (*c*) administered it as assessors in courts of justice."—**Pharisees:** "the whole body of orthodox pietists who lived the 'separated' life" (*cf.* pp. 624, 666f.). Many of the later Rabbis were, like the one in Mk. 12 28–34, very worthy men, but this does not prove that Rabbinism generally was beyond reproach. It was not only Jesus who arraigned it. *Cf. Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Charles, Introd. xi.).

V. 21–48. The "fulfilled" Law in Relation to the Teaching of the Scribes.

V. 21–26. Murder and Malice.—Ye (have) heard: *i.e.* in the synagogues. The addition to the sixth commandment represents the "tradition of the elders"; the **judgement** means legal proceedings. Jesus shows that the commandment involves more than the act of murder; it embraces also feelings and words. Anger, let alone murder, is a crime, and involves judgment at God's hands. "Without cause" is rightly omitted: it weakens the sharp antithesis of Jesus' words. In the *Raca* sentence Jesus returns to current Jewish teaching. As to 21 He opposed His own teaching (22*a*), so to this (22*b*) He opposes 22*c*. "Your teachers say that abusive language such as *Raca* is punishable by the local court (there was a sanhedrin or council of thirteen persons in every place with a population of over 120), but I say that abusive language such as *Raca* (the equivalent of 'thou fool') is punishable by the fire of Gehenna" (Mk. 9 43*).—**23–26** further illustrates the foregoing principle. A sacrifice is not acceptable to God so long as the offerer is not reconciled to anyone whom he has wronged (23f.). The literal and metaphorical in 25f. are inextricably combined. On the face of them the words mean: "If you are in debt to anyone, come to a settlement with him while you can, before he takes the matter into court, which will mean imprisonment." But something further is implied in 26: "The Day of judgment is at hand when the creditor will be able to claim Divine justice."—**adversary:** the injured party.

V. 27f. Adultery.—Jesus again extends the scope of the prohibition from actions to thoughts. There is something more here than the seventh or even the tenth commandment, where the coveting is only a matter of property (*cf.* Job 31 1,7–12). The papyri show that a married woman is probably meant in 28.

V. 29f. The Right Eye and Hand (*cf.* 18*8f.* Mk. 9 43–47*).—"Right eye" is an assimilation to "right hand"; the two eyes are really of equal value. The eye is the member that should keep a man from stumbling, instead of being a stumbling-block. To go into Gehenna implies the destruction of the material body; it is the opposite of entering the Kingdom, or life, or the joy of the Lord.

V. 31f. Divorce (Lk. 16 18; *cf.* Mt. 19, Mk. 10 11f.*). —These passages should be considered together. In 19 4–8 and Mk. 10 5–9 the condemnation of divorce is emphasized by reference to God's purpose in the Creation. The change in the formula (31) suggests that the passage was not originally part of the Sermon. On the strength of Dt. 24 1–3 (really the restriction of a custom taken for granted, not a law prescribing divorce), divorce was practised on very trivial pretexts (*cf.* 19 3,7). Jesus declares that, according to the true intention of God, divorce is sinful. The saving clause ("except for fornication," *i.e.* unchastity) is absent from Mk. and Lk. (*cf.* Paul in 1 Cor. 7 10f.); probably it is due not to Jesus but to the early Church's desire to meet a pressing ethical need which has not yet ceased. Jesus, in view of the near approach of the Kingdom "laid down principles without reference to any limitations which the complexity of life now demands." It is taken for granted that the woman will re-marry, but since divorce is sinful and the first marriage still holds, the new marriage is sinful.

V. 33–37. Oaths.—Jesus sums up several OT passages, *e.g.* Ex. 20 7, Lev. 19 12, Nu. 30 2, Dt. 23 21–23. The use of oaths and vows by the Jews was much abused, and the Rabbis were continually discussing whether or no certain vows and oaths were binding. Jesus goes to the root of the matter by forbidding all oaths, and admits no limitations to the general principle, a position adopted by the Quakers as by Irenæus, Origen, Chrysostom, and Jerome. The Essenes abstained from oaths except at their initiation. Yet Paul uses solemn expressions of appeal to God (*cf.* also 1 Cor. 15 31, 1 Th. 5 27, and Heb. 6 13–17).—**Heaven** (34) is the sky, the dwelling-place of God, therefore to swear by it is profanation; so with **earth** (35), His footstool.—**by Jerusalem:** lit. "towards Jerusalem." There was a Jewish saying that an oath "by Jerusalem" was void unless it was sworn "towards Jerusalem." Jesus forbids even this. The city of God, like His throne (*cf.* 23 22) and footstool, implies the presence of God. Even a man's own head (36) is not his absolute possession; so he must not swear by it. In 37 Jesus condemns unnecessary emphasis; Jas. 5 12 suggests the probable rendering of the injunction here. Whatever goes beyond plain unequivocal speech arises "from the evil" that is in the world. Oaths spring from the untruthfulness of men. On this whole passage *cf. Secrets of Enoch*, 49 1.

V. 38–42. Retaliation (*cf.* Lk. 6 29f.).—Like the law of divorce, the law of the *ius talionis* (Ex. 21 24f.*) was more restrictive than permissive; "it limited revenge by fixing an exact compensation for an injury." Jesus penetrates behind this just principle without abrogating it. His disciples, in virtue of a higher principle, are not to desire human justice for themselves. To take His words literally is to exalt the letter at the expense of the spirit, which He would surely deprecate. Paul appealed to legal justice (Ac. 16 37, 25 8–12), and there are occasions when to decline it would mean wronging and betraying others. RV in 39*a* is wrong; read "Resist not evil" (*mg.*), which reveals itself in malice as well as in untruthfulness (37).

V. 39*b*–42. The injunctions form a descending scale—violent assaults, legal proceedings, official demands, simple requests. Perhaps the blow on the right cheek is more of an insult than an injury; it would naturally come from an opponent's left hand. But "right" may have no special significance, and the Latin and Syriac versions generally omit it, as Lk. does. Lk. omits the reference to a lawsuit (40), and seems to describe a robbery with violence, the outer garment being first seized.—**41. compel:** the word is originally a Persian one, and means "impress" (27 32). Some early good authorities read, "go with him two more."—**42** must be taken in the spirit rather than the letter. Indiscriminate almsgiving is an injury to society, and the injunction is not confined to almsgiving.

V. 43–48. Loving One's Neighbour (*cf.* Lk. 6 27f., 32–36).—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour" (*i.e.* fellow

Israelite) is the precept of the Law (Lev. 1918); "and hate thine enemy" is a Rabbinic inference from, *e.g.* Dt. 233–6, which found much support in apocalyptic writings (*cf.* pp. 623f.). As in the parable of the Good Samaritan, Jesus sweeps away all distinctions. The additions to 44 in AV are due to Lk. 627f.—**45. Sons** are those who share their Father's character. If God were to give natural blessings like sun and rain to His friends and withhold them from His enemies, the natural world would be a chaos: "in so far as His sons fall short of His nature the spiritual world is a chaos." Those who love only their friends miss the Divine reward (Lk. 635), the attainment of the Father's character.—**46. What reward have ye?** Justin Martyr has, "Are you doing anything new?" which is perhaps derived from an older text than ours.—**publicans:** *i.e.* customs officers of inferior rank, the underlings of the *publicani* proper (p. 615); they exercised gross oppression and took money for an alien power, so that the Jews regarded them as outcasts, *cf.* p. 622.—**47b. brethren** may mean "pious law-keeping Jews" in view of early readings "the godless," or "tax-gatherers," in place of "Gentiles."—**48. therefore** sums up the teaching of 17–47; **ye** (my disciples) is emphatic; the future ("shall be") has the force of a command. The comparison with the Divine character is far in advance of that noted in Lev. 1144, 192ff.

VI. 1–18. The "fulfilled" Law in Relation to the Life of the Pharisees.—Mt. only, though the digression on Prayer (7–15) has parallels in Lk.

1 is a general warning; three aspects of the mechanical "righteousness" that is "done" are given in detail in the following verses. Beneath the apparent contrast with 516 is an underlying unity.

VI. 2–4. Almsgiving.—This practice was not enjoined in the Law; it was a work of supererogation earning special merit (Tob. 129, 1411). Trumpets were sounded at public fastings in time of drought; services were held in the streets (*cf.* 5) to pray for rain, and almsgiving was reckoned essential for God's acceptance of the prayers. Mt. uses the word "hypocrites" (lit. actors) as almost identical with Pharisees.—**They have received their reward:** good deeds merit only one reward; to gain it from men is to lose it from God, who will give it in the coming Kingdom (4).

VI. 5f. Prayer.—chamber is figurative, as in 2426. "The secret of religion is religion in secret."

VI. 7–15. A collection of sayings on Prayer from various contexts.—**7. use not vain repetitions:** the emphasis is on "vain." We are not to pray by idle rote. The Gr. word perhaps means to stutter, to utter meaningless sounds, perhaps to speak thoughtlessly, to be long-winded.—**8.** Though the Father knows His children's need, yet because He is the Father, His children must pray.

VI. 9–12. The Lord's Prayer.—Lk. 112–4 differs in the requests for bread and forgiveness, and omits certain phrases and clauses. Had Lk. known the longer form he would have used it; his version is probably more original, for liturgical formulæ tend to expansion rather than abbreviation. Note also Lk.'s setting of the prayer (111). Much of the prayer is paralleled in OT, and later Jewish writings—*e.g.* the *Shemoneh-Esreh*, or Eighteen (benedictions), and the *Kaddish*—furnish close parallels. Jesus gives it as a model, not a formula. "Ye" (9) is emphatic.—**Our Father:** true prayer is social and intercessory. Only in late Judaism had the individual Israelite begun to speak of God as his Father, but the practice was growing. The intimacy thus implied is balanced by the reverent desire that His name (*i.e.* His nature and being and everything whereby He makes Himself known) may be treated as holy. This can be fully realised only in the consummation of the Kingdom, which is the next petition. The Rabbis used to say that a prayer in which no mention is made of the Name and the Kingdom is no prayer.—**Thy will be done** is omitted by Lk., and probably has its source in the prayer of Gethsemane; the words have a present as well as a future force.—**as in heaven, so on earth** may refer to all the preceding petitions; if so, it brings out their eschatological force.—**11.** The desire for God's glory is followed by petitions for human needs; note, however, that Marcion (*c.* A.D. 140) has "thy bread," applying the words to spiritual food. Origen has a similar interpretation, and an old Irish Latin MS. (Harl., 1023) in the British Museum reads: "Give us to-day for bread the Word of God from Heaven" (Exp., Sept. 1915, p. 275, 287ff.; Nov. 1915, p. 423). The word translated "daily" is difficult and much debated. It probably means "for the coming day," and could mean (bread) "for the day then in progress" or "for the morrow," according as the prayer was used in the morning or in the evening.—**12.** The Jews often regarded sins as debts. For a parallel to the petition *cf.* Ecclus. 282. On forgiveness *cf.* 1821–35.—**Temptation** (13) includes trial, though trial may be a cause of joy if it must be encountered (Jas. 12). To "enter into" must not be limited to mean "yield to"; temptation or trial, like hunger, may be for man's good, yet the prayer contains petitions against both. Temptation is primarily the fiery trial which is about to usher in the End. On the whole we should read "from evil" rather than "from the evil one." The words "For thine is the kingdom," etc., are a liturgical addition, appended to Mt.'s version rather than Lk.'s, because it was already the fuller form.—**14f.** is from some other context (*cf.* Mk. 1125), brought in here as a marginal note on 12. Sins here are not debts but transgressions. See further DCG (arts. on "The Lord's Prayer"), where the literature, ancient and modern, is fully cited. Add Gore, *Prayer and the Lord's Prayer*.

VI. 16–18. Fasting.—The sequel of 6. Jesus assumes that His hearers practised fasting as an ordinary act of piety, though He does not appear to have enjoined it, or practised it, save during the Temptation.—**disfigure:** lit. "make invisible," "cause to disappear." The meaning, as we learn from the papyri, is simply that they refrain from washing, and smear the face with ash so that it disappears under accumulated dirt. Hence Jesus' advice, "When thou fastest, anoint thy head and wash thy face." The injunction is more suited for a festival. There is humour here. The practice of fasting is not forbidden, but it is not to be paraded. Self-denial is to be cheerful, *cf.* 914–17.

VI. 19–34. True Righteousness in Relation to Wealth.—The Sermon here passes from the shortcomings of the Scribes and Pharisees. There are scattered parallels to this section in Lk.

VI. 19–21. Treasure (Lk. 1233f.).—Jesus has already spoken of earthly and heavenly reward; here the theme is earthly and heavenly wealth. Note the Hebraic parallelism and tautology in this thumbnail sketch of Oriental wealth, consisting largely of garments (*cf.* Jas. 52f.).—**rust** (19f.) is literally "eating," and refers to the mice and other vermin that play havoc in the granary.—**dig through** (*mg.*): see Ex. 1222*.

VI. 22f. The Single Eye (Lk. 1134ff.).—If the eye, the outer lamp of the body, is healthy, the body is wholly lit up; if it is out of order, the body is wholly dark. In the same way, if the inner light be extin-

guished, how great is the darkness! By putting the saying here, Mt. seems to have interpreted it of a right and wrong attitude towards material possessions. "Single" often means liberal; "evil," grudging, or niggardly. "Dark" was a colloquialism for uncharitable. The verses are a warning against covetousness.

VI. 24. The Single Service (Lk. 16¹³).—The papyri show cases where a third as well as half a slave is bequeathed in a will. Such a usage may have been in our Lord's mind, and the strife it engendered may have given point and force to His saying.—**hold to**: stand by, or look to for support and help.—**mammon**: an Aramaic word (meaning gain or wealth) preserved by Mt. probably because it is personified. Either God or wealth must be loved and held to or hated and despised. The principle is stated, as usual, in the most absolute way.

VI. 25–34. Earthly Anxiety (Lk. 12²²–³¹).—As the service of wealth only causes anxiety, we should give it up.—**Life** (*psuche*) is the life-principle embodied in the body; it needs food as the body needs clothes. If God has given the greater things (life and body), He can surely provide the less (food and raiment). Learn from the birds, not idleness, but freedom from worry; if God provides food for them, He will surely provide food for you.—**27–30** returns to the question of the body. To add a cubit to one's height (less probably "age") is beyond man's most anxious effort. But God can do it—why then worry about the smaller matter, clothing?—**lilies**: rather "blossoms," including gladioli and irises, whose stems are used as fuel (30). The flowers neither toil (like men in the field) nor spin (like women in the house).—**31ff.** Anxiety is not only unreasonable and useless, it is irreligious—natural perhaps in Gentiles (note how Lk. adds "of the world"—to him many Gentiles were the Father's children), but not for sons of God. With 33 *cf.* the Lord's Prayer, where God's name, kingdom, and will take precedence of the request for food. The thought of 34 is different from that of 25–33, where no day will have its trouble because God will provide. Here we are not to worry about to-morrow, because to-morrow will bear its own worry; and, further, there is enough worry for to-day. *Cf.* 10of.

VII. 1–5. Against Judging (Lk. 6³⁷f.,⁴¹f.).—Mt. here returns (from 5⁴⁸) to the Sermon as it stood in Q. The subjects of the kingdom are warned against a censorious habit of mind; judging involves judgment, ultimate and Divine, or (as Mt. interprets it) present and human. Note how Lk. in the parallel to 2 goes on to enjoin a kindly bearing towards others. 3–5 illustrates the warning of 1.—**mote**: a piece of dry wood or straw, a chip or splinter. *Cf.* the Rabbinic proverb, "He who accuses another of a fault has it himself," and Rom. 2¹. The censorious man is a hypocrite (5), because his unkind criticism disguises itself as a kindly act.

VII. 6. Dogs and Swine.—Lk. omits, as a reflection on Gentile readers. To the Jew, Gentiles were dogs, and careless Jews perhaps swine. The saying looks like a modification of the command not to judge; the disciple must exercise some discrimination (? in teaching).—**that which is holy** is a strange parallel to **pearls**; it may be a mistaken rendering of the Aramaic word for ear-rings. *Didaché*, ix., quotes the saying in forbidding the admission of the unbaptized to the Eucharist. Note the inverted parallelism; it is the swine that trample, the dogs that turn and bite.

VII. 7–11. The Value of Prayer.—An interpolation with no relation to the context. It is more suitably placed in Lk. 11⁹–¹³. The emphasis is on asking, seeking, knocking; no conditions or limitations are mentioned, but we must perforce understand "Not as I will, but as Thou wilt." **Seek** and **knock** are pictorial illustrations of ask. Fish was, next to bread, the commonest article of diet round the Sea of Galilee; stones on the shore and perhaps water-snakes suggested themselves as substitutes. Lk. adds an egg and a scorpion. **Evil** is not simply stingy (623*); compared with God even loving parents are evil.—**good things** is more original than Lk.'s "Holy Spirit"; it includes material as well as spiritual blessings.

VII. 12. The Golden Rule (Lk. 6³¹).—In negative forms the thought is widely found both in Jewish and pagan sources. This loftier positive form we owe to Jesus. It is the quintessence of the "fulfilment" referred to in 5¹⁷ and taught in the Sermon. Mt. uses it to round off the teaching, the remainder of the chapter being an epilogue.

VII. 13–27. Epilogue.—Warnings and exhortations close the new Law, like the old (Ex. 23²off.).

VII. 13f. The Two Gates and the Two Ways (Lk. 13²⁴).—The picture is based on Jer. 21⁸, and is frequent in Jewish and Christian writings. The way that leads to life (the word has eschatological force) involves difficulties and tribulation (*cf.* Ac. 14²²).

VII. 15–23. Fruit the Test of Profession.—Lk. (6⁴³–⁴⁶, 13²⁶f.) speaks of unreality in personal religion; Mt. adapts the sayings into condemnations of false teachers, who profess to guide men to the way of life, while really seeking their own advantage. For the proper sequence of thought read 19 (*cf.* 3¹⁰) after 20.—**A corrupt tree**: the papyri show that the word *corrupt* does not here mean "rotten," but "unfit for food" (*cf.* Mt. 13⁴⁸, of fish). Evil *as such* cannot produce good (*cf.* 12³³ff.). As a complement to this teaching we have instances where Jesus saw the possibilities of good in bad people.—**22f.** The character of the false teachers will be revealed in "that (last) day," a common eschatological expression. "Attempts to exorcise by the name of Jesus were both successful (Mk. 9³⁸) and unsuccessful (Ac. 19¹³–¹⁶); unworthy Christians 'preached Christ' (Phil. 1¹⁷), and miracles of healing were probably wrought by the use of His name as a magical formula" (M'Neile).

VII. 24–27. The Two Foundations (Lk. 6⁴⁷–⁴⁹).—The conclusion of the whole sermon. Note the greatness of the claim involved in **these words of mine**. For the rock as a metaphor for a state of safety *cf.* Ps. 27⁵; there is no connexion with 16¹⁸. The differences between Mt. and Lk. point to the free use of the parable by preachers in the early Church.

VII. 28f. An Editorial Note (*cf.* 11¹, 13⁵³, 19¹, 26¹).—Mt. uses this transition formula after each of his five chief groups of Christ's sayings. The **multitudes** were not present during the Sermon (5¹), but Mt. here returns to the Marcan narrative (Mk. 1²²).

"The teaching brought together by Mt. in the Sermon on the Mount provides for all the spiritual needs of men, covering the whole domain of the inner life. It regulates conduct for all time by asserting principles of universal application. It fixes the highest standards, and at the same time supplies the strongest motives for endeavouring to reach them. Love your enemies, —that ye may be the sons of your Father who is in heaven. Ye shall be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.

"If it be objected that an attempt to reconstruct society on lines such as these is chimerical and as a matter of fact has never been realised, the answer is that the character which Christ sets before men and which He Himself exhibited is one which with us can

have only its beginnings in the present world. He lived and would have men live, for the eternal and the infinite. The Kingdom of Heaven within us must ever be an ideal which is above our present efforts, pointing us to another state where it will have its perfect work. Meanwhile it is not inoperative or destitute of results. If the world has not yet been transfigured by the teaching of our Lord, no other teaching has done so much to make its crooked ways straight and its rough places plain. If the religion of Jesus Christ has not yet produced a perfect saint, it has planted in the lives of tens of thousands a principle which makes for perfection and will attain it, as our faith assures us, in the day when His Kingdom is fully realised."—Swete, *Studies in the Teaching of Our Lord*, p. 185f. *Cf.* Rufus Jones, *The Inner Life*.

VIII. 1–4. The Healing of a Leper (Mk. 140–45*, Lk. 512–16).—Mt. omits the healing of the demoniac (Mk. 123–28), and gives this incident perhaps in illustration of Christ's attitude to the Law. Love is greater than Law, therefore Jesus touches the polluted man; yet the Law should be observed, and the man must go to the priest and witness that Jesus was not hostile to it. Apart from the connecting link in 1, Mt. abbreviates. Note especially the omission of Jesus "being moved with compassion," and of the patient's disobedience (Mk. 145). The multitudes of 1 seem to have disappeared in 4.

VIII. 5–13. The Centurion's Servant (Lk. 71–10, 1328f.; *cf.* Jn. 446–53).—Lk.'s version immediately follows his account of the sermon; probably it was so in Q. Mt. (*cf.* Jn.) may have understood *pais* to mean "son," not "servant." Note his use of *doulos* ("slave," *cf. mg.*) in 9.

7*b* should be read as a question. The centurion in reply admits his unworthiness.—**9. I also:** he does not imply that Jesus was subject to authority; he says, "Even I (an officer of comparatively low grade) know what it is to be obeyed."—**10.** Note Mt.'s rare admission that Jesus marvelled. The incident is a companion picture to that of the Canaanite woman (1528). These Gentiles believed that the cure could be wrought from a distance, a faith surpassing that of any Jew.—**11f.** Note the different, though hardly more suitable, context in Lk. A banquet was a usual feature in Jewish pictures of the Messianic age.—**sons of the kingdom:** here Jews who trust simply in their Judaism, in contrast with those who were spiritually fit, whether Jews or Gentiles.—**the outer darkness** (2213, 2530) is the antithesis of the banqueting hall; it is an apocalyptic phrase for the state of final punishment. So is the weeping, etc. (Enoch 1083,5; *cf.* Rev. 1610).—**13.** Either the word of Jesus wrought the cure, or He knew and said that God would heal the patient because of the centurion's faith.

VIII. 14f. Simon's Wife's Mother (Mk. 129–31*, Lk. 438f.).—Mt. abbreviates and heightens Mk.—the cure is wrought by a mere touch.

VIII. 16f. The Sunset Healings (Mk. 132–34*, Lk. 440f.).—Not "*ere* the sun was set," as the well-known hymn has it, but Mt. omits this note as he does not say it was on the Sabbath. Note his transposition of Mk.'s *all* brought and *many* healed; he will not admit the possibility that any were uncured. The unqualified mention of "spirits" in this connexion is unique in NT.—**with a word:** *cf.* 8. For Mt.'s omission of Mk. 134*b*, *cf.* 1215 (=Mk. 311).—**17** is an adaptation of Is. 534; as Mt. uses it, there is "no reference to the propitiatory value of the Servant's work," "no bearing on the doctrine of the Atonement" (M'Neile).

VIII. 18–22. Aspirants to Discipleship (Lk. 957–60).—Mt. here breaks away from Mk.'s order, omitting Mk. 135–38, and giving as the sequel to Jesus' first stay at Capernaum what Mk. (435–520) makes the sequel to the second stay. Mk. 2–434 (following on the first stay) is given by Mt. in chs. 9, 11f. Where Mk. (435) and Lk. (822) have an invitation, Mt. (18) has a command. Lk.'s account of (three) would-be followers occurs on the last journey to Jerusalem; Mt. records them thus early as illustrating cases of unworthy discipleship. The scribe (? already a disciple, *cf.* 21) wishes to go with Jesus, not necessarily for good, but "wherever you are (now) going"; Jesus replies that He is not going home, for He has none. It is possible that Jesus is referring rather to His being outcast from the religious circles of His land (Bruce, *With Open Face*, p. 218). Certainly there seems to be a contrast between the easy, care-free life of the lower creation, and the dignity, with its entailed hardship, of the lot of man (*cf.* Ps. 556f., Jer. 92). This is the first place where Mt. has the phrase "Son of Man," and it may carry its simple human rather than its Messianic connotation. The second disciple (Philip, according to Clement of Alexandria) does not offer himself without a call, but delays in accepting a call already given. There is this likeness between the two—one is reluctant to renounce his house, the other his relatives (*cf.* 1929). "Bury my father" need not mean that the parent was lying dead, but probably that the disciple did not feel justified in leaving home while the head of the house was still alive. In accord with Oriental feeling, he was not yet his own master. *Cf.* also Gen. 505f., Tob. 43, 614. The answer of Jesus is cryptic; perhaps "the dead" are the spiritually dead, the other members of the family. Another reading of the Aramaic underlying the Gr. gives "leave the dead to the burier of the dead" (*cf.* Ezek. 3911–16).

VIII. 23–27. The Stilling of the Tempest (Mk. 436–41*, Lk. 823–25).—Mk.'s narrative is the fullest; note how both the others omit the reproach of Mk. 438. Mt. alone makes the disciples (some of them skilled boatmen) directly invoke the help of their passenger; also he gives them credit for a little faith (26). In 27, according to him it is not the disciples that discover who the Lord is, but "people" (*cf.* "(the) men" in 1613). There is more in the incident than a nature miracle; the wind and sea are regarded as demoniacally possessed, and the "wonder" is a "sign" that the powers of evil are being subdued and that the kingdom is at hand (1228).

VIII. 28–34. The Gerasene Demoniacs (Mk. 51–20*, Lk. 826–39).—Mt. is considerably shorter than Mk.; note his summary of Mk. 53–5 and omission of Mk. 58–10, 18–20. He frequently omits questions put by Jesus. His statement that there were two maniacs may be compensation for the previous omission (1–4*), but perhaps Mk. and Lk. are thinking of the more important of the two. According to Dalman, "Son of God" (29) was not a common Messianic title but was substituted for one in the case of demons by the evangelists. The spirits feel that the hour of their doom, the Judgment-day (Eth. Enoch, 15f.; Jubilees, 10 8f.), has struck too soon. The rush and total disappearance of the frightened swine would be a great factor in establishing the patient's peace of mind. What had troubled him was now gone for ever.

IX. 1–8. The Healing of the Paralytic (Mk 21–12*, Lk. 517–26).—Mt. here resumes Mk.'s order; Mt. 818*. As usual he condenses the narrative, saying nothing of the dense crowd round the house or of the device

employed by the sick man's friends. For faith winning blessings for others *cf.* 813, Jas. 515. The beginnings of official opposition are seen in 3, they culminate in 1214–24. The question in 5 implies that it is equally difficult to say effectually either "thy sins are forgiven" or "arise and walk" for suffering was universally held to be the sequence of sin (*cf.* Jn. 92), and the only possible proof of forgiveness would be a cure. It is quite permissible to take "Son of Man" in 6 as meaning "man," but human ability to forgive sins is delegated authority (8) rather than inherent power.

IX. 9–13. The Call of Matthew. Jesus Eats with Tax-collectors (Mk. 213–17*, Lk. 527–32).—We need not doubt the identification of Matthew (=gift of Yahweh) and Levi; Peter had a double Jewish name, Simon and Kephas. Lk. notes how this disciple "forsook all"; he could not return to his old calling, as a fisherman could. The meal was apparently in Jesus' house (*cf.* 13, "It is not my mission to *invite* the righteous); Capernaum was now "his own city" (1). "As a Physician, the Lord was bound to come into close contact with those who were sick, regardless of the contagious pollution which the Pharisees shunned." 13*a* (Hos. 66) is quoted again in 127; it hardly seems in place here (though "sacrifice" stands for ritual correctness generally), for Jesus had based His action on the ground of simple duty rather than mercy. The "righteous" and the "sinners" correspond to "the whole" and "the sick." Lk.'s addition, "to repentance," is an attempt to explain why the righteous were not called.

IX. 14–17. Fasting. The Old and the New (Mk. 218–22*, Lk. 533–39).—Mt. makes the disciples of John (who were more numerous and important for two or three centuries than is usually recognized; *cf.* p. 797) put the question. "Sons of the bride-chamber" means, by a common Heb idiom, wedding-guests; Jn. 329 has its root here. The "old garment" is the system deduced from the Law rather than the Law itself; there is no contradiction of 517. Lk. takes the patch from a new garment—a double disaster. Note the necessity of new forms (17) unless the new spirit is to be lost; yet Jesus leaves it to His Church to provide them. On fasting *cf.* 616–18.

IX. 18–26. Jairus' Daughter and the Woman with Hæmorrhage (Mk. 521–43*, Lk. 840–56).—Mt. records in nine verses what Mk. takes twenty-three to tell. He again forsakes Mk.'s order, postponing Mk. 223–434 till later (chs. 12, 10, 13). Despite his compression Mt. remarks that the woman (? Veronica) touched the sacred tassel (Nu. 1538) of Jesus' dress, and that the cure was immediate and permanent ("from that hour"). As with the paralytic (810), *faith* (not magic) expelled both the disease and the sin thought to be linked with it.

In the story of the ruler (*i.e.* supervisor of synagogue-worship; for other uses of the word see Lk. 141, 1818; Jn. 31; Ac. 45), Mt. alone mentions the flute-players among the crowd, which Jesus dismisses more authoritatively than in Mk. and Lk. Like Mk., Mt. takes Jesus' words, "not dead but sleepeth," as literally true; Lk. alone clearly indicates a raising from death. The messengers (Mk. 535), or Jairus himself (Mt. 918), were mistaken. 26 replaces the injunction to silence (*cf.* 30) in Mk. and Lk.; "that land" (*cf.* 31) is the district round Capernaum.

IX. 27–31. Two Blind Men Healed.—Mt. only; perhaps a doublet of 2029–34, with reminiscences (in 30f.) of Mk. 143–45. See M'Neile, 128f. "Son of David" first appears as a Messianic title in Ps. Sol. 1723, but becomes frequent after A.D. 100.

30. Jesus strictly charged them: the verb is that used in Mk. 143, 145, Jn. 1133, and connotes a rush of deep feeling.

IX. 32–34. A Dumb Demoniac Healed.—Mt. only (but *cf.* Lk. 1114); perhaps a doublet of 1222f.*

IX. 35. A summary of ministry (Mk. 66*b*) almost identical with 423. Mk. 61–6*a* is deferred to the end of Mt. 13.

IX. 36–X. 4. The Sending of the Twelve.—Jesus sees the people "distressed and scattered"—better, "mishandled and lying helpless"—utterly unprepared, through lack of spiritual guidance and succour, for the Advent of the Kingdom. It was the hour of opportunity, and if there were enough heralds of the Kingdom, the flock could be folded, the ripe harvest garnered (*cf.* Lk. 102—the charge to the Seventy; Jn. 435). He has already chosen twelve disciples (Mt. assumes Mk. 314), a number corresponding to that of the tribes of Israel (1928); now He endows them with authority like His own over demons and disease. On the names see Mk. 313ff.* and Swete *in loc.* Andrew and Philip are pure Gr. names; Simon, "the first," holds a prominent place in Mt.'s Jewish-Christian gospel. Mt. groups the twelve in pairs. The Alphæus who was father of James is not necessarily the same as the father of Levi (Mk. 214) or Matthew. Thaddæus is a better reading than Lebbæus (which is a gloss; it connotes "heart," while Thaddæus was thought to connote "breast"); in other lists he appears as "Judas (son) of James" (*cf.* Jn. 1422), which suggests that Thaddæus is a variant form of Judah or Judas. In 4 follow *mg.*; the evangelists, knowing that the "delivering up" (*paradidomi*) was part of God's plan, never use of Judas the verb that specifically denotes treachery (*prodidomi*).

X. 5–42. The Charge to the Twelve.—The section forms the second of five passages into which Mt. collected the sayings of Jesus. The Markan account (67–11) is followed by Lk. 91–5, but Lk. 102–6 (the Seventy) is from Q; Mt. 105–16 combines the two sources. The mission is limited to Jews, hardly, in view of 6, 23, to the Jews of Galilee. Lk. 10 omits the limitation; he wrote mainly for Gentiles. Indeed, when Mt. wrote, the limitation was obsolete. Yet it shows that Jesus came to realise the Jewish hope, and though Gentiles are not wholly barred from the Kingdom (811f.), they enter only as an appendage. Not yet is humanity welcomed without distinction. The Apostles preach the imminence of the Kingdom rather than repentance (Mk. 612, but *cf.* Mk. 115); Mt. (8) expands the phrase "heal the sick," and enjoins gratuitous service. "Get you no gold," etc. (9), means either "Do not acquire" (a repetition of the sense of 8) or, better, "Do not procure" as provision before starting, though Jesus would not expect them to make money by announcing the Kingdom. The staff and sandals permitted in Mk. are forbidden here. The Fathers got over the contradiction by making the forbidden stick an ordinary one, the permitted one an apostolic wand of office. All these injunctions, encouraging the trust enjoined in 625–33, powerfully influenced the first mediæval friars, especially Francis of Assisi.

X. 11–23. The apostles are to put up at the houses of the "worthy," *i.e.* such as are ready to welcome them and their message. The house in 13 is perhaps best understood of that at which they make the inquiry; the "peace" or salutation is thought of as an objective blessing settling upon the worthy household, but otherwise returning to the speakers in full measure for future use. **Or that city** (14) is the

confusing addition of some copyist. So is 15, a doublet of 1124 added here to harmonise with Lk. 1012. It is probable that Mt. originally mentioned simply the house (JThS 11558). 16 is preliminary to 17–22, verses which belong properly to the late apocalyptic discourse (ch. 24), where Mt. summarises them. They reflect a much later Christian experience than the charge to the apostles, and there is nothing in the message and work of 7f. to evoke persecution.

16*b*. Mt. only. The comparison with the serpent is limited to prudence; Jesus illustrated His injunction by His adroit replies to tricky and entrapping questions.—18 anticipates mission work no longer restricted to Israel.—19*b*, by the way, is not addressed to clergy and ministers who regularly address Christian congregations.—**20. the Spirit of your Father** is a unique expression; Jesus may have in mind Jl. 228f.—22. The **name** stood for the person (*cf.* Ac. 541, 916, 1526, 3 Jn. 7, and frequently in OT).—22*b*. **to the end** is sometimes taken with "shall be saved" (*i.e.* "shall have deliverance and victory"), in the sense of "finally," but is better as it stands with "endureth," meaning "continually," or "to the utmost extent of the persecution" (*cf.* Rev. 210).—**23.** This much-discussed verse is clearly no part of the charge to the Twelve, and no indication that Jesus expected the Parousia before the completion of their tour. It goes with the anachronistic 17–22, and Schweitzer (*Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimnis*, pp. 102ff., *cf.* pp. 15f.; *Quest*, p. 357) is off the mark. It is the community of Christians that is to flee during the portents that precede the end, and it is they who will not need to go beyond Palestine for refuge, because the Son of Man is at hand.

X. 24–39. Further Sayings on Persecution.—24, 25*a* would hardly be intelligible to the disciples till after 1621; 25*b* connects with 1222–32.—**Beelzebub:** Mk. 322**.—26–33. From Q (*cf.* Lk. 122–9); 26 is found in Mk. 422, though the application is different both there and also in Lk. 122. Here and in 27 the thought is that Jesus' influence in His lifetime is small compared with what it will be later. The destroyer in 28*b* is God (*cf.* Wisd. 1613, Jas. 412), though some argue from Lk. 125 *mg.* that it is the devil. But the usual exhortation is to fight the devil rather than to fear him.—**soul** (*psuche*) is variously used in the Synoptists; here it is all that makes up the real self. But they that "fear" the Lord are to "trust in the Lord" (Ps. 11511); hence 29–31. Even if they suffer martyrdom it will be with God's knowledge and loving care.—32f. sums up the thought of faithful endurance elaborated in 17–31.—**confess**, *i.e.* "acknowledge," "range oneself with." Some think Lk., "the Son of Man" (will confess him), preferable to Mt.'s "I." Mk. 838 seems to distinguish between Jesus and the Son of Man; Mt. by his pronoun declares them identical.—33 should be read not as a threat but a statement of inevitable law.

X. 34–36. Family Feuds (Lk. 1251–53), *cf.* 21 *supra*.—Family and social strife is a portent of the end in apocalyptic literature (*cf.* the mission of Elijah, Mal. 45f.). So the Rabbis interpreted Mi. 76. History, both in the early Church and on the modern mission field, has abundantly illustrated the sad truth of the saying.—36 was Jesus' own experience (Mk. 321). Lk. rightly interprets "sword" (34) as "division."

X. 37–39. Conditions of Discipleship.—Lk. 1425–27—to the crowds; Mk. 834—to crowd and disciples; Mt. to disciples. The highest good must be clung to at all costs, though cases of its conflict with the fifth commandment are happily comparatively rare (154–6**). If we keep 38 before 1621, there is here no prediction of Jesus' death, but a general and only too well understood reference to agony and shame.—39 is found, with slight modifications, in five other passages; here = Lk. 1733; Mt. 1625 = Mk. 835 = Lk. 924; and Jn. 1225.—**life** (*psuche*) is (*a*) physical, (*b*) the higher life of the soul; "lose" = be deprived of, "loseth" = sacrifices. "The 'finding' in the first clause is for the moment; in the second, for eternity."

X. 40–42. End of the Charge.—40 connects with 11–14 (*cf.* also 2535–40, and note 185). The second clause gives a Synoptic root for Jn. 1244, 1320, 2021, etc. (*cf.* Heb. 31, and Clem., *Cor.* 42f.).—41 (like 715ff.) seems to belong to a time when there was a definite class of Christian prophets.—**in the name of:** because he is; with no ulterior motive. Host and guest shall receive a like reward in the new age. *Cf.* 511f.* The "righteous" may be men and women of exemplary piety (520) or perhaps simply rank-and-file Christians, and so the same as the "little ones" (*cf.* 42 and 186* = Mk. 941). Mt. regards righteousness as the chief virtue, and Christians are the true fulfillers of the Law (Montefiore). But it is better to regard the "little ones" as a fourth class, "disciples."

On the whole section, 16–42, see Wellhausen, quoted by Montefiore, p. 588.

XI. 1 (contrast Mk. 612, Lk. 96) is, like 728, a formula rounding off the collection of sayings.

XI. 2–19. John the Baptist (Lk. 718–35).—In place of Mk.'s narrative of John, deferred to ch. 14, Mt. gives material from Q.

2–6. John's Perplexity.—It is a question whether doubt was supervening upon the Baptist's first faith, or whether 314f. is unhistorical, and John had all along been uncertain. In 2 Cod. Bezae reads "the words of Jesus." In 5 we have to decide whether Jesus refers the embassy to a series of physical miracles ending with the preaching of good tidings to the poor (Harnack, Plummer), or metaphorically (*cf.* Is. 355, 421, 611) to the spiritual work He was doing (Schmiedel, Loisy, Wellhausen). Jesus never paraded or made capital out of His miracles, and it would be like Him to meet John's question by emphasising His spiritual mission. Mt. and Lk., however, held that Jesus appealed to physical miracles, and in illustration of raising the dead (but see 924*) Mt. has given the case of Jairus' daughter from Mk. With Lk., Jairus' daughter comes later, so he inserts just before John's inquiry the story of the Nain widow's son. Jesus, while appropriating Is. 611–3 to Himself, and feeling sure that the rule of Satan was shaken, is unwilling as yet directly to declare Himself Messiah. It is for others to recognise the new light and truth; failing to do so, they increase their darkness and peril (6).

7–19. The Baptist and the Son of Man.—7–10 may be independent of and earlier than 2–6, and 11–14 in turn independent of 7–10, and dealing rather less favourably with John. In 7–10 Jesus declares that the popular enthusiasm for the Baptist, now perhaps waning, was right. He was no weakling, but a strong man; no silken courtier, but a stern ascetic, a prophet—true, but the outstanding prophet predicted by Malachi. Yet John belongs to the old era, and so falls into the background. "The humblest Christian is, as a Christian, more than the greatest Jew" (Montefiore; see also his fine passage on Jesus as marking an era, pp. 592–4). Between new and old there is a great gulf fixed. J. Weiss thinks, on the other hand, that John was not excluded from the new, and that Jesus meant, "he who is smaller is in the kingdom greater than he." This is not so tenable. Perhaps, as Oort

suggests, we have in 11–14 not so much Jesus' own view as that of the Church towards the end of the first century, reflected again in the Fourth Gospel, where, however, the Baptist himself is made to declare his inferiority.

7f. Perhaps we should assimilate these verses to 9, and read: "Why . . . wilderness? To see . . . wind?" "Why went ye out? To see . . . raiment?"

12. The following varied explanations have been offered: (*a*) Since John's day rash attempts have been made to speed the advent of the Kingdom, a reference to the Zealot propaganda. (*b*) The Kingdom suffers violence from men who steal it away, not to benefit by it, but to prevent believers from enjoying it (Loisy, *cf.* 23¹³). (*c*) The Kingdom came with Jesus, but was hindered by the malice of men. (Loisy suggests this as the point of view of early Christians arguing against the Jews, and especially against followers of John.) (*d*) The Kingdom suffers violence (ironical) because the wrong people are taking possession of it—chance victors, tax-gatherers and sinners (*cf.* 21²⁸⁻³²). (*e*) The Kingdom is violently treated in the persons of its messengers and heralds (so Dalman and Allen; *cf.* Lk. 7²⁹f.). The words are then an editorial paraphrase of a saying like Lk. 16¹⁶ inserted as a link between 7–11 and 16–19, in which John's career is viewed as closed.—**13** does not naturally follow 12, and should perhaps precede it as in Lk. 16¹⁶, which is easier but possibly less original. The OT pointed forward to John as the herald of the Messianic age; that period of preparation is now closed. 7–15 brings out the cleavage between the old and the new era. Christianity is severed from Judaism. John had great gifts, but he lacked the one thing needful; he never became a disciple of Jesus. Yet (16–19), as opposed to the Jews, John and Jesus stand together.

16–19. The contemporaries of Jesus are *like* children, not those who play at weddings and funerals, but their "fellows" who are unwilling to dance or to mourn, understanding neither John's asceticism and warnings, nor Jesus' good news and geniality. Jesus seems to be looking back on His mission, now drawing to an end.

19b. The verdict of the early Church. Wisdom, incarnate in Jesus, though doubted by many, has been proved right by its works. Lk. has "children" (so Syr. Sin. here, almost certainly correct), *i.e.* those who accepted Jesus; or, less probably, the Jews as the children of the Divine Wisdom (*cf.* 8¹², where they are called children of the Kingdom). In this case we must take "by" in the sense of "before" or "over against," or possibly "far from," *i.e.* amongst people remote from those who deemed themselves her children.

XI. 20–24. Woe to Unbelieving Cities (Lk. 10¹³⁻¹⁶; in the address to the Seventy). We should rather have expected to find this passage in Mt. 10. Some scholars regard the denunciation as the product of a later generation rather than an utterance of Jesus. The Galilean cities had been comparatively receptive of His teaching, and it is not like Him to make miracles the basis of faith. Note, too, the contrast with the gentleness of 29. Still the passage may well reflect the tragic sense of failure experienced by Jesus at the crisis of His work in Galilee, when He had to leave to save Himself from Herod (Lk. 13¹), and because of the changing attitude of the people. As He set out on the road to Phœnicia, the scene of His work lay spread out before Him. Here He had long laboured to lay the corner-stone of the new Kingdom, to banish pain and ignorance and sin, and to show men the way to the Father and to each other. The utterance is less a curse than a statement of fact put in the form of a dirge or lament, so characteristic of the East.

21. Chorazin: the modern Kerāzeh, two miles NNW. of Tell Hūm (p. 29). The Gospels do not mention any incident as taking place here. An ancient Christian tradition (Pseudo-Methodius) connects it with Antichrist (ET, 15524). Tyre and Sidon were often denounced by the OT prophets for their luxury and wickedness. So was Babylon, with which Capernaum (23) is implicitly compared. See Is. 13¹⁹f.

XI. 25–30. Jesus and His Mission.—25–27 treats of the relation between the Father and the Son (Lk. 10²¹f.), 28–30 of the yoke of Jesus (Mt. only). No stress can be laid on "at that time," though "these things" might mean the significance of the wonders which Chorazin and the other towns had not perceived, or (excluding 20–24) the methods of the Divine wisdom. Lk. makes the words refer to the theme of the preaching of the Seventy, and we may well place them after Mk. 6³¹. They mark that period in the ministry when the refusal of the religious teachers of Israel to accept Christ's teaching became unmistakably clear. "Answered and said" is merely an OT idiom. Jesus is thankful, not that the "wise and prudent" (Is. 29¹⁴, 1 Cor. 1¹⁹⁻²⁸) are blind, but that the poor and simple see. After "Even so" (26) supply "I thank thee." It is possible that the Aramaic word "Abba," which lies behind "father" in 27, should be taken as a vocative.

"All is now revealed to me, O Father,
And no one knows Thee, O Father, except Thy Son;
No one knows Thy Son, O Father, but Thou,
And those to whom the Son reveals Himself."

This would preserve the same type of prayer as is found in the previous stanza. The passage furnishes a strong link between the Synoptic Gospels and the Fourth Gospel, where the peculiar gift of Christ is the knowledge of God and of Himself, *i.e.* eternal life (Jn. 17³).

27. There is no vital difference between the words for "know" used by Mt. (*epiginōskei*) and Lk. (*ginōskei*). The prefix does not imply fuller knowledge, but knowledge directed to a particular point. There are several variant readings in the verse, *e.g.* "knew" for "knoweth," and the transposition of the two clauses about the Son knowing the Father and the Father the Son (see Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 272–310; also JThS, July 1909).—**all things:** a complete revelation.—**have been delivered:** not necessarily in a state of pre-existence. The verb implies the communication of a mystery. M'Neile's additional note should be studied. He paraphrases the passage thus: "I thank Thee, O Father, that it was Thy good pleasure to reveal these things to babes through My teaching. I alone can do it because the whole truth has been entrusted to Me. None except Thee could know My Sonship so as to reveal it to Me; and none except Myself, the Son, could know Thee, the Father. Thus I can reveal both truths to whomsoever I will."

28–30. The passage shows the influence of Ecclus. 51²³ff. and Jer. 6¹⁶. It need not have been originally connected with 25–27, but it forms a happy prelude to 12¹–¹³. The "weary and heavy laden" are those who toil under the demands of the Law and its Rabbinical amplifications. Jesus offers them rest or refreshment; His demands are few and easy—all He

asks is trust and love. The yoke is a common figure in Jewish literature, *e.g.* "the yoke of the Law" (*cf.* Ac. 15^{10}), "the yoke of the Kingdom," "the yoke of the commandments." Jesus goes on to say that His desire is to help and save; He is "meek," *i.e.* not overbearing like the Scribes, and gentle (*cf.* 2 Cor. 10^{1}, and C. H. Robinson, *Studies in the Character of Christ*, i.).—**your souls**=yourselves.—The gentleness of Jesus guarantees the gentleness of His yoke. For complementary truth see 5^{20}, 10^{38}, 16^{24}. The yoke of Jesus is an inspiration rather than a code, and it gives those who accept it vigour and buoyancy fully and joyfully to fulfil demands greater than any imposed by the Jewish Law.

Montefiore and Loisy, like other scholars, notably Pfleiderer, contest the genuineness of 25–30. Harnack (*Sayings of Jesus*, Excursus I) stoutly defends the whole passage. [The discussion has recently passed into a new stage with the investigation devoted to the passage by Norden in his *Agnostos Theos* (1913), pp. 277–308, 394–396 (see also Bacon's article in the *Harvard Theological Review* for Oct. 1915).—A. S. P.]

XII. Mt. here picks up the Marcan thread dropped at 9^{17}. He uses the Sabbath question as part of a group of material dealing with Pharisaic hostility to Jesus.

XII. 1–8. Sabbath Observance (Mk. 2$^{23–28}$*, Lk. 6$^{1–5}$).—The incident shows that the disciples were learning their Master's teaching. Dt. 23^{25} allowed the practice, but the Rabbinical objection to it on the Sabbath was that it was reaping. The variations from Mk. are not important, except the omission of the mistaken reference to Abiathar, and the addition of 5–7 as a further and stronger historic exception. Various kinds of Sabbath work were not only permitted but commanded to the priests. 6f. perhaps belonged originally to another occasion. It reminds us of Jn. 7^{23}, and here prepares the way for Mt.'s Messianic use of "Son of Man" in 8, a use which does away with Mk. 2^{27}.

XII. 9–14. The Sabbath Healing which Determined Pharisaic Hostility (Mk. 3$^{1–6}$*, Lk. 6$^{6–11}$).—Mt. makes the Pharisees utter their question, and Jesus to reply, in words found in another connexion in Lk. (14^{5}). 12*a* is peculiar to Mt.; 12*b* elevates and broadens the Pharisees' question in 10. We may note that the Rabbis allowed that "every case where life is in jeopardy supersedes the Sabbath," and that under certain conditions animals might be rescued on the Sabbath and on festivals.

XII. 15–21. Miracles of Healing (Mk. 3$^{7–12}$*, Lk. 6$^{17–19}$).—Mt. first condenses five verses of Mk. into one (the compression makes Jesus heal all who followed Him), and, fixing attention on Jesus' avoidance of publicity (8^{4}*), expands one verse of Mk. into six by a quotation (Is. 42$^{1–4}$) from his handbook of Messianic testimonies (12^{2}*). This identification of the Servant of Yahweh with the Messiah (as portrayed *e.g.* in Is. 11) is found in the Targum. The preaching of "judgment" (18) and "hope" (21) to the Gentiles was not part of Jesus' work as He conceived it (*cf.* 15^{24}, 28^{19}). 19 is the link with the narrative—Jesus avoids strife with the Pharisees by going away, and advertisement by His prohibition. With 20 *cf.* 11^{30}; "the crushed reed and the smouldering wick are those who are morally all but powerless."—**unto victory:** Hab. 1^{4} (*mg.*) has here influenced Mt.'s quotation; it is essential for him to predict the triumph of the Messianic characteristics he has ascribed to Jesus.

XII. 22–45. Jesus' Answer to the Verdict of the Jerusalem Scribes, and the Intervention of His Family (Mk. 3$^{20–35}$*, Lk. 11$^{14–23,29–32}$, 12^{10}, 8$^{19–21}$).—For the painful statement in Mk. 3^{20}f. Mt. (like Lk.) substitutes the healing of a blind and dumb man probably a second (compressed) use of 9$^{27–31}$ and 32–34. The word for "were amazed" is an adaptation of the word for "is beside himself" in Mk. To Mk.'s account of Satan "divided against Satan" Mt. adds 27f., probably from Q, which Lk. also draws on at this point. The verses form an additional line of defence—"if your own exorcists are not assisted by Beelzebub, they condemn your condemnation of me." The only alternative is that (they—and) I work by the finger (Mt., in view of 31, "spirit") of God, His power is besting that of Satan, and His Kingdom is at hand. Or perhaps 27 and 28 are independent of each other, and were already interpolated in Q when Mt. and Lk. used it. Mt. (like Lk.) also adds 30—neutrality towards Jesus is impossible (*cf.* Lk. 2^{34}f.). This is a test for men to use upon themselves. For the inverted form of the saying see Mk. 9^{40}=Lk. 9^{50} (addressed to disciples about outsiders). In 31f. Mt. abbreviates and duplicates Mk.'s single statement; Lk. (12^{10}) takes Mt.'s second half. "Son of man" in 32 probably means "man." Of the four forms in which we have the saying that in Lk. seems most trustworthy. The contrast is between slandering men and slandering the Spirit of God. Jesus is speaking as a Jew to Jews in language based on OT (Nu. 15^{30}f., 1 S. 3^{13} *mg.*, Is. 22^{14}), and current in His day; He simply means that blasphemy against the Divine Spirit, by whose power He worked, was an infinitely more serious matter than slandering one's fellow-men, bad though that be. Then follow some sayings on the importance of words (*cf.* Lk. 6$^{43–45}$). 33 is a less original form of 7^{16}*a*, 17f.* Between "fruit" and "good" we should supply "will be"; similarly between "fruit" and "corrupt." 34 brings Jesus close to the severity of John the Baptist (3^{7}); *cf.* also Jas. 3^{11}f. Not only "evil" words but "idle" words, words that are not meant to effect anything, will come up for judgment. 37 was perhaps a current proverb.

25. Kingdom—city—house: Mt. alone gives this triad. "House" in all three evangelists may have its Aramaic meaning of a province or district.—**28. kingdom of God:** *cf.* 21^{31,43}*. Perhaps Mt. only used his usual "kingdom of heaven," where the sense is clearly eschatological.—**29. the strong man:** Satan.—**his goods:** the men in his power who are "spoiled" or carried off by the stronger than the strong.

XII. 38–42. The Request for a Sign Refused (Lk. 11$^{29–32}$. From Q. *Cf.* Mk. 8^{11}f.*=Mt. 16^{1,2a,4}).—Mt. uses the incident here as an additional illustration of the hostility between the Pharisees and Jesus. They ask for some more authentic and unique attestation of His claim than a miracle of healing or an everyday exorcism. But to a people that has been God's unfaithful bride no sign shall be given but that of Jonah. As he, coming from a foreign land, appeared in Nineveh preaching doom, so has the Son of Man arrived in Israel proclaiming judgment. Lk. 11^{30} is much to be preferred to Mt. 12^{40}, which is an obvious gloss (*cf.* its omission in 16^{4}), and one that enshrines an inaccurate prediction. "The heart of the earth" is Hades. In 41f. read "shall stand up in judgment" (omitting "the"), *i.e.* "shall accuse." Jonah was a prophet, Jesus the consummation of prophecy; Solomon a wise man, Jesus Wisdom itself (11^{19b}, 27).

XII. 43–50. The connexion of 43 is with 30, as is shown by Lk.; neutrality in the spiritual life cannot last. The point of the illustration is that the Jews had

felt the influence of John and Jesus, but were in danger of relapsing into a worse state than ever, if they did not submit themselves entirely to that coming of the Holy Spirit which was the proper continuation of the work begun by the two preachers.—**44. empty:** *i.e.* free from lumber and rubbish; **garnished:** either furnished or beautified.—**46–50:** *cf.* Mk. 331–35*. For the "brethren of Jesus" *cf.* 125*. By changing Mk.'s "God" into "my Father which is in heaven," Mt. rather pointedly limits Jesus' earthly spiritual relation to brothers, sisters, and mothers. 47 is not found in the best texts. Lk. (819–21) puts the incident *after* the Parable of the Sower.

XIII. Teaching by Parables (Mk. 41–34*; also *cf.* p. 659).—This chapter forms Mt.'s third group of collected sayings; it includes seven parables with some explanation.

1–9. Parable of the Sower (Mk. 41–9*, Lk. 84–8).

10–15. The Use of Parables (Mk. 410–12*, Lk. 89f.).

18–23. Explanation of the Parable of the Sower (Mk. 413–20*, Lk. 811–15).

Little need be added to what is said on p. 686. The parable no doubt reflects the experience of Jesus. Like the sower He, in His work of preparing the people for the Kingdom, encounters difficulties of different kinds and partial failure. Much of His preaching has been thrown away. Yet He is not daunted; the reward is sure. When the Kingdom comes, the work will be justified and its disappointments forgotten. These ideas are further illustrated by the other parables of the chapter.

Note that Mt. somewhat modifies the hard saying of Mk. 411f. Jesus uses parables not to blind the Jews, but, since they have no capacity for Divine truth, to leave them in the dark, while the disciples who have faith (12) grasp the inner meaning.

10. mysteries: Mt. prefers plurals. Jewish apocalyptic literature often speaks of certain eschatological ideas as mysteries or secrets revealed to the elect. *Cf.* Eph. 19*.—**12.** = Mk. 425.—**16f.,** not in Mk., is in a better context in Lk. 1023f. In Mk. the disciples ask the meaning of the parables and are reproved, in Mt. they ask why parables are used and are congratulated.

XIII. 24–30, 36–43. The Wheat and the Tares.—Mt. only. The parable is a substitute for rather than an adaptation of Mk. 426–29*. We need not deny its genuineness on the plea that the standpoint is that of the Church with its mixed elements. "The field is the world," not the Church. As in the parable of the seed growing secretly, the non-interference of man is illustrated. Only the great Assize can determine between good and bad. The genuineness of the explanation is more doubtful than in the case of the Sower, and may be an imitation of it. It is mechanical and conventionally apocalyptic.

31–35. The Mustard Seed and the Leaven (Mk. 430–34*, Lk. 1318–21).—The leaven (omitted from Mk.), usually an illustration of evil, is here a ferment of good (*cf.* "salt," 513), either the disciples or the Gospel—the doctrine of the Kingdom. The point of the quotation (Ps. 782; some MSS. curiously add Isaiah after "the prophet") in 35 is in the second clause—the Kingdom foreordained and predestined is now ushered in by Jesus.

36–43. See above.

XIII. 44–52. Further Parables of the Kingdom.—The treasure and the pearl (44–46) are one, and have one point—everything must be sacrificed for the highest good, the Kingdom. This urgent, intense wholeheartedness is characteristic of Jesus. The question of concealment, the conflict between individual salvation and social duty, is not to be pressed here. Yet note that, while one man attains the *summum bonum*, as it were, by accident, another does so by quest. For the pearl as a metaphor of spiritual treasure *cf.* 76, Rev. 2119–21, and the Syriac "Hymn of the Soul." The parable of the net is like that of the wheat and the tares, except that the sifting follows hard on the discovery. Not all who have heard the message of the Kingdom will be found worthy to enter it. The explanation follows the same line as that of the earlier parable. It is not altogether apposite, and is probably the evangelist's mechanical repetition of 40–42. In 51f. Jesus contrasts a Christian with a Jewish scribe. He who has been instructed in the truths of the Kingdom (or possibly "with a view to the Kingdom") can, like a good householder or steward, furnish from his ample store what is old (the essentials of the Law and the Prophets) and what is new (the teaching of Jesus and its development). He has an advantage over the earlier teacher, who was confined to the Torah. The verses form a general conclusion to the parables.

XIII. 53–58. Jesus Rejected at Nazareth (Mk. 61–6*, *cf.* Lk. 416–30).—Mt. has already used Mk. 435–41 and 5. Perhaps the original reading in 55 is neither "carpenter's son" nor "carpenter" (Mk.), but, as in the Sinaitic Syriac version, "Joseph's son." It is a nice question whether in 58 Mt. is simply abbreviating Mk. or deliberately altering what seemed a disparagement of Jesus' power, and making the absence of mighty works a punishment for unbelief.

XIV. 1–12. Herod and Jesus. The End of John the Baptist (Mk. 614–29*, Lk. 97–9, *cf.* Lk. 318–20).—Mt.'s narrative is much briefer than Mk.'s, and he goes astray. Thus in 5 he makes Herod himself (rather than Herodias) wish to kill John, though in 9 he is grieved at it. But he adds the information that the disciples of John told Jesus of their master's fate. He makes this the reason of Jesus' retirement, which in Mk. is due to the disciples' need of rest after their tour. Mt. is wrong, for the death of John had happened some time earlier, yet there is underlying truth, for Jesus Himself feared Herod. 5 (see above) may indeed originally have referred to Jesus (*cf.* Lk. 1331); it does not go well with 6–10.

XIV. 13–21. The Feeding of the Multitude (Mk. 635–44*, Lk. 910–17).—The account is somewhat shorter than in Mk. Having already (936) spoken of Jesus' compassion for people who were "as sheep not having a shepherd" (Mk. 634), Mt. here (14) makes Him heal the sick, which is somewhat out of place. He adds to the 5000 men, women and children.

XIV. 22–33. Jesus Walks on the Sea (Mk. 645–52*).—Mt. omits "to Bethsaida," seeing that the boat arrived at Gennesaret (34), and the remark that Jesus "would have passed by them." But he amplifies the story by the attempt of Peter to walk on the water. This incident, which has a close parallel in Buddhist legend, emphasizes the power of faith. It may reflect the later proud impulsiveness, fall, repentance, and restoration of the apostle. Loisy regards it as a piece of resurrection-legend, like the miraculous catch of fish in Lk. 51–11. Similarly he sees in the whole story a picture of the dismay of the disciples between the crucifixion and the Resurrection, or rather of the primitive Church after the Ascension, wearied and perplexed by difficulties while waiting for the Parousia. The Master's indifference is only apparent; He will surely come and bring succour and peace.

33. Contrast Mk. 652. The Messianic confession

given by Mt. detracts from the significance of the confession at Cæsarea Philippi (16f6).

XIV. 34–36. The Ministry of Healing Resumed (Mk. 653–56*, abbreviated in Mt.).—Jesus had not apparently visited Gennesaret before, but some of its people would have seen Him in Capernaum.

XV. 1–20. The Washing of Hands and the Traditions of the Elders (Mk. 71–23*).—Mt. is again briefer than Mk. He omits the parenthetical explanation Mk. 73f. and the technical term "Corban," turns the statement of Mk. 79 into a question (3), and puts the quotation from Isaiah as a climax after the "Corban" passage. He also substitutes "God" (4) for "Moses" (Mk. 710) to heighten the antithesis with "But *you* say" (5), and "mouth" (11,17f.) for "man" (Mk. 715,18,20), thus removing the ambiguity which was the ground of the subsequent explanation, and making the explanation tautologous. He abbreviates the list of evils (19), and omits the difficult phrase "making all meats clean" (Mk. 719). On the other hand he inserts 12–14, perhaps from Q (*cf.* Lk. 639).

In addition to what is said on the Corban question in the notes on Mk. 7, attention may be drawn to a suggestion by J. H. A. Hart in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July 1907. He takes Mk. 79 literally, not satirically: "ye do well to leave the commandment," etc. Jesus commends the Pharisees for insisting that, when a man has made a vow to God, he should pay it though his parents suffer. As for setting aside the command, He Himself did it, as in the Sermon on the Mount, and as the prophets and psalmists had set aside the whole system of sacrifices. Here the fifth commandment is set aside by Corban. A man could lay his conflict of duties before the scribes; some would take one view, some the other. Jesus allies Himself here with the stricter school. It was hard on the parents, and none knew this better than Jesus did. But He had vowed His life, and we remember His words about forsaking father and mother. There is evidence of tense emotion in the broken construction of Mk. 711.

13. The "plants" are the Pharisees. Jesus announces their ruin and that of their system and their followers. *Cf.* 310, Lk. 136–9, Jn. 151–8.

XV. 21–28. The Healing of the Greek Woman's Daughter (Mk. 724–30*).—Lk. may have thought the story unacceptable to his Gentile readers. Mt. adds the saying, "I was not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He makes the woman come out of the heathen territory, for Jesus could hardly go thither, much less work a miracle, after the prohibition to the disciples in 105. 23f. suggests that He desired, out of compassion, to overstep His Divinely imposed limit, but that He must abide within it. There is a struggle in His mind. Perhaps 26 is more accurate than Mk. 627, which implies that Gentiles shall be fed by-and-by. Jesus is not concerned about the future, and the word "first" would have little meaning for the woman, though much to one who knew the work of Paul. But does the diminutive (*kunaria*, "the little household dogs") point clearly to Gentiles? At any rate there is no contempt. Note that the woman knows Jesus as "Son of David" (*cf.* 927*, 1223).

XV. 29–31. Healings.—A general survey takes the place of Mk.'s (731–37) story of the cure of the deaf mute, perhaps because of the use by Jesus of material means and "groaning." Similarly the story of the blind man (Mk. 822–26) is omitted, though in compensation Mt. has given 927–33. It is curious that the sick were brought "up into the mountain."

XV. 32–39. The Second Feeding of the Multitude (Mk. 81–10*).—Mt. follows Mk. closely, but again adds women and children. "I would not send them away fasting" (32), according to Allen, "heightens the note of mastery and dignity of Christ's aims." Magadan (39) is as great a puzzle as Mk.'s Dalmanutha. Possibly Magdala, the reading of some MSS. here and of others in Mk., is meant.

XVI. 1–4. The Request for a Sign Refused (Mk. 811–13*, Lk. 1116,29f.).—For the mention of Sadducees *cf.* 6*. The saying about the weather (2*b*, 3) is wanting in some good MSS., and is perhaps an interpolation from Lk. 1254–56*. The "signs of the times" are regarded here as the miracles already wrought by Jesus. The sign of Jonah is repeated from 1238*.

XVI. 5–12. The Blindness of the Disciples Rebuked (Mk. 814–21*, Lk. 1153f., 121).—Note how Mt. avoids the idea that Jesus had forgotten the bread. The Sadducees are mentioned again in 6. The detached saying about leaven in Mk. 815 probably refers to plots of the Pharisees and Herod, but Mt. (12) interprets "leaven" as teaching, and so has to substitute "Sadducees" for "Herod," and carries the substitution back to 1. He makes Jesus read the disciples' thoughts (8) instead of simply overhearing their conversation (Mk.). Then, after giving Mk.'s statement that the disciples need never worry about a shortage of food, he adds words of Jesus that the point at issue is not food at all, but erroneous teaching. 11f. is an attempt to give Mk. 815 a context and explanation.

XVI. 13–28. The Great Confession and the First View of the Cross (Mk. 827–91*, Lk. 918–27).—Omitting the cure of the blind man (but *cf.* 927–33), Mt. passes to the significant episode of Cæsarea Philippi. 13–16=Mk. 827–29, but note the substitution (13) of "Son of Man" for "I," which gives the position away (especially if we read "I, the Son of Man"), and the addition of Jeremiah (14), and "the Son of the living God" (16). 17–19 is given by Mt. only. Peter is pronounced "blessed" as the recipient of a Divine revelation. (The evangelist forgets 1433. Jn. 141 equally destroys the significance of this scene.) To this unique communication Jesus Himself adds another (18f.): "Thou art Peter (Aram. *Kepha*, "a rock"), and on this rock I will build my ecclesia." "This rock" may be Peter (*cf.* Gal. 29, Eph. 220); if so, it is Peter personally, not officially as bishop of Rome; and in any case it would have been more natural to say "upon thee." It may be, as Augustine suggests, Jesus Himself. But it is most likely the truth which Peter had expressed; the foundation of the ecclesia is the Messiahship of Jesus. "Church" (ecclesia) is only found in the Gospels here and at 1817. In LXX it translates *qahal*, *i.e.* Israel as a congregation (*cf.* Ac. 738), and sometimes *'ēdhah*, a word of similar meaning used by the priestly writer (p. 129), though LXX mostly turns this by "synagogue." The Gr. meaning of the word is that of the whole body of citizens called out from their private affairs to legislate for the State (*cf.* Ac. 1932). Mt. is obliged to use it to denote the Christian community as separate from Jews.

Against this new community the gates of Hades shall not prevail. The two structures, as it were, the ecclesia and Hades, are ranged against each other. But the mention of the gates is significant. We may, of course, take "gates of Hades" as equivalent to Hades, and understand the expression of the powers of evil who dwell there. They and all that they imply, persecutions and temptations, shall not overcome the ecclesia. But Hades is usually regarded not as the

abode of evil spirits but as the place of the dead, and the "gates of Hades (Sheol)" in the OT is synonymous with "gates of death." Hence M'Neile sees here a prediction of the resurrection: the gates of Hades shall not prevail against the Messiah's ecclesia by keeping Him imprisoned (*cf.* 21, Ac. 224–31, Rev. 118). Loisy simply interprets it as "death prevails against all men, but shall have no power against the Church," without any specific reference to Jesus. Tatian's Diatessaron has "Blessed art thou, Simon, and the gate of Hades shall not prevail against thee; thou art Peter"—perhaps a promise that Peter should survive till the Parousia.

In Exp., June 1916 (=*Studia Sacra*, ch. iv.), Dr. Bernard advances a new theory. He explains the passage in the light of 724–27, and cogently argues that the Gr. word for "gates" is a mistranslation of an Aramaic word for "storms" or "floods." There are two such words, and they gave trouble to the scribes and translators of OT. Thus in Dan. 82, where AV and RV read "the river of Ulai," the Douay Version, following Vulg., reads "the gate of Ulai." If we read here "the floods of Hades," we have an easy and familiar metaphor for an incursion of infernal powers, which cannot, however, harm the Church built on a Rock.

The gift of the keys does not mark Peter out as doorkeeper of the Church (or of heaven), but as chief steward in the Kingdom, the *major-domo*. Their real holder is the Lord Himself (Rev. 37, *cf.* Is. 2222). The primacy of Peter here indicated makes 181 and 1927 rather difficult; considering this and the unusual use of "Kingdom of Heaven" as denoting the Church, we may well doubt the genuineness of the saying in 19*a*. The remainder of the verse gives the apostle legislative authority. He will be a scribe of the new age or order (*cf.* 1352), giving his decisions for binding (*i.e.* prohibiting) and loosing (*i.e.* permitting) after the fashion of an expert Rabbi. And his decisions will be ratified in heaven, *i.e.* by God. There is no question of absolution from sin here, and no necessary connexion with Jn. 2023. In 1818 this legislative authority is given to all the disciples, and that passage is probably the source of this one.

With 21 Mt. begins the second great division in his life of Jesus. The scene at Cæsarea Philippi is chronologically and theologically the most conspicuous milestone in the biography. As in Lk., "on the third day" replaces Mk.'s "after three days," though some early texts follow Mk. The change is scarcely due to the fact that the resurrection took place "on the third day" rather than "after three days," for the two phrases in Aramaic mean the same thing. Note the additions in 22f. Lk. omits this episode. The teaching on discipleship closely follows Mk. except in 27, where Mk. 838 has been in part anticipated by Mt. 1033, while Mk.'s phrase, "adulterous and sinful generation," is used in Mt. 1239=164*a*. 1038f. also runs parallel with 1624f. Jesus announces a judgment according to deeds (*cf.* Ps. 6213, Pr. 2412).

XVII. 1–13. The Transfiguration, and the Coming of Elijah (Mk. 92–13*, Lk. 928–36).—The narrative agrees closely with Mk., the chief difference being the appropriate addition of 7. The fear of the disciples occurs earlier in Mk., and is made the occasion of Peter's intrusion; in Lk. it is omitted.

10–13. The disciples are puzzled because Elijah has only just appeared—*after* the coming of the Messiah, whereas the scribes said he was to come *first*. The answer of Jesus is not very clear. We may take it thus: "(The scribes are right in saying that) Elijah comes and rectifies everything (11), and yet I tell you that he has already come, but so far from setting things right, he has not been recognised, and they have done to him what they pleased" (12). The scribes are thus confirmed and then corrected, as in the latter part of ch. 5. The Messiah Himself is similarly to suffer. The disciples prove more intelligent than usual (*cf.* 1612).

XVII. 14–21. Healing of the Demoniac Boy (Mk. 914–29*, Lk. 937–43).—The story is much shorter than in Mk. The reference to possession does not come till the end; in 15 the child is described as epileptic. Perhaps the story was told in Q. The father's appeal, "Lord, have mercy" (15), gives us the well-known "Kyrie eleison." Instead of prayer (the verse (21) in Mt. is spurious) and fasting (Mk. 929), Jesus here puts the emphasis on faith (*cf.* 2121, Mk. 1122f.). The Sinaitic Syriac has "your unfaith"; perhaps "little faith" is a softening of this.

XVII. 22f. Further Prediction of the Passion (Mk. 930–32*, Lk. 943–45).—Again the disciples understand; they are not so utterly obtuse as in Mk. and Lk.

XVII. 24–27. Temple Tribute.—Mt. only. The collectors of the half-shekel, expected from every Jew towards the maintenance of the Temple, and usually paid just before the Passover, ask Peter if his master fulfilled the obligation, and are told that He did. In conversation with Peter, Jesus apparently asserts that the Temple should be maintained by taxes on Gentiles, while Jews go free. But a better interpretation is that, as sons of the Messianic Kingdom, He and His followers are exempt from taxes. Yet, perhaps remembering the injunction in Ex. 3011–16, He bids Peter satisfy the demand. After the destruction of the Temple the half-shekel was added to the taxes imposed by Rome, and under Domitian (when Mt. was probably written) these taxes were strictly collected. J. Weiss therefore suggests that payment to the Romans is the real point of the incident. Christians were in natural doubt about paying God's half-shekel to the Emperor, but they are shown here that as Jesus, though free, conceded the matter to the Law, they might, to avoid offence, concede it to the heathen. "The principle of not giving needless offence is used with great power and insight by Paul" (Montefiore, p. 674).

Peter is told that by a little familiar work he can soon pay the tax. He has only to catch a fish; in (the sale of) it he will find enough for himself and Jesus. We are not told that Peter found a coin in the fish's mouth, and we have here the only half-made story of a miracle. It is not a question of whether Jesus *could* have brought about such a wonder so much as *would* He, a test which we may apply to other marvels. There would be no difficulty in finding the necessary half-crown; but, apart from that, He who settled the question in the Temptation could not have gone back on that decision in a paltry case like this.

XVIII. 1–20. A Conversation with the Twelve.—For 1–5, the question of precedence, *cf.* Mk. 933–37*, also Mt. 2026f., Mk. 1043f., Lk. 948, 2226. Mt. makes the disciples begin the discussion, but characteristically omits the derogatory intimation that they had been disputing. In his account Jesus does not embrace the child (*cf.* 1915, Mk. 1016), and the saying of Mk. 935 is omitted, or rather reserved till 2311. By way of compensation we have the vivid sayings of 3f., an anticipation of Mk. 1015, and perhaps more suitable in that context.

1. In that hour may be meant as a link with the preceding incident, which has given a prominence to

Peter.—**3f.** The point is not so much the humility of children as that the disciples are bidden to be "in spirit and in feeling what children are in reality and status, little ones" (Loisy). In 5 the child symbolises the unassuming character of the true disciple of Jesus.

Mt. omits the incident of "the exorcist who stood outside the apostolic succession" (Mk. 938–40; 41 is found at Mt. 1042), and passes on to the passage about hindrances or stumbling-blocks (6–10), for which *cf.* Mk. 942–48. "Little ones" in 6 and in 10 means believers, not children (*cf.* 1042). 7 is not found in Mk., but occurs in Lk. 171; it reflects Jesus' early experience of apostate followers. 8f. has already been met with (529) in the Sermon on the Mount; it breaks the connexion here, and is introduced to contrast offences against oneself with offences against others, a theme resumed in 10, which is peculiar to Mt. and leads up to the parable of the strayed sheep (better in Lk. 1512ff.), which Mt. uses to emphasize further the value set by God on the humble believer. A later hand tried to improve the connexion by inserting 11 from Lk. 1910.—**10.** A reference to the idea of guardian counterpart-angels (*cf.* Ac. 1215, Jubilees, 3517), or that the angels which represent and protect the unassuming disciple are the angels of the presence, who see God's face continually (*cf.* Tob. 1215, Lk. 119, also 1 K. 108, 2 K. 2519). See further JThS, iii. 514, and DCG, art. "Little Ones." [In addition to his article "It is his Angel," in JThS, J. H. Moulton has touched on the subject in his *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 324f. He says of Mt. 1810, Ac. 1215, "These two passages seem to be explicable by the presence of a belief in angels very much like the Fravashis on the side which was independent of ancestor-worship." (This side, it may be explained, was a belief in a kind of external soul.) He continues, "The same may be said of the 'princes' of the nations in Daniel and the Talmud, and the 'angels of the Churches' in Rev. 2–3. These Fravashis of communities answer very well to Avestan conceptions." He suspects foreign influence on the Biblical ideas. In his article "Fravashi" (ERE, vol. vi., p. 118), he says, "Mt. 1810 makes the 'angels' of the little ones dwell perpetually in the Presence. The declaration is completely interpreted if these are the heavenly counterparts, the Fravashis, of those who have not yet learned to sin; no other conception of angels suits it so well, since tutelary angels of children would have no special reason for precedence over those of adults. In Ac. 1215 'Peter's angel is clearly his double'—his counterpart which has taken his place while he still lives." See also Mt. 21–12*.—A. S. P.] —**12–14.** Montefiore points out the advance made by Jesus on Rabbinical religion; it is not enough to welcome and appreciate repentance when it occurs, one must seek out the sinner and get him to repent.

In 15–20 Mt. gives a short collection of ecclesiastical sayings not found in Mk. and only partially in Lk. (173), of which Mt. seems to be an expansion, just as Lk. 174 is greatly amplified in 21–35. A brother who goes astray (some MSS. omit "against thee" in 15) is to be reproved privately (*cf.* Lev. 1917, Test. Gad, 63); if this fails, a couple of witnesses are to be called in (Dt. 1915). If this in turn fails, the community or brotherhood is to be notified, and if the wrongdoer is still impenitent, he is to be excommunicated, and may be proceeded against in the public courts. 17 contrasts with 12ff. as with 21f., and it may be that here we have the practice of the early Church (with the problem of sin as affecting not only individuals and God, but also the brotherhood) not unnaturally seeking shelter under the Founder's (supposed) sanction.

In any case, "church" here is used in the local sense (=synagogue), not as in 1618*, though Wellhausen sees in both cases a reference to the mother-congregation of Jerusalem. The decisions of the community (not simply of its officials, one or more than one) as to what or who within it is tolerable, are final, because (19) God hears the petitions of even two believers who are in agreement, and this because (20) Jesus is with the two or three who meet (and pray) in His name. Jesus adopts the OT idea of the mystic presence of God in Israel (*cf.* Jl. 227, Mal. 316, and *Pirke Aboth*, 38, "Two that sit together and are occupied in the words of the Law have the Shekinah among them"; similarly, *Sayings of Jesus*, 5, "Wherever there are (two) they are not without God, and wherever there is one alone I say I am with him"). Still the connexion of 19 with 18 suggested by "on earth" and "in heaven" is not original; 19 is really an encouragement to prayer. Clement of Alexandria has the pretty fancy that the "two or three" are husband and wife and child, the ecclesia of the family.

XVIII. 21–35. The Duty of Forgiveness Illustrated by the Parable of the Ungrateful Servant.—With 21 *cf.* Lk. 174, which makes repentance a condition. The Rabbis taught (*Yoma*, 86*b*) that one must forgive one's "brother" (OT "neighbour") three times (*cf.* Amos 13,6,9). According to Jesus, men's forgiveness should be limitless, like that of His Father in heaven. The natural man longs for limitless revenge (Gen. 424), "the spiritual man's ambition is to exercise the privilege of boundless forgiveness." The parable that follows presents no difficulty. "Judgment is without mercy to him that hath showed no mercy" (Jas. 213). The Divine forgiveness is not so absolute as it seems: he who fails to observe its conditions loses even that which he seems to have. Note the vast discrepancy between the two sums, say two million pounds against ten, and *cf.* the beam and the splinter of 73. The great defaulter must be one of the king's ministers, through whose hands the royal taxes passed. For the king's order *cf.* Lev. 2539,47, 2 K. 41, and note the subsidiary lesson that the wrongdoer involves others in the consequences of his sin. Torture (34) had been introduced into Judæa by Herod, its mention here is a literary detail not to be pressed for interpretation.

XIX. 1–12. The Question of Divorce (Mk. 101–12*). —In 2 "healed" replaces Mk.'s "taught." Mt. makes Jesus give His own opinion, based on Gen., at once, and it is the Pharisees who bring the Deuteronomic modification into the debate.

3. for every cause: peculiar to Mt. Mk. makes the questions as to divorce absolute; Mt. gives it a Jewish and more likely form, having in mind the difference between the view of Shammai that a man could put his wife away for serious misconduct only, and that of Hillel that he could do so for any reason, *e.g.* a spoiled dinner or a physical defect. Jesus lifts the subject out of these quibbles to an ideal plane. Note how (8) He changes the Pharisees' word "Moses commanded" into "Moses suffered," *i.e.* allowed.— **9. except for fornication:** *i.e.* unchastity—peculiar to Mt. Perhaps (Allen, p. 203) the addition is due to a Jewish-Christian editor bringing Christ's teaching into line with that of the Rabbis (*cf.* 517–20), yet he may have been rightly interpreting it. The last clause of this verse takes the place of Mk. 1012 (*cf.* also Lk. 1618, Mt. 531f.*).—**10ff.** Peculiar to Mt. The disciples suggest that if the marriage tie is so strict as Jesus suggests, it had better not be formed. Jesus agrees, but says (Moffatt's tr.): "This truth is not practicable

for everyone, it is only for those who have the gift" (? of spiritual insight). He shifts the ground of the objection. This comparative depreciation of marriage, continued and unfolded in 12, stands in contrast with 1–9, which sanctifies it. We must probably interpret the praise of celibacy (there is no need to take the words "made themselves eunuchs" literally, as Origen did) in 12 as having an eschatological background. If the Kingdom was imminent, the best thing was to forego ordinary relationships and be ready for it. The saying and the fact that Jesus Himself was celibate have led to the unhappy view in some quarters that celibacy is always and everywhere the superior condition. *Cf.* 1 Cor. 7, Rev. 144. Montefiore refers to Baron von Hügel's *Mystic Element of Religion*, ii. 126–129. Jesus, like Paul, recognises the case of weaker brethren: "Let anyone practise it for whom it is practicable." Perhaps 12 is really a detached saying which Mt. here connects with the discussion on divorce by 10f., which may well have belonged originally to the more rigorous Marcan account.—**This saying** (11) may be the disciples' remark in 10, or Christ's teaching of the permanency of the marriage tie (4–8), or possibly His words in 12.

XIX. 13–15. Jesus Blesses the Children (Mk. 10 13–16*, Lk. 18 15–17).—Mt. omits "the more active human touches" given in Mk., that Jesus was angry with the disciples and that He puts His arms round the children. Mk. 10 15 has already been used in Mt. 18 3. The common notion that the children were brought by their mothers finds no support in any Gospel. It is at least as likely that the fathers brought them.

XIX. 16–30. The Great Refusal and the Obstacle of Riches (Mk. 10 17–31*, Lk. 18 18–30).—In 16f. note the changes made by Mt. to avoid the saying of Jesus, as given by Mk., that only God can be called good. In 18 Mt. makes the inquirer ask which commandments he is to keep, and substitutes in Jesus' reply "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" for "Do not defraud." If this is correct, and the inquirer had observed this injunction with the others, he lacked nothing. Perhaps we should (with Syr. Sin.) omit "What lack I yet?" It is Mt. who says the inquirer was a "young man" (20), Lk. that he was a "ruler"; Mt. does not care to tell us that "Jesus, looking upon him, loved him." The words "if thou wouldst be perfect" (Mt. only) may contain nothing more than is in Mk., a contrast between Christian perfection and the inadequacy of legal observances (Loisy), or there may be here (as in 12) the theory of a double morality, the higher perfection of the ascetic life (Holtzmann and J. Weiss; see Montefiore, p. 695). The qualification (or the wide saying) of Mk. 10 24 is omitted in Mt.; on the other hand, he gives us a new saying in 28 (*cf.* Lk. 22 28ff.), probably based on Q. There is no good reason for doubting its attribution to Jesus, although He was more prone to check than to encourage the materially Messianic ambitions of His disciples. The **regeneration** (Moffatt, "the new world") is a term used by Josephus to express the return from Babylon, and by Philo of the earth after the Deluge and after the coming destruction by fire.

30. Perhaps a continuation of the promise in 29, but more likely a rebuke to Peter. It refers to rank in the Kingdom, and has no bearing on the parable that follows

XX. 1–16. Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard.—It is possible (as it is necessary) to distinguish two interpretations of this splendid parable, (*a*) that intended by Jesus, (*b*) that suggested by the evangelist. To Mt. the vineyard is the Christian community; those who joined it early and those who join it late may expect the same reward. There will be no distinction between them at the Parousia. It is probable that we should omit 16 as well as the words "Many (the Jewish nation) are called, but few (the Christian community) chosen." But what Jesus meant to teach was that the eternal life is the result not of work but of grace; God is no mere timekeeper; the laws which govern admission to the Kingdom are not those which prevail in ordinary business transactions (*cf.* Is. 55 8f.). "A little in the eyes of God may be equivalent to a great deal in the eyes of man; from unequal opportunities God will not demand equal results, but to unequal results God may give equal rewards" (Montefiore, p. 700). The parable also reflects upon the Pharisaic attitude of the professedly godly towards the penitent among the poor and outcast, as in the closing moral of the Prodigal Son. We are not to infer (*a*) that those who had worked fewer hours did as much in them as those who had worked all day; (*b*) that the actual sinner gains the Kingdom; (*c*) that there are *no* tests of entrance to it; (*d*) that there is absolute equality in it. In Loisy's words, eternal life is not a reward "proportioned to the time a man has passed in the practice of religious rites or to the quantity of works of piety he has performed." But it is not quite true to say that "God gives as a grace to repentant sinners what He gives to the just as a remuneration." Eternal life is in no case simply the reward of a contract, a recompense for service undertaken and fulfilled. After all, it is only by God's grace that the just man gets it. Montefiore quotes a Talmudic saying: "Some enter the Kingdom in an hour, while others hardly reach it after a lifetime." For complementary teaching see 1 Cor. 3 12–15.

2. a penny: the denarius was worth about a franc (9½*d.*), not a bad day's wage in the East; five or six shillings would be a better translation for us.—**3. the third hour:** 9 A.M.—**13. Friend:** or "comrade," a kindly address to one who was in the wrong (*cf.* 22 12, 26 50).

On the whole subject of Jesus' teaching on "The Rewards of the Christian Life" see Kent, *Life and Teaching of Jesus*, 202ff. (*Cf.* Mt. 5 11f.*)

XX. 17–19. Third Prediction of the Passion (Mk. 10 32–34*, Lk. 18 31–34).—Mt. omits the description of the pilgrims; he turns Mk.'s "kill" into "crucify," and "after three days" into "on the third day" (*cf.* 16 21*, 17 23).

XX. 20–28. The Request of the Sons of Zebedee. The Christian Standard of Greatness (Mk. 10 35–45*, Lk. 22 24–27).—Mt. makes the mother of James and John ask the boon, but Jesus replies to them, not to her. For Mk.'s "glory" (37) he has "kingdom"; the meaning is the same. The references to baptism are omitted, and "my Father" is said to have prepared the places.

XX. 29–34. Two Blind Men Healed (Mk. 10 46–52*, Lk. 18 35–43).—Mt. gives Bartimæus (?) a companion (he is fond of doubling, *cf.* 8 28, 9 27). But he says Jesus "touched their eyes" (*cf.* Mk. 8 22–26). Like Mk., he places the incident as Jesus was leaving Jericho; contrast Lk.

XXI. 1–11. The Triumphal Entry (Mk. 11 1–11*, Lk. 19 23–38, Jn. 12 12–19).—Mt. curiously misrepresents the poetic description of one animal in Zech. 9 9 by making Jesus send for two, and even perhaps ride upon both, though "thereon" (7) may refer to the garments. The intimation to the owner that Jesus would speedily return the borrowed colt (Mk. 11 3) is changed to an assertion that the owner would at

once comply with the Master's demand (3). Mk.'s "layers of leaves" (or straw) now becomes "branches from the trees"; in Jn. these are further defined as palm branches, and are carried in the hands. For the scene, *cf.* 1 Mac. 1351. Mt., like Lk., regards "Hosanna" as a cry of acclamation, "Welcome!" or "Hail!" hence "to the son of David"; this is nearer the original meaning than Mk.'s "Hosanna in the highest." 10*b* and 11 are peculiar to Mt. "This is a prophet" does not involve any contradiction of 9; it is the obvious answer of the Galileans to the Jerusalem inquirers.

XXI. 12–17. The Cleansing of the Temple (Mk. 1115–19*, Lk. 1945–48, Jn. 213–16).—Mt. here omits the first part of Mk.'s divided account of the figtree, and links the Temple incident with the entry. It is the temple "of God" (12), and the phrase "for all nations" (13) is omitted, though, as Lk. also omits, this need not be pressed as an indication of Mt.'s exclusiveness.—**14–16.** Mt. only; he is fond of healings (*cf.* 1414, 192). The acclamation of the boys (not children) is an unexpected and agreeable touch, more than atoning for the omission of Mk. 1116 (*cf.* Lk. 1939f.). These ebullitions shocked the authorities much more than the trading had done. In his answer Jesus indirectly admits His claim to be the Messiah.

XXI. 18–22. The Cursing of the Fig Tree and the Power of Faith (Mk. 1112ff.,20–26*).—What Mk. has severed, Mt. joins together. The miracle is enhanced by happening at once. The special mention of Peter is strangely omitted. In both Gospels the tree is condemned for falsity, not fruitlessness, and symbolises Jerusalem rather than the nation. Besides Lk. 136–9* *cf.* Hos. 910. The lesson Jesus points is the efficacy of believing prayer. "This mountain" would be Olivet; apart from the familiar metaphor Jesus may have had Zech. 144 in mind. The saying is found in another form in 1720. Lk. (175f.) substitutes "this sycamine tree." Mk.'s addendum (1125) reminds us of 1 Cor. 132. The cursing of the fig tree gives no sanction for cursing our neighbour.

XXI. 23–27. The Question of Authority (Mk. 1127–33*, Lk. 201–8).—Mk. is no doubt right in connecting the priest's question with the purging of the Temple, though "these things" may include teaching (and healing). For "scribes and elders" Mt. has "elders of the people."—**By what authority:** lit. "by what kind of authority," *i.e.* human or Divine, ecclesiastical or civil.

XXI. 28–XXII. 14. A trilogy of parables, perhaps from Q, enforcing the implicit teaching of the figtree incident.

XXI. 28–32. The Parable of the Two Sons.—Mt. only. With 32 *cf.* Lk. 729f. Wellhausen points out that in Mt. the religious relationship between man and God is usually service, not sonship. God is King or householder; and though here He is Father, the sons are His servants. The parable is clear, its application (31f.) obvious and pointed. Yet early interpreters like Origen, Chrysostom, and Jerome took the two sons to be Jews (professing righteousness but rejecting Christ) and Gentiles (disobeying the Law but accepting Christ), and this led to the inverted order of the sons which we find in many texts (esp. B followed by WH and Moffatt). Another curious reading (D and Syr. Sin.), while supporting the more likely order, makes the priests and elders reply (31) "the last." If this is the correct reading, we must suppose that they deliberately gave an absurd answer, in order to spoil the argument, or (Merx, very unlikely) that the whole story is meant as "a deadly but most accurate satire on the morality of the Scribes who keep the letter and neglect the spirit" (Montefiore, p. 711). RV no doubt gives the right order, for if the first son had said "Yes" the second would not have been asked. And the reply of the second, "I, sir, (will go)" emphasizes both the contrast with the first and his submission to his father. The parable reminds us of the Prodigal Son and his brother, and is an effective illustration of 721 (*cf.* 233). Note the advance made by 32 on Mk. 217. "Came in the way of righteousness," *i.e.* he inaugurated the right way of life, salvation through repentance; or, "he stood for the manner of life which righteousness demands" (Allen).

XXI. 33–46. The Parable of the Vineyard (Mk. 121–12*, Lk. 209–18).—The chief peculiarities of Mt.'s version are (39) the slaying of the heir outside the vineyard (perhaps a recollection of Jesus suffering "without the gate"), (41) the opponents of Jesus pronouncing sentence on themselves and their class, and 43, where the word "nation" need not exclude Jews. Note that Mt. here (as in 1228) has "kingdom of God." His usual expression, "kingdom of heaven," denotes the eschatological realm to be inaugurated at the Second Advent. This Kingdom had never been in the possession of the Jews, and so could not be taken from them. Mt. therefore uses "kingdom of God" in the theocratic sense familiar to the Jews of the time. Its use here may have led to its introduction in 31.—**46.** *Cf.* 26, also 145, and in another light 2111.

XXII. 1–14. Parable(s) of the Messianic Banquet.—This section is difficult. 1–10 has many resemblances to, but is not identical with, Lk. 1416–24. The two passages should be carefully compared; Lk.'s form, but Mt.'s position, is perhaps the more original. 11–13 is found in Mt. only, and appears to belong to another parable, the beginning of which has been lost. The marriage feast of the king's son may be ultimately symbolic of the glad union of Christ and the Church (as in Rev. 197–9), though the bride does not here appear. The nation had received intimation of the event and been invited to the festivity by the prophets but had not responded (4). Now they hear from John the Baptist and Jesus that the day has come (5; *cf.* Pr. 91–6), but they still hold aloof, and even carry their indifference into murderous hostility (6). We are reminded throughout of the preceding parable of the wicked husbandmen (2133ff.). The outraged king executes a thorough vengeance; 7 seems to reflect the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. The story is improved if we excise 6f., and there is something to be said for Harnack's suggestion that these verses are fragments of yet another parable, which Lk. (1912,14,15*a*,27) seems also to have found and blended with his parable of the pounds. The point of the parable is that unworthy guests (like unworthy tenants, 2143) are rejected in favour of others. "Both bad and good" is perhaps a gloss inserted as a link with 11–13. The story ends, quite in the manner of Jesus, abruptly; we are left to imagine the rampant joy of the motley, happy crowd in the lighted room with its well-spread tables.

9. the partings of the highways: lit. the ends of the roads, *i.e.* where the streets lead out from the city into the country (Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 160).

11–14. The Wedding Garment.—One reason for separating these verses from 1–10 is that the hastily collected guests described in 10 could not suitably attire themselves. The lesson of the parable, which only needs an introduction similar to 2 to complete it, is like that of the tares and the net (ch. 13); the day of the Lord reveals the presence of good and bad

among the invited (? the Church), and they must be separated. The wedding garment represents that which fits men to share in the joys of the Kingdom (*cf.* 520), and the man without one stands for all who lack the essential equipment. If we may compare Rev. 198, this includes "righteous acts," or works, as well as faith. The servants who carry out the sentence remind us of the angels of the two parables just referred to. Wellhausen speaks of binding the feet of a guest expelled from court as an Arab custom. For the outer darkness, etc., *cf.* 812, 2530, p. 659.

14. called: invited; **chosen,** or "elect." All Israel had been regarded as God's elect, but later Jewish literature tended to confine the term to the pious or righteous in contrast to the rest of the nation. Human responsibility is thus implied as well as Divine selection. So here many Jews had received the call through Jesus, but few had become "elect" by accepting it. The saying has no clear reference to either of the two parables in 1–13; it is a word of the Master which Mt. wished to preserve. Perhaps the key to the whole passage is that Mt., starting with the parable of the wedding garment (2,11–13) has blended with it a version of the parable of the feast (Lk. 14) wrought up into an allegory.

XXII. 15–22. The Question of Tribute (Mk. 1213–17*, Lk. 2020–26).—Note how Mt. (15) changes Mk.'s indefinite subject into "the Pharisees," and so has to change Mk.'s object "the Pharisees" into "their disciples." Lk.'s expansions are interesting. Jesus points out that to pay tribute to Rome was not merely lawful, it was a moral obligation in return for the beneficent experiences of a stable government, it was not a gift (17) but the rendering (21) of a debt, and did not compete or clash with men's obligations to God. Mt. rounds off the incident with words used by Mk. (1212) after the parable of the vineyard.

XXII. 23–33. The Question of the Resurrection Life (Mk. 1218–27*, Lk. 2027–40).—Mt.'s changes are mostly in the direction of simplicity. As regards the question of the Sadducees, while Lev. 1816, 2021 forbid marriage with a dead brother's wife, Dt. 255–10 enjoins it in certain circumstances. The answer of Jesus (29ff.) to their attempt to argue against resurrection by an imaginary complication of this kind is twofold. First, they were deficient in knowledge, or they would have recognised that their Scriptures at least implicitly taught the doctrine; secondly, they were deficient in faith—the Divine power could solve all such problems. Rabbinical writings show that there was considerable difference of opinion among the Jews of Christ's day as to the scope of the Resurrection; the belief itself had become general (except for Sadducees and Samaritans) since the second century B.C., and was largely due to Persian influence. With Jesus' argument from Ex. 36 *cf.* the Rabbinic tract *Sanh.* 90*b*, where R. Jochanan deduces the perpetual life, and so the resurrection of Aaron, from Nu. 1828. The comparison of the risen life with angelic existence goes against the idea of reanimated bodies, and is in line with Paul's teaching (1 Cor. 15, 2 Cor. 5) of a spiritual body.

XXII. 34–40. The Greatest Commandment (Mk. 1228–34*, Lk. 1025–28).—Mt. puts the questioner, whom he calls a Pharisee, in much less favourable light than Mk. He "tempts" Jesus—to what is not clear (Lk.'s *ekpeirazōn,* "testing," is better)—and he omits the pleasing outcome of Jesus' answer recorded in Mk. 1232f. Mt. is leading up to the attack on the Pharisees in ch. 23. The lawyer's question is really, "What kind of commandment is great in the law?" He is seeking a principle of distinction, and Jesus gives him two by which to test particular precepts. In 37 Mt., like the original precept (Dt. 65), enumerates three powers with which God is to be loved (Mk. and Lk. have four), but not the right three—"heart and mind" represent the same Heb. term, and so "strength" is omitted.

XXII. 41–46. Is Messiah David's Son? (Mk. 12 35–37*, Lk. 2041–44).—Mt. brings the Pharisees into the incident, and makes the statement that Messiah is David's son their direct answer to a question by Jesus. Hence (though it is here Jesus who is the questioner), 46 (fear of further questions), which in Mk. comes after the Great Commandment and in Lk. after the Resurrection question. *Cf.* Ac. 234*.

XXIII. Condemnation of Scribes and Pharisees.—This long denunciation appears to have come from Q. Mk., reading it there, epitomised it in three verses (1238ff.), Lk. (1137–52) abbreviated by omitting points unsuited to Gentile readers. Mt. has probably expanded the original; there are passages which suggest the latter half of the first century rather than the time and thought of Jesus: *e.g.* 10 recalls the exhortations of Paul, and 15 reflects the activity of Judaisers in Paul's day, even if we do not follow Loisy in seeing in it (as in 9; *cf.* 1 Cor. 415) a veiled attack on Paul himself, who "compassed land and sea" to make converts. Though Lk. puts the arraignment at an earlier stage of the ministry and in Galilee, it is more accurately placed here. It would seem that Jesus now realised the impossibility of any agreement or reconciliation with the authoritative exponents and leaders of Judaism, and gave vent to His indignation at their shortcomings and wrongdoing. We have seen how Mt. has been preparing for this denouément. Montefiore thinks the greater portion of the diatribe "is unjustly ascribed to Jesus"; "in its unhistoric violence it overreaches itself" (*cf.* p. 666). The terms "scribe" and "Pharisee" are almost interchangeable. Most of the Scribes were Pharisees, though of course most of the Pharisees were not Scribes. The chapter falls into three parts: (1) 1–12, (2) 13–32, (3) 33–39.

XXIII. 1–12. Warnings to the People and the Disciples.

2f. Loisy regards this as an interpolation (by a Judaising redactor) out of harmony with the attack that follows. Holtzmann thinks it is Mt.'s, breathing special respect for the Law, like 517ff., but irreconcilable with 153–14. But, as Pfleiderer puts it, we must "admit that in the attitude of Jesus towards the Mosaic Law different expressions which cannot be reconciled stand side by side, the most natural explanation of which may be found in a change of mood." *Cf.* p. 667.—**sit:** lit. "sat." Plummer suggests that at the end of the verse we should supply "when they taught you to observe the Law."—**4.** By minute ordinances (*e.g.* rules for Sabbath keeping) they make life a burden for others, but give no help towards removing them or making them more tolerable.—**5. phylacteries** (lit. amulets, the Gk. translation of Heb. *tephillin,* lit. prayers), small square leather cases strapped on the forehead and the left arm (Dt 68*). Each contained four passages from the Law (Ex. 131–10, 11–16, Dt. 64–9, 1113–21), written on four strips and one strip of parchment respectively.—**borders:** the tassels of plaited or twisted threads on the four corners of the *simlah* or Jewish shawl-like upper garment. 8–12 seems specially addressed to the disciples. With 11f. *cf.* Mk. 935, 1044, Mt. 2026.

XXIII. 13–32. Seven Woes.—Seven is a sacred number and often used in Mt., as in OT (*cf.* especially

Is. 5) and Rev. "The first three treat of Pharisaic teaching, the last three of Pharisaic character, the fourth is transitional."—i.–iii. The Scribes refused to accept the preaching of Jesus, and deterred others from accepting it (13; *cf.* Lk. 1152). While they are thus eager to prevent Jews from becoming Christians, they are keen to make converts either from the Gentiles to Judaism, or, more probably, from Jews to Pharisaism, and such converts become excessively Pharisaical (15); they make casuistical and perverse distinctions with regard to oaths which subvert men's notions of truthfulness and honour (16–22).—iv. They are scrupulously careful about minute ceremonial detail, but lax in fundamental moralities (*cf.* Lk. 1142). Note that Jesus does not attack the Law.—v.–vi. While insisting on ritual cleanliness and the appearance of a good life, they are really given to extortion and avarice, like a cup or a tomb, fair on the outside, filthy within (25–28; *cf.* Lk. 1139–41,44).—vii. They pay great homage to the martyred prophets, but do their best to martyr John and Jesus, the prophets of their own day (29–36).

14. An interpolation from Mk. 1240.—**16. Ye blind guides:** in place of the usual "Scribes and Pharisees." Perhaps something about heaven and the throne (corresponding to 22) has been left out here.—**he is a debtor**=the oath is binding. With 16–22 *cf.* 533–37.—**23. anise:** better "dill"; **cummin** resembles caraway. The three little herbs were used in cookery and medicine.—**24. strain out,** not "at"; the reference is to the fear of swallowing an "unclean" insect in a drink. Note the humour of "swallow a camel" (Glover, *The Jesus of History*, p. 49.)—**25. full from:** *i.e.* as the result of avarice; the food and drink may be ceremonially clean while morally tainted because dishonestly obtained.—**27.** Tombs were whitewashed on the 15th of Adar (just before the Passover, the time when Jesus was speaking), that passers-by might not become polluted through inadvertently touching them.—**29.** The seventh woe is linked with the sixth by the word "sepulchres." The honour shown to the graves of the prophets is sheer hypocrisy, for the Pharisees are not only lineally but morally descended from the murderers.—**32. Fill up:** the variant "You will fill up," though it has good authority, is an attempt to soften the irony.

XXIII. 33–36. A Last Warning.—With 33 *cf.* the Baptist's words, 37.—**34.** Lk. 1249*.—**35. Abel:** Gen. 48.—**Zachariah:** 2 Ch. 2420ff. The reference is thus to all the martyrdoms recorded in the Heb. Scriptures, of which 2 Ch. is the last book. Zachariah was really the son of Jehoiada; Mt. (or a glossator) says "son of Barachiah" (Lk. omits) through confusing Zachariah with the prophet (Zech. 11). Josephus (*Wars*, IV, v. 4) tells of a Zachariah, son of Baruch, who was murdered in the Temple during the siege of Jerusalem for plotting to betray the city to Vespasian. But it is almost impossible to suppose that this is the incident here referred to. The murder of Zachariah, son of Jehoiada, lay heavy on the Jewish conscience; they regarded Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem as retribution for it (JThS, xiii. 408).

XXIII. 37–39. Lament over Jerusalem (Lk. 1334f.*). —37 may be part of the utterance ascribed by Jesus to the "Wisdom of God." If not, Jesus is referring not so much to His earlier visits to Jerusalem as to His desire (when in Galilee) to come to the mother city and fold its people into discipleship and protection in the coming judgment.—**38. your house:** *i.e.* the Temple, symbolising the city and the nation. The Divine Presence, rejected in Jesus, is deserting Israel. They will see Jesus next when He returns as the heavenly Messiah.

XXIV f. The Eschatological Discourse, and the Parables of Parousia (Mk. 13*, Lk. 215–36*, 1723–37).—Mt. follows Mk. fairly closely, but appends other eschatological sayings and illustrative parables (ch. 25). The discourse arises out of a prediction of the destruction of the Temple, and is spoken in Mt. not to four disciples but to the Twelve, who ask for "the sign of Thy coming (*i.e.* as Messiah, *parousia*), and of the end of the world (or age)." Jesus enumerates the events that must first occur (4–14). With 4–8 *cf.* Mk. 135–8. Most of Mk. 139–13, perhaps originally in Q, has been already used by Mt. in 1017–22, so here he summarises and varies, *e.g.* "hated of *the nations*," and the prediction of deterioration among the brethren themselves, 10ff.). The actual end is heralded by a season of dire distress (15–22; *cf.* Mk. 1314–20). "Let him that readeth" (15), *i.e.* the Book of Daniel. Note the addition of "the Sabbath" in 20; flight on such a day would be against the Law, or if one limited oneself to a "Sabbath day's journey," would hardly enable one to escape the enemy. Christians still observed the Sabbath when Mt. was written. 22*b* may mean that the presence of the chosen ones (Christians), who are to meet the Messiah, saves many others from death (*cf.* Gen. 1832). 26ff. is not in Mk., but *cf.* Lk. 1720–25; when the hour strikes, there will be no need to search for the Messiah. His presence will be as obvious as that of the lightning.—**28.** This proverb (*cf.* Job 3930), which only loosely fits the context, need not be forced into a picture of the elect gathering round their Lord, or of the Messiah and His angels swooping down for judgment on a wholly corrupt world. With 29ff. *cf.* Mk. 1324–27; notice Mt.'s "immediately" (29) and the addition in 30*ab*. The evangelist expects that the fall of Jerusalem will speedily be followed by the sign of the Son of Man, *i.e.* some unique portent which precedes His advent; or perhaps there is a reference to Dan. 713. The mourning of the tribes of the earth (Zech. 1212) resembles but is hardly due to Rev. 17. It is lacking in Syr. Sin., which in 30*c* has "Ye shall see"; if this was the original reading, it has been changed to "they" to suit the fact that disciples had passed away without seeing the sign. For the "trumpet" (31) *cf.* Is. 2713, Ps. Sol. 111–3; with 32–36 *cf.* Mk. 1328–32*. "Nor the Son" should probably (with good authority) be omitted from Mt.; we know how he usually treats statements of Mk. which humanise Christ. Lk. replaces the saying by an admonition against carelessness. Lk. (1726ff.) also gives, and more fully, the analogy with the Flood (37ff.), which is not found in Mk., and is from another source which regarded the Parousia as coming without signs and warnings.—**40f. taken:** *i.e.* for life; **left:** *i.e.* to destruction, or vice versa. For "in the field" Lk. (1734) has "on one bed."

XXIV. 42–XXV. 13. Abbreviating Mk. 1333–37, with its simile of the absent householder, into one verse (42; *cf.* Lk. 2136), Mt. inserts (*a*) the short simile of a householder off his guard, (*b*) the longer one describing the absent master and the careful and careless stewards (for these *cf.* Lk. 1239–48), (*c*) the parable of the bridesmaids (Mt. only). At 2513 he repeats Mk. 1333, the starting-point of his inserted material. Note that in (*a*) the Parousia is boldly likened to the coming of a thief (*cf.* 1 Th. 52), in (*b*) the lesson is taught that every disciple must play his part loyally in the brotherhood. In its present form the parable

may point to the contrast between faithful and heedless leaders of the early Church. "One looks after his flock, the other neglects and maltreats them, and seeks his own advantage" (Montefiore, p. 743).—**cut him asunder** (51) possibly means "discharge him from his service." See Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 165, and *cf.* EGT. In (*c*) the Parousia is compared to a wedding procession. The contrast between the ready and the unready is again brought out, and the moral is the same as in the preceding illustrations. "Be prepared for Messiah's advent; it is too late to repent after His arrival." This parable is a good instance of the futility of trying to squeeze a meaning out of every detail. Montefiore thinks the parable (which is not one of the best) is later than Jesus, and "grew up to explain the delay in the coming of the Kingdom, and to point out how the intervening time—of uncertain duration—should be spent."

XXV. 1. After "bridegroom" add "and the bride."

XXV. 14–30. The Parable of the Talents (*cf.* Lk. 19$^{11-27}$).—There is also a resemblance to Mk. 13$^{33-37}$, especially 34. Loisy thinks this parable had originally no reference to the Parousia and the Judgment, but was simply meant to show that reward in the Kingdom of Heaven is proportionate to merit. As it stands, however, it is akin to the preceding parable of the bridesmaids. Though the Parousia be long delayed (19) it will surely come, and those who wish to share its blessings must use the time of waiting wisely; they must employ the endowments God has given them in His service, which is that of their fellow-men. All parties will be the better for this—God, the individual, and the community. Gifts that are not employed are lost; capacity is extirpated by disuse. The real reward (despite 28, which really serves to bring in 29) is a place in the Kingdom to share in the Messianic joy (21), and as the two-talent man gets the same guerdon as the five-talent man, it is not a question of much or little, but of loyal purpose and honest endeavour.

> "In God's clear sight high work we do,
> If we but do our best."

The excuse of the one-talent man is part of the paraphernalia of the parable, not to be pressed as a conception of God. Even if the man held this mistaken notion, he should have acted more zealously and so won his master's praise. Possibly the parable originally ended with 29; the extra punishment of 30 seems needless. It may reflect the feeling of the early Church that something more than mere deprivation awaited the unprofitable servant.

XXV. 31–36. The Day of Judgment (Mt. only).—Though the nations are gathered before the Son of Man as judge, they pass into the background in the trial which is really that of the Christian Church, unless indeed the assumption is that all the nations have become Christian ere the Judgment. For the sheep and the goats *cf.* Ezek. 34$^{17ff.}$ Note the sudden transition to the title "King" (34). Have we here another adaptation to the Parousia of a parable in which originally the King was the central figure, or simply the development of a passage like Enoch 62f.? For the test *cf.* 104$^{off.}$, 185; it even goes beyond these sayings, for "in my name" is not here required. The act of love is all-sufficient, yet it is "in Christ's name," "for Christ's sake," that Christians have ever since so acted. For an OT parallel *cf.* Is. 587. The best rabbinical thought placed "performance of kindnesses" above mere almsgiving. The visiting of prisoners may point to a time when persecution had set in. From the principle of the worth of every human being as a brother of Jesus, a child of God, laid down in 40, have sprung all the "Gesta Christi," the achievements of Christianity in the sphere of philanthropy, education, the uplifting of the despised and downtrodden, the ingathering of the outcast. See further, p. 670.

32. The idea is that of a universal resurrection for judgment (*cf.* Dan. 12^{2}).—**34. prepared for you** implies foreknowledge and election (*cf.* 20^{23}), yet the following verses assume human responsibility.—**40.** This picture of the Messiah as full of human love and sympathy is unknown to the warrior-king of Jewish Apocalyptic.—**41.** The punishment of fire (*cf.* 3^{10}) is not prepared "for you," but for the wicked angels.

XXVI. 1–5. The Decision of the Chief Priests (Mk. 14$^{1f.*}$).—Mt. enlarges a simple statement of fact into a prediction by Jesus, and places the meeting of the conspirators in the house of Caiaphas. Lk. 22$^{1f.}$ is briefer even than Mk.

XXVI. 6–13. The Anointing of Jesus (Mk. 13^{3-9*}).—Mt. follows Mk. very closely, though abbreviating somewhat, *e.g.* in 7,9,11. It is the Fourth Gospel that assigns the anointing to Mary of Bethany and the remonstrance to Judas. In Mk. it is "some," in Mt. "the disciples," who grumble—thus there is a gradual defining of the culprit. In Mt. Jesus does not hear the murmuring, but "perceives" it.

XXVI. 14–16. The Betrayal (Mk. 14$^{10f.*}$, Lk. 22$^{3-6}$).—Mt., who omits the three hundred pence of the preceding incident, alone tells us that Judas received thirty pieces of silver. This is due to Zech. 11$^{12f.}$ Note how, in contrast to Mk. and Lk., he makes greed the motive of Judas.

XXVI. 17–19. Preparation for the Last Supper (Mk. 14^{12-16*}, Lk. 22$^{7-13}$).—Mt. again abbreviates. The instruction is given to the Twelve (not to two—in Lk., Peter and John), and they go direct to the friend (a disciple who would understand the phrase "My time is at hand") at whose house the festival is to be kept; nothing is said about the man with the pitcher.

XXVI. 20–25. Jesus Reveals the Treachery of Judas (Mk. 14^{17-21*}, Lk. 22$^{14ff.,21ff.}$).—25, which (*cf.* Jn. 13^{26}) makes Jesus fix the guilt on Judas, is peculiar to Mt. The phrase "thou hast said" is found again in 64 and 27^{11}. In 23 note "he that dipped" instead of Mk.'s "dippeth."

XXVI. 26–29. The Bread and the Wine (Mk. 14 $^{22-25*}$: Lk. 22$^{17-20}$ has a different arrangement).—Mt. is practically identical with Mk., but adds (28) that the "blood of the covenant which is shed for many" is "unto remission of sins" (*cf.* Mk. 10^{45}, Heb. 9^{22}), and that when Jesus drinks the new wine in His Father's Kingdom (Mt. "kingdom of heaven," Lk. "kingdom of God") it will be with the disciples.

XXVI. 30–35. Prediction of the Disciples' Desertion (Mk. 14^{26-31*}).—In Lk. (22$^{31-34}$) the prediction is confined to Peter. Note in Mt.'s narrative (*a*) the disaster is to be "this night," (31), (*b*) one cockcrow, (*c*) the omission of Peter's "exceeding vehement" denial.

XXVI. 36–46. Gethsemane (Mk. 14^{32-42*}, Lk. 22$^{39-46}$).—Mt. is in closest agreement with Mk., except that he gives the words of the second prayer and states definitely that Jesus prayed a third time.—**45.** A question (see Moffatt's tr.).

XXVI. 47–56. The Arrest (Mk. 14^{43-50*}, Lk. 22$^{47-53}$).—Mt. omits Judas' request that Jesus should be led away safely, but inserts a word of Jesus to Judas (50; *cf.* Lk. 22^{48}). When the servant's ear is cut off,

Jesus rebukes the use of force (Jn. 18¹¹ gives a different reason). Lk. alone records a miracle of healing, Jn. gives the wounded man's name. With 52 *cf.* Rev. 13¹⁰—apparently the precept (like the example) was a guiding principle of the primitive Church in time of persecution. The phrase "In that hour" (55) picks up the story of 50.

XXVI. 57–68. The Trial before the Sanhedrin (Mk. 14⁵³–⁶³*; see also Lk. 22⁵⁴f.,⁶⁶–⁷¹).—There are no striking divergences from Mk.'s narrative.—**57.** Apparently we are to think of the Sanhedrin as having been in (informal) session since 3.—**58.** Peter comes "to see the end," not "to warm himself" as in Mk.—**59.** Syr. Sin. says "witness" (so Mk.), not "false witness."—**61** is more simple and perhaps more original than Mk.—**63.** Caiaphas demands that Jesus should take an oath. We should perhaps take the ambiguous reply, "Thou hast said," as a refusal (*cf.* 5³⁴) to do this. Mk. has interpreted it as an affirmation of Messiahship.—**64. from henceforth:** this adverb (*cf.* 29, 23³⁹) here refers to a single moment in the future. It is not to be taken with "I say." Jesus is here no doubt speaking of Himself. For the thought *cf.* Dan. 7¹³, Ps. 110¹. "The power" is a Jewish periphrasis for God. Note Lk., "the power of God."

XXVI. 69–75. Peter's Denial (Mk. 14⁶⁶–⁷²*, Lk. 22⁵⁶–⁶²).—Mt. still keeps closely to Mk., except that (as in 34) he makes one cockcrow suffice. The second challenge (71) is from another maid (in Lk. a man), and is answered with an oath. Mt. also notes that it was Peter's dialect that stamped him as a Galilean.

XXVII. 1f. Jesus Brought to Pilate (Mk. 15¹*).—**1. took counsel:** or "made up their minds"—the actual sentence lay outside their power.

XXVII. 3–10. The Death of Judas.—Mt. only, but for a variant account see Ac. 1¹⁸f. This section breaks the narrative, and its historicity is not beyond question. The evangelist has in mind Zech. 11¹²f.*, which he curiously attributes to Jeremiah, influenced perhaps by Jer. 32⁶–¹⁵ and 18². There was in Jerusalem a cemetery for strangers, or more likely for criminals, known as the "field of blood" (possibly before it was so used it had been called "the potter's field"), and the story here given is the Christian explanation of the name.—**5. treasury:** *cf. mg.* of Zech. 11¹³. The difference in Heb. is between *ōtsār'* and *yōtsēr*.—**6.** *Cf.* Dt. 23¹⁸.—**9f.** "The story has influenced the text just as the original text influenced and modelled the story."—**10. they gave:** read "I gave" (*mg.*).

XXVII. 11–26. Jesus before Pilate (Mk. 15¹–¹⁵*, Lk. 23¹–³,¹⁸–²⁷).—Mt. follows Mk. closely, but has an additional source of information on which he draws for Pilate's wife's dream and Pilate's handwashing. This source may also be the origin of the reading "Jesus Barabbas" (16, Syr. Sin. and Origen), a reading which gives point to Pilate's question in 17 (Jesus Barabbas or Jesus "Messiah"?). Such a name would be quite natural. In place of Mk.'s information about Barabbas, Mt. simply says he was "a notable prisoner"; he also makes Pilate anticipate the demand for a release.—**Jesus who is called Christ** (17, 22) is a phrase which would be more natural on the lips of an early Christian than on Pilate's. The whole narrative intensifies the guilt of the Jews; there is little doubt that 25 has been largely responsible for the malignity with which "Christian" communities and individuals long pursued Jews.

XXVII. 27–31. The Soldiers Mock Jesus (Mk. 15 16–20*, which Mt. rearranges and slightly expands).—Lk. (23¹¹) makes something of the kind happen at Herod's house, but there is some doubt about the text.

XXVII. 32–44. The Crucifixion (Mk. 15²¹–³²*, Lk. 23²⁶–⁴³).—Mt. still follows Mk. clearly, the chief alterations being (*a*) "gall" (34) for "myrrh" (this is due to Ps. 69²¹, and turns a kindly act into a cruel one); (*b*) 36; (*c*) the addition of "if thou art the Son of God" (40); (*d*) 43, from Ps. 22⁸ and Wisd. 2¹⁸.

XXVII. 45–56. The Death of Jesus (Mk. 15³³–⁴¹*, Lk. 23⁴⁴–⁴⁹).—48f. is to be preferred to Mk. 15³⁶. 51–53 is found only in Mt., and may have as its basis Ezek. 37¹².—**after his resurrection:** a still later insertion to fit the statement that Christ was "the first fruits of them that sleep." We can hardly suppose that the original account of the miracle represented them as staying alive in their tombs from Friday afternoon till Sunday morning. The phrase "the holy city" (*cf.* 4⁵) is picturesque. By "the saints" the writer probably meant devout Jews of the type of Simeon (Lk. 2), or even patriarchs, prophets, and martyrs. According to Mt. not only the centurion but his comrades were impressed—but by the earthquake.

XXVII. 57–61. The Burial of Jesus (Mk. 15⁴²–⁴⁷*, Lk. 23⁵⁰–⁵⁶).—Mt. is the briefest of the three; he omits Pilate's inquiry of the centurion (which Mk. gives) and the description of Joseph (Mk., Lk.). He simply calls him "a rich man, Jesus' disciple." Perhaps he thought that by calling him "a councillor" he might be grouping him with those who condemned Jesus; "a rich man" may be a reminiscence of Is. 53⁹.

XXVII. 62–66. The Guarding of the Tomb (Mt. only).—The story arose as a reply to Jews who averred that the disciples had removed the body of Jesus, itself a reply to the disciples' assertion of the empty grave (*cf.* 28¹¹–¹⁵). It is a relic of controversy "in which each side imputed unworthy motives to the other and stated suggestions as established facts."—**the day after the preparation** (62) is a curious paraphrase for "the Sabbath."

XXVIII. 1–10. The Empty Tomb (Mk. 16¹–⁸*, Lk. 24¹–¹²).—Mt. is here not so close to Mk., except in 5–7. The note of time in 1 is not clear; the Sabbath would end at sunset on Saturday.—**began to dawn** ought perhaps to be rendered "drew on" (*cf.* Lk. 23⁵⁴* and *mg.*). In this case Mt. describes a resurrection on Saturday evening. (See Allen, Comm. on Mk., pp. 188–190.) He mentions only the two Maries (omitting Salome), and says nothing about their desire to anoint the body: the sealed and guarded tomb prevented this. None of the Gospels record the actual exit of Jesus, and it is not clear whether Mt. means us to understand that the earthquake and the angel came before or simultaneously with the women. "Became as dead men" (4)=fainted. 9f. is peculiar to Mt., though there is a link with Jn. 20¹⁷, where we should render "Do not keep clinging to me." There is a certain redundancy in these verses after 5–7.

XXVIII. 11–15. The Guard and the Jewish Authorities (Mt. only).—The paragraph is the sequel to 27⁶²–⁶⁶*.—**15. unto this day:** the date when the Gospel was written.

XXVIII. 16–20. Conclusion. Jesus Appears in Galilee.—"The mountain" (16) reminds us of 5¹ or 17¹. The statement that "some (rather, they) doubted" brings the narrative into line with Lk. 24³⁷, Jn. 20²⁵, and in any case points to the gradual nature of the growth of the Resurrection belief.—**18** reminds us of 11²⁷, but is not like Jesus, and is best taken as "a résumé of the Christian faith and the Church's mission."—

19 reflects the change in that mission brought about by the Jews' rejection of Jesus, who had regarded His work as confined to Israel. The Church of the first days did not observe this world-wide command, even if they knew it. The command to baptize into the threefold name is a late doctrinal expansion. In place of the words "baptizing . . . Spirit" we should probably read simply "into my name," *i.e.* (turn the nations) to Christianity, or "in my name," *i.e.* (teach the nations) in my spirit.—**20.** Jesus as the new lawgiver (*cf.* 16$^{17-19}$, 18$^{16-20}$, and the Sermon on the Mount). Note that instead of the promise of a second Advent (Ac. 1^{11} and Paul) we have the more satisfactory assurance of the constant and immediate presence of Jesus with His followers (*cf.* Jn. 14–16). The promise recalls 18^{20} and the Jewish idea of the Shekinah. It forms a worthy ending to the Gospel, the most worthy of all the four.

LUKE

By Principal A. J. GRIEVE

Authorship and Date.—"The third book of the Gospel, that according to Luke, was compiled in his own name, in order, by Luke the physician, when, after Christ's ascension, Paul had taken him to be with him a student of the law" (more probably "as being devoted to travel" or "as one skilled in disease"). "Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him." These statements, found respectively in the Muratorian Fragment and in Irenaeus (*Haer.*, iii. 1) are the earliest direct mention (*c.* A.D. 180) of Luke as the author of this book, though Justin Martyr (*Trypho*, 103) thirty years earlier refers to a quotation found only in Lk. as being contained in the Memoirs composed by "the Apostles and *those that followed them*," and probably even in Marcion's day (*c.* A.D. 140) the name stood in the MSS. of both Gospel and Acts. On the side of internal evidence we have to consider the book in relation to Acts, which by common consent is from the same hand, the note in Ac. 1 1 being confirmed by the prevalence of certain stylistic features in both Lk. and Ac. The writer is (with the possible exception of the author of Heb.) the most literary of all the NT authors, and he has his favourite words and phrases. In both books there is evidence that he uses documents or oral reports which he sometimes reproduces with slight change, while at other times he writes freely. It is of course possible that while the well-known "we passages" in Ac. come originally from a travel companion of Paul (most likely Luke), they and other sources in Ac. and Lk. may have been edited by some writer a generation later whose name is no longer accessible. Yet careful scrutiny of the "we passages" discloses therein to a striking extent words and expressions characteristic of the two books as a whole (Harnack, *Date of Acts*, pp. 1–29; Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 182ff.; Moffatt, INT, pp. 295–300). And to the argument based on the discrepancy between Ac. and the letters of Paul it may be replied that an editor writing, say about A.D. 100, would have been more careful to bring his work into line with the epistles. The evidence which points to the author having been a physician, like Luke (Col. 4 14), may have been exaggerated by Hobart, but it is certainly, as Harnack has pointed out, not to be minimised. There are certain linguistic indications that the two books were by no means written at the same time, and if we assign Ac. to the year 85 (ten years later if we admit its dependence on Josephus), we may put the gospel about 80, *i.e.* some ten or eleven years after Mk. The destruction of Jerusalem is already some distance behind (Lk. 21 20–24*).[1]

[1] Archdeacon Allen (Allen and Grensted, *Intro. to Books of NT*, p. 62) holds that Mk. is much earlier than 70, the use of Josephus unlikely, and the allusions to the fall of Jerusalem "probably illusory." Lk. may therefore have been written about A.D. 60. This is also Harnack's view. In any case, Lk. may well have collected material at Cæsarea, where he stayed during Paul's two years' imprisonment. See further note on p. 742.

Luke or Lucanus, the physician, may have been the son of a Greek freedman connected with Lucania in S. Italy. To identify him with Lucius of Cyrene (Ac. 13 1) is precarious, though there was a good medical school at Cyrene. Physicians were held in honour in the empire; Julius Cæsar gave Roman citizenship to all doctors in Rome. Though perhaps not a native of Antioch he was perhaps practising in that city (or in Tarsus) when he first met Saul. Certain references in Ac. and the condition of Christianity at Antioch suggest his connexion with the Church there. That he was, before his adherence to the Christian faith, one of those devout worshippers (not full proselytes) who had become attached to the Synagogue, is evidenced by his familiarity with the Septuagint and by a certain "sympathy with the Hellenistic type of piety as distinct from specific Paulinism." He accompanied Paul on his second missionary tour, perhaps in some meaaure as his medical attendant (*cf.* Gal. 4 13), and the two were thence closely associated until Paul's death. Origen says he was believed to be the "brother" of 2 Cor. 8 18, 12 18, and Prof. A. Souter has argued (ET, 18285,335) that the word should be taken literally, thus making Luke the brother of Titus.[1] He was the apostle's fellow-worker in Rome (Phm. 24, *cf.* Col. 4 14, 2 Tim. 4 11). A tradition which there is no reason to doubt says that he died in Bithynia at the age of 74. Later traditions, *e.g.* that he was one of the Seventy, and that he painted a portrait of the mother of Jesus, are less trustworthy.

Contents and Sources.—The book falls into well-marked divisions—

(*a*) 1f.—The Birth and Infancy of John and of Jesus.

(*b*) 3–4 13.—The Mission of John. The Baptism and the Temptation.

(*c*) 4 14–9 50.—The Ministry in Galilee.

(*d*) 9 51–19 28.—The Journey to Jerusalem.

(*e*) 19 29–24.—Last Days in Jerusalem. Death and Resurrection.

(*a*) and most of (*d*) are peculiar to Lk. *Cf.* pp. 680f.

In his preface Luke refers to the labours of previous workers in the field of gospel literature. His relation to some of these (Mk. and Q) is described in a previous article (pp. 673ff.), and is indicated in the commentary. There are signs that Lk.'s Marcan document was briefer than our Mk., *e.g.* in 8 4–9 50 several sections in the corresponding part of Mk. have no parallel in Lk. In the story of the Supper, the Passion, and the Resurrection, Luke seems to have used not only Mk. but some other document, or, more likely, a number of distinct pieces of oral tradition.

Several scholars now hold that Luke used, instead of a separate special source, an expanded form of Q, in which Passion and Resurrection incidents were included. This was Hebraistic in tone, and the tone is also discernible in the Infancy section and in

[1] J. V. Bartlet disputes this in Exp., May 1917, pp. 369f.

951–1814. Holdsworth (*Gospel Origins*), anticipated by Sanday (HDB, 2639), thinks that 951–1814 depends upon an eye-witness. Its Samaritan element, its acquaintance with the court of Herod, and its sympathy with women, point to Joanna (Lk. 83, 2410). He traces the same influence in the Infancy and the Resurrection narratives, and thus postulates three main sources of Lk., viz. Mk., Q, and a narrative by Joanna.

Characteristics.—Renan described this gospel as "the most beautiful book ever written." The author reveals himself in the narratives he has selected, especially in 1f. and 951–1814. He is not only the physician, but the "beloved" physician. "His was indeed," says J. V. Bartlet, "a *religio medici* in its pity for frail and suffering humanity, and in its sympathy with the triumph of the Divine healing art upon the bodies and souls of men. His was also a humane spirit, a spirit so tender that it saw further than almost any save the Master Himself into the soul of womanhood. In this, as in his joyousness, united with a feeling for the poor and suffering, he was an early Francis of Assisi." It is he who emphasises Christ's freedom from Jewish exclusiveness as regards Samaritans (952ff., 1030ff., 1715–19), Gentiles (425–27, 232, 36), and outcast Jews, like Zacchæus. He portrays our Lord's humanity with special clearness and gives us many glimpses of His inner life, *e.g.* His habit of prayer, His life of temptation (413, 2228), and His sense of the painfulness of His mission (1249ff.). Much stress is laid on the virtue of almsgiving, and wealth is depreciated. But to argue from this strain of asceticism that the author was an Ebionite is to overlook the equally prominent strain of joy and gladness. From a purely literary point of view the gospel has great merits; its simple and direct narrative, its fascinating character sketches, its skilful contrasts—*e.g.* Mary and Martha, Dives and Lazarus, the repentant and unrepentant thieves—bespeak the artist, as do the hymns in 1f. (even if we ascribe to him simply their Greek dress), and the ease with which he passes from one style to another according as his sources were oral or written, Aramaic or Greek. It only remains to repeat the intimation already given (p. 700), that the plan of this Commentary necessitates the student's study of what has been written on the parallel portions of Mk. (and of Mt.).

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Adeney** (Cent.B.) Garvie (WNT), Farrar (CB), Lindsay. (*b*) Burnside, Carr, Farrar (CGT), **Plummer** (ICC), Wright, Bruce (EGT), Bond. (*c*) *Godet, J. Weiss (Mey.[8]), B. Weiss (Mey.[9]), Knabenbauer, **Wellhausen**, Rose, Baljon, Holtzmann (HC). (*d*) Maclaren, *Expositions of Holy Scripture;* Burton (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries and Encyclopædias, Introductions to NT, the Gospels, and the Synoptic Problem; Works on the Life and Teaching of Jesus; Harnack, *Luke the Physician;* Bruce, *With Open Face;* Selwyn, *St. Luke the Prophet;* Ramsay, *Luke the Physician;* M'Lachlan, *St. Luke, Evangelist and Historian;* Blass, *Evang. secundum Lucam;* Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke.*

I. 1–4. Preface.—The writer, influenced by the attempts of others to record the primitive tradition of Christianity as it was handed down by the first generation of disciples, essays the same task, and having taken pains to collect, examine, sift, and arrange the contents of the written and oral tradition, presents the result to Theophilus, a Roman official of some standing, who needed fuller acquaintance with the historic basis of the oral teaching about Christianity which he had received. The preface is written in rather elaborate Greek, is modelled on the conventional lines of ancient literature, and displays some acquaintance with medical phraseology, especially that of Galen.

2. from the beginning, *i.e.* of the public ministry of Jesus, the Baptism.—**ministers of the Word:** servants of the spoken gospel.—**3. all things:** his work is to be complete in scope.—**from the very first,** from the Birth. If, however, we regard 15–252 as a later addition, it may mean from the Baptism.—**in order,** not necessarily chronological but at least logical, an order in which the events and sayings are given an appropriate setting.—**Theophilus,** possibly here a generic name, but more probably to be taken as that of an individual, a literary patron of the Evangelist's. The apocryphal Acts make him a Roman administrator of high rank at Cæsarea, and the father of the centurion Cornelius. Luke may have been his freedman.

I. 5–II. 52. Narratives of the Infancy of Jesus.—This section has outstanding peculiarities of style and diction as compared with 1–4, and the rest of the Gospel. It has therefore been surmised that the writer has here incorporated an Aramaic (possibly Greek) source-document, or that he consciously wrote in an archaic style imitative of the Septuagint. Either of these suggestions may be combined with a third, that the section is a subsequent insertion, due to some one other than the author of the rest of the book. Harnack favours the archaizing theory, but Moffatt prefers to regard the section as the translation of an early Palestinian Aramaic document in which Luke has inserted items like 134f. and 21. Stanton takes an intermediate view: Luke has obtained part of his material, especially the hymns, from some source, and skilfully woven it into his narrative.

I. 5–25. Prediction of the Birth of John the Baptist.—Lk. alone gives the story, which perhaps existed independently, and had been preserved in Baptist circles like that of Ac. 191–6. Its Jewish character and form are evident: there are many reminiscences of OT incidents and language. In the days of Herod the Great (*i.e.* before 4 B.C.) there lived in Judæa (39*) a priest named Zacharias and his wife Elisabeth. She was of Aaronic descent (*cf.* Ex. 623, Elisheba), and both were folk of exemplary piety. They were now, like Abraham and Sarah, advanced in life but childless. Zacharias belonged to that one of the divisions of the priesthood which was known as the class or course of Abijah (1 Ch. 2410). Each course in turn was responsible for a week's service in the Temple. It fell to Zacharias one day to burn incense, and, contrary to the custom, he was doing this alone. As he stood at the altar an angel (Gabriel) appeared, dispelled his natural fear, and announced the fulfilment of a hope (18) which had long been abandoned. Elisabeth is to bear a son John ("Yahweh is gracious"), who shall bring joy to many besides his parents. From his birth he is to be endowed with the Spirit, he is to live an ascetic life (*cf.* Jg. 135, Jer. 15), and reconcile his fellow-countrymen to Yahweh, their God. In him the prophecy of Malachi (45f.*) is to be fulfilled; he is to prepare Israel for the coming and the kingdom of God. Zacharias asks a token (*cf.* Gen. 158, 1717), and is told that he shall be dumb (for his incredulity) and probably deaf (62) until the prediction is fulfilled (*cf.* Dan. 1014f.). The angel departs; Zacharias, though physically handicapped, fulfils his week's service and goes home. His wife finds that the angelic prediction is in course of fulfilment, and rejoices that the stigma of barrenness (Gen. 3023) has been removed from her.

I. 26–38. Prediction of the Birth of Jesus.—Lk.

alone gives this narrative. Three or four months before the birth of Elisabeth's child, Gabriel comes to Nazareth and announces to Mary, a virgin betrothed to one Joseph, a descendant of David, that she stands high in Yahweh's favour. After dispelling her fear he announces that she shall bear a son Jesus (=Joshua, "saviour") who shall be called Son of the Most High (*i.e.* God), and fulfil the popular Messianic expectation. Mary displays some astonishment at the thought of bearing any child, and Gabriel gives further details. The Holy Spirit, the power of God, is to beget the child, and (*mg.*) "the holy thing which is to be born shall be called the Son of God"; the term is here used in the ordinary sense, not Messianic as in 32. The angel tells Mary about Elisabeth her kinswoman, and says that nothing is impossible with God. Mary accepts her destiny, and the angel departs.

34f. Many scholars regard these verses as an interpolation, either by Lk. into his source, or by a later editor into Lk. There is no MS. evidence to support this suggestion, though one Old Latin text (*b*) substitutes 38 for 34. For a full discussion see Moffatt, INT, p. 268f. Spitta would further omit 36f., and make 37 follow 33. In this case Mary's acceptance of the prediction is in contrast to Zacharias's scepticism. Besides, Elisabeth's case is hardly proof that Mary was to be the mother of the Messiah, though as an argument from the less to the greater it may serve. The idea of 35 and its terminology are not Hebraic; "spirit" in Heb. is feminine. But it is possible to take "overshadow" in its primary Gk. sense of hide or conceal. Pregnant women were regarded as peculiarly liable to the assaults of evil spirits (*cf.* Rev. 12₁–6). We may thus have here the idea of Satan lying in wait for the future Messiah (*cf.* Rev. 12₁–5); to avoid any molestation the Power of the Highest will conceal the mother till the danger is past. Or it may be simply that the child, while conceived in the usual way, was to receive a special pre-natal sanctity like John (15). Another difficulty in the ordinary acceptance of 34f. is the discrepancy with 3₂₂, where the original reading is "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee."

I. 39–56. Mary Visits Elisabeth. The Magnificat.—The passage links the two preceding incidents, and serves to show the inferiority of John the forerunner, to Jesus the Messiah. Mary (finding herself with child) proceeds to verify the sign. She seeks Elisabeth in a Judæan village (perhaps Ain Karim, six miles west of Jerusalem, where a ruin called Mar Zacharias is shown). Elisabeth's unborn babe recognises the mother of the Messiah, and Elisabeth herself knows of Mary's honour, and praises her belief (follow *mg.* in 45). The Song of Mary which follows is full of OT reminiscences, especially the Song of Hannah (1 S. 2₁–10). But it is something more than possible that it should be ascribed not to Mary but to Elisabeth. Some of the Old Latin texts (*a*, *b*, etc.; p. 601) read "Elisabeth" in 46, and this is supported by Irenæus, Niceta of Remesiana (the fourth-century author of the *Te Deum*), and perhaps by Cyril of Jerusalem. In the original text there was possibly no name, then some scribe inserted "Mary," because 48 seemed appropriate to her. But it is just as suitable to Elisabeth ("low estate" is perhaps the humiliation of childlessness), and the "her" of 56 most naturally means the person who has been singing. The Syriac versions saw this, and read "Mary remained with Elisabeth." Of course the name Mary (instead of "she") in 56 may be simply due to the verse being at a distance from that in which the name is previously given, but both on external and internal evidence there is much in favour of the hypothesis which assigns the song to Elisabeth, and connects it with the birth of John rather than of Jesus. In 54 the Sinaitic Syriac has "his son," which may have been original and was changed to "his servant" because only Jesus can be God's Son.

I. 57–80. The Birth of John. The Benedictus.—In due course Elisabeth bore her son and received the congratulations of her friends. When the babe has been circumcised and named, his mother rejects the proposal to call him Zacharias and insists on John. The deaf and dumb father confirms his wife's wish, and his power of speech is restored. The whole incident made a great impression in the district, and people recognised that some great future was before the lad, for as he grew up (the last clause of 66 is anticipatory) he was seen to be Divinely guided and protected. Meanwhile Zacharias is inspired and utters a song-prophecy. 68–75, in thoroughly Jewish tone, predicts the deliverance of Israel from the oppressor by a scion of the house of David, and the restoration of the theocracy. In 76ff. Zacharias passes to the destiny of his son, and draws on Is. 40₃ and Mal. 3₁ (perhaps also on Mk. 1₄). In view of the awkward connexion between 78 and 77 some have thought 76f. an interpolation. 76*b* recalls 17*a*.

78. dayspring from on high: the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, the dawn of the Messianic age. —**dayspring:** Gr. *anatolè*, the word used in Mt. 2₁f., and translated "east"; Mt. gives the Star a warlike, Lk. a peaceful, significance (Exp., Dec. 1916, pp. 414f.). **80.** During his youth and early manhood John spends much time in desert places—

> "Amid dull hearts a prophet never grew,
> The nurse of full-grown hearts is solitude."

Cf. Jg. 13₂₄f., 1 S. 2₂₆, Lk. 2₄₀–₅₂. Note the contrasts.

II. 1–20. The Birth of Jesus. Lk. only. In obedience to a decree of the Emperor Augustus, ordering a general census (the first, during the Syrian governorship of Quirinius), every man went to his own city. Thus Joseph, being of Davidic lineage, journeys from Nazareth to Bethlehem, and with him Mary his betrothed (according to the Syr. Sin. "his wife"), though far advanced in pregnancy. At Bethlehem her son is born, in a stable, for Joseph had been unable to find a better abode. (The word for "inn" may denote either a khan or a lodging-place—in 22₁₁ it is translated "guest chamber.") Thus Jesus is connected with the shepherd David. Shepherds in the district are startled by seeing an angel and the Shekinah radiance, but are reassured and told that Messiah has been born in the village, where they will find him in a stable. A choir of angels appears and sings of glory to God and peace among men. The vision disappears, the shepherds find their way to the stable, and after recounting their experiences to the general wonderment, return to their flocks.

The difficulties formerly felt in connexion with 1–4 have been largely minimised, if not entirely removed, by the researches of Sir W. M. Ramsay (*Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* and *The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament*, pp. 222–308). Thus he has established the fact that P. Sulpicius Quirinius was not only *legatus* of Syria A.D. 6, when the census—including a valuation—consequent on the organisation of Judæa as a province of the Empire was taken, but also in the lifetime of Herod (Lk. 1₅, 2₁), when he was in charge of the operations against the Homonadenses, a tribe in the Cilician Taurus country, a date which we may now

fix as 11–7 B.C. That Tertullian says Jesus was born when a census was made in Syria by Sentius Saturninus, and that Josephus tells us Sentius governed Syria 8–6 B.C., does not exclude Quirinius from the same office in the same period. There are various other cases when two legati of the Emperor were in a province at the same time. Lk. does not say that Quirinius conducted the census—he would have his hands full with military work. As to the census itself the fact of periodic universal enrolments is now beyond dispute, and there is no sound reason why we should discount Lk.'s statement that the first of these was in 8–6 B.C. on the ground that Lk. alone records it. The statement of Tertullian is to this extent corroboration of Lk. The objection that Judæa under Herod was an independent kingdom has little value. Augustus' order ran in Judæa when he wished it.

It seems curious that under a practical ruler like Augustus people should have to travel long distances, *e.g.* from Nazareth to Bethlehem, to fill up a census paper, but evidence is accumulating that "the order to return to the original home, though in a sense non-Roman in spirit, was the regular feature of the census in the Eastern provinces." The regulation was connected with the economic necessity of counteracting the tendency of cultivators to forsake the country for the city. Further, to this original domicile not only the head of the household, but every member of it, had to return for enrolment. To obviate the difficulties that were bound to arise, especially with the extremely small administration staff, the census was not taken on one day or even in one week. It was spread over a year; and at any time during the year, mostly during its later months, people might present themselves at their place of origin and be enrolled. What exactly Lk. means by "his own city," and Ramsay by "original home," "place of origin," we cannot say; presumably it is "birthplace." A new inquiry, "Was Joseph born at Bethlehem?" is thus suggested.

1. in those days: probably when John was born; possibly, when John was a youth. In this case Mary is not with child when she visits Elisabeth, and the birth of Jesus is A.D. 6 or 7, which postpones the Baptism to 34 A.D., and the Crucifixion to 36 A.D. See p. 654.—**7. her firstborn:** the word implies that Mary bore other children afterwards (Mt. 125*).—**8.** The season would not be December; our Christmas Day is a comparatively late tradition, found first in the West.—**10. the people:** the article denotes the Jewish people.—**11. Christ Lord** (*mg.*): perhaps a mistranslation of Aramaic "the Messiah of Yahweh."—**14.** Note the variant reading. The text gives two clauses to the song, *mg.* three. **Men in whom he is well pleased,** may be either the chosen people or those who will accept Jesus as Messiah. If we follow *mg.* we may take "good pleasure among men" as a Messianic acclamation. Through Messiah's advent God receives honour, earth peace, and men Divine grace.[1]—**19.** *Cf.* **51.**—**20. glorifying God:** Lk. uses this expression eight times in ending a narrative.

II. 21–24. The Circumcision and Presentation of Jesus.—When the babe is a week old He is circumcised and named, and when He is a month old His parents take Him to the Temple in Jerusalem for the double rite of purifying the mother (Lev. 12), and "redeeming" the child as a firstborn (Ex. 132,12). They are too poor to offer a lamb.

[1] J. H. Ropes (*Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Jan. 1917) thinks the third clause gives the reason for the preceding exultation. God's gracious will has at last been given effect for mankind, *therefore* ample glory is ascribed to God in heaven, and salvation is the happy lot of earth.

22. their: Syr. Sin. has "her," which is probably right. Neither the father nor the child was unclean according to the Law. The alteration (of "her" to "their") is due to the difficulty of supposing the Virgin to need Levitical purification. Some MSS. even read "his."—**to Jerusalem.** There was no command about bringing the firstborn to the Temple, though parents living near Jerusalem would do so.

II. 25–35. Simeon.—As the family enters the Temple they are met by Simeon, an aged man whose devout life and expectation of Messiah had been rewarded by a Divine intimation that he should live to see the Christ. He has been guided by the Spirit, and taking the child in his arms thanks God for the fulfilment of his heart's desire. He blesses the astonished parents, and tells the mother that the babe is destined to be a stumbling-block (Is. 814, Mt. 2144) to many in Israel, a token (Is. 1112) that shall be disputed, and a touchstone of hearts. The astonishment of Joseph and Mary, and the mention of them as parents, point to a different source from that of the narrative of the annunciation. With the Benedictus *cf.* Ps. 982, Is. 5210, 426, 496, 4613. As the Magnificat is charged with personal feeling, and the Benedictus with national aspiration, so the Nunc Dimittis is the expression of hope for the world. The phrase "and rising up" (*i.e.* through repentance and pardon, 34) may be a later addition; so also the reference to Mary's sorrow (35), which is in any case a parenthesis.

II. 36–39. Anna.—Simeon has a counterpart in a centenarian widow who spends her whole life in ascetic devotion in the Temple. She adds her prophetic testimony to his, and afterwards speaks of the child to the circle of pious and expectant folk who, like these two representatives, ardently awaited the "consolation of Israel," the "redemption of Jerusalem." Joseph and Mary fulfil their errand and return to Nazareth (contrast Mt. 220*).

***II. 40–52. An Incident in Jesus' Boyhood.**—The lad grows in body and mind and is blessed by God. When He is twelve years old He accompanies His parents to the Passover at Jerusalem, and when the week's Feast is over, remains behind unknown to them. They return to seek Him, and after a long search find Him in one of the Temple porticos joining intelligently in the discussions of the scribes. He goes home and lives obediently with them, and continues His all-round development (*cf.* 40, also 180, 1 S. 226).

42. Like Samuel's parents, those of Jesus go to the central shrine once instead of three times (Dt. 1616) a year. There is a close parallel in the story of Buddha. —**48, 50.** The astonishment and obtuseness hardly consort with the earlier narratives of the annunciation and birth. The rebuke to Mary takes the place in Lk. of Mk. 333.—**49. in my Father's house.** RV is preferable to AV. Jesus is now conscious of God as His Father, not as against Joseph, but apparently because He was Messiah.

III. 1–20. John the Baptist.—Mk. 11–8*, Mt. 31–12*, also Mk. 617–29*, Mt. 143–12*. Lk. now (to 950) follows the Marcan account of the Galilean ministry of Jesus and its antecedents; he adds material from Q and other sources.

1. On the chronology, see pp. 652f.; **Pontius Pilate,** p. 609; **Herod** (Antipas) and **Philip,** p. 609. **Abilene** was the district round Abila between Mt. Hermon and Anti-Lebanon, north-west of Damascus. Caiaphas was really high-priest (since A.D. 18); Annas, his father-in-law, had held the office A.D. 6–15, and was still a man of great influence.—**6.** Lk.'s universalism appears in this extension of the quotation from Is. 40;

7 may also reflect his wider interests against Mt.'s "Pharisees and Sadducees."—**10–14.** Lk. only. An interesting addition to Mt., giving us a view of John's teaching which reminds us of Mi. 68. Kindness and fair dealing between man and man are the Divine requirements; they show that repentance is bearing fruit and therefore genuine.—**publicans:** Mt. 546*.—**soldiers:** probably in the service of Antipas (*cf.* 2311); perhaps for the war against Aretas (p. 654), or perhaps a kind of *gendarmerie* supporting the tax-collectors.—**wages:** lit. rations.—**15** is also peculiar to Lk., and may be his own way of leading up to **16f.** Another way is shown in Jn. 119ff.—**18f.** Lk. here sums up, and inserts what Mk. and Mt. give more fully at a later point. He does not tell us of John's death, but like the others he makes the Baptist's imprisonment the signal for Jesus to begin His work.

III. 21f. The Baptism of Jesus (Mk. 1₉–11*, Mt. 313–17*).—Lk. notes that Jesus was praying (*cf.* 929, 111, etc.). In the early Church it was customary immediately after baptism to pray for the gift of the Spirit. Lk. explicitly gives a bodily form to the Spirit, and does not definitely limit the vision to Jesus. Many scholars uphold the reading of Codex Bezæ in 22, "Thou art my Son: I have begotten thee this day" (*cf.* Ps. 27.) If this be the true reading it indicates a belief that Jesus received, as it were, a new soul at the Baptism, or that He then became the Messiah.

III. 23–38. The Genealogy of Jesus (*cf.* Mt. 11–17*). —The words "as was supposed" are perhaps from a later hand than that which first compiled the pedigree. Jesus here descends from David, not through Solomon (Mt. 16f.) but through Nathan. There are other differences; the most noteworthy is that Lk. with characteristic universality goes back beyond Abraham to "Adam, the son of God." Jesus is the second Adam (Rom. 514, 1 Cor. 1522,45).—**23. when he began:** the words "to teach" are not in the Gr. AV is wrong in connecting the verb with the age of Jesus. We must follow RV's interpretation, or suppose that something like "to be the Son of God" (*cf.* 22*) has been omitted on doctrinal grounds.

IV. 1–13. The Temptation (Mk. 112f.*, Mt. 41–11*). —In the order of the episodes Lk. follows a geographical (rather than a psychological) sequence, putting the Jerusalem incident last. The other divergences from Mt. are of no moment, but we may note Lk.'s stress on the inspiration of Jesus (1, *cf.* 14), and the apt saying that the devil left Him only "for a season" (*cf.* 2228, Mt. 1623, Jn. 615, 1430). For a good study of the Temptation see Seeley's *Ecce Homo*, ch. ii.

IV. 14–30. Jesus in Nazareth (Mk. 114f.*, Mt. 412–17*, Mk. 61–6*, Mt. 1353–58*).—Lk. brings Jesus to Galilee, but, anxious to make the mission begin in His own town, departs from Mk.'s order (though it leads him into difficulty, see 23), and puts the rejection at Nazareth (Mk. 6) at the beginning of the ministry. The episode is prophetic of the later and larger rejection. And the activity which Jesus is said to have displayed outside Nazareth (23) is prophetic of the spread of the Gospel outside Israel, a point illustrated by the cases of the widow of Sarepta and Naaman (26f.). The whole incident is a summary of Lk.'s two books. 17–21 is found only in Lk. Jesus goes to the synagogue in the usual way, and is asked to read. We should follow Syr. Sin., which transfers "he stood up to read" from the end of 16 to the middle of 17. He carefully chooses a passage (Is. 61), and proclaims Himself as its fulfilment. According to Lk. He is no warrior-king (179*), but the Servant of God bringing the blessings of spiritual light and liberty to the poor and afflicted. The pronouncement at Nazareth corresponds to the Sermon on the Mount as a programme prefaced to the narrative of the ministry. 21 is only a summary of the preacher's exposition. In 22f. Lk. returns to Mk., but with considerable freedom. The hearers are at first pleased as well as astonished. But almost at once they remember that He is one of themselves, and so not worth much. He is Joseph's son; Lk. omits mentioning the other members of the family, perhaps because of the honour in which they came to be held by his day. The people of Nazareth invite Jesus to secure their belief and adherence by a sign (contrast Mk. 65); to Lk.'s mind they typify Israel in general. 25–30 is peculiar to Lk.; as in the days of the prophets, so in the days of the Gospel, Jews are rejected, Gentiles are chosen. Contrast Mt. 105f. Such sayings enrage the Nazareth folk; they eject the Preacher, and would fain murder Him. But He suffers no harm—either His mysterious majesty or the Divine protection enables Him to pass unharmed through their midst.

19. the acceptable year of the Lord.—This may point to a one-year ministry, *cf.* p. 653.—**26. a widow:** Wellhausen acutely reads "an Aramæan" or Syrian; the two Aramaic words only differ by one letter, hence the Gr. error. [Dalman rejects this (*Words of Jesus*, p. 64). Wellhausen replies in the note on the passage in his commentary. It should be added that he takes "Aramæan" not in its strict sense, but as a general term for "heathen," just as "Greek" (*Hellen*) is often used for "Gentile." He thinks that the reference to the fact that she was a widow is superfluous, as it would be understood.—A. S. P.]

IV. 31–37. A Case of Exorcism (Mk. 121–28*).—Lk. brings Jesus at once to Capernaum and so postpones the call of the first disciples (Mk. 116–20) to ch. 5. The narrative keeps close to Mk., but note the phrase "spirit of an unclean demon" (33), and the assertion that the expelled spirit, though it threw the man down, did not hurt him (Mk. says it tore him).

IV. 38f. Simon's Wife's Mother (Mk. 129–31*, Mt. 814f.*).—Lk. heightens the miracle. Jesus rebukes the fever as though it were an evil spirit, and does not touch the sufferer. Note how Simon is introduced without comment; Lk. is really following Mk. 129.

IV. 40–44. Other Healings (Mk. 132–39*, Mt. 816f.*, 423–25*).—The medical interest of Lk. here appears strongly. He distinguishes ordinary ailments from cases of demoniacal possession. 43 is an announcement made earlier by Mk. (115); Lk. has had to defer it through his treatment of the Nazareth episode.

43. I was sent is less original than Mk.'s "came I forth" (*i.e.* from Capernaum).—**44. Galilee.** The true reading is Judæa (*mg.*), which is thus used in the wide sense of all Jewish territory (*cf.* 617, 717, 235), and so includes Galilee, to which the context refers. Spitta argues keenly for the ordinary interpretation of the term and a Judæan ministry such as we have in the Fourth Gospel (*cf.* 517, where the two are distinguished).

V. 1–11. The Call of the First Disciples (*cf.* Mk. 116–20*, Mt. 418–22*).—The eager crowds that attend Jesus show His need of assistants. The simpler story of Mk. and Mt. is here replaced by one which introduces a miraculous catch of fish. The similarity with Jn. 21 leads us to think that Lk. (who has no Galilean appearances of the Risen Jesus) may have used that incident here. Nor is it difficult to discern symbolism in the story; the deep water is the Gentile world, but Peter, though the preaching of the Gospel to the Jews had been a failure, is reluctant to enter on a wider mission (*cf.* Ac. 111–18). The concentration of the

narrative on Peter (James and John are only just mentioned, Andrew not at all), may be due to the growing interest in Peter at the time when Lk. wrote. The tradition about his call would tend to become longer and fuller.

1. lake of Gennesaret: Lk. gives the "sea" of Galilee its correct name.—**4. put out:** singular, addressed to Peter.—**let down:** plural, to all in the boat. —**5. Master:** Lk. uses this Gr. term in reference to Jesus six times in place of the Jewish "Rabbi."—**6.** If we press the symbolic interpretation this may refer to the threatened rupture between the narrower and wider sections of the Church (*cf.* Ac. 15).—**8.** The name Peter is introduced at this critical point in the apostle's experience. His exclamation of dread at the near presence of Divine power recalls Jg. 6$_{22}$, Is. 6$_5$; *cf.* 1 K. 17$_{18}$. Note the use of "Lord," recalling OT "Yahweh." Lk. is careful to record the words as setting in sharp contrast the sin of the disciple and the holiness of the Saviour (*cf.* 32).

V. 12–16. The Healing of a Leper (Mk. 1$_{40-45}$*, Mt. 8$_{1-4}$*).—Lk. keeps closely to Mk., but adds (16) that Jesus in His retirement gave Himself to prayer. It is characteristic of him also to speak of Jesus simply as "he"; perhaps the disciples did so (*cf.* 1 Jn. 3$_{3,5}$), as was the case with the followers of Socrates and Pythagoras.

V. 17–26. The Healing of the Paralytic (Mk. 2$_{1-12}$*, Mt. 9$_{1-8}$*).—All three accounts are in close agreement. Lk. however introduces at the outset "Pharisees and teachers of the law" from all over Galilee as well as from Judæa and Jerusalem. The last clause of 17 is peculiar; literally, "the power of the Lord was present for Him to heal with." In 19 Lk. rewrites Mk.'s description of how the sufferer was lowered through an aperture in the tiles (none were removed). Mt. omits it. Lk. makes the patient (25), as well as the onlookers, "glorify God." On Pharisees see pp. 624, 666.

V. 27–32. The Call of Levi (Mk. 2$_{13-17}$*, Mt. 9$_{9-13}$*). —There are no noteworthy differences. In Lk. it is clear that Levi gives the feast (in his own house); the words "to repentance" (32) are omitted by some MSS. They weaken the saying.

V. 33–39. The Question of Fasting (Mk. 2$_{18-22}$*, Mt. 9$_{14-17}$*).—Lk.'s interest in prayer is again (*cf.* 16) seen in 33, with which *cf.* 11$_1$. The recasting of the saying about the patch (36) reflects a later age; Christianity was now a made-up garment, when Jesus spoke it was only in the piece.

39. Lk. only. If it was spoken on this occasion it means that John's disciples may rightly continue their own practices. It was not unbelief that kept them from the new wine of the Gospel. They did not set the one against the other ("good" not "better" is the true reading); but in the revival and repentance due to John's preaching they had found the old order good (as indeed it was), and they craved nothing more (Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 24). But perhaps it is simply put here by Lk. because it has to do with wine, just as Mk. 9$_{49}$f. collects sayings about salt.

VI. 1–11. Sabbath Observance (Mk. 2$_{23-36}$*, Mt. 12$_{1-14}$*).—There is little change to note here. No satisfactory explanation has been found of 1 *mg.* It is a gloss not found in the best MSS. Codex Bezæ in Lk. transfers 5 to the end of 10 and in its place has, "On the same day He saw a man working on the Sabbath and said to him, 'Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not thou art accursed and a transgressor of the law.'" Montefiore thinks the saying "too subtle and Pauline" to be authentic, doubting whether Jesus would have so openly approved so direct a violation of a fundamental commandment. Note that Lk. (like Mt.) omits Mk. 2$_{27}$; to him "Son of Man" always meant Messiah, hence Mk. 2$_{27}$ could not be used to prove Lk.'s 5. In 11 he says the Pharisees were "filled with madness" against Jesus. This is more to his mind than Mk.'s statement (35) that Jesus was angry with the Pharisees. The Perfect Man preserves a perfect calm. A tendency to heighten human distress (*cf.* 8$_{42}$, 9$_{38}$, "only child") appears in 6; it is the man's right hand that is withered.

VI. 12–19. The Appointment of the Twelve. Miracles of Healing (Mk. 3$_{12-19}$*, Mt. 10$_{2-4}$, 12$_{15-21}$*).—Mk. puts the healings first. Lk. transposes his order to bring the Twelve into prominence. Jesus prepares for the choice by a night of prayer, and then deliberately marks off the Twelve from the rank and file of the disciples. Judas (the son) of James, takes the place of Thaddæus (Mk.) or Lebbæus (Mt.). Jesus comes down (to the plain or to a level place on the hillside) to address the throng gathered from all Judæa (Codex Bezæ sensibly omits "and Jerusalem"), *i.e.* Palestine (444*), and Phœnicia. With 19 *cf.* 5$_{17}$, Mk. 5$_{30}$.

VI. 20–49. The Sermon on the Level Place.—This is much briefer than Mt. 5–7. The sections in Mt. that illustrate the fulfilment of the Law are omitted; more stress is laid on love and mercy. Other parallels with Mt.'s Sermon are found elsewhere in Lk.; very little of Lk.'s Sermon (24–26, 34f. only) is not found in Mt. There are also differences of arrangement.

20–26. Beatitudes and Woes (Mt. 5$_{1-12}$*).—In place of eight blessings we have in Lk. four (shorter) blessings and four contrasted woes; in Lk. Jesus does not qualify "the poor" (or the hungry); they are, as with the Psalmist, the righteous, and will have their innings in the next life, where the rich (the wicked) will suffer. *Cf.* Dives and Lazarus, 16$_{19-26}$.

22f. suggests Jewish persecution of the early Church. —**cast out your name as evil:** a reference to calumny directed against those of the Christian way.—**24–26.** The woes are peculiar to Lk., and are less genuine than the blessings. *Cf.* Jas. 5$_{1-4}$. Perhaps they are not launched at persecutors of the Church (*e.g.* rich Pharisees) so much as at worldly-minded folk in general.— **26.** General popularity too often implies that its recipient panders to prejudice and smothers his conscience.

VI. 27–36. The Love of Enemies (Mt. 5$_{39-48}$*, 7$_{12}$*). —While Mt.'s main point is the contrast between legal and true righteousness, Lk.'s main point is that true righteousness is love; he contrasts the spirit of selfishness with the spirit of love. 27f. is fuller than Mt. 5$_{44}$ and is put in the forefront. Note the differences from Mt. in 29*b* (robbery instead of lawsuit) and 30*b*. These injunctions seem primarily in keeping with the anticipation of a speedy end of the age and the early advent of the Kingdom of God. To apply them literally to-day would be to invite anarchy. We are bound to regard them "not as precepts but as illustrations of principles," to look beyond the letter to the spirit, which is that "resistance of evil and refusal to part with our property must never be a *personal* matter; so far as we are concerned we must be willing to suffer still more and surrender still more. Love knows no limits but those which love itself imposes. When love resists or refuses it is because compliance would be a violation of love, not because it would involve loss or suffering" (Plummer).

VI. 31–36. Following the plan of 27–30, Lk. now gives the Golden Rule and a series of applications.— **32. Love** has the same meaning as **do good to** (33);

thank is literally "favour," *i.e.* Divine reward.—**34f.** Lk. only.—**never despairing,** *i.e.* of the heavenly recompense. The variant in *mg.* might be rendered "not robbing any man of his hope," *i.e.* disappointing no one.—**sons of the Most High;** the reward is that in the Kingdom those who fulfil these injunctions shall become sons of God, like the angels (*cf.* Mt. 1343).—**36. merciful:** Mt. "perfect."—**your father:** only here and 1230,32.

VI. 37–42. Against Judging (Mt. 71–5*).—Lk. skips Mt. 6 and connects these sayings with love of enemies. It is not clear whether the reference is to law-courts or to general behaviour. Note the different use of "with what measure ye mete," etc., in Lk. and Mt. In 39f. (note the interpolating introduction) Lk. gives two sayings found in Mt. at 1514 and 1024f.; perhaps he means them to carry on the thought of charity in judgment, with the added notion that immature disciples are not competent to judge. He may also have connected the blind leading the blind with the mote and the beam; in 41f. he is back at Mt. 73–5.

VI. 43–45. Trees and Fruit. The Treasure of the Heart (Mt. 716–21*, 1233–35*).—Better than judging others is to examine oneself; the true test of a true disciple is his life. Right speech and action show a right heart.

VI. 46–49. Hearing and Doing (Mt. 721,24–27*).—There are some interesting but not vital differences. Nominal adherence will not avail in the Judgment.

VII. 1–10. The Centurion's Servant (Mt. 85–13*).—Lk.'s version is peculiar through the introduction of two sets of intermediaries—Jewish elders and friends. Thus he keeps the Gentile centurion himself (as well as his servant) from contact with Jesus, and is satisfied with recording the esteem in which the pagan soldier (like Cornelius, Ac. 10) was held, and the extension of Jesus' beneficence and His appreciation of faith beyond Jewry.

VII. 11–17. The Son of the Widow of Nain (Lk. only). This incident is conditioned by the reply to the Baptist's inquiry in 22, "the dead are raised up." It is more difficult than the story of Jairus' daughter, and represents the intermediate step between that incident and the raising of Lazarus (Jn. 11). There is no mention of "faith" on anyone's part. Loisy rather fancifully sees in it a symbol of Jesus' work in saving Israel. "The widow represents the daughter of Zion (Jerusalem) losing her only son (Israel) and miraculously regaining him through Jesus." May we trace the influence of 1 K. 1717–24 and 2 K. 433–37? Shunem was within half an hour of Nain, a little town, eight miles S.W. from Nazareth, on a hill overlooking the valley of Esdraelon. Lk. may have known a tradition that Jesus had wrought a great wonder there. It is only here that he attributes the motive of compassion to Jesus.

17. the whole of Judæa: 444*.

VII. 18–35. John the Baptist (Mt. 111–19*).—According to Lk., John's disciples have access to him, and Jesus is engaged in works of healing in the very hour of the embassy. 21 looks as if Lk. were bent on making the answer of Jesus (which may have referred to His moral and spiritual activities) into a definite reference to material signs. In 26–28 the text may have been accommodated to Mt.; it has been suggested that we should read, "Yea, I say unto you: among them that are born of woman there is no greater [prophet (Syr. Sin.)] than John, yet he that is less [than he (Codex Bezæ)] is in the Kingdom of God greater than he." Lk. postpones Mt. 1112–14* to 1616*. 29f. breaks the thread of Jesus' speech. It is not unlike Mt. 2131f., and is perhaps inserted here because of the word "justified" in 35. The people and the tax-collectors declared that God's will as set out in John's proclamation of the Kingdom was right, the Pharisees and lawyers rejected it. The former acknowledged the Baptist's Divine mission, the latter denied it. 31–35 read as in Mt., but note "ye" for "they" in 33f.

VII. 36–50. The Anointing of Jesus.—Lk. only; perhaps based on the incident (though not to be identified with it) recorded in Mk. 143–9*, Mt. 266–13*, and introduced here in illustration of Jesus' friendship with sinners (34). Simon the leper is here Simon the Pharisee; the abandoned woman enters uninvited and no one is astonished. Her tears forestall her intention, she even makes the sacrifice of letting down her hair in public. Note *mg.* in 37. There is affection here, dignified reverence in Mk. 14; "toucheth" (39) is really "clingeth to" (*cf.* Jn. 2017).

The parable (41–43) hardly fits the scene (*cf.* 1029–37*). Its point is that great forgiveness produces great love. The truth demanded (47*a*) is that great love produces great forgiveness. 47*b* is thus irrelevant; it belongs to the parable side (so Montefiore). To make the whole of 47 consistent with the parable we must assume that the woman had previously (through Jesus' preaching) repented, and received the assurance of forgiveness, hence her love and gratitude. "Jesus now confirms her assurance and publicly pronounces her forgiveness." Read "For which reason, because she has shown much love, I say unto thee that her sins *have been* forgiven." The woman's affection is the gratitude shown for the conviction of forgiveness (so Plummer, Adeney, J. Weiss, Loisy). In 50 Jesus puts the emphasis on the woman's faith. She had heard that He was the friend of sinners (and of His new way of dealing with them), she believed that He could and would help her, and the miracle of her conversion was largely effected before she entered the house. It was completed by the power of His personality.

38. The verb "wet" used here and 44 is frequent in the papyri for the irrigation of Egypt by the Nile inundation. Elsewhere in NT it means "rain."

VIII. 1–3. The Women Friends of Jesus (Lk. only).—Nothing shows the originality of Jesus more than His attitude towards women. Lk. especially dwells on this both in the Gospel and in Ac., where we see how much the early Church owed to the gentler sex. It is possible that some of these women who showed their gratitude to the Healer by supporting His mission, were only secure against a return of their maladies as they continued in His company.

2. Magdalene: *i.e.* of Magdala (p. 29, *cf.* Mt. 1539), then a flourishing town on the Lake of Galilee.—**3. Joanna:** 2410; *cf.* Introd.—**Chuza, Herod's steward:** the overseer of Antipas's property, his estate manager.

VIII. 4–15. Parable of the Sower (Mk. 41–20*, Mt. 134–23*).—Having dropped Mk. at 619, Lk. here resumes his predecessor's narrative, though reserving Mk. 320–35 till later. Lk.'s version is the shortest of the three. His variations, especially in the interpretation, are interesting but call for no comment here.

VIII. 16–18. The Lamp (Mk. 421–25*).—16 is repeated at 1133, 17 at 122, 18*b* at 1926.

VIII. 19–21. Intervention of Jesus' Family (Mk. 331–35*, Mt. 1246–50*).—Lk. abbreviates and softens. The influence of the parable of the Sower is seen in 21.

VIII. 22–56. Wonder Stories: the tempest, the demoniac and the swine, Jairus' daughter, and the

woman with hemorrhage (Mk. 435–543*, Mt. 823–34*, 918–26*).—Lk. follows Mk. with slight changes, *e.g.* the storm is not definitely an evening one; the demons ask that they should not be sent into the abyss (*i.e.* Tartarus, the prison-house of evil spirits, Rev. 201–3); Jairus' daughter is an only child, *cf.* 712, 938.

IX. 1–6. The Mission of the Twelve (Mk. 67–13* [Mk. 61–6 has already been used in 414–30], Mt. 101, 5–16*).

IX. 7–9. Herod Antipas and Jesus (Mk. 614–16*, Mt. 141f.*).—Herod does not here suppose that John has risen. With the last clause of 9 *cf.* 1331. Lk. omits the long story of the death of John; *cf.* 318–20.

IX. 10–17. The Feeding of the Multitude (Mk. 631–44*, Mt. 1413–21*).—Lk., like Mt., abbreviates Mk He fixes the scene at Bethsaida; in Mk. Jesus crosses the lake to that town afterwards, but perhaps Mk. is wrong and means Capernaum.

Lk. omits the walking of Jesus on the water, and other material found in Mk. 645–826, *e.g.* (*a*) the feeding of the 4000, (*b*) the debate on the washing of hands and the traditions of the elders, and (*c*) the healing of the Greek woman's daughter. He may have deemed (*a*) needless repetition, (*b*) uninteresting to Gentile readers, (*c*) offensive to the same circle, or at any rate because it was distinctly an exceptional case for Jesus. A few small pieces of this Marcan block are used later. It is possible, of course, that Lk. did not deliberately omit all this material; it *may* have been accidentally omitted by him, or it may not have been contained in the copy of Mk. used by him. See *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 61ff., 389ff.

IX. 18–27. The Great Confession (Mk. 827–91*, Mt. 1613–18*).—The changes are inconsiderable. Lk. omits the locality, but represents Jesus as at prayer; *cf.* 321, 929, 111. The reply of the disciples, "one of the old prophets is risen again," reflects or perhaps is the source of the misunderstanding (of Mk. 615) found in 8. Peter's confession in Lk. is "The Messiah of God," *cf.* 211*. The rebuke of Peter is omitted. Note Lk.'s addition of "daily" in 23; cross-bearing is not simply self-denial culminating in martyrdom, but a continuous discipline "to be exhibited in ordinary and everyday life." In 27 there is a kind of trinity of glory—in Mk. and Mt. the Messiah is to come *in* the glory of the Father, with the angels. Lk. has a fondness for angels; apart from the Infancy stories, *cf.* 128f., 1510, 1622, 2243, and Acts, *e.g.* 127, 2723.

IX. 28–36. The Transfiguration (Mk. 92–8*, Mt. 171–8*).—Again Jesus is pictured as praying. The theme of His conversation with Moses and Elijah is given, viz. His decease (lit., exodus; significant in connexion with Moses) at Jerusalem. In 32 text is better than *mg.* The pronouns in 34 are ambiguous: "them" and the second "they" may mean Jesus, Moses and Elijah. In 36 follow *mg.* Lk. omits the discussion concerning Elijah.

IX. 37–43*a*. Healing of the Demoniac Boy (Mk. 914–29*, Mt. 1714–21*).—Lk. is careful to say this was "on the next day." The child is again an only one (712, 842). The Gr. word for "dashed him down" is one that was used by prize-fighters. With 43*a* *cf.* 517,26.

IX. 43*b*–45. Second Prediction of the Passion (Mk. 930–32*, Mt. 1722f.*).—Lk. gives this at once, not during subsequent days in Galilee, and he makes it so much less definite that some scholars have thought it represents the earliest form of the prediction. There is no mention of resurrection here.

44. these words, *i.e.* the announcement that follows; **for** is better rendered "namely."—**delivered up:** *i.e.* by God, *cf.* Ro. 832.

IX. 46–50. The Question of Precedence. The Unattached Exorcist (Mk. 933–40*, Mt. 181–5*).—Lk.'s editorial hand is seen in his transferring 48*b* ("he that is least," etc.) from its better position in Mk., and in his making Jesus see "the reasoning of their heart." Mk. 941–50 is omitted; Mk. 101 = Lk. 951.

IX. 51–XVIII. 14.—Lk. now more than atones for his great omission (of Mk. 645–826) by a great insertion. This section is mainly peculiar to Lk. It describes incidents of the last journey from Galilee to Jerusalem.

IX. 51–56. Inhospitable Samaritans.—The journey was begun by the direct road through Samaria (for Lk.'s interest in Samaritans *cf.* 1033, 1716; contrast Mt. 105), though Jesus appears (Mk., Mt.) later to have gone across Jordan into Peræa (*cf.* 56*).

51. received up: a reference to the Ascension.—**52. before his face:** *cf.* 176, 101. A Hebraism.—**53. going to Jerusalem:** especially for the Passover, which intensified the antagonism of the Samaritans towards the rival sanctuary.—**54.** *cf.* 2 K. 110, though the *mg.*, here is only a copyist's (sound) comment. The references to Elijah in the Gospels form an interesting study.—**55.** The *mg.*, though probably not belonging to the original text, is in true accord with the character and aim of Jesus.—**56. another village:** perhaps across Jordan, more likely still in Samaria. We have then a parallel with the Galilean ministry, an initial rejection (428f.) followed by better treatment.

IX. 57–62. Aspirants to Discipleship (Mt. 819–22*).—Lk.'s setting is preferred by some to Mt.'s, and his version of the second case (59 = Mt. 821) in which Jesus begins, and the man is not yet a disciple, is certainly better, with its addition "Go thou and publish," etc. The third instance is peculiar to Lk. It reminds us of Elisha's call by Elijah, 1 K. 1920, but a greater than Elijah is here. 62 is a great saying which has had incalculable influence.

X. 1–16. The Mission of the Seventy.—*Cf.* p. 665. Lk. has already described the Mission of the Twelve, following Mk.; here he covers the ground again, following Q. Mt. 10 had blended Mk. and Q, but Lk. keeps them separate by raising the number to 70 (*cf.* the 70 nations of the Gentile world, Gen. 10). Some good MSS. and Syr. Sin. read 72, *i.e.* 12 × 6; this may be more original. But even if Lk. only meant to describe a mission to the Jews, he has the wider enterprise at the back of his mind. Early Christian tradition (*e.g.* Clem. Alex.) numbered Barnabas, Matthias, Joseph Barsabbas, and Sosthenes among the Seventy. **2–6:** *cf.* Mt. 937f., 1016, 1010–13.—**7–12:** *cf.* Mt. 107f., 10,14f., also Lk. 94f., Mk. 61of. The city succeeds the house, the public preaching the private.—**8** is peculiar to Lk., and may reflect Pauline influence in abandoning Jewish food regulations. *Cf.* 1 Cor. 1027.—**9. The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you:** it remains with you whether this is all that can be said of it; the message of mercy may become a sentence of doom (10).—**13–15.** The denunciation of the three Galilean cities. Loisy thinks this typifies the general rejection of Israel. *Cf.* Mt. 1121–23*.

X. 17–20. Return of the Seventy.—With 17 *cf.* 910 = Mk. 630. The missioners report that the demons obey them in the name of Jesus. Jesus assents; He had watched Satan fall from heaven during their mission. Messiah's rule is in the ascendant. They are endowed with power to subdue the devil and all his agencies, yet their joy must rest rather upon the fact that they are citizens of the new kingdom.

19. If an authentic saying this is probably metaphorical. *Cf.* Mk. 1618, and for a literal illustration Ac. 283–6.—**20. written in heaven:** *cf.* "book of life," Rev. 2127. Also Is. 43, Dan. 121, Ex. 3232.

X. 21–24. Jesus and His Mission (Mt. 1125–27*, 1316f.*).—The passage agrees very closely with Mt., but Lk. traces the joy and the utterance to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and his context for 23f. is better than Mt.'s. The great sight, denied to prophets and kings but vouchsafed to the disciples, is the Messiah's advent.

X. 25–37. The Greatest Commandment (Mk. 12 28–34*, Mt. 2234–40*), and the **Parable of the Good Samaritan** (Lk. only).—The inquirer puts his question in a different form, but the meaning is the same. And in Lk. Jesus elicits the answer from the questioner, and commends him. 29 is thought by some to be merely Lk.'s device, a peg on which to hang the parable, which existed in an independent form. For the parable answers the question "Whose neighbour am I?" not "Who is my neighbour?" (*cf.*741–43*). But the question "Whose neighbour am I?" is after all the more important, and it would be like Jesus to turn the problem round so as to emphasise this. True, one would have expected a story showing how Jew should help Samaritan, not Samaritan a Jew, but neighbourliness is independent of nationality, and here the Samaritan puts the Jew to shame. "If we consider the parable apart from the context the moral is that people despised by the Jews may be much better than they and much nearer the Kingdom. The Samaritans, as such, are not put above the priests and Levites, but a charitable Samaritan is worth more than a priest without charity" (Loisy). Halévy thinks that in the original story the three men were priest, Levite, and Israelite, a frequent and familiar collocation. A Samaritan was not likely to be passing and repassing between Jericho and Jerusalem or to be friendly with the innkeeper. There would certainly be point in a simple layman doing what the clergy had failed to do. Perhaps for his Gentile readers, to whom priest and Levite were Israelites, Lk. has corrected (and exaggerated) the third term. But, as Montefiore (p. 936f.) says, "the Samaritan is in the parable now and the world will not easily let him go. And rightly. The parable is one of the simplest and noblest of all. Love, it tells us, must know no limits of race and ask no inquiry. Who needs me is my neighbour. Nowhere in OT is this doctrine so exquisitely and dramatically taught."

25. tempted: tested.—**eternal life:** *cf.* 1 Jn. 12*.—**30. going down:** Jericho is nearly 4000 feet lower than Jerusalem; the distance is twenty miles, and the road is full of caves and gorges.—**37. showed mercy:** lit., "did mercy."

X. 38–42. Martha and Mary (Lk. only).—Perhaps the connexion is that after charity comes faith. "The next duty after love of one's neighbour is that of listening to the Gospel." The contemplative life is the complement of the active. The village is not named; the Fourth Gospel says sisters of these names lived at Bethany. Martha is anxious to give her guest a fitting meal. He replies that she need not worry about a variety of dishes; few, or indeed one (*cf. mg.*), will suffice Him, and He whimsically adds that Mary has chosen the best dish "in selecting the nourishment of His teaching" (Moffatt; see his note on the text, and *cf.* RVm.). The whole incident is suggestively handled in Peake, *Election and Service*, p. 77ff. He thinks the "one thing" Jesus needed just then was a receptive hearer, one to whom He could open His heart in an hour when He sorely needed human sympathy. From this higher ministry Mary is not to be dragged away or disturbed.

XI. 1–13. On Prayer (Mt. 69–13*, 77–11*).—Lk. assigns the Lord's Prayer to a separate occasion and gives two reasons for the disciples' request. For the first *cf.* 321, 921, etc., for the second, 533. Rabbis were accustomed to frame special prayers; there are examples in the Talmud. Lk.'s form of the Lord's Prayer is shorter and more original than Mt.'s. The earliest reference to the use of the Prayer is in the *Didaché*, *c.* A.D. 100, where it is ordered to be said thrice daily. Note "Forgive us, *because* we have forgiven," etc.

5–8. (The Friend at Midnight) is peculiar to Lk. *Cf.* 181–8.—**importunity:** lit., "shamelessness." Montefiore comments on the "simple and unphilosophic" nature of Jesus' conception of God, One like ourselves who answers an eager importunate cry for help.—**9–13** like 1–4 is in Mt.'s Sermon on the Mount.—In **13** Syr. Sin. has, like Mt., "good things."—**Holy Spirit** may be less original, though some texts seem to have read "Thy spirit come" in 2.

XI. 14–26. Jesus and Beelzebub.—Lk. had omitted Mk. 322–30*, Mt. (1222–30,43–45*) combined Mk. and Q. Lk. here follows Q. He does not refer to Jerusalem scribes. 16 is not directly taken up till 29. It is curious that Lk. changes "spirit of God" (Mt.) into "finger of God." 24–26 is better placed than in Mt.

XI. 27f. Jesus and His Mother.—A variant of 819–21*. The introduction of feminine sentiment is characteristic of Lk. Human relationship is not the highest claim; *cf.* Mt. 155f.*

XI. 29–32. The Sign of Jonah (Mt. 1238–42*).—Lk. omits the reference to the fish.

XI. 33–36. Sayings about Light.—With 33 *cf.* 816 (=Mk. 421, Mt. 515). With 34f. *cf.* Mt. 622f.* 36 is tautologous and the true text is not certain.

35. The light that is in thee: the light of the soul, the organ of spiritual vision; if this be dark, great is the darkness. If it be clear, all the life is radiant.

XI. 37–54. Condemnation of Pharisees and Scribes.—*Cf.* (though the arrangement is different) Mt. 23*, where the Jerusalem setting is more suitable (perhaps Lk. wishes to make the Jerusalem discourses end with the apocalypse of Mk. 13). It is strange that Jesus should offend His host, first by deed, then by word. The Pharisees emphasized outer cleanliness at the expense of inward, but on the other hand early Christian asceticism distorted the teaching and example of Jesus, and produced a crowd of unwashed saints.

38 reminds us of Mk. 72.—**39. of the cup and of the platter** may be an insertion from Mt. 2325.—**40.** Wellhausen, following Codex Bezæ, transposes "outside" and "inside": "Has not the man who has cleansed the inward cleansed the outward as well?" There is LXX evidence for "make"="clean." Similarly in 41, by a slight change in the Aramaic (which the Gr. translator has perhaps misread) Wellhausen gets the good sense, "*Cleanse* those things which are within," etc. As it stands the verse means "(Instead of washing the outside of the dishes) give the contents to the poor," and so avoid the real defilement of extortion (39).—**42.** Codex Bezæ omits "but these ought ye to have done," etc.; the words conflict with Jesus' rebuke in the context.—**44.** The change from Mt. may be due to Lk.'s desire to make the saying more intelligible to his Gentile readers.

45–54 forms a series of woes, nominally against the Scribes, though 47–51 is against the Jews gener-

ally. One can understand the interruption in 45 ("reproachest," lit., "insultest").—**46**=Mt. 234, **47f.**=Mt. 2329f., **49–51**=Mt. 2334–36.—**49. the Wisdom of God:** there is no trace of any apocryphal book bearing this title, nor can we say (though Mt. and Lk. thought so) that Jesus is describing Himself by this title: He could not have said that He was sending forth "prophets and wise men and scribes" (so Mt.: Lk.'s "apostles" is a Christian accommodation). Wisdom is a favourite Hebrew figure to express the yearning of the Divine Spirit over Israel. The original saying spoke of God's dealings with His people: "Therefore the Wisdom of God (hath) said, 'Behold,'" etc. On the questions involved in the parallel with Mt., and also the severance of 1334f. from this context, see Harnack, *Sayings*, pp. 168ff., Streeter in *Oxford Studies*, p. 151ff.. Bacon in Exp., Dec. 1915.—**52**=Mt. 2313.—**key of knowledge,** *i.e.* the knowledge of how to enter the Kingdom.—**53f.** Lk. only.—**to press upon Him vehemently:** better "to follow Him up closely," or perhaps "to scheme and plot eagerly."—**to provoke him,** etc., lit. "to draw from His mouth," *i.e.* to cross-examine Him, to trip Him into some fatal utterance.

XII. A Collection of Sayings taken from Q and arranged in groups with more or less suitable introductions.

XII. 1–12. Jesus Encourages His Disciples.—(For parallels in Mt. see below.) After a warning against Pharisaism, Jesus exhorts His followers fearlessly to acknowledge Him as their leader and to proclaim His teaching. This may bring trouble upon them, but perfect trust in God will cast out fear.

1. An attempt to connect what follows with ch. **11.** Hence the reference to the Pharisees and their **leaven** (Mk. 815, Mt. 166*), which Luke takes to be hypocrisy. —**2.** Lk. only. Hypocrisy is not only wrong, but useless; a day is coming when all masks will be torn off. In accordance with this statement Lk. gives an altered version of Mt. 1027 ("What I tell you in darkness, speak ye in the light," etc.). The early house instruction (94) is to give way to public preaching.—**3–9.** *Cf.* Mt. 1027–33*.—**4f.** The slight changes which Lk. makes are suggestive. Loisy thinks there is a trace here of the belief in judgment immediately after death as in 1622, 2343.—**8f. before men,** *i.e.* magistrates.—**angels of God:** Mt. "My Father which is in heaven." In Lk. the angels are judges, before whom the Son of Man gives evidence. Does Lk. (*cf.* 926, Mk. 838) or Q think of the Son of Man as another than Jesus? If so, Mt.'s "I" may be a correction to prevent such a misunderstanding.—**10.** The saying has a better context in Mk. 328f., Mt. 1232*, though Lk.'s form is good, and it may be inserted here as encouragement to the disciples. J. Weiss thinks it may originally have come after 12; he who blasphemes the Holy Spirit (speaking through the disciples) shall not be forgiven.—**11f.** Mt. 1019f.*. Lk.'s form suggests Pauline experiences.

XII. 13–21. Parable of the Rich Fool.—Lk. only.

13. The crowd of 1 reappears here.—**14.** Jesus declines to usurp the functions of the civil judge.—**15** is an editorial link between the incident (in which there is no allusion to covetousness, unless indeed that term be taken to cover the claiming of one's rights) and the parable. Tr. "a man's life is not part of his possessions because he has ample wealth" (Moffatt).—**20. this night:** apparently just when he has carried his plans through.—**thy soul** (or life) **is required:** lit. "they demand thy soul"; "they," possibly the man's wronged and oppressed labourers, probably the angels of death.—**21. rich towards God:** *i.e.* gaining the riches of God, laying up treasure in heaven, *cf.* 33f.

XII. 22–34. Warning against Worry (Mt. 625–33*, 19–21*).—In Mt. the section follows the saying about God and Mammon, with which the parable just given by Lk. has an analogy. Lk. and Mt. agree closely, though Lk. has "ravens" for "birds of the heavens" (24), and "the rest" (26) (*i.e.* all necessaries other than food) for "raiment." 32 takes the place of Mt. 634, and leads up to 33f. The fear is lest they (the disciples) should not enter the Kingdom. They are assured that they will do so if (unlike the rich fool) they renounce all their possessions and give them in alms to the poor. The advice is more definite than in Mt.

XII. 35–48. Three References to the Parousia.

35–38 (with **47f.**). **The Need of Watchfulness.**—These verses, like 1325, are clearly akin in thought to Mt.'s parable of the Ten Bridesmaids (*cf.* also Mk. 1333–37). Loisy thinks we have here reminiscences and echoes of that parable; Wellhausen thinks Lk.'s form the earlier; "the fermentation in Lk. has in Mt. settled down and disappeared." But it is quite possible that Mt. and Lk. are independent of each other here, especially if we disregard the "return from the marriage feast" in 36. Certainly the main point is the other feast—prepared for the faithful servants. This is the true Messianic banquet. If we retain the first feast as well, it must mean the joy of heaven from which the Messiah returns.

38f. Be Ready (Mt. 2443f.*).

XII. 39–48. The Faithful Steward (Mt. 2445–51*). 39 is peculiar to Lk. The answer to Peter's question is that the injunctions to watchfulness are particularly applicable to the Twelve. This is emphasized by Lk.'s use of "steward" for Mt.'s "servant." The other variants are not significant, but 47f. is found only in Lk.: it seems to refer to another affair, and may have been originally a continuation of 35–38. It contains a lesson either for Jews (especially Scribes) in contrast with Gentiles, or for Christians (especially teachers and leaders) in contrast with heathen.

46. cut him asunder: *cf.* Heb. 1137; but see *mg.* and Mt. 2451*.

XII. 49–59. Signs of the Times.—For parallels see below. Jesus is oppressed with the thought of the future till it is accomplished.

49f. Lk. only. Fire is what Jesus has come to cast on the earth (*cf.* 316f.); here it probably means division (51; Mt. "sword"). Would that the discord had set in—it would mean that the Kingdom was nigh. But something else has to precede the Kingdom, perhaps also the discord, viz., His death, here referred to as a baptism, *i.e.* a new consecration (*cf.* Mk. 1038). The passage should be compared with the more formal predictions of the Passion, which may have been edited after the event.—**51–53.** *Cf.* Mt. 1034–36. Lk. is more elaborate—he pictures a household of husband and wife, son and his wife, and daughter. The two men quarrel and the elder woman quarrels with the two younger ones. Such hostility on the part of elders to the young who are attracted by the Christian message is well illustrated in the modern mission field, especially in India.—**54–56.** Mt. 162–4*. Lk. has the better setting. The Jews recognise the signs of the weather, they refuse to recognise the signs of the approaching Judgment, with the need for repentance. The sign is of course Jesus Himself and His message. Even apart from signs they ought to judge what is right (57), and to do it while there is yet time, like a debtor satisfying his creditor before the case comes into court, where only utter condemnation is to be looked for.—**58f.** Mt. 525f.* Perhaps the setting is better in Lk., where

the moral is implied that men must repent before God in view of the imminence of the Judgment.

XIII. 1–9. Exhortations to Repentance.—The theme of 12$^{57-59}$ is continued and illustrated by references to two incidents and by a parable. The section is peculiar to Lk. A company of Galilean pilgrims had come into collision with the Romans and had been massacred by Pilate's orders while they were sacrificing in the Temple courts. A garrison was always kept in the Tower of Antonia to quell disturbances. Neither Josephus nor any other writer refers to the affair, but it is quite in the line of Pilate's policy and conduct. Jesus, hearing of it, declines to admit that the calamity implied exceptional sin on the part of the sufferers, but emphasizes instead the truth that sin involves calamity, and warns His audience that unless they repent they will surely be overwhelmed in the coming disaster. He repeats the warning by reference to an accident that had recently happened in Jerusalem. Eighteen workmen building aqueducts at the Pool of Siloam (on the south side of the city) had been buried under some falling masonry. They were not necessarily the worst men in Jerusalem. Note the word "offenders" or "debtors"; there is a suggestion that they are so styled because Pilate paid them with sacred money from the Temple treasury. Jesus' point is that all His hearers are debtors to Divine justice (*cf.* 12^{58}). National sins, if not repented of, will lead to national destruction.

5. repent: the tense of the Gr. verb marks the need of immediate repentance; **likewise** denotes more exact similarity than "in like manner" (3).

6–9. In the parable of the Barren Fig Tree the lesson is taught that those who are spared for a (short) time should not miss the opportunity of repentance. The parable, with which *cf.* Is. 5$^{1-7}$, may well have been the source of the miracle of Mk. 11$^{12-14,21f.}$*, Mt. 21$^{18-21}$*. The "three years" (7) is not to be pressed as an indication of the duration of Christ's ministry. Note that the tree not only yields no fruit, it nullifies or sterilises the ground, making good soil useless.

XIII. 10–17. A Woman Healed on the Sabbath. (Lk. only; *cf.* 6$^{1-11}$).—Loisy is too fanciful in connecting this section with what precedes by suggesting that as the barren tree stands for unrepentant Israel so the healed woman, and those who rejoice with her, represent those Jews who accepted Jesus as Messiah. The phrase "spirit of infirmity" shows that the case was regarded as one of demoniacal possession, perhaps Lk.'s misconception of Jesus' reference to Satan in 16. There is no hint of exorcism in the story; the woman has a curved spine and Jesus heals her by imposition of hands. With "daughter of Abraham," *cf.* 19^{9}. The official in charge somewhat meanly attacks Jesus through the people, and especially the patient, though there is no indication that she had come seeking a cure. Jesus shows how even the Law gave way to commonsense and human feelings in the case of beasts on the Sabbath; much more so should it yield in the case of a woman (*cf.* Mt. 12^{12}).

XIII. 13–21. Parables of the Mustard Seed and Leaven (Mk. 4$^{30-32}$*, Mt. 13$^{31-33}$*).—There is no real connexion with the foregoing incident; "therefore" (18) is only an attempt at a link; though Loisy, who has seen converted Jews in 16, sees converted Gentiles in the "birds" of 19, and the heathen world in the "three measures of meal" (21). Three measures (see pp. 115f.) was a usual baking (Gen. 18^{6})—there is no allegory of "body, mind, and spirit" or "earth, Church, and State."

XIII. 22–30. The Narrow Entrance into Life.—Parallels are found in Mt. 7^{13}f., 25^{11}f., 7$^{21-23}$, 8^{11}f., 19^{30}. The two preceding parables serve to lead up to a resumption of teaching concerning the Judgment. The villages are apparently in Peræa. An inquirer wonders if there are few who are in the way of salvation, and is bidden with other hearers to make sure that he is in it himself. The Kingdom may be extensive (19, 21), yet to secure entrance is no light task, but a strenuous struggle. The mention of "the narrow door" (24), a familiar figure, suggests another door, that of the festal chamber. The Master rises up (from table or dais) to shut it. There are occasions when, though one knocks (11^{9}), the door is not opened—mere acquaintance or even association with the Messiah does not entitle a man to the blessings of the Kingdom. 24 and 25 should be connected as in *mg.* A full stop may be put after "door" (25*a*). From this reminiscence of the Parable of the Bridesmaids, though the stress here is rather on conduct than on time, we are taken back to the Sermon on the Mount and to Mt. 8^{11}f.*, where the arrangement is better. Lk. tries to adapt a contrast between Jews and Gentiles to one between Christians and non-Christians, though in 29f. he must refer to Gentiles.

XIII. 31–33. The Enmity of Herod.—Peræa was part of Herod Antipas's territory. It is possible that the Pharisees wished to get Jesus into Judæa and so nearer the arm of the Sanhedrin. The reference of Jesus to His death in Jerusalem (33) may point this way. If so they, more than Herod, were the "fox." There were, however, Pharisees that were friendly to Jesus, *cf.* 14^{1}ff. As applied to Herod the epithet sums up the "tyranny, timidity, and insolence" of the Idumæan character of the Herods. Jesus asserts that His work of exorcising and healing is only a preliminary to the coming of the Kingdom and His entry into glory. "I am perfected" need not mean death, though it is usually so interpreted.

33 may be an addition meant to lead up to 34f.; the word for **howbeit** is often used by Lk. in such cases. Wellhausen also finds 33 difficult after 32, and emends the two verses so as to read "I cast out devils and perform cures to-day and to-morrow. Howbeit I must go on my way the day following, for it cannot be," etc. He takes "I am perfected" (prediction of death) to be an early interpolation, after which a reference to journeying on the third day was out of place and called for the further interpolation of "to-day and to-morrow" in 33*a*.

XIII. 34f. Lament over Jerusalem.—Mt. 23$^{37-39}$*, where the setting is more suitable. Lk. omits "desolate." For the saying *cf.* 2 Esd. 1$^{30-33}$, and also the LXX of Is. 16^{1}f., a passage which was Messianically interpreted, and has the word "desolate" and a reference to scattered birds. It is more likely that 35 is a prediction of the Parousia than a mere statement (on one of several visits to Jerusalem) that the citizens will not see Jesus again until He comes as a pilgrim to the Passover and hears the usual greeting accorded to pilgrims.

XIV. 1–24. A Sabbath with a Pharisee.—A companion picture to 13$^{10-17}$. When in 6$^{6-11}$ Lk. relates the cure of the man with a withered hand (Mk. 3$^{1-6}$, Mt. 12$^{9-13}$) he omits the illustrative argument used by Jesus (Mt. 12^{11}f.); he brings it in here in a story peculiar to his gospel. Montefiore justly points out that the animals (5, *cf.* 13^{15}) are in danger of perishing, whereas the woman and man would not have suffered by waiting till the Sabbath was past. He shows that the true argument is "Deeds of charity and love should never be put off; they take precedence of and temporarily

invalidate all ritual laws and ceremonial observance of sacred days."

5. *mg.* "a son" is out of the question, despite good MS. authority. Rendel Harris (*Sidelights on NT Research*, p. 205) suggests that the original reading was *hus*, "pig," which was taken as a contraction of *huios*, "son." Jesus said, "Even if your pig(!) fell into a pit on the Sabbath, you would pull it out," a delightful piece of irony. "Son" was seen to be impossible, hence sheep, ass, ox, were all brought in as substitutes.

7–14. Humility and Hospitality.—8–10 and 12–14 may originally have been parable stories which Lk. has turned into direct counsel to guests and hosts respectively. The "chief seat" was at the host's left hand, though there may be a reference here to a dais.

10. *Cf.* Prov. 25 6f.; we are not to conclude that Jesus advocated false humility as a road to advancement; He speaks of consequence rather than purpose. J. Weiss suggests that the counsel is really that of an ascetic section of the early Church.—**11** introduces the idea of the Messianic banquet and the judgment.—**12–14.** The lesson is that real kindness is disinterested and seeks no recompense. The recompense in the future is sure and sufficient. The tense of the verb "call" in 12 is important; "do not make a practice of inviting."—**14.** Most NT references to the Resurrection confine it to the "just"; note, however Jn. 5 29, Ac. 24 15, Rev. 20 12f.

15–24. Parable of the Marriage Feast.—Mt. 22 1–10* is similar but not identical. 15 (*cf.* Rev. 19 9) serves to lead the thought from the earthly feast to the heavenly. The counsel of 13 finds a supreme illustration in the action of God (21). Jesus, in Lk.'s parable, is the servant who summons the guests, in Mt. He is the King's Son in whose honour the feast is given. Nothing is here said about the destruction of the unwilling (and murderous) guests. Lk. defines the new guests more closely than Mt.; the "poor," etc., of 21 are the outcast Israelites, the publicans and sinners, those from the "highways and hedges" are the Gentiles. It is not God's will that there are "few who are saved."

23. constrain: this word need not mean more than "urge" (Mk. 6 45); unhappily it has been used to justify religious compulsion and persecution.—**24. you:** the plural pronoun shows that Jesus, though still using the imagery of the parable, is here directly addressing the hearers.

XIV. 25–35. Discipleship and its Cost.—The passage is a reminder that, despite the universality of the Kingdom, the number of its true subjects is small. To the crowd that is following Him Jesus applies a stringent and sifting test. Few after all will reach the Messianic banquet, and only then after much tribulation. The saying of 26f. is in a harder form than Mt. 10 37f., and it is better to think that Mt. has softened it than for us to do so here. Such uncompromising sayings were quite in Jesus' manner, and we have to judge them in the light of His whole spirit and teaching. (We may perhaps compare the "Blessing" of Levi by Moses in Dt. 33 9.) Yet we may very well find in Jesus' teaching a distinction between simple entrance into the Kingdom and full discipleship with its absolute and complete consecration. The two parabolic questions which follow teach the lesson of 9 62. It is better not to attempt what one cannot thoroughly accomplish; "better never begin to be a full disciple than to put down the cross after once you have taken it up." 33 is not exactly the conclusion we should have expected; it may be Lk.'s way of fitting the parables into the instruction on renunciation. 34f. (Mt. 5 13) is here used in connexion with the idea of full discipleship, absolute renunciation. Those who attain this are "the salt of the earth"; if they fall away from it they are not fit for the Kingdom of God.

31. Some commentators see a reference here to Herod Antipas, whose army had been routed by Aretas of Arabia, whose daughter Herod had divorced when he married Herodias. *Cf.* p. 654.

XV. Three Parables Showing God's Love for the Lost, and His Joy at their Restoration.—The three parables in this chapter have no definite note of time or place. An introduction is supplied from 5 29f. (Mk. 2 15f.). Both the introduction (sinners crowding to hear Jesus) and the parables strike the new note that Jesus came to sound—the direct interest in and appeal to the outcast (*cf.* p. 622). "This parable" (3) must mean the parabolic discourse, embracing the three illustrations. "The Parable of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin form a pair, and represent the bewildered sinner and the unconscious sinner, while the story of the Prodigal Son forms an exquisite picture of the sinner who deliberately chooses his own path, and deliberately turns back to ask his Father's forgiveness. In the first parable one out of a hundred is lost and restored, in the second one out of ten, in the third one out of two" (Burnside).

4–7 (Mt. 18 12–14*). There are some changes; in particular Lk. makes the neighbours rejoice with the shepherd, and inserts the moral which Mt. omits. We are not to suppose that Jesus is scorning the good Law-keeping Jew in the reference to the ninety-nine.

4. wilderness: not desert, but the usual moorland or mountain pasture.

8–10 (Lk. only). A domestic parable follows an out-of-doors one as with the Leaven and Mustard Seed (13 19–21). The piece of silver (a Greek drachma) probably formed part of a circlet worn on the forehead.

11–32. Parable of the Prodigal Son.—No passage in the Gospels needs less comment than this matchless illustration of God's forgiving love towards the repentant sinner (11–20). Nor is there any real difficulty in 25–32, which deals with the elder brother. The lesson is that those who have not fallen are wrong if they blame this forgiving love. The Father's goodness towards the penitent does not injure them; they should rejoice at the restoration of the lost brother and the mending of the broken circle. The parable had special point for the hard Pharisaic pietists who were offended because Jesus associated and even ate with the outcast but repentant "publicans and sinners." The injured air of the complacent hide-bound moralist is drawn to the life. The cold and unsympathetic attitude of the elder brother sets off the enthusiasm and warmth of the Father. The parable is a unity, its theme being the reception given to the lost and found son.

16. husks: pods of the carob tree, hard and unpalatable.—**17. he came to himself:** mentally and morally.—**21.** Note how he fails to complete his rehearsed statement; probably the father breaks into the middle of it.—**22. ring:** as necessary as the shoes (slaves alone went bare-footed) to show his recovered sonship.

XVI. 1–9. Parable of the Unjust Steward (Lk. only).—It has been suggested that a better title would be "The Shrewd Agent." At any rate the epithet "unrighteous" has as much reference (if not more) to 1 as to 5–7. A steward in danger of dismissal for mismanagement of his master's estate seeks to provide for the future by making friends with the tenants.

That this is at his master's expense has nothing to do with the point of the parable; it is a parable, not an allegory. The agent summons the tenants, who are under bond to pay part of their rent in kind (or perhaps they are merchants having supplies of goods on credit) and encourages them to alter their contracts in their own favour. Who is "the lord" that praises the overseer for his action? Apparently it is the landlord (*cf.* 5), himself a man of the world, though some commentators, *e.g.* Wellhausen and J. Weiss, say it is Jesus (*cf.* 186). In any case the steward's cleverness is commended (along the lines of Mt. 10 16), and the comment is made (by Jesus) that "the children of this world" display more shrewdness and common-sense, at least in their everyday and present life affairs, than "the children of light." (There is a Johannine ring about this antithesis.) The former are keener on temporal, than the latter on eternal, well-being. Men are more resourceful, resolute, and zealous about material gain (and we may add sport) than in social and moral reform, or the spread of the Kingdom of God. An interesting but not convincing interpretation of the parable is given in Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, pp. 386–398. 9 refers not to general alertness or worldly wisdom, but to a wise use of money, especially money wrongly acquired, and we could understand it better if it were addressed to tax-gatherers (like Zacchæus). Unjust gains cannot always be restored to their owners, but they can be given in alms, and so win friends or even heaven. It is perhaps better to take the parable as ending with 8, and 9 as a comment on it, a link with 10–13, and a prelude to 19–31.

1. accused: the papyri have the Gr. word *diaballō* in the sense of "complain," so we need not assume any malice or falsehood in its use here.

4. they: the tenants or debtors of 5.—**8. The** emphasis is on **wisely** (which is not "honestly").—**9. when it fails:** we should probably read "when *you* fail," *i.e.* die.—**the eternal tabernacles:** in contrast to the houses of 4. The parallel does not necessarily stamp the verse as a moralising accretion to the parable.

XVI. 10–13. The Right Use of Money. Lk. only, except 13 (=Mt. 6 24), which is brought in by the verbal link "mammon." The note here is fidelity. There is some connexion with 1–9 in the subject—property and its obligations. In money matters one must be beyond reproach. If a man is untrustworthy here, how shall he be entrusted with the true wealth, the Messianic Kingdom? 11 and 12 are parallel sayings; "your own" corresponds to "the true riches," and "that which is another's" is therefore wealth which is regarded as lent to men only for a season. We are reminded of the Parable of the Talents.

11. unrighteous mammon: wealth is stigmatised as dishonest because it is so often the origin and cause of dishonesty.

14–18. Words to Pharisees.—14f. Lk. only. The verses seem introduced by Lk. to indicate that the preceding and succeeding parables were directed against Pharisees. They also illustrate his antipathy to the rich. Poverty and righteousness are identified, as in many of the Psalms. In Lk.'s source the parable of 19–31 may have illustratively followed 15.

16. *Cf.* Mt. 11 12f.* The coming of John marks a crisis in the religious history of the world; he separates the Law from the Kingdom. And yet the Law has not been abrogated (17, *cf.* Mt. 5 18*); what seems subversion, *e.g.* Christ's teaching on divorce, is really preservation. The underlying teaching is that the Gospel fulfils and perfects the Law.—**18** combines the first case of Mk. 10 11* with the second case of Mt. 5 32*, and may be the original form.

19–31. Parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk. only).—The story may have originally ended at 23 or at 25, and been intended simply to illustrate the contrasted lot of poor and rich in this world and the next. *Cf.* 6 21,24. Inequality is redressed apart from moral considerations. We need not suppose that Dives was specially cruel; if Lazarus had only got harsh treatment at his door he would have shifted his pitch. Certain points are (as usual in the parables) ignored, *e.g.* the fate of the godly rich or the wicked poor, and the unequal balance of temporal comfort and eternal woe. To the rich man's deprivation is added punishment, so that we have to assume that he was not only rich but wicked. "The five brothers are types of unbelieving, unrepentant Judaism," and the object of the addition (26–31) to the parable is to show that their unbelief is without excuse. Moses and the prophets really testified to the Messiahship of Jesus and therefore how to avoid Gehenna. It is scarcely necessary to find in 31 an allusion to the resurrection of Jesus, or even to the raising of Lazarus (Jn. 11).

20. Lazarus: the name (=Eleazar) may have been chosen for its meaning, "God is his help."—**21. crumbs:** the word is not in the Gr., and we should rather understand the pieces of bread which took the place of table napkins after the eaters had dipped their hands in the dishes.—**22. into Abraham's bosom:** *i.e.* reclining next to Abraham in the celestial banquet.—**23. Hades:** here equivalent to Gehenna, not simply a places of shades, but of torment, which is emphasised by Paradise being within sight. Note that judgment here follows immediately on death, and is unalterable (26). "The description of the realms beyond death is without parallel in the reserve with which the conditions of the future are elsewhere veiled" (Carpenter).

XVII. The chapter illustrates the difficulty experienced by Lk. in using the material at his disposal. He here brings together without any clear connexion of thought a selection of sayings of Christ, mostly paralleled in Mt., together with a miracle.

XVII. 1f. stumbling-blocks. Mk. 9 42*, Mt. 18 6f.* (note the reversed order).—**3. Take heed to yourselves** probably belongs to 2.

XVII. 3f. The Duty of Forgiveness (Mt. 18 15, 21f.*).—Mt. is altogether fuller and adds the illustrative parable.

XVII. 5f. The Power of Faith (Mk. 11 22f.*, Mt. 17 20, 21 21*).—Mt. connects the saying with the disciples' failure to cast out demons, and again (like Mk.) with the withering of the fig tree. Note that Lk. has a tree here ("sycamine," *i.e.* fig, or perhaps mulberry) for Mt. and Mk.'s "mountain."

XVII. 7–10. Parable of the Servant Plowing (Lk. only).—"You do not wait on your slaves, so why should you, who are God's slaves, claim any reward for what you do in His service?" Syr. Sin. omits "unprofitable" in 10; the stress in any case is on the noun. It is interesting to find Jesus speaking of God and man as Master and slave (Mt. 21 28–32*). Whatever good a man can do he can never exceed his obligation. Merit does not live from man to God; what we receive from Him is all of grace. *Cf.* the complementary teaching of 12 37. Merx suggests that 9 originally ran "Has that servant any 'thank' (*i.e.* special favour, *cf.* 6 32ff.) because," etc.

XVII. 11–19. Healing of Ten Lepers.—A time note is introduced (11) to remind us that Lk. is, in this main section of his Gospel (9 51–18 14), professedly dealing with the journey to Jerusalem though Jesus

is not far advanced on it (see below on 11). Lk. alone gives us this incident. If it is a variant of 512–16 (=Mk. 140–45, Mt. 81–4) it is a very wide one. The sufferers are healed without a touch (*cf.* Naaman, 2 K. 511). Of the ten only one shows any gratitude, and he is a Samaritan, a "foreigner" as compared with Jews. This incident thus typifies the Gentile appreciation of Christianity in contrast with the Jewish disregard of it.

11. the midst of Samaria and Galilee, the boundary between the two districts, perhaps in the valley of Bethshan leading to the Jordan.

XVII. 20–37. Apocalyptic Sayings.—There are several parallels with Mt. 24. In ch. 21 Lk. takes up the subject again.

20f., addressed to the Pharisees, is found in Lk. only. To a question about time Jesus gives an answer about manner. The Kingdom is not coming "as you hope to catch sight of it" (Moffatt).—**with observation:** so that its signs can be externally seen or foreseen. Only such tokens are given to "this generation" as belong to the nature of the Kingdom itself. Cf. Mt. 1238ff.—**21. within you,** *i.e.* the Kingdom is here regarded (*a*) as already present, *cf.* 1120, (*b*) as a spiritual principle working in men's hearts like the leaven in the meal (1321). It is strange that Jesus should say this to the Pharisees, but the "you" is not necessarily confined to them. Some scholars insist that Lk.'s preposition means "among"; even then the Kingdom is already present (though some hold that Jesus only means that it is imminent; "you discuss it and look eagerly for it, but lo! it is upon you," *cf.* Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, pp. 108f.), but only in an outward objective form. A further suggestion in this direction is to read "will be" for "is"; men need not be anxious about signs, when the Kingdom comes it will be suddenly present to all. This is to force the saying into conformity with the following section (esp. 23f.).—**22.** Lk. only. A time will come when the disciples will look in vain for the Advent; *cf.* 2 P. 34.—**23f.** Mt. 2423–27*.—**25.** Lk. only; possibly an interpolation.—**26f.** Mt. 2437–39*.—**28–30.** This additional illustration from the destruction of Sodom is given by Lk. only.—**31f.** Mk. 1315f.*, Mt. 2417f.* Lk. clinches the warning by a reference to Lot's wife, whose fate was due to her reluctance to leave her property. The verses have a better context in Mk. (flight from the destruction of Jerusalem).—**33.** *Cf.* 924, Mk. 835, Mt. 1039, Jn. 1225.—**gain:** preserve for oneself.—**preserve:** endue it with life.—**34f.** Mt. (2440) sets the two men in the field; some inferior authorities (*cf.* AV) add this here as 36.—**taken:** saved from the catastrophe; **left:** to be overwhelmed, to perish as those who are slain and devoured by the carrion vultures.—**37.** Mt. 2428*. Wherever there is corruption (as in the world of Noah and Lot), the Advent with its Judgment will be operative. The saying holds true of morally dead hearts and of decadent nations. It may not be unnecessary to note again that in this chapter Lk. is stringing together sayings uttered on various occasions and having reference to different aspects of the coming of the Son of Man.

XVIII. 1–8. Parable of the Unrighteous Judge (Lk. only).—There is a connexion with the preceding sayings; the Advent may be delayed, yet the disciples should incessantly pray for it—it will surely come. The parable has a specific point, it is not simply an exhortation to prayer like 115–8. There is a striking parallel with Ecclus. 3512–19, even to the idea of vengeance on enemies of the community and the faith. The parable is constructed on the *a fortiori* principle. God is not compared to but contrasted with an unjust judge. If the one yields to the persistency of an unknown widow, how much more will the other hear and answer His own chosen people, though it is not merely because they pray that He will punish the persecutor. Note the use of "the Lord" for Jesus in 6, as in 713, 1039, 1242, 1315, 176, 2261. *Cf.* 168f.

5. wear me out: annoy or pester me, lit., "hit me under the eye"; "buffet" as in 1 Co. 927.—**7. and he is long-suffering over them:** either (*a*) will He delay His vengeance in their case? or (*b*) will He be tolerant towards them (the wicked)?—**8*b*.** The note of encouragement is followed by one of warning. It is not enough to pray for the Parousia; see that you are ready for it. There is no doubt about the Coming, there is grave doubt about the state of the world at the Coming. "Who shall stand when He appeareth?"

9–14. Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Lk. only).—In 9 we should perhaps translate "concerning those who trusted," etc. The parable, not necessarily spoken on the same occasion as the preceding one, also deals with Prayer, though with its spirit rather than its subject. When ye pray, think not so much of the sins of others as of your own. The Pharisee draws a rigid line between himself (and his class) and "the rest of men"; they are outside the pale. His prayer is the prototype of that of Burns's Holy Willie. Fasting, though only enjoined by the Law for the Day of Atonement, was regularly practised by many Jews; *cf.* Mt. 616*. In the matter of tithes also they went beyond the farm crops suggested in Nu. 1821; *cf.* Mt. 2323.

13. smote is really "kept on smiting."—**14. justified:** not "made righteous" but "deemed righteous"; *cf.* Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 30f. There is no Pauline dogma here, only a statement that in what was "a sort of unconscious lawsuit" God decides in favour of the tax-gatherer and his prayer.—**shall be humbled, exalted:** *i.e.* in the Judgment. The parable is one of the most characteristic pieces of Jesus' teaching; it is a commentary on the Beatitudes about the poor in spirit, the meek, and them that hunger for righteousness.

Lk. has now come to the end of his "great insertion," and once more follows Mk. as his chief source.

XVIII. 15–17. Jesus Blesses the Children (Mk. 1013–16*, Mt. 1913–15*).—Lk. makes the children babes.

XVIII. 18–30. The Great Refusal and the Obstacle of Riches (Mk. 1017–31*, Mt. 1916–30*).—Lk. describes the inquirer as a ruler (probably of the local synagogue), and unlike Mt. keeps Mk.'s words in 18f. 27 is a wider saying than the parallels. In 29 Lk. adds "wife" and gives "for the Kingdom of God's sake" in place of "for the Gospel's sake" (Mk.), or "for my name's sake" (Mt.).

XVIII. 31–34. Prediction of the Passion (Mk. 1032–34*, Mt. 2017–19*).—This prediction is the third in Mk. and Mt., the fourth in Lk., 1725 being added to 922,44.—**34** is repeated from 945.—In **31*b*** there is an addition which speaks of the fulfilment of prophecy.

XVIII. 35–43. A Blind Man Healed (Mk. 1046–52*, Mt. 2029–34*).—There is one man as in Mk., but the name (Bartimæus) is not given. Unlike Mk. and Mt., Lk. says the incident occurred as Jesus was entering (not leaving) Jericho. Loisy thinks the change was made to explain the presence of the crowd in Jericho.

XIX. 1–27. Lk. here inserts an incident and a parable between Mk. 10$_{52}$ and 11$_{1}$.

XIX. 1–10. Jesus and Zacchæus (Lk. only).—The incident is akin to that of Levi, 5$_{27–32}$. The tree which Zacchæus used was a fig-mulberry, one with a short trunk and horizontal branches. Jesus, seeing him there, probably asked the bystanders who he was, and at once sees a way of redeeming an outcast. He asks hospitality of him, and enjoys it, to the vexation of all, not simply of Scribes and Pharisees. The tax-gatherer is pricked in his heart, regards his wealth as the product of injustice, and makes the restitution demanded in the Law, *e.g.* Ex. 22$_{1}$, as well as a promise to distribute half his property in charity.

9. unto him: possibly "of him." It is a nice question whether Zacchæus represents the Gentile world, now admitted to the household of Israel, or whether Jesus means that his offensive occupation had not cancelled his Jewish birthright, especially since his promise of reparation. We may note that Zacchæus was not called to "leave all" and follow Jesus.

XIX. 11–27. Parable of the Talents (Mt. 25$_{14–30}$*). —There are some differences in the two versions. In Lk. the "man" of Mt. becomes a prince who (like the sons of Herod the Great) journeys (to Rome) to have his title and dominions confirmed. So Jesus departs to heaven to be invested with the Messianic Kingdom. All the servants (ten in number) receive the same endowment (contrast Mt.), a "pound" ("mina," 100 drachmæ, say £3, 15s.; Mt.'s "talent" was worth 60 minæ). The protest of the citizens (14) had an historical precedent in the deputation of fifty Jews that besought the Emperor not to instal Archelaus on the throne of Judæa. Similarly the claim of Jesus had been objected to. Lk. may be thinking of the refusal of the Jews to recognise the Risen Jesus as the Messiah. The reward (Mt. 5$_{12}$*) of faithful service is association in rule; *cf.* Mt. 19$_{28}$. 27 stands related to the parable much as Mt. 25$_{30}$* does to Mt.'s version; with it contrast Mt. 5$_{44}$. A comparison of the two forms suggests that Lk. has grafted another parable on to that of the talents. 11 shows that the main teaching is (as in Mt.) the duty of using in the best possible way the interval (which may be long, despite the entry into Jerusalem) before the Parousia.

XIX. 28–40. The Triumphal Entry (Mk. 11$_{1–11}$*, Mt. 21$_{1–11}$*).—There is nothing peculiar in Lk.'s narrative except 28, which recalls 9$_{51}$, till we come to 37. There the crowd is defined as consisting of disciples, and their exultation ascribed to the "mighty works which they had seen." 38*b* reminds us of 2$_{14}$, though here we have "peace in heaven" (*cf.* Job 25$_{2}$), part of Lk.'s paraphrase of Hosanna.

39f. Lk. only. Syr. Sin. omits "of the Pharisees." The verses are Lk.'s equivalent for Mt. 21$_{15}$f., the praise of the children. Jesus accepts the acclaiming homage of the crowd as Divinely ordained.

XIX. 41–44. The Fall of Jerusalem Predicted (Lk. only).—*Cf.* the words of Jesus to the "daughters of Jerusalem," 23$_{28–31}$. The passage takes the place of the withering of the fig-tree narrated by Mk. and Mt., which Lk. has already dealt with in different fashion, 13$_{6–9}$. The use of the word "bank" (43), *i.e.* rampart, has been held to show that the prediction, if not composed, was at least revised, after the Fall of Jerusalem.

44. "You would not understand when God was visiting you" (Moffatt); **visitation** is a neutral term, here denoting the day of opportunity and testing.

XIX. 45–48. The Cleansing of the Temple (Mk. 11$_{15–19}$*, Mt. 21$_{12}$ f.*).—Lk. abbreviates; only the sellers are ejected. Jesus teaches daily in the Temple, a statement repeated at 20$_{1}$ and 21$_{37}$. 48 points to the popularity of Jesus in Jerusalem, *cf.* 21$_{38}$, 23$_{27,48}$.

XX. 1–8. The Question of Authority (Mk. 11$_{27–33}$*, Mt. 21$_{23–27}$*).—The only additional point to notice in Lk. is that Jesus was not only teaching but "preaching the Gospel," proclaiming the good news of the Kingdom.

XX. 9–19. The Parable of the Vineyard (Mk. 12$_{1–12}$*. Mt, 21$_{33–46}$*).—Lk. omits the details of the preparation of the vineyard, and he confines the fate of death to the "beloved son." He alone gives the exclamation of the hearers "God forbid" (16), a protest against the idea that Israel should be overthrown and dispossessed. This is very different from Mt., who makes the hearers pass judgment on themselves.

XX. 20–26. The Question of Tribute (Mk. 12$_{13–17}$*, Mt. 22$_{15–22}$*).—The authorities send spies who pretend to be honest inquirers, pious observers of the Law, with a really conscientious scruple.

21. thou sayest and teachest rightly, *i.e.* straightforwardly.

XX. 27–40. The Question of the Resurrection Life (Mk. 12$_{18–27}$*, Mt. 22$_{23–33}$*).—The first peculiarity in Lk.'s account is 34, 35*a*, the contrast between people in this world and those deemed worthy to attain the other world and the resurrection (which, as in 14$_{14}$, seems limited to the righteous). In 36 there is a further addition; in the other world men and women do not die, hence they need not (and so do not) marry. They are "sons of the resurrection," *i.e.* have the characteristics of the risen and endless life. With 37f., especially "all live unto Him," *cf.* 4 Mac. 7$_{18}$f.—"as many as make righteousness their first thought are able to master the weakness of the flesh, believing that unto God they die not, as our patriarchs, A. and I. and J. died not, but that they live unto God." Similarly 4 Mac. 16$_{25}$, of the seven brother martyrs, who knew that "men dying for God live unto God, as live A. and I. and J., and all the Patriarchs." The meaning seems to be that the pious dead, even before the Judgment, when the world regards them as dead, live with God in true bliss. 39 is in Lk. only. With 40 *cf.* Mk. 12$_{34}$, Mt. 22$_{46}$, also Lk. 14$_{6}$. Lk. has already (10$_{25–28}$) dealt with the question of the greatest commandment which Mk. and Mt. insert here.

XX. 41–44. Is Messiah David's Son? (Mk. 12$_{35–37}$*, Mt. 22$_{41–46}$*).—Lk.'s version is the shortest of the three. It is not thoroughly clear that Jesus implies that Messiah is not descended from David (note His acceptance of the title "Son of David," 18$_{38}$). He may have meant simply that the common opinion of the Scribes needed explanation. Spitta connects 41 with 36, and finds in the difficulty about David and the Messiah a parallel to the difficulty about the wife in the Resurrection. The solution is that in descent Messiah is David's son, but in the coming age ("that world"), where physical relationships are abrogated, the Messiah will be David's Lord.

XX. 45–47. Condemnation of Scribes.—Almost identical with Mk. 12$_{38–40}$*; much expanded in Mt. 23*.

XXI. 1–4. The Widow's Two Mites.—With some abbreviation Lk. closely follows Mk. 12$_{41–44}$*.

5–36. The Eschatological Discourse (Mk. 13*, Mt. 24*).—Lk. follows Mk., though with certain modifications and amplifications. In Mt., Mk. is blended with Q, but Lk. has already used the Q material in ch. 17.

The following table shows the parallels :

	Lk. 21.	Mk. 13.	Mt. 24.
Introduction . .	5–7	1–4	1–3
First Signs of the End	8–11	5–8	4–8
Persecution . .	12–19	9–13	9–14 (10$_{17-21}$)
The Fall of Jerusalem	20–23	14–20 For 21–23	15–22 For 23–28
	24 (Lk. only)	*cf.* Lk. 17$_{20-25}$	
Natural commotions .	25–28	24–27	29–31
The Summer and the Kingdom . .	29–31	28f.	32f.
	32f.	30–32	34–36
Concluding injunctions	34–36 (Lk. only, but *cf.* 33–37)		

8. I am he, *i.e.* for whom you are looking, the man you expect. It is curious that the saying "the time is at hand," should be a mark of deception. It reveals the later date at which Lk. was writing.—**9.** Note Lk.'s additions to Mk., "first" and "immediately."—**12. before all these things:** Lk. here slips into history disguised as prediction (in 25 he returns to prediction). In Mk. it is implied that the persecutions are contemporaneous with the wars, etc.—**13.** "That will turn out an opportunity for you to bear witness" (Moffatt); "it will end for you in martyrdom" (J. Weiss).—**14.** *Cf.* 12$_{11}$f.*.—**15. a mouth,** *i.e.* words. The promise had been fulfilled in Peter and John, Stephen and Paul, when Lk. wrote.—**18f.** Lk.'s substitute for "he that endureth to the end shall be saved."—**18** apparently contradicts the end of 16; it may refer to the real (spiritual) victory and well-being of the confessors, and have the same meaning as 19, where **patience** is endurance, steadfast holding out. The soul, the true life, is to be won in the conflict (RV is much to be preferred here to AV). Or 18 (and 19) may be a word of hope for Lk.'s contemporaries, while 16 may look back to some who had actually met death.—**20.** Lk. omits the reference to the "abomination of desolation," though using the latter word.—**22** is peculiar to Lk. (and may have behind it Mi. 3$_{12}$).—**24.** Lk. only. The best commentary on this verse is the description of the siege and fall of Jerusalem in Josephus.—**times of the Gentiles:** an apocalyptic catchword; the period set for the Roman Empire.—**25.** Jerusalem has fallen, but the end is not yet. Grim portents will usher it in; for the language *cf.* Is. 13$_{10}$, Jl. 2$_{10}$. These calamities are to inspire the Christians with hope. As the sprouting of the trees indicates the approach of summer, so these dire happenings betoken the Parousia which is to effect their deliverance and salvation from all the woes they have been enduring.—**34ff.** Lk.'s substitute for the saying that "no one knows the day or the hour." It runs off into the injunction to "watch" which we find in Mk. and Mt., though this also is given in Lk.'s own form. —**of this life:** the Gr. adjective thus translated is found in the papyri in the sense of *business* (documents) or *livelihood*.—**36.** *Cf.* 1 Jn. 2$_{28}$.—**37f.** *Cf.* Mk. 11$_{19}$. Mt. 21$_{17}$ says Jesus slept at Bethany, but not necessarily more than one night.

XXII. 1f. The Decision of the Chief Priests (Mk. 14$_{1}$f.*, Mt. 26$_{1-5}$*).—**1.** The feast of unleavened bread (Nisan 15–21) was really distinct from the Passover (Nisan 14), though the close association of the two led them to be spoken of as one, and even identified by Gentiles like Luke. *Cf.* p. 103.

3–6. The Betrayal of Jesus (Mk. 14$_{10}$f.*, Mt. 26$_{14-16}$*).—Lk. omits the anointing of Jesus, having recorded a similar incident in 7$_{36-50}$. Special points in Lk.'s narrative here are the Satanic possession of Judas (*cf.* Jn. 13$_{2}$), the mention of the captains (officers of the Temple guard), and the explanation of the convenient season.

7–13. Preparation for the Last Supper (Mk. 14$_{12-16}$*, Mt. 26$_{17-19}$*).—Lk. follows Mk. more fully than Mt. does. The names of the two disciples are given.

14–20. The Last Supper (Mk. 14$_{22-25}$*, Mt. 26$_{26-29}$*).—Henceforth Lk. seems to be using another source in addition to (and in preference to) Mk. The revelation of the treachery of Judas is deferred till after the bread and the cup. 15–18 seems to describe the Passover meal (but see below); the eating of unleavened bread is implied in 16, as the drinking of the Passover cup is expressed in 17. Then in 19 (after Jesus' last Passover) we have the institution of the new rite in words closely resembling 1 Cor. 11$_{24}$f. Of this bread and cup Jesus does not partake. Note that Mk. separates the Passover from the Last Meal by inserting the prediction of the betrayal between them.

Codex Bezæ omits the latter part of 19 (after "body"; *cf.* Mk.) and all of 20. With this reading, 16 is introductory, and 17 begins the institution of the new rite, which is not separated from the old Passover meal. The bread follows the cup as in 1 Cor. 10$_{16}$. The bread is the body of Jesus, but nothing is said of the cup being His blood. Wellhausen goes further and excises the whole of 19 (and 20). In his view 15f., apparently referring to the Passover, really refers to the bread, and corresponds with Mk. 14$_{22}$, just as 17f. (the cup)=Mk. 14$_{25}$. There is a parallelism between 16 and 18 which should be preserved, and the suggestion is that both refer to the Last Supper, which is assimilated by Lk. to the Passover. There is no institution of a new rite; 19f., which alone deals with this, is a subsequent insertion due to a feeling that the rite must have originated with Jesus. The reading of Codex Bezæ in 19*a* is just an attempt (from 1 Cor. 11$_{24}$, like the fuller text in Lk.) to mention the bread, omitted in 15–18. If we accept it we must accept the rest of 19 and 20. The difficulty of the view is that 16 is hardly a good substitute for Mk. 14$_{22}$, and that according to it Jesus makes no reference to His own body or His blood.

15. With desire I have desired, etc. This may mean, "I have earnestly desired, but am not able," etc. (JThS ix. 569). "My next Passover meal will be the Messianic banquet." If we can so interpret the words, they confirm the Fourth Gospel's contention that Jesus suffered on the 14th of Nisan, about the time when the Paschal lambs were slain for the Passover meal in the evening, which began the 15th of Nisan. Jesus' meal was therefore not a Passover, but took place on the preceding evening (beginning of 14th Nisan; *cf.* p. 653).—**20. the new covenant in my blood:** *cf.* Jer. 31$_{31}$, Ex. 24$_{8}$. The wine symbolises the self-sacrifice of Jesus, which effects and seals the new covenant.

XXII. 21–23. Jesus Reveals the Treachery (Mk. 14$_{18-21}$*, Mt. 26$_{21-25}$*).

21. The word translated "but" is one frequently used by Lk. as a transition particle; there is no close connexion with the preceding verse.—**22.** *Cf.* Mk. 14$_{21}$; the change from "as it is written" to "as it hath been determined" is perhaps due to Lk.'s inability to find an OT prediction.

XXII. 24–30. The Christian Standard of Greatness (Mk. 10$_{42-45}$*, Mt. 20$_{25-28}$*, 19$_{28}$*. *Cf.* also Lk. 9$_{46}$).—Lk. here goes back to a discussion recorded much earlier by Mk., who connects it with the request of James and John for precedence in the Messianic Kingdom. The connexion in Lk. is probably with reference to the apparently near advent of the Kingdom in 16, 18.

25. benefactors: there is irony in the use of this term, a title that had been borne by Antiochus VII of Syria, Ptolemy III, and Ptolemy VII. The last-named (145–117 B.C.) was a particularly cruel despot. —**26.** This form of Jesus' saying (*e.g.* "is" instead of "would be") seems to assume the existence of the early Church. Christ recognises degrees of greatness, but they are based on the measure of humble service rendered. "The younger" answers to "he that doth serve" (*cf.* Ac. 56,10). Instead of "the younger," Codex Bezæ has "the less," and Syr. Sin. "the little."—**27** is peculiar to Lk., and takes the place of Mk. 1045. It finds apt illustration in Jn. 134–17; there could be no dispute that Jesus was the greater and the chief, yet He waits on the others like a servant.—**28–30.** This promise of special honour to the Twelve looks like Mt. 1928, adapted to connect with 24–27.—**28. they which have continued:** the Gr. connotes unswerving loyalty; **temptations:** in the general sense of trials and troubles.—**29. I appoint:** or I assign; the word is used of making (*a*) a covenant, (*b*) a will.—**a kingdom:** better kingship, sovereignty, dominion.—Perhaps we should translate **29f.,** "And as my Father assigned me sovereignty, so I assign you (the right) to eat and drink," etc. The promise as it stands includes Judas, which shows that Lk. has got the wrong setting; this is why he writes "thrones" instead of "twelve thrones." *Cf.* Exp. Ap. and May 1918.

31–34. Jesus Foretells Peter's Denial (Mk. 1427–31*, Mt. 2631–35*).—Contrast 31f. with Mk. and Mt. ("All ye shall be offended," etc.).

31. Satan asked: the verb implies that the request (which was for all the disciples) was successful, ("Satan has procured to be given up to him"—Field): the case is similar to that of Job. But on the other hand Jesus has prayed (synchronously with Satan's request) that Peter at least should not utterly fail. He will fall, but he will rise again, and must then strengthen the others. The passage may be compared with Mt. 1617–19; both show how Simon becomes Peter.

35–38. In these verses (Lk. only) Jesus announces a change of method from that advocated in 93, 104. Montefiore soundly says 35f. must be considered apart from 37 and especially from 38. It is not a counsel to resist the coming arrest of Jesus, but to prepare for the new missionary experiences awaiting them after His death, when, instead of the welcome accorded them on their first tour, they will have to make their way in the face of opposition and hostility. The sword is thus probably metaphorical. This seems preferable to J. Weiss's idea that Jesus is thinking of the fire He is going to kindle at Jerusalem (1249); it will be fatal to Himself, but He hopes the others will be able to hack their way through. 37 means that the curtain is about to be rung down on Jesus' life. The connexion with 35f. is that thus a new (and dangerous) chapter is to open for His followers.—**hath fulfilment:** better "hath an end." 38 has to do with immediate events. It may be the genesis of the whole paragraph. Jesus may have feared a secret attack from assassins (so Pfleiderer) which He would resist, and when the disciples say they have two swords in readiness He says they will be enough. When the real danger disclosed itself as a formal arrest (47ff.), He would not use the sword. 35f. may have been inserted because of the mention of swords, and to explain Jesus' approval of the weapon. Or (with Burkitt, *Gospel Hist.*, 140) we may connect 38 with 36 by supposing that the disciples misunderstand Jesus' counsel for the future. They produce their two swords, and He, disappointed with their obtuseness, dismisses the subject with the sadly ironical words "Enough, enough." As it was forbidden to carry a sword on feast days we have an indication that the Passover had not begun; *cf.* 15ff.*

XXII. 39–46. Gethsemane (Mk. 1432–42*, Mt. 2636–46*).—Lk. does not mention the name of the place, and gives only one prayer of Jesus. He is evidently following some source other than Mk.

40. The Gr. lends some colour to the suggestion that the original words were "Pray that I come not into temptation."—43 and 44 would be more natural in the reverse order. They are not found in the best MSS., but are very early (Justin Martyr, A.D. 150, knew their contents), and probably a fragment of genuine Gospel tradition.—**46. for sorrow:** contrast Mk. "for their eyes were very heavy."

XXII. 47–53. The Arrest (Mk. 1443–52*, Mt. 2647–56*).—In Lk.'s account Jesus prevents Judas from giving the kiss. The resistance precedes the arrest (contrast Mk., Mt.).

51. Suffer ye thus far: if spoken to the officers, "Excuse this act of resistance; it will not be repeated," or "Allow me to heal the wounded man:" if to the disciples, "Let them go on with the arrest," or "Let what you have done suffice."—**52.** Lk. makes the chief priests and elders themselves present.—**53. this is your hour,** etc. A Johannine thought—*cf.* Jn. 319–21, 1235. The hour is predestined; you are children of the night and under cover of darkness do the works of darkness, *i.e.* of evil. Lk. is not following Mk., hence the omission of the disciples' flight and the incident of the young man.

XXII. 53–67. The Trial before the Sanhedrin (Mk. 1453–65*, Mt. 2656–68*).—There are several differences from Mk. Jesus is not taken into the hall at first, but remains in the courtyard, and is present while Peter denies Him, so that when the cock crowed "the Lord turned and looked on Peter" (61). The denial scene thus precedes the trial. The second challenge (58) is not from the first maid (Mk.), or another maid (Mt.), but from a man. Peter does not curse and swear. The ill-treatment of Jesus (by the guard, not by the court) also precedes the trial. There is no nocturnal trial; what Mk. and Mt. put immediately on the arrival of Jesus at the high priest's house Lk. puts "as soon as it was day" (*cf.* Mk. 151, Mt. 271). Nothing is said about the destruction of the Temple or the false witness. But the questioning goes on from "Art thou the Messiah?" to "Art thou the Son of God?" apparently a greater (and more presumptuous) title. The answer of Jesus to the first question is that argument is useless since the minds of the judges are made up. In Mk. He says "I am." In Lk. again the judges are not to see the coming of the Son of Man (Mk., Mt.); by the time Luke wrote they were dead and had not seen the Advent. The judges say that the Son of Man who sits at the right hand of (the power of) God is the Son of God; Jesus has after all more than answered their question about the Messiah. His answer to the second question may be interpreted as "Have it so if you like." Lk. does not mention blasphemy, but it is implied as the object of "We have heard." The court does not pronounce any formal verdict. "Council" = the Sanhedrin, the supreme Jewish authority. Its members were drawn from elders, chief priests, and scribes.

XXIII. 1–5. Jesus before Pilate (Mk. 151–5*, Mt. 271f., 11–14*).—Lk. alone records the charge against Jesus laid by the Sanhedrin before Pilate; its burden was that He was a political agitator, dangerous to

Rome. That He forbade the payment of tribute money was deliberate falsehood (20²¹–²⁶).

3. This verse summarises Pilate's examination of Jesus (Jn. 18³³–³⁸).—**Thou sayest** may indicate assent. —**4.** Lk. puts less guilt than Mk., Mt., or Jn. on Pilate, and more on the Jews. He alone has 5. The friendliness of Roman authorities towards Christianity is a leading motive of Lk.'s Acts of the Apostles.

XXIII. 6–16. Pilate, Herod, and Jesus (Lk. only).—The historicity of this incident has been questioned on two grounds. (1) There was not time for it before the Crucifixion at 9 A.M. But the Crucifixion may have been really nearer noon. (2) It seems made (*cf.* 8) to connect with 9⁹. This is not a strong argument. For a defence of the story, see A. W. Verrall in JThS, April 1909 (x. 321). Lk. may have found the story in some very early form of the Gospel of Peter and used it as emphasising the innocence of Jesus, the goodwill of Pilate, and the insults of the Jewish (rather than the Roman) ruler and his guard. The Herod is Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, and therefore Jesus' sovereign; he may have been in Jerusalem for the Passover. Jesus is silent when questioned, as Mk. (15³–⁵) says He was before Pilate. When He is brought back to the procurator the latter repeats his conviction of Jesus' innocence, and says that Herod is of the same opinion. Scourging should meet the case; it would at least teach the accused to be more discreet.

18–25. Pilate, Barabbas, and Jesus (Mk. 15⁶–¹⁵*, Mt. 27¹⁵–²⁶*).—Lk. here depends mainly on Mk. 17 (omitted from RV) is an explanatory gloss from Mt.; in some MSS. it is found after 19. The "people" are now associated with the chief priests and the rulers. Pilate makes two more vain attempts (20, 22) to save the victim, but the vehement shouts of the accusers carry the day, and Pilate pronounces the sentence they demand. Barabbas is set free and Jesus handed over to death. Lk. omits the triple part played by the Roman soldiers, the mocking (this is transferred to Herod's men, 11), the scourging, and the leading to execution. But see 36.

XXIII. 26–32. The Journey to Calvary.—To the incidents of Simon of Cyrene and the two malefactors (Mk. 15²¹–²⁷*, Mt. 27³²–³⁸*), Lk. adds that of the women of Jerusalem. Note that the people of the city are here sympathisers. The episode recalls Zech. 12¹⁰–¹⁴, but need not be based thereon. Other OT reminiscences are Jer. 22¹⁰, Is. 54¹, Hos. 10⁸, Ezek. 20⁴⁷.

32. An *a fortiori* argument to be interpreted by the context. The women weep for Jesus while the tree is still green; they should weep for what will happen when it is dead and dry. "If while there is still life in the nation such deeds are possible, what will happen when that life is withered and the hour of doom arrives?"

XXIII. 33–43. The Crucifixion (Mk. 15²²–³²*, Mt. 27³³–⁴⁴*).

34. Though not found in the best MSS. (*cf.* 22⁴³f.), this may be a piece of genuine Gospel-tradition, and certainly represents the spirit of Jesus. *Cf.* p. 669 and Ac. 7⁶⁰. The prayer includes Romans and Jews alike.—**36** seems to combine Mk. 15²³ and 36. The discrimination between the two criminals (Dysmas and Gestus according to the Latin Acts of Pilate) executed with Jesus is peculiar to Lk.—**40.** "Does not even fear (of God, before whom you and He are about to appear) hold you back from this new sin of mocking God's anointed?"—**42. In thy kingdom**, or "with thy kingdom," *i.e.* when Thou comest to reign.—**43. Paradise**, lit. a garden with fruit trees, *e.g.* Eden; hence a region of heaven regarded by the later Jews as in or just above the "third heaven" (2 Cor. 12²,⁴). The suppliant receives more than he asks; this very day he shall have the society of Jesus in a realm of joy and peace.

XXIII. 44–49. The Death of Jesus (Mk. 15³³–⁴¹*, Mt. 27⁴⁵–⁵⁶*).

45. the sun's light failing: the words do not necessarily imply an eclipse. The rending of the Temple veil is earlier than in Mk.—**46.** Instead of the cry, "Eloi, eloi," etc., we have "Father, into thy hands," etc., which is also from the Psalms (31⁵).—**47.** The centurion's words are given in such a form as to confirm the Roman opinion of Jesus' innocence. His confession was in itself a glorifying of God.—**49.** The first word should be "but"; a contrast is drawn between the friends of Jesus and the crowd. According to Lk. the former were not solely women; perhaps he is influenced by "prophecy," *e.g.* Pss. 88⁸, 38¹¹.

XXIII. 50–56. The Burial of Jesus (Mk. 15⁴²–⁴⁷*, Mt. 27⁵⁷–⁶¹*).—Lk. tells us that Joseph had dissented from the action of his colleagues in the Sanhedrin. Pilate's assent to his request is assumed.

53. Codex Bezæ adds, "And when he was lain there, he put against the tomb a stone which twenty men could scarcely roll."—**54. the Sabbath drew on:** lit. "began to dawn." Montefiore says the word is used of the kindling of the Sabbath lights (on Friday evening). Some such explanation is demanded by the immediately previous statement that it was the day of the Preparation.—**56** looks as though the women prepared the spices on reaching home on Friday night, *i.e.* on the Sabbath. They might have come to the tomb on Saturday at sunset (*cf.* Mt. 28¹*), but naturally deferred their task till the daylight of Sunday. If Lk. had been a Jew he would have put the Sabbath rest (24¹) before the (purchase and) preparation of the spices and ointments, as Mk. (16¹) does. Note the additional information in 55 compared with Mk. and Mt.

XXIV. 1–12. The Empty Tomb (Mk. 16¹–⁸*, Mt. 28¹–¹⁰*).—Lk. tells of "two men" in place of Mk.'s "young man." They remind the women that Jesus had foretold His resurrection. Instead of the injunction to meet Him in Galilee, the prediction is said to have been spoken in Galilee. Lk. (like Jn. apart from 21) does not mention any resurrection appearances outside Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. The women tell the eleven and the other disciples (*cf.* Mt., contrast Mk.). The disciples are incredulous. According to 12, Peter goes to see the tomb for himself, but the verse is not found in the Old Latin or Old Syriac versions, and is probably a late interpolation, a summary of Jn. 20³–¹⁰. Another statement is given in 24.

XXIV. 13–35. The Appearance on the Way to Emmaus.—This exquisite story is told by Lk. only. The village is perhaps the Ammaus of Josephus, the modern Kolonije, five miles W. from Jerusalem. 19f. describes Jesus as a prophet who His friends hoped (till the hope was shattered by His death) might prove to be the Messiah. They are shown that Scripture foretold Messiah's death; it was necessary to His glory. That glory was apparently attained in the moment of the death (*cf.* 23⁴²f.). On arriving at Emmaus, Jesus, invited to be a guest, becomes the host, and then mysteriously disappears.—The reading of Codex Bezæ in 34, where the construction of the Gr. is awkward, makes the two disciples the speakers, and suggests that the unnamed one was Peter. It is remarkable that an appearance to Peter comes first in Paul's list in 1 Cor. 15⁵ff. The story thus becomes Lk.'s equivalent for Jn. 21, other parts of which he has

used in Lk. 5. But if this line of argument is sound, we should have expected "hath appeared to us two" in 34. Loisy thinks the story reflects the early connexion between the resurrection faith and the Eucharistic breaking of bread.

18. "Art thou a lone stranger in Jerusalem not to know?" etc. (Moffatt); "Art thou the only pilgrim in Jerusalem who does not know?" etc. (Montefiore). —27. **Moses and the prophets:** a summary phrase (fuller in 44) for OT.

XXIV. 36–43. The Appearance at Jerusalem.—Lk. only, but *cf.* Jn. 20$^{19-23}$, which is perhaps responsible for the insertion of 36*b* and 40, which are omitted by early and good authorities. The supposition of a spirit (37) accords with the popular notion—perhaps fostered by opponents of the resurrection—that a dead man's flimsy shade might occasionally flit out of Hades and show itself on earth. The succeeding verses therefore emphasise the corporeality of Jesus; He has flesh and even eats. So in Jn. 20$^{25-27}$, and perhaps 21^{13}. Some inferior MSS. add honey to the fish. The whole conception is at variance with Paul's idea of the resurrection-body (1 Cor. 15^{37,44,50}, 2 Cor. 5^{1}).

XXIV. 44–59. The Last Words and the Ascension.—Jesus reminds His disciples how He had told them that Scripture predictions about Him must be fulfilled. He goes over the ground again (with 45 *cf.* 27), and adds that the gospel of repentance and forgiveness in His name should be preached everywhere. It is not clear whether the instruction to preach is regarded as contained in the OT Scriptures. Syr. Sin. has "in my name," and perhaps we should take the Gr. infinitive ("should be preached") as an imperative.

44. the psalms: the third division of the Hebrew scriptures, including other writings than the Psalter, though this was particularly rich in Messianic prophecy.—**48. these things:** the death and resurrection foretold in Scripture.—**49.** Lk. here points forward to Ac. 1. He has a different tradition from the Galilean one of Mk. (and Mt.); the disciples are to remain in Jerusalem, to receive the power from heaven (Jl. 2^{28}).—**50f.** Jesus takes the disciples to Bethany, and while giving them a benediction is parted from them. The words "and was carried up into heaven" are omitted in some of the best MSS., and have probably crept in from Ac. 1^{9}f. Note that in Lk. everything, including this final departure, seems to have happened on the same day as the Resurrection—contrast the forty days of Ac. 1^{3}. The harmonists insert the Galilean appearances recorded in Mt. 28 and Jn. 21 between 43 and 44.—**53.** The disciples on their return spend practically all their time in the Temple.

[Since the above commentary and that on Acts were printed, the criticism of the Lucan writings has passed into a new stage with the publication (in 1916) of Prof. C. C. Torrey's important work, *The Composition and Date of Acts*. The author had already in an article, "The Translations made from the Original Aramaic Gospels" (*Studies in the History of Religion Presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, 1912), argued that the compiler of the Third Gospel and Acts was an accomplished translator of both Hebrew and Aramaic. The most notable feature of the later essay is the theory, supported by weighty arguments, that Ac. 1^{1}–15^{35} is a very close rendering of an Aramaic document, so scrupulously faithful that even what the translator knew to be inaccuracies were preserved. This Aramaic document was written either late in A.D. 49 or early in 50. Luke, the companion of Paul, collected material for the Third Gospel during Paul's imprisonment at Cæsarea (A.D. 59–61), and wrote the Gospel before 61, probably in 60. At that time he had no thought of writing the Acts of the Apostles. The idea of writing this sequel to his Gospel was probably first suggested to him when the Aramaic document came into his hands, possibly in Palestine, but more probably after his arrival in Rome in 62. This he translated into Greek, and added Ac. 15^{36}–28^{31}. The complete book was probably issued in A.D. 64. Unlike the Third Gospel, it "was not a work of research, nor even of any considerable labour. It was merely the translation of a single document—a lucky find—supplemented by a very brief outline of Paul's missionary labours, enlivened by miscellaneous personal reminiscences." The whole work is uniform in style, allowing for the fact that 1^{1}–15^{35} was written in translation Greek. The author is not to be distinguished from the writer of the We-sections, and little value attaches to the attempt to find "sources" behind either half of Acts. —A. S. P.]

JOHN

By Dr. A. E. BROOKE

Relation to the Synoptic Gospels.—The differences between the Fourth and the other Gospels are too obvious to need emphasis. From the second century onwards, they have constituted a difficult problem. The answer of Alexandria in the second century, that the "Spiritual" Gospel was written later, when the "bodily" events had been recorded in the first three, still holds the field. Details must be dealt with, so far as space permits, in the notes, but the chief lines of difference may be conveniently summarised here.

(*a*) **Subject-matter.**—With the exceptions of 1$^{19-34}$ (the Baptist), 2$^{13-16}$ (Temple cleansing), perhaps 4$^{46-54}$ (healing of nobleman's son), 12$^{1-8}$ (anointing), 12$^{12-16}$ (triumphal entry) and the history of the Passion and (?) Resurrection, the Fourth Gospel breaks altogether new ground. In the common sections it is claimed that it shows literary dependence on the Synoptic Gospels, and the author certainly assumes that his readers know their contents. But he has other independent sources of information.

(*b*) **Duration of the Ministry.**—The old contrast of a synoptic account of one year's ministry (the "acceptable year of the Lord") and a ministry of 3½ years (in Jn.), needs serious modification. Mk. suggests a ministry ending with a Passover, in which the period of ripe corn occurred, *not* at the beginning, *i.e.* a ministry of more than one year. Jn., even if the reference to a Passover in 6^{4} is part of the original text, need not imply a ministry of much more than two years (p. 653). Jn. does, however, leave the impression of a longer ministry than the Synoptists suggest.

(*c*) **Scene of Ministry.**—In the Synoptic Gospels this is Galilee,[1] with one first and final visit to Jerusalem, at the Passover, when He was crucified. In Jn. the scene passes backwards and forwards between Jerusalem and Galilee, the former being the scene of His most important work. The exact order of events and number of visits to Judæa and Jerusalem depends on the question whether the gospel, as we have it, represents the original arrangement of the matter out of which it has grown. But there is no doubt as to the prominence of work in the south. The cleansing of the Temple is recorded in connexion with the earliest public visit to Jerusalem, its natural place if more than one visit occurred.

(*d*) **Method and Content of Christ's Teaching.**—The method of the Synoptic teaching, by parable, and the subject, the Kingdom, have almost disappeared. Their place is taken by discourses and controversies, mainly on Christ's claims and relation to God. His pre-existence and unique "Sonship" are assumed. And what the Synoptists represent as uttered only occasionally, in moments of exceptional exaltation, here becomes normal. The "Similitudes" of Enoch show that pre-existence could naturally be attributed to One who was thought of as Messiah. But the question of the Messiahship is differently treated. In the Synoptists Jesus publicly claims the title only at the end, and it can be plausibly maintained that the disciples recognise Him as such only late in the ministry, recognition being at first confined to demoniacs. In Jn. the Baptist, the earliest disciples, and others all recognise the Messiahship from the beginning. The difference is clear and marked even if a solution may be found in the fact that His conception of the office directly contradicted the ideas of popular Messianism, so that those who hailed Him as Messiah at first may have been "offended" when He consistently refused to do what they expected from Messiah, as they conceived His nature and office. [Miracles are not simply actions dictated by mercy and lovingkindness towards a sorrow-stricken humanity, but are signs of overwhelming significance, designed to reveal the glory of God and the majesty of the Divine Son.—A. J. G.]

(*e*) **Date of the Crucifixion.**—While the Synoptists clearly assume that Christ ate the last Paschal meal with His disciples, and died on the 15th of Nisan, "the great day of the Feast," Jn. equally clearly places the Crucifixion on the 14th, the Jews having not yet "eaten the Passover" when they appeared before Pilate. Here there is perhaps a growing consensus of opinion that Jn. has preserved a truer tradition (pp. 653, 758).

These and other differences have led many to deny any historical value to the Johannine account of the ministry. But while it is clear that the element of interpretation, not absent from the earlier gospels, is here predominant, it is a mistake to suppose that *all* the contents of the gospel can be explained as the attempt of the author, by the aid of symbolism, allegory, and typology, to read into the life of Jesus, which he knew only from the Synoptists, his own interpretation of the Person and work of Jesus Christ and its significance for men. The later element, which could not have been so prevalent before the end of the first century, is clear. But another element of trustworthy detail, which does not obviously help forward the writer's own object and views, is equally clear. If there is interpretation there is history as well, and the history is not derived from the Synoptic accounts. It is often needed to explain them.

Authorship.—The differences already mentioned, and the undoubted presence of a later element in the Fourth Gospel, have led the majority of students to deny the possibility that John, the son of Zebedee, can be the author. While this is an over-statement the difficulties which beset the traditional view must be clearly recognised, and even conservative critics are now generally inclined to find the author in a disciple of the apostle.

The external evidence is usually admitted to be indecisive. During the last quarter of the second century the view that the apostle John was the author was held by all Christians except the "Alogi," who

[1] *Cf.*, however, Lk. 4^{44}.

must probably be connected with Caius the Roman Presbyter, Irenæus (Gauland Asia), Clement (Alexandria), the Muratorian Fragment (? Rome), Polycrates (Ephesus) give clear positive evidence of the general opinion, and negative evidence that it was not a growth of yesterday. Their writings, however, show the extent of legendary accretion at that time, and the possibility of confusion as to the heroes of the earlier generations. The fact that Justin in the middle of the century attributed the Apocalypse to the apostle John, shows that in his time the tradition of his connexion with Asia was well established. It is generally admitted that Justin knew and used the gospel; he clearly did not use it as freely as the Synoptists, and his views on its authorship are not known. Traces of the gospel, or at least of teaching similar to its content, are found in Ignatius; and Polycarp certainly knew 1 Jn. Papias probably knew and valued the gospel; perhaps the Elder, whom he quotes, measured the shortcomings of the Marcan gospel by its standard. But the fragment of his Introduction indicates that at the time when he was collecting material for his book (? 90–100), John the Apostle was dead, like the other disciples of whom he speaks in the past tense, and in contrast with the survivors of the ministry, Aristion, and the Elder John, of whom he uses the present. We must also reckon with the probability that in his book the statement occurred that John the son of Zebedee, as well as his brother, was put to death by the Jews, for which there is also some evidence in early Martyrologies and elsewhere (pp. 694, 764, Ac. 12₂*). This, if true, does not exclude the visit of the apostle to Ephesus; but it would disprove the traditional story of his long residence and peaceful death there. The silence of all early writers (Clement, Polycarp, Ignatius) as to the apostle's residence in Asia is suspicious. That of Ignatius alone is of serious weight. On the whole it may be said that external evidence points to the probability that the apostle visited Ephesus, but that there has been confusion between him and another John, perhaps his disciple, who lived there till Trajan's reign. It also points to *some* connexion between the apostle and the gospel.

Internal evidence affords material for more decisive judgment, even if here suspension of judgment must be the last word at present. Since Bretschneider (in 1820) maintained the thesis that the gospel could not have been written (i) by the apostle John, (ii) by an intimate disciple, (iii) by a Jew of Palestine, (iv) by a Jew at all, and conservative critics accepted the challenge and tried to prove these propositions in the reverse order, the feud has been well fought out and some results at least obtained. It is generally admitted that the author *must* have been a Jew and that he may have been a Jew of Palestine; his knowledge of Judæa and Jerusalem is granted, and he is acquitted of gross geographical ignorance with reference to any part of Palestine. His knowledge of Jewish customs and Jewish controversies is also admitted, though in a sense which admits of opposite conclusions. There is also a growing tendency to allow that at least he drew on trustworthy sources of information independent of the Synoptists, and in some cases superior to them. Many details, probable in themselves, which are not easily explained as due to invention, or even modification, in the interest of the author's views, point to such sources resting finally on the testimony of an eye-witness. At the same time, the later elements of this gospel, its silence as to much of the best authenticated gospel history, its scant record of the work of ministry in Galilee, its transformation of the style and content of the Lord's teaching in the light of later reflection and experience, the imperceptible transition from speech to comment till the original speakers disappear, the extent to which all speakers use the language, and reflect the ideas, of the evangelist, are now more fully recognised. The difficulty of attributing the gospel as it stands to an eye-witness of the ministry or an intimate friend and disciple of the Lord is clearly seen. The theory which comes nearest to satisfying all the conditions is that which attributes the gospel in its present form to the disciple of an eye-witness. To find the eye-witness in the Beloved Disciple, who is probably the younger son of Zebedee, and the actual author of the gospel in a disciple of his, who carried on his master's work at Ephesus, and perhaps, in consequence of identity of name, was in tradition confused with his master, is the best answer we can at present give to a question on which the evidence does not enable us to speak with certainty (21₂₄*). But where much is obscure, one thing is certain. The historian cannot afford to neglect this gospel in his attempt to reconstruct the story of the earthly life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth. The gospels, not the Marcan gospel alone, are his sources of information.

Date and Place.—Here it is possible to speak with greater confidence. Most scholars are agreed that the gospel cannot have been written before A.D. 90 or much after 110, though some would assign a later date to the appendix. The book must have been in existence in the time of Polycarp and Papias, and was probably well known to elders quoted by Papias. And the tradition which connects it with Ephesus, or at least with Asia, has everything in its favour. It must emanate from some such centre of learning where Jewish and Hellenic thought met. Most, if not all, of the earliest traces of its existence are connected with Asia. The school of Christian thought which produced the Apocalypse, the Fourth Gospel, and the Johannine Epistles had its home in Asia Minor. The group of books is best described as "the Ephesian Canonical writings." Few will dispute the accuracy of Professor Gardner's title, "The Ephesian Gospel." The centre of Christian life and activity which first passed from Jerusalem to Antioch was again transferred at a later date, after the fall of Jerusalem, to Ephesus.

Theology.—The theology of the gospel is dominated by the author's personal experience of the Christ. In the Jesus of the ministry, or in the work of the ascended and glorified Christ, he has found the complete revelation of God. Jesus is the Messiah, who fulfilled, and will fulfil, the hopes of His nation, as He rightly interpreted them, in glaring contrast to the popular Messianism of the time. In doing this He showed himself to be Messiah and far more, one who stood in unique relationship to God, which could only be described by the title "the Son." This term emphasizes the leading thoughts in the author's Christology; the Son is the complete revelation of the Father, whose nature He shares, and of whose powers He is the sole heir, the only-begotten Son, and He is in absolute dependence on the Father. "I and my Father are one," "My Father is greater than I," "My Father worketh hitherto and I work," "The Son can do nothing save what he seeth the Father do." As Son He knows the Father. As God He can speak for God. As wholly dependent on the Father, and wholly obedient to His will, His message is true.

The thought of "Son" leads to what is perhaps the

author's most important contribution to theology proper, expressed in the words "The Word was with God." In Philo the "Word" (Logos) is sometimes spoken of as a power or activity of God, at other times language is used which more definitely implies personification. In John the personification is definite and complete. In his conception of Deity it is clear that the Godhead contains within itself such distinctions as make possible within the Godhead itself the exercise of what corresponds to the highest activities in man, of intercourse, relationship, love. In the same way the personification of the Spirit, begun in the OT and carried further in Paul, though in 2 Cor. 317 he seems to identify the "Lord" and the "Spirit," is still more definite in this gospel. But here too a possible, and not improbable, interpretation of the relevant passages in Jn. 14–16 identifies the "coming" of the Christ with the coming of the Spirit.

The Word became flesh, or in the language which seems to reproduce the author's own natural forms of thought, Messiah was sent, the Son was given, to reveal to men the Divine Life, Light, Truth, and Love. By learning of these from One who could speak for God and to men of what He knew as Son in the language which by taking flesh He had made His own as well as theirs, men can have "life, in His Name."

The teaching of the gospel centres round a few simple terms, such as Life, Light, Truth, Spirit. Taught by the life and words of Jesus, the author has learned that these are attributes or qualities of God. As in all Hebrew thought, God is the Living One. He is the final source of all life, and His "Word" is the source of the Life of Creation. "That which was made was life in Him." And in men this "life" takes the higher form of moral and spiritual life. "The life was the light of men."

"Life" is the leading thought of this gospel, which was written, as the author tells us, "that ye might have life in his name" (*cf.* 1 Jn. 1if.*). To a great extent it takes the place of the Synoptic teaching on the "Kingdom." And whereas in them "life" is merely a future hope, here it is already a present possession, though in its fullness it is still future. Those who believe are reborn into this higher life, which is described by the evangelist as eternal, *i.e.* spiritual, belonging to "the age," and which makes them "children of God," from whom they derive this life, as their physical life from their earthly parents. It is God's gift, but men can make it their own by gradually becoming better acquainted with God and Jesus Christ (173; *cf.* OT use of "know," Hos. 63), whom He sent to reveal His nature to them. Death is the opposite of this life, and he who has the life has passed from death into life, for him there is no coming into judgment. (On judgment in Jn. see 317–21*.)

"Light" generally bears an ethical sense. In the Prologue the light and darkness of Gen. 1 are so interpreted. The light of moral and spiritual truth is in all ages combating the darkness of error and sin. The Logos as light was always coming into the world. Whenever He was in it He was its light. He gives men light, and *is* the light He gives. If men walk in it they will not stumble. In this description of Christ as light the dominant idea is that of moral purity and perfection, in virtue of which He guides His own, and enables men to regulate their conduct, their "works," wholly in accordance with the Will of God.

Truth in this gospel in some ways corresponds to what we should call "reality." That is "true" which completely corresponds to the highest conception that can be formed of the thing. All sensible things are feeble reflections of the super-sensible realities which exist in heaven, the sphere of real being. So Christ not only bears witness to the truth of which Pilate is ignorant, but *is* the truth. In Him consist the realities of which the things in the "world" are imperfect copies. By union with Him men can share in the "truth," the "highest" in every sphere, not merely in the intellectual. Truth is not only thought and told, it is "done," by those who are of it, in virtue of their re-birth into the higher spiritual life.

Johannine theology culminates in the statement that "God is love." It occurs in the First Epistle only, but the teaching of the gospel leads up to it. Divine love has its object within the Deity itself. "The Father loveth the Son and sheweth him all things that himself doeth" (520). God's love to the world is shown in the "gift" of the Son as the source of "life." It is revealed to men in the life and work of the Christ, who "having loved his own, loved them utterly" (131), and in His death, which is not only for the nation but to gather into one the children of God dispersed throughout the world (1152).

"God is spirit" (not *a* spirit as AV) is one of the great sayings of the gospel. His nature is spiritual, as opposed to the earthly, material nature of created things and of men. The writer is always contrasting the visible and the invisible, the spirit and the flesh. And the spirit is the source of life. He does not discuss the relation of the Spirit to the Logos. When the Logos has taken flesh, become man, and subject to his limitations, the Spirit is the source of His power and life. To Him it is given without measure, and it *abides* in Him. But the writer's special teaching on this subject is his representation of the Spirit as the peculiar possession and inspiring force of the Christian society. He is the "other paraclete" whom Christ sends to carry on His work in the disciples, after His own departure. In this sense "there was no spirit" (739) till Jesus was glorified. In what he says in this connexion the writer is probably interpreting genuine sayings of Jesus, which have their parallels in Synoptic thought, in the light of the experiences of the Christian Church from Pentecost onwards. In his view the Spirit's work of enlightening and empowering began on Easter Day, when the Risen Lord breathed on His disciples and said, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit" (2022).

The Prologue.—The object of the prologue (11–18) is to assure those who were interested in Jewish and Greek philosophical speculation that the Christ, the Son of God, whom Christians worship, is all that philosophy had claimed for the Logos; and more, inasmuch as the Word become flesh could really give to men a *complete and intelligible* revelation of God. The author uses a term well known (the Word, or Logos) to those to whom he would speak, and he claims that if they will learn, as he himself had learned, from what Jesus did and said on earth, *rightly interpreted*, they will find in Him the full revelation of God, His being, and His relation to the world and to men, so far as men can grasp them, which Greek and other thinkers had tried to express in their speculations about the Logos.

While the terminology shows clearly the influence of Greek and especially Alexandrian thought, with close parallels to the language of Philo, the writer's own thought is dominated by the OT. The Word is the medium by which God becomes known to men, as a man's thought is expressed and made known by his speech. In Hebrew thought about God's relation to the world the word of active command, rather than the reason which plans and purposes, is prominent. In the beginning He spake, and it came to be. In poetry

His word is personified (*cf.* Pss. 33$_6$, 107$_{20}$, 147$_{15}$, Is. 55$_{10}$f.). A similar process is seen in respect of the Spirit of God (Gen. 1$_2$, Is. 11$_2$) and perhaps of His glory (Ex. 24$_{16}$, 33$_{22}$). The chief progress in this direction is the personification of Wisdom in the Sapiential Books, largely under the influence of Greek thought (*cf.* R. Harris, *The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel*). The need of reconciling the doctrine of the transcendence of God with belief in His activity in the world led in popular thought to the development of a doctrine of angels, in more philosophical speculation to the personification of His qualities and attributes. Pr. 8$_{22-30}$*, 10; Ecclus. 1$_{1-10,14-20}$, 4$_{11-19}$, 14$_{20-15_{10}}$, 24, and 51$_{13-28}$; Bar. 3$_{14-38}$; Enoch 42 ff., 84$_3$, and Wisd. 7–9 are passages which should be studied in this connexion. The tendency of the Targums to ascribe to the Memra or Word all actions attributed in the OT to God are on the same lines, but the uncertainty of date makes their evidence unreliable. It is in the writings of the Alexandrian Hellenist Philo, whose bent is religious rather than philosophical, that the Greek doctrine of the Logos, originated by Heraclitus of Ephesus, and brought into prominence by the Stoics, assumes a form closely related to that in which it appears in the Prologue. In Philo the Word is the sum of all the Divine activities in the world. His function is to "mediate the creative activity of God" (Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 152). Through the Logos God is revealed, and man can attain the higher life, so that the Logos is the agent not only in creation but also in salvation. But Philo's Logos, though described as "second God" and "firstborn son" is not consistently personified, and the idea that He could "become flesh" is alien to his system. Other analogies to Johannine thought are to be found in Greek and Egyptian conceptions of Hermes as Word, Messenger, Saviour, and in the language and ideas of the Mystery religions. But uncertainty as to date makes it difficult to determine their relation to the Fourth Gospel.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Westcott, Forbes (IH), Clark (WNT), M'Clymont (Cent.B), W. F. Moulton and W. Milligan, Reynolds (PC), Plummer (CB); (*b*) Plummer (CGT), Dods (EGT), Alford, **Westcott**; (*c*) *Godet, Loisy, Calmes, B. Weiss (Mey.), Heitmüller (SNT), **Holtzmann-Bauer** (HC), Wellhausen, Zahn (ZK), Bauer (HNT); (*d*) Dods (Ex.B), Maclaren, *Expositions of Holy Scripture;* Peyton, *Memorabilia of Jesus;* Drummond, *Johannine Thoughts;* Selbie, *Belief and Life. Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries, Discussions in Histories of the Apostolic Age, Introductions to NT or the Gospels, Works on NT Theology; Abbott, *Johannine Grammar, Johannine Vocabulary;* Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel;* Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate;* Drummond, *Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel;* Lowrie, *The Doctrine of St. John;* Jackson, *The Fourth Gospel and some recent German Criticism;* Green, *Ephesian Canonical Writings;* E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel, its Purpose and Theology;* Gardner, *The Ephesian Gospel;* Purchas, *Johannine Problems and Modern Needs;* Schmiedel, *The Johannine Writings;* Lewis, *Disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel;* Stevens, *Johannine Theology;* Garvie, *Notes on the Fourth Gospel* (Exp., 1914); Robinson, *The Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel; Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 251–328; Wrede, *Charakter und Tendenz des Johan.-Evang.;* Baldensperger, *Der Prolog des IVten Evang.;* Schlatter, *Sprache und Heimat des IVten Evang.;* Spitta, *Das Johan. Evang. als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu;* B. Weiss, *Das Johan.-Evang. als einheitliches Werk;* Wendt, *Schichten im IVten Evang.;* Clemen, *Entstehung des Joh.-Evang.;* Overbeck, *Das Johannesevangelium:* R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel.*

I. 1–18. The Prologue: See Introduction. **1–5. The Word in Relation to God and Creation.**—The references to the language and thought of Gen. 1 are clear. At the time of creation, if the phrase may be allowed, the Word "was," eternally existent, in active communion with God, and Divine. The truth about the Logos shows that the Godhead has within itself such distinctions as make possible the exercise, within itself, of the highest activities which correspond to intercourse and communion among men. The Logos, Himself God, was eternally turned towards God. He was the agent of creation, apart from whom nothing came into being. The words "that was made," if taken with 3, are easy but meaningless. In early times they were interpreted as the beginning of 4. The use made of the passage by Gnostics to support their theories of pairs of æons, and the fact that it seemed to place the Holy Spirit in the class of "that which was made," may have led to the change. If taken with 4 they must mean either (*a*) Creation "was" (*i.e.* from God's point of view, was so regarded in the eternal mind) "life in Him"—He sustains the life of all that was made through Him; or (*b*) As for that which was made, in it was life (so Loisy); for the construction *cf.* 1$_2$, 10$_{29}$, 17$_{24}$. But in any case the general meaning must be that the Logos is the source of life as He is the agent of creation. And in men this life takes the higher form of "light," moral and spiritual life, of which also He is the source. The fight between this light and its opposite, the moral darkness of evil, has always been going on, and the light has never been conquered (this and not "understood" is the probable meaning of the word. *Cf.* 12$_{35}$ and some authorities in 6$_{17}$). Possibly 5 may refer to the shining of the true light among Christians in the author's own time.

6–8. The Preparation for the Final Manifestation.—The way was prepared for the final revelation by the work of John. The author takes the opportunity of asserting John's true position as against the extravagant claims apparently made for him, either by his own followers, or the Jews in general. His duty was that of the forerunner to herald the approach of the light.

9–13. The Work of the Light before the Incarnation.—But in truth the light, "which lighteth every man," was always coming into the world. Possibly 9 means that when John was "witnessing," the true light was on the point of "coming" and was actually in the world, which He had created, though men knew Him not. But this interpretation is less natural. He was always in the world that He had made, though it was ignorant of its Maker. His coming was to His own possession. But "His own" failed to recognise Him. In speaking of this failure the writer is thinking chiefly but perhaps not exclusively of Jews. But the failure had its exceptions. And those who in all nations received Him, gained the higher life of the spirit, which is entered upon by a birth from God, with which fleshly motives and physical descent have nothing to do. The use made by Gnostics of this verse to support their theories of the "spiritual seed" may have led to the substitution of the singular "who was born," which made the words refer to Christ. The context clearly demands the plural "who were born," so that the words describe the method of the spiritual rebirth of those who "received" the Logos. [In view of the importance of the passage, it ought, perhaps, to

be said that there is strong evidence for the singular (Tertullian, Irenæus, the Codex Veronensis of the Old Latin VS, probably Methodius, possibly Justin Martyr). The singular leads up well to 14, and the connexion with what precedes is good, the sonship of Christians rests on His sonship. In particular the very emphatic threefold negative statement of 13 seems to be directed against some who affirmed the contrary, and such a denial was far more likely to be of Christ's supernatural conception than of the Divine begetting of Christians in the spiritual sense. The singular is found, however, in no Gr. MS.; it may have originated in Latin through the ambiguity of the Latin relative pronoun (*qui*); and it may have been introduced to affirm the supernatural conception. Harnack has recently (July 1915) in a lengthy discussion, *Zur Text-kritik und Christologie der Schriften des Johannes*, concluded on several grounds that the plural cannot be accepted, and that the passage referred originally to the virgin conception. But he considers that this also is not in place in this context. He thinks that the verse was added in the margin as a comment on the words "And the Word became flesh" at a very early time and in the Johannine circle. It ran "He was begotten, etc.," the relative pronoun being absent as in Codex D, the Vercellensis (Latin), and perhaps in Tertullian. When the words had been taken into the text the relative was inserted by some.—A. S. P.] For the work of the Logos among men before the Incarnation *cf.* 1240 (Isaiah) and perhaps 856 (Abraham). The interpretation which finds in these verses an anticipated account of the work of the Incarnate Logos, which is out of place before the culminating declaration of 14, is less natural.

14–18. The Full and Final Revelation.—The work of the Logos culminated in what alone could give to men a complete and intelligible revelation, so far as man can grasp it, of the nature and being of God. The Divine Logos, who, as God, has the knowledge of God which none else can have, entered into the life of men, under the ordinary conditions of humanity, so that He could speak to men in their own language. His disciples had seen how, when He dwelt in the tent of flesh (*cf.* 2 Cor. 5 1ff.), as the "Shechinah" appeared in Israel in the "Tent" (Ex. 25 8f.), His true character and being shone forth, the "glory" of an only-begotten son, on whom the Father of all had bestowed all that He had to give, full of the attractiveness that God's favour gives, and of truth, so that He could make God known to men. The only natural explanation of 14 is that it refers to bodily and not spiritual vision (*cf.* 1 Jn. 1 1f.). It was rendered possible by the Word becoming flesh.

Once more (15) there is an appeal to John's "witness." He spoke with no uncertain voice (*cf.* Rom. 9 27). It is given in words which are practically a quotation of 30, where the phrase "of whom I spake" is a natural reference to 27. (Here the words are awkward, hence the correction noted in *mg.*) "He was before me" must imply belief in His pre-existence. The Book of Enoch shows that One who was regarded as Messiah would be so thought of. The difficulty is bound up with that of John's recognition of Jesus as Messiah. 16 and even 17f. are sometimes attributed to the Baptist. But they clearly take up the thought of 14. "We saw and knew, for we all received from His fullness in ever-increasing supply." The difference between Judaism and Christianity is sharply pointed—legal precepts, powerless to give life, imposed through the agency of a man, and the gift of true life and true knowledge brought into being and implanted in men by the creative energy of "a greater than Moses." No man has seen or can tell of God. "God only begotten," (*mg.*) the Word who is Divine and possesses the whole power of God, with whom He lives in active communion, has made God known. The sense will be the same if the easier, but less forcible, reading "the only-begotten Son" (*cf.* 3 16,18, 1 Jn. 4 9) is adopted.

I. 19–27. The Baptist's Witness about Himself.—Instead of recounting the work and mission of the Baptist, as the other gospels, the writer selects incidents which show him as the Witness. These incidents are certainly told in terms which reflect later Christian thought. But they contain much that does not obviously contribute to the writer's special purpose, and which suggests real knowledge or at least trustworthy tradition. If several of Jesus' earliest disciples were followers of the Baptist, the prominence assigned to his ministry in the Synoptic account receives a natural explanation. The Jews, the religious party of the nation, strenuous for the Law and tradition, are anxious about the new religious movement, and send a commission, apparently instigated by the Pharisees (24), though consisting of (?) Sadducean priests and Levites. John declares that he is neither Messiah nor even one of His expected precursors (Mal. 4 5, Dt. 18 15), and describes his own position in the words of Is. 40 3. To their surprise that such an one should "baptize" he answers that his baptism is only a purificatory and preliminary rite. A greater than he is among them though they know Him not. The site of this incident (Bethany, according to the true text) is unknown. At a comparatively early date (Origen, and the earliest Syr. Version) the name Bethabara was substituted.

I. 27–34. The Baptist's Witness to Himself.—The baptism of Jesus has apparently taken place. John points to Him as the greater one of whom he had spoken. His own work of baptism, which has not been described but is assumed to be known, is, he says, preparatory to the manifestation of Messiah to Israel. Like others John had been ignorant, till the sign of the Spirit descending and abiding on Jesus had revealed to him the true Baptizer, who should give men the true baptism of the Spirit. The section ends with John's "witness" that such an one is the very Son of God. [In 34 there is a variant reading, "the Elect of God" instead of "the Son of God." It has very strong early attestation, and is accepted by Blass, Nestle, and Zahn. In the work already mentioned on 13, Harnack has adopted it and sought to show its importance. It is simply a term for the Messiah, but it forms an addition to the contacts of the Fourth Gospel with the Third (Lk. 9 35, 23 35), and it illustrates how deeply the Fourth Evangelist is rooted in Jewish theology, a point which deserves emphasis in view of the present tendency to attribute to him an un-Jewish Hellenism.—A. S. P.] The full recognition of Jesus as Messiah by John and others at the outset is a well-known difficulty. If it is historical it was the act of men who saw in a remarkable man the fulfilment of their expectations, but thought of Him as one who would satisfy their national Messianism. When they found out that He would do nothing of the sort they changed their minds, till He had taught them what to look for in the true Messiah. [22–24 and 25–28 may be parallel narratives; so also 29–31 and 32–34. See Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Johannis*, pp. 9, 11.—A. J. G.]

29. The "Lamb of God" has been interpreted with reference (*a*) to the Paschal lamb (Ex. 12) with which the writer, like Paul (1 Cor. 5 7), identifies Jesus,

but which was not a sin offering (see 29); (*b*) to the lamb of the morning and evening sacrifice; (*c*) to the lamb of Is. 53 4ff. where the connexion with sin-bearing is certain. The evangelist has probably interpreted, and perhaps modified, in the light of later Christian thought (*cf.* also Gen. 22) what originally referred to the destruction, not the "bearing," of sin.

I. 35–51. The Baptist's Disciples and Jesus.—On the morrow to two of his disciples John bears similar witness. The account in its details suggests the recollections of one to whom the incident had been the turning-point of his life. The tenth hour, four o'clock, if true or traditional, may have suggested to the writer "the beginning of a new era." He could hardly have invented it for that purpose. The unnamed disciple (*cf.* 40) is generally identified with John the son of Zebedee. 41 does not really hint that he also brought his brother James. Jesus reads the character of Simon, and predicts that men will find in him the Rock man, and will so call him (*cf.* Mk. 3 16). It is apparently Peter who (43) wishes to return to Galilee, and "finds" Philip, as he himself had been found. Philip continues the chain, and finds Nathanael, generally, but not always in early times, identified with Bartholomew, the usual companion of Philip in the Synoptic lists. Jesus reads his character too, a true Israelite (Gen. 32 28) with none of the guile of the race of Jacob, the supplanter (Gen. 27 36). He is convinced by what seems to him at any rate superhuman knowledge and makes his confession. The Lord's answer teaches that the faith which rests on signs and wonders must yield to that which realises the spiritual character of Messiah's work and kingdom. Heaven will be opened and angels ascend and descend upon the Son of Man (Gen. 28 12).

II. 1–12. The Marriage at Cana.—On the third day the promise to Nathanael of greater things to follow is fulfilled. Modern exploration has suggested three sites for Cana, all of them near Nazareth, and to the N. or NE. of that place (p. 29). In Mk. 6 3 only the sisters are mentioned by the people of Nazareth as being "with us." Zahn suggests that they had married and settled there, the family having moved to Cana. We may at least notice the independence of the Synoptic narrative which the mention of the place shows. The mother of Jesus calls His attention to the failure of wine at a wedding feast to which He and His disciples had been invited. Jesus answers, in terms in which there is no trace of rebuke or disrespect[1] (*cf.* 19 26), that the time has not come for Him to interfere. He has not yet received the Father's intimation, for which He always waits. His mother, clearly a "friend of the house," bids the servants do His bidding. Six large stone jars were standing, to be used in purification. Between them they would hold more than 100 gallons. These He bids the servants fill and draw from them, or (if with Westcott we press the usual meaning of the Gr. word used) from the well, and give to the "ruler of the feast," *i.e.* to the chief servant (*cf. mg.*) who is in charge of the supply of food and drink. He expresses his surprise in homely language, which suggests popular tradition rather than the didactic aims of the evangelist. [The "sign" summarises the Galilean ministry with its brightness and cheerfulness; *cf.* Mk. 2 19–22.—A. J. G.] After this the family and the disciples make a short visit to Capernaum. [Possibly 3 22–30 originally stood between 12 and 13.—A. J. G.]

II. 13–22. The Cleansing of the Temple.—The Passover "of the Jews" as an author writing for Christians naturally describes it without special significance or bias, was near. Jesus, following the custom of the "religious" party in His nation, goes up with His disciples (17, 22) to keep the feast (*cf.* Ex. 23 15). He finds the Temple desecrated by an illicit traffic in animals for the sacrifices, and "sacred" shekels of the heavy Phœnician standard (pp. 116f.), in which alone the Temple tax could be paid. The expulsion is described with a fullness and correctness of detail (notice especially the *driving out* of the cattle and (?) their attendants, the *overturning* of the moneychangers' tables, and the *telling* the bird-sellers to take away their cages) greater than we find in the Synoptic accounts, Mt. coming nearest. The words of the command in 16, as compared with the quotation from Jer. 7 11 in Mk. 11 17, favour the originality of the Johannine account. In the light of later events the disciples saw in the incident a fulfilment of Ps. 69 9. In the remonstrance which follows, it is possible that the author sees a fulfilment of Ps. 69 9*b*. The "Jews," the religious party as represented by their leaders, demand His authority to act in this manner (*cf.* Mk. 11 28). The language of 18*b* seems to reflect Mk. 8 11 [but the attitude of Jesus to the request is different, Jn. 2 19, Mk. 8 12.—A. J. G.]. As spoken to the men of His time the Lord's answer can only mean, "Go on with your evil practices here, which must lead to the final desecration and destruction of the place as the Temple of God; and when you have completed your fatal work, I will raise shortly a new 'Temple,' in the hearts of true disciples of the kingdom, where God can dwell" (*cf.* Jer. 7 3–14). It was inevitable that later Christian reflection should see in the words a reference to His crucifixion, for which the Jews were responsible, and His resurrection. The "Scripture" is probably Ps. 69 9 (rather than Ps. 16 10), which received its final fulfilment on Calvary. The forty-six years may refer, not to Herod's alterations (p. 609), begun in 20 B.C. and not finished till A.D. 63 (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9), but to Zerubbabel's Temple, supposed to have been begun in the first year of Cyrus 559, and completed in the ninth year of Darius, 513 (see *Classical Review*, 1894, pp. 89ff.). If the words which were misrepresented at the trial (Mk. 14 58) were spoken as here recorded, the incident of the false witnesses is naturally explained, especially if a period of two years or more had intervened.

II. 23–25. The Results of the First Visit to Jerusalem.—The result of the Lord's visit to Jerusalem at the Passover and His work there was that many "believed on his name," *i.e.* they were convinced that He was the Messiah and were ready to follow Him as such, of course interpreting the title according to their own expectations and aspirations. Jesus, knowing their thoughts, refuses to trust Himself to them. Their views are incompatible with His. Before He can be the Messiah of His people, He must teach them the true character of the Messianic kingdom. If this is authentic history, it may go some way towards explaining the difference between this gospel and the Synoptists in respect of the attitude of Jesus, His disciples, and the people, with regard to the question of His Messiahship.

III. 1–21. The Conversation with Nicodemus.—Nicodemus is an example of those to whom the Lord could not trust Himself. The story shows how He tried to bring those whom His teaching had impressed to a truer conception of the Messianic kingdom. Here as in all the Johannine speeches the conversation is recorded in terms which reflect later thought, and it passes out into more general thoughts and ideas.

[1] *Cf.* Nestle in ET, ix. 562, and Burkitt in JThS, xiii. 594.—A. J. G.]

Nicodemus disappears, and before the end the author is teaching the men of his own time. We cannot satisfactorily separate speech from comment. And yet throughout the subjects and thoughts have naturally grown out of the historical situation. The author is not simply developing, in the light of later Jewish controversy, his views on the necessity of Christian baptism, and the spiritual character of Christian Messianic expectation. A leader of the "Jewish" party, favourably disposed by what he has seen and heard of Jesus' works in the capital, comes to make further inquiries. What has the new Rabbi to teach about the kingdom? [The "kingdom" is mentioned elsewhere in Jn. only in 1836, "my kingdom."] He is not encouraged. A complete change of view, comparable to nothing less than being born over again, is needed before he and his friends can understand the true character of the kingdom. Nicodemus' answer is not the mere stupidity of misunderstanding which the author is supposed to attribute in this gospel to the opponents of the Christ. He refuses to admit that the religious leaders can need so complete a change. Jesus answers that John's baptism of purification and the Messianic baptism of the Spirit are the necessary preparation for admission to the kingdom. The capacity to enter into the things of the Spirit must be created in a man by the Spirit of God. Nicodemus' surprise is rebuked, with special emphasis on the "You." The people perhaps, but not the rulers, is his obvious unspoken thought. Then the question "How?" is answered. Like the wind, the workings of God's Spirit cannot be traced. They are known by their effects. They follow His will. The play on two meanings of the same word (*pneuma*), "wind" and "spirit," is possible in Gr. It is more natural in Heb. (*ruah*) or Aram. To Nicodemus' repeated "How?" Jesus expresses surprise that a religious leader should have failed to see the teaching of Scripture, and contrasts the consciousness of certainty, born of experience, with which He and John can speak, though the "religious" refuse to hear. Perhaps, however, 11*b* is the author's comment on his own generation. If the "earthly" teaching about the need of new birth is unintelligible, how can the higher teaching of God's purposes for the kingdom be grasped? Only the "Son of Man" (p. 670), who is in touch with heaven, can reveal them. Compare Dt. 30¹² and 4 Ezr. 4¹–¹¹, a passage which offers several interesting parallels to this section. Though "Jews" reject, God will exalt His Messiah so that all must see and acknowledge. Clearly the author puts his own meaning on "exaltation." The word must have had to Nicodemus a different and simpler sense. In what follows (16) the author's own thoughts and theology become more apparent, but the subject is the natural sequence to what has been said. In popular Messianic expectation Messiah's function is to judge. The Lord teaches that His primary work is to save, not to judge. For those who accept Him the need of judgment is over. For those who reject, their refusal is their sentence. But how can Messiah judge and yet not come to judge? Judgment, *i.e.* separation, is the necessary result of the coming of light which evil shuns but good men welcome. Judgment is a revelation of character, inevitable and self-working when once the "Son" has set the true standard (*cf.* Lk. 23⁴f.). [The Synoptic counterpart of Nicodemus is the rich young ruler (Mk. 10¹⁷–²²). We may also compare the injunctions to "turn and become as little children," and Paul's doctrine of the old and the new man. Note that the belief of 15–21 is much deeper than that of 2²³–²⁵.—A. J. G.]

III. 22–36. The Last Appearance of the Baptist.—Convinced that the nation is not ripe for Messianic teaching, Jesus falls back on preparatory work similar to that of John, who was continuing his work at Ænon near Salim. In Eusebius' time this was identified with a place on the borders of Galilee and Samaria not far from Bethshan. Modern explorers favour a place called 'Aynun, north of the Salim near Nablus. The evangelist notes that John's imprisonment did not take place, as the earlier gospels (Mk. 1¹⁴) seem to imply, before the beginning of Jesus' public work. A dispute arose between John's disciples and a "Jew" about purification, probably leading to a comparison of the cleansing power of the two baptisms. The disciples of John are jealous for their master's honour, hardly an impossibility (Wellhausen) after the witness borne by him to the superiority of Jesus. The splendid answer of self-denial will always appeal to men. The success of Jesus comes from above. John reminds his disciples that he himself has borne witness to his greater Follower. His own duty is that of the bridegroom's friend, to bring the bride Israel to the bridegroom. His joy will be full when that is done. It belongs to the necessity of God's plan that the forerunner should give way before the Christ. The section 31–36 has so many points of connexion with the account of Nicodemus that it has been plausibly supposed to have been accidentally transferred to its present position (*cf.* 2¹²*). In its present context it must be understood as (giving) the writer's reflections on the Baptist's words. John could not have spoken 32*b* after 26. The heavenly character of Messiah's work is contrasted with the earthly nature of John's. He that comes from heaven speaks from certain knowledge, though few care to listen. John and those who accepted the Christ asserted the truth of God. For God's truth is spoken by God's Messenger. He received in full the gift of the Spirit, in contrast to the partial inspiration of the men of old. He has His Father's love, which has given Him all. So he that believes on the Son has the higher life, which the disobedient shall never even see. As with Nicodemus, so here, the Baptist has disappeared and the writer speaks. But the view which sees in the whole paragraph nothing but a scene invented to get one more occasion for the Baptist's "witness," and to justify the use of Christian baptism, is an impossible explanation of its origin. To invent a scene in which Jesus falls back on the lower plane of the Baptist's work is not the custom of the Christian apologist.

IV. 1–42. Christ in Samaria.—**1–26. Christ and the Samaritan Woman.**—The Lord (for the title *cf.* 6²³, 11², 20²⁰, 21⁷, with certain parts of Lk., *e.g.* 18⁶*), having learned that the Pharisees are aware of the success of His baptism, administered by His disciples, retires to Galilee, to avoid opposition which might lead to a premature crisis. This obliged Him to pass through Samaria, unless He chose the longer route through Peræa, often adopted by strict Jews to avoid defilement. So He comes to Sychar, identified by Jerome with Shechem (Nablus), and now more usually with 'Askar at the E. foot of Mt. Ebal. Jacob's well (p. 30) is on the main road from Judæa to Samaria, close to the foot of Gerizim. Tired with the journey, He rests at noon by the well. In the absence of His disciples He asks a Samaritan woman, who had come to draw water, for a drink. [The point of 8 is that the disciples had gone into the town, taking with them the rope and bucket carried on journeys in Palestine, so that Jesus could not draw for Himself, as the woman remarked (11). Jesus and the disciples

are superior to Jewish prejudices, which were not, however, so strict then as they became later.—A. S. P.] She is surprised at such a request from a Jew. If 9*b* is a later gloss it is true to fact. Using the metaphor thus suggested, Jesus tries to tell her of God's gift, the coming of the kingdom. In comparison with what has gone before, it is as the living water of a spring compared to that of a well (*cf.* Jer. 2 13). She is surprised. Can He do more for them than Jacob who gave them the well? He explains that His gift will quench spiritual thirst, and not for a time only but once for all. Again she misunderstands, and He now tries to arouse the feeling of spiritual need through the sense of guilt. The gift is only for those who are willing to share it. So she is bidden to summon her husband. This leads to a confession. Allegorists interpret the five husbands as the five senses, the books of the Law, or the five gods worshipped by the Samaritans (2 K. 17 24,30f.,34). Convinced by this proof of His knowledge that He is a prophet, she puts before Him her religious difficulties, or wishes to hear how He will deal with the stock subject of controversy between Jews and Samaritans. This suggests a possible line of teaching that she can understand. Local restrictions are not the last word in true worship. When the Messianic hour strikes they will disappear. As to the point at issue, Samaritan worship was ignorant. God's salvation starts from Judaism for those who read rightly the message of the Scriptures. But true worship, which will soon be possible, knows no limitations of race. It is spiritual, offered to the Father who is spirit, and who claims from His children a worship based on a true knowledge of His nature. Again she fails to grasp His meaning. Messiah, whom Samaritans, using at least the Pentateuch, expected as well as Jews, must settle such questions. In reply Jesus announces that He is Messiah. This is in accordance with the writer's view that Jesus accepted the title from the first, though He drew back, when He discovered the real attitude of the Judæans. In Samaria this hesitation was unnecessary. The Synoptic incident of the Syrophœnician woman suggests that there is some historical truth behind this view, though as it stands it reflects the ideas of the author's own time.

IV. 27–38. The Return of the Disciples.—The disciples return with the food they have bought. They are surprised that Jesus is talking with a woman (*cf. Pirke Aboth*, i. 5, "Prolong not discourse with a woman"). The woman returns to the city, and her report leads the men to "come and see." Meanwhile the disciples offer the food to Jesus. But His experiences have banished physical hunger. He explains that His true life is supported by doing His Father's work. Signs of accomplishment are not wanting. In common parlance four months separate seed-time from harvest (unless 35*a* is to be taken as a note of time, in which case the event must have happened in December or January). In the spiritual harvest, which is independent of time, the grain is already ripe, as they will see if they look at the men coming from the city to Him. When fruit is gathered in to eternal life, sower and reaper share a common joy. The saying, "One soweth, another reapeth," which in the earthly sphere voices the complaint of the oppressed, deprived of the fruit of their toil, receives in the spiritual sphere its ideal fulfilment, when all the workers rejoice that men are brought to eternal life. In the bread they have just bought the disciples have reaped the reward of others' sowing. Let them remember it when it is their turn to sow.

IV. 39–45. The Witness of the Samaritans and the Return to Galilee.—The author records the effect of personal contact with Jesus on the men who come from the city. The expression, "Saviour of the World," must come from the author, who uses the incident to emphasize the readiness of non-Jewish peoples to receive the Christ, and the superiority of faith which rests on personal experience. Jesus, in spite of His success, stays only two days. His true work is in Galilee, His own country, where He is not likely to receive honours which at present would be dangerous.

IV. 46–54. The Healing of the Son of the King's Officer.—The narrative is plain and needs little comment. The similarity of the story to Mt. 8 5ff. (Lk. 7 2ff.) has often been noticed since the time of Irenæus. The main points, healing at a distance, the father's faith, the healing "at that hour" (*cf.* Mt. 8 13) are the same. And many of the peculiarities may be designed to bring out the lesson it is meant to teach, the superiority of faith which believes because of "the word" to that which rests on miracle. The mention of Cana, not necessary from this point of view, suggests real knowledge. The seventh hour is not incompatible with "yesterday." Jews reckoned the evening after sunset as belonging to the next day. We should say "at one o'clock this afternoon."

V. 1–9*a*. The Pool of Bethzatha.—If in 1 we read "the feast," Tabernacles is probably meant (*cf.* 7 2). The true text, however, seems to have "a feast." Pentecost, Purim (in March, to suit 4 35 taken as a note of time and not as a proverb), and Trumpets (September) have been suggested. It is best to leave the matter where the author has left it. He does not seem to know. He speaks of the pool at the Sheep Gate (NE. corner of the Temple area; *cf.* Neh. 3 1*, 32), or perhaps the sheep pool, according to a few authorities, as still standing in his time. It is unsafe to draw inferences from the present tense, which may be explained in different ways. The name is doubtful. Probably Bethzatha (*mg.*) is the original form, of which Bethesda and Bethsaida are alterations to better-known names. According to Josephus Bezetha was the name of the northern quarter of the city. The account of the angel in AV, RVm (4) is clearly a later addition. The words in 3, "waiting for the moving of the waters," are better attested, and receive some support from 7, of which, however, they may be an interpretative gloss. [On the whole story see R. Harris, *Sidelights on NT Research*, Lect. II. He suggests that the feast is the Rosh-ha-Shanah or "Head of the Year," and relates how he once found some Armenian Christians waiting according to custom for the descent of Gabriel into their village pool, (*a*) to give healing virtue to the water, (*b*) to enrich the man who first after midnight drew water.—A. J. G.]

V. 9*b*–15. The Conflict with the Authorities.—With the man himself the "Jews" raise the question of bearing burdens on the Sabbath (*cf.* Jer. 17 21). The man's ignorance of who had healed him is one of the many details which suggest that the author is following tradition, or using his memory, rather than inventing for didactic purposes. In 5*b* a reference is often found to the thirty-eight years of the wandering in the wilderness, mentioned only in Dt. 2 14, too obscure a passage for the origin of the detail, which is probably traditional, though the author may have had the parallel in his mind. With Jesus Himself the "Jews" raise the wider question of Sabbath healing, as in the Synoptists. 17 is a summary of His defence. He is

doing the will of the Lawgiver. It is the Father who works when His Messenger works. This claim to be a fellow-worker with God seems blasphemous to His opponents and they seek His death. It is not unlikely that the author anticipates a stage in the quarrel which was really reached later. *Cf.* however, Mk. 36.

V. 19–30. The Son's Dependence on the Father. Judgment and Lifegiving.—To the charge of blasphemy He answers that a son can only do what he has learned to do by watching his father, who out of love shows him how to work. So the Father will show Messiah, the Son, even greater things, so that men will experience the wonder which leads to faith. The greater work is the quickening of the spiritually dead. This will be done not arbitrarily but according to God's will. So the judgment which the Father commits to Messiah will be wrought out. The acceptance or rejection of this spiritual quickening is its test. And its object (23) is that men should pay due honour to the Son. In 24 Jesus introduces, as usually when "Verily, verily" occurs, a further thought. Acceptance of His message and faith in His sender gives men true life, which the author always designates as eternal, *i.e.* spiritual. Of such there is no judgment. They have chosen the better part. And the gift will soon be given. The hour will soon strike when the spiritually dead shall hear the Son's voice, and if they hearken shall have life. For the Father, the source of all life, has given the Son the power to quicken life. And with that corresponds the power of judgment, given to Him as Messiah, who being man knows what is in man. 28f. is perhaps best explained as the author's comment, to set aside the view that what has been said overthrows the idea of the future Messianic judgment of quick and dead. The dead shall rise for judgment according to their works. 30 takes up the thought of 22. Jesus' judgment, as His works, is dependent on the Father. And it is just, carrying out the Father's will.

V. 30–40. Witness.—The subject is introduced abruptly, but rises naturally out of the circumstances. The claims made, if less than the author represents them, were such as to raise the question of authority. By what authority could He substantiate them? In the first place, John the Baptist, in whose teaching the people for a time took such pleasure. His chief "witness" is God Himself, whose testimony is declared through the "works" which He enables Jesus to do, and also directly in Scripture, which they study in the hope of gaining life. And yet they reject the Prophet, whom Moses in those very Scriptures (*cf.* Dt. 18 15ff.) and many others foretold.

V. 41–47. This summary suggests that Jesus' opponents had accused Him of self-glorification. In answer He traces back their failure to accept His message to want of that love of God which their study of Scripture should have taught them (Dt. 65). If a false prophet were to come on his own authority (*cf.* Dt. 18 20), and "speak presumptuously" in God's name, flattering their pride and self-seeking, such an one they would welcome. There is no reference in 43*b* to the pseudo-Messiah, Bar-Koohba (A.D. 135). Dt. 18 20 and the character of popular Messianism in the last century B.C. are adequate explanations. Belief was impossible so long as they looked for the praise of men and not of God. As with judgment so with accusation. It is not His primary object. Their real accuser is Moses, whose Law they believe themselves to obey so well. They failed to recognise the Prophet whom he foretold, and so they fail to see the truth of Jesus' words. [Possibly 7 15–24 should be inserted at this point.—A. J. G.]

VI. The Crisis in Galilee.—1–14. The Feeding of the Five Thousand.—1 is the natural sequel to work in Galilee, not in Judæa. Similarly 7 1 would naturally follow work in the south, not in the north. The author has probably modified the order in which the material out of which his gospel has grown took shape. We should therefore connect 6 with 4, and 5 with 7.[1] The account of the miracle cannot in all details be reconciled with the Synoptic account. In particular it leaves no room for the day of teaching (Mk. 6 34), after which, not as here (5) when Jesus first sees the crowd, comes the conversation with the disciples and the miracle. But it presents several details, the parts played by Andrew and Philip, the fact that the scanty store procurable had to be obtained from a lad, the danger arising from the enthusiasm of the crowd, etc., which are not in themselves improbable, and which help us to realise the scenes as described in the other gospels. For the name Tiberias (p. 29), *cf.* Josephus, *Wars*, iii. 3, 5. The mention of the Passover, omitted in some Patristic authorities but in no MSS or VSS, is made either to account for the presence of the crowd, when people were on the move, or to point to the following Eucharistic teaching, the Christian rite as the continuation of, or contrast to, the Jewish Passover. The gathering up of the broken pieces is here attributed to the Lord's command. The lesson, which the author uses it to teach, of the grateful use to the full of God's bountiful giving, is clear.

VI. 15–25. After the Miracle: the Walking on the Sea.—Though the details are obscure, Jn. gives the key to the situation by recording the dangerous enthusiasm of the crowds, as later on he shows the dangers which threatened from their disillusionment. If we compare the other accounts it would seem that Jesus made the disciples, who no doubt shared the popular excitement, put off in their boat while He dealt with the crowd. Then He retires to the higher ground to pray. As He does not return the disciples put out to sea (?) in the direction of Bethsaida. After rowing about three or four miles, they see Him on, or "by" the sea, and are frightened. He reassures them, and they wish to take Him into the boat but do not do so, probably a true detail. Soon after, they reach land nearer Capernaum than perhaps they had intended. The story now returns to the crowd. Those who had not dispersed after seeing the disciples put out, and knowing there was no other boat for Him to use, take the opportunity afforded by the coming of boats from the W. side to cross to where they expect He must have gone, Capernaum. They are said to find him, not there, but across the sea, perhaps between Bethsaida and Capernaum. The account, though difficult, is not impossible, and does not seem to be dominated by the theological tendency of the author.

VI. 26–40. The Desire for a Sign: the True Manna.—After raising their expectations He had refused to go forward. In answer to their surprise at finding Him so soon across the lake He tells them why. Their hopes are confined to the material. They must seek the higher food, which leads to true life. They ask what they are to do. Believe in God's Messenger. But He has refused to act as God's Messiah. By what sign will He justify His claim to their faith? Will He give the new manna from heaven which Messiah was expected to give? (*Cf.* Apoc. Baruch, 29 8, "The treasure of manna shall again descend from on high.") They quote Ps. 78 24. That points, Jesus replies, to

[1] [On the general subject of disarrangements in the Fourth Gospel see Lewis; also Moffatt, *Intro. to Lit. of NT*, 550ff., who points out the close correspondence between chs. 4 and 6.—A. J. G.]

God, not Moses, as the Giver. He is fulfilling His promise. The Son is the true manna, food of the higher life of man (Philo, "He calleth the Divine word, eldest of things that are, Manna"). But for their unbelief the gift would be theirs. 37–40 though full of Johannine phrase and thought, is most easily understood in the light of the historical situation. It meets the complaint that He has refused those who would hail Him as Messiah. He replies that He does not reject arbitrarily, but acts according to the Father's will. All whom He "gives," into whose hearts He puts the desire to be true disciples, will be received. These He will raise "at the last day." The teaching here given does not set aside the popular Christian expectation of a final "day" (*cf.* 528f.).

VI. 41–51. The Murmuring of the "Jews."—The changes of persons here (*cf.* 22, the multitude), and of place in 59, show that this chapter is not intended to record a continuous conversation, but to give specimens of Christ's teaching as the author has come to see its meaning, of objections raised and how they were answered. Jesus' claims are challenged on the ground of His lowly origin (*cf.* Lk. 422, Mk. 63). The answer takes up the thought of 37–40. Those alone will accept such an one to whom the Father gives the grace to hear the teaching promised in the prophets (Is. 5413). All, who will hear, shall be taught, though (46) the teaching is not given by direct vision, but through faith in God's Messenger. In 48ff. the meaning of what has preceded is summed up. Jesus is the support of men's spiritual life. The old manna could not avert physical death, the new brings true life, over which physical death has no power. The thought is now carried to a further stage, which could hardly have had any meaning to the men of Christ's own generation. The bread which He will give, His flesh, is for the life of the world, a declaration of the propitiatory character of Christ's death, which clearly reflects later thought (*cf.* Scott, pp. 122ff.).

VI. 52–65. Further "Jewish" Objections.—Further advance is made by the use for the first time of the phrase, "to eat the flesh." To their question "How?" Jesus answers that the gift of life can be obtained only by such means. The reference to the sacrificial death is made clearer by the addition "and drink His blood." The true life can be gained only by the assimilation of the "Body" and the "Blood," the life set free by death for wider purposes. Those who partake of this "true" food gain abiding union with Christ. The expressions used here are intelligible only in the light of Christian Eucharistic experience. 60ff. is historically important as describing the crisis in Galilee, when many even of the best disposed took offence and fell away. In place of their material expectations He offered them a spiritual conception of the kingdom. It proved a stumbling-block. What would their feelings be when He left them, His life ended without the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom? This seems to be the meaning of 62, though possibly it may mean that the glories of the future would provide a solution of present difficulties. He knows the hollowness of the professions of man. This the author interprets as a reference to Judas. The recorded words of Jesus are of wider application; He knew how His higher teaching had alienated the crowd. 66ff. is sometimes regarded as a duplicate version of the crisis, the failure of disciples, the reference to Judas, the apologetic aim of showing that his treachery was foreseen. The Lord's doubts as to the Twelve have not the appearance of a Christian invention. The author interprets the confession at Cæsarea Philippi (Mk. 827ff.). Perhaps the saying about Judas reflects the language of the rebuke to Peter (Mk. 833). The view that the confession is a clinging to faith in spite of disappointment agrees with the Synoptic account of the Baptist's message from prison (Mt. 112–6, Lk. 719–23).

VII. The Feast of Tabernacles.—1–9. The Remonstrance of the Brethren.—This incident is often now used to support the view that in the original draft of the gospel no visit to Jerusalem before this was recorded. Excision and rearrangement can, of course, accomplish anything, but a more natural history of the ministry can be written on the lines of the gospel as it stands. The connexion of this chapter with 5 has been mentioned. 71 is the natural sequel of work in Jerusalem or Judæa. The Lord's brethren share the unfavourable judgment, if not the disillusionment, of the crowd. If He has any claims to be Messiah they must be decided at the capital, not by hiding in Galilee. Jesus, knowing the rulers' attitude from recent experience, answers that His time is not yet. He would only meet the reformer's fate. They can go safely. He must not go up to this Feast. The difficulty felt at His sudden change of mind led to the addition of "yet" (8).

VII. 10–24. The Secret Visit.—Soon, however, He receives the Divine intimation, for which He always waits (*cf.* 24, 11ef.) and goes up secretly. The "Jews" are discussing Him, and various opinions are expressed, but only in secret from fear of the leaders of the party, who are known to be hostile. When He appears in the Temple and teaches, they are surprised at the power of one who has not been trained in the schools. He replies that His teaching has a higher source, as all will recognise who are willing to obey God's will (*cf.* Num. 1628). The self-sent teacher will betray himself by the selfishness of his aims. Circumcision is allowed to override the law of the Sabbath. Why not, therefore, His healing of the whole man, in consequence of which they are ready to break the law, "Thou shalt not kill"? The similarity of the argument to the Rabbinical tract "Sabbath" is striking—"if for circumcision, which deals with one member only, the Sabbath must give way, how much more in the case of saving life?" Their judgment should be based on something deeper than the mere appearance of law-breaking.

VII. 25–36. Results in Jerusalem.—The surprise of the "Jews" at His accusation of murder shows that they were ignorant of the plans of their leaders. Some of the Jerusalemites are better informed, and cannot understand the inaction of their rulers. Have they been convinced? But He does not fulfil the expected conditions. Messiah is to appear suddenly. This view is found in Enoch and 4 Esdras (*cf.* also Justin, *Trypho*, 49, 110). Jesus in reply contrasts their knowledge of Him and His origin with their ignorance of God who sent Him, in words which appear blasphemous. They seek to lay hands on Him. The crowd is on His side. Messiah Himself could not perform greater works. The Pharisees get anxious at their attitude. The Priests, always mentioned first when action is needed, send to arrest Him. Jesus knows His danger. He tells His friends that He will not be with them long. They will want Him, but will not be able to follow. The "Jews" deride the idea. Perhaps He is thinking of a journey to the Diaspora, where teaching like His might find a more sympathetic audience, not simply among Jews but among the Greeks themselves. They are, however, perplexed at what He says. This portrait of opinion at Jerusalem cannot be the product of the author's own time.

VII. 37–52. The Last Day of the Feast.—The Feast of Tabernacles, the feast of the ingathering at the end of summer, lasted seven days in early times (Dt. 16¹³). An eighth day was added later (Lev. 23³⁶). The custom of bringing water from Siloah each day and only pouring it out before the altar, is known certainly for later times, but probably existed in Christ's time. It was held to commemorate the gift of water in the wilderness (Ex. 17⁶), and was accompanied by the recitation of Is. 12₃. 37f. is best interpreted by taking "He that believeth on me" with 37, "If any man thirst let him come to me, and drink he that believeth on me" *i.e.* "he that believeth on me let him drink" (for the order, *cf.* 11², 1 Jn. 5¹²). 38 is then a promise that Christ will quench the spiritual thirst of His followers. The source of the quotation is unknown, but *cf.* Ex. 17⁶, the water flowing from the rock; Ezek. 47, the prophecy of the waters issuing from the Temple, symbolising the gift of the Spirit; and the tradition that Messiah or His forerunner Elijah was to restore not only the manna, but also the gift of water. [See further ET, xviii. 100, xxii. 10, xxiii. 180, 235.] The author's explanation that the promise referred to the Spirit is natural. The addition, "There was not yet spirit, for Jesus was not yet glorified" (p. 745), caused difficulty which led to various expansions of the text (*cf. mg.*). The appeal raised the expectations of the crowd to think of Him either as the prophet Jeremiah raised from the dead (*cf.* Mt. 16¹⁴), or the prophet of Dt. 18¹⁵, or else as the Christ. Against this was urged His Galilean origin. Messiah was to be of the house of David and Bethlehem His birthplace (Mi. 5₂). The Jerusalemites expect Messiah to appear suddenly from heaven, the crowd looks for a Davidic king; the distinction suggests real knowledge. The story now reverts to the attempted arrest. The officers excuse their failure because of the power of His words on the people. The contempt of the rulers for the crowd may be illustrated from *Pirke Aboth*, i. 6, "Hillel used to say 'A rude man fears not sin, and no vulgar person (*'am haarez*) is pious'" (p. 624, Ezr. 44*). But other views are held by a minority in the Sanhedrin. Nicodemus pleads for a fair trial, but is received with scorn. Galilee does not produce prophets. The cases of Nahum and Jonah (2 K. 14²⁵) are apparently forgotten. [Perhaps with the Sahidic Version we should read "*The* prophet arises not out of Galilee."—A. J. G.]

VII. 53–VIII. 11.—See p. 765.

VIII. Further Controversy in Jerusalem.—12–20. The Light of the World; Discourse in the Treasury.—If we remove the *Pericope adulteræ* (7₅₃–8₁₁, clearly a later addition, though a genuine piece of gospel tradition, possibly belonging originally to Lk. and inserted here to illustrate 8¹⁵, "I judge no man"), this section regains its natural connexion with 7, and especially 7¹⁵–²⁴. It is another specimen of the controversies of the period. 12 may refer to the custom of lighting at this Feast the great candelabra in the Court of the Women where the treasury was (20), to commemorate the pillar of fire. The Pharisees dispute the credentials of Jesus. His reply is in effect the old prophetic claim to speak for God. He knows whence He is. His claims have the necessary legal witness (Dt. 17⁶), His own and God's. They reply that He does not produce His second witness. Their scoffing only reveals their deep ignorance of God. His arrest is not yet attempted. God has more work for Him to do in the capital.

VIII. 21–30. Warnings of Coming Doom.—But He knows that in the end the rulers must have their way. He tells the Pharisees that His time is short, and that they will need Him when it is too late. The "Jews" are scornful. Is He thinking of suicide? In answer He emphasizes the gulf which separates them from Him and His teaching. Who is He, they ask, to make such claims? He reiterates the hopelessness of the situation. Why does He talk with them at all? (So 25 *mg.* The view that He called Himself "The beginning" comes from the Vulg.; the Gr. cannot be so translated. It is very doubtful whether the words can mean either "Essentially I am what I say" or "I am what I have told you all along from the beginning.") He has much to say. But they would not listen to God's truth. He must say it to a different audience (26). They will never understand till they have "exalted" the Son, through suffering and rejection, to the honour God has appointed for Him. Then they will know that He is no self-boaster, but God's obedient Messenger.

VIII. 31–59. Controversy with the "Jews" who Believed.—Many are convinced by this appeal. The following section summarises the teaching by which Jesus tried to bring the more favourably disposed of the "Jewish" party to a fuller faith. If they will make Christ's teaching a real part of their lives, they will gain the truth which sets men free. They take offence. If they have had to submit to foreign power, they have never been reduced to slavery. Sin is slavery, Jesus replies, and the slave has no secure place in the house as the son has. The author adds that true freedom is the gift of the "Son." Jesus admits their physical descent from Abraham (37). But their conduct does not correspond to their parentage. They do not dissociate themselves from their party's policy of trying to get rid of one whose teaching is unacceptable. He follows His Father's example. Let them follow the example of theirs. They again assert their parentage. He replies that their deeds disprove it, and point to other parentage. They are no bastards, they answer, but God's children. If that were so, He tells them, they would love God's Messenger. Their murderous intent proves their kinship with the devil, the murderer from the beginning. He could not stand in the truth, lies are his own, for he is the father of them. (Many commentators insist that 44*b* must be translated, "For a liar is also his father," and suggest a reference to the father of the devil, or alter the beginning of the verse into "Ye are of your father Cain," *cf.* 1 Jn. 3¹². Neither expedient is satisfactory.) They refuse to believe because He speaks the truth. No one has convicted Him of sin. Their refusal to hear shows that they are not "of God." His words convince the Jews that He is an enemy of the race, and mad. No madman, He answers, could honour God as He does. They dishonour Him by such an accusation. But His honour is in higher hands. If a man keeps His word, he will gain true life and never see death. To the Jews this assertion proves His madness. How can His word confer a privilege not granted to Abraham or the Prophets? He answers that what He claims comes from the Father. Abraham rejoiced at the thought of seeing the glory of the Messianic times, and from his abode in Paradise he has seen it and is glad. Apocryphal writings show that, according to Jewish tradition, the Messianic glories were revealed to Abraham during his earthly life, and speak of the "joy" shown by him. *Cf.* 4 Esd. 3¹⁴, "Unto him didst thou reveal the end of the times secretly"; Apoc. Baruch 44, the heavenly Jerusalem shown to A. by night; Jubilees (15¹⁷ and Charles *Pseudep.*, p. 36 n.), Abraham "rejoiced." The Jews are scornful, referring what is said to the earthly life

of Abraham. How can one not yet fifty years old have seen Abraham? In answer Jesus asserts His priority to Abraham in terms which, whatever may have been their original form and meaning, are used by the author in the sense of pre-existence, and seem to His hearers blasphemous. Again in this chapter it is almost impossible to separate speech and comment. But it adds a chapter to the real history of the ministry, showing how in Jerusalem, as in Galilee, those whom His teaching attracted were alienated when He refused to promise political freedom, and spoke of the slavery of sin, attempting to teach His higher views by distinguishing between physical and spiritual kinship to Abraham and to God. Though told in the terms of Johannine theology, it is a real stage in the controversy with His people that is "interpreted."

[48. Behind the word Samaritan may lie the Aramaic *Shomroni, i.e.* son of Shomron, the father of Ashmedai, prince of demons, otherwise Sammæl or Satan.—57. א, Syr. Sin., and the Sahidic read "has Abraham seen thee?"—A. J. G.]

IX. The Healing of the Man Born Blind. Jesus the Light of the World. Hostility to His Followers.—1–12. The Miracle.—The expression "passed by" (*cf.* Mk. 1¹⁶) does not necessarily connect the incident with the preceding chapter. In subject-matter it is more closely connected with the first part of ch. 10. It belongs to the period between the Feasts of Tabernacles and the Dedication. The encounter with a man born blind suggests the question of sin and suffering, so often raised in the OT and especially in Job. The disciples see the difficulty of the orthodox Jewish explanation. Can this man's suffering be due either to his own or his parents' sin? There is probably a reference, either to the Greek view of the soul's pre-existence (*cf.* Wisd. 8¹⁹f., "being good I came into a body undefiled"), or to the possibility of prenatal sin in the womb, an idea certainly recognised in Rabbinic theology (see Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*). Jesus answers that they must think of individual suffering not as caused by sin but as the occasion for the showing forth of God's good will. His own work is to give to men the light of spiritual truth and life. The details of the miracle recall Mk. 7³³, 8²³. For Siloam *cf.* Is. 8⁶ and Neh. 3¹⁵. The form of the name agrees with the LXX. In Neh. the pool of Shelah is said to be near the King's garden. It contained the water brought from the Virgin's spring (Gihon) to the mouth of the Tyropœan Valley. Probably the author has in view Is. 8⁶, where Israel's rejection of the Waters of Shiloah, which flow gently, symbolises their rejection of the kindly guidance of Yahweh. He seems to have interpreted the name "sending forth" as a passive, "sent."[1] The account of the neighbours' surprise, and the man's description, confined to what he would have felt without seeing, are, like the whole chapter, a striking example of the author's vivid realism.

IX. 13–34. The Incompetence and Anger of the Authorities.—In what follows the actors are described first as Pharisees, then as Jews, the larger party of whom the Pharisees are one section. In 13–17 the attempt is made to get evidence out of the man to disprove the fact of the healing, which they refuse to believe, on the ground that a Sabbath-breaker could not do so great a work. They only elicit the man's view that Jesus is a prophet. Interest in the matter spreads. The "Jews" now question the man's parents, in the hopes of being able to deny his identity. They assert that it is undoubtedly their son, and for the rest they are cautious, knowing the hostility of the authorities to the claims of Jesus. So the man himself is called again, in the hope that his admissions may be made to point to demoniac agency, as the fact of the healing can no longer be denied. He is solemnly adjured to confess the truth, in the words "Give glory to God," used by Joshua to Achan (Jos. 7¹⁹; *cf.* also Ezr. 10¹¹). Jesus is a "sinner," and if He has really cured the man's blindness, it must have been with the help of the Prince of the Devils (*cf.* Mk. 3²²). The man's answer is ironical. They are better authorities than he on the question of "sinners," but the facts about his own eyes cannot be disputed. Further inquiry fails to elicit adverse evidence, so Jesus is denounced. God spake to Moses, but who and whence is He? The man, with growing boldness, expresses his surprise that the religious leaders of the nation should be so ignorant about one to whom God has given such power. Even the unlearned know that God does not favour sinners, but only His true worshippers. At this retort they degenerate into mere abuse and drive the man out, an action which the author probably interprets as excommunication, in the light of later history.

IX. 35–41. The True Significance of the Event.—Jesus, hearing what has happened, seeks out, or chances to meet (*cf.* 14¹, 12¹⁴), the man. To draw out his faith, He asks, "Dost thou believe on the Son of man?" (*mg.*). Apparently the title is not familiar to the man. Jesus answers by claiming the name, at which the man confesses himself His disciple. In what follows the author expresses, in his own language, the Lord's judgment on the incident. His coming, though not for the purpose of setting up the Messianic Judgment (*cf.* 3¹⁷–²¹) has resulted in judgment, in separation. The man's recovery of sight is typical of what is going on in the sphere of spiritual enlightenment. The eyes of the unlearned are opened to see. Those who claim the light of education, by refusing to obey, have blinded themselves. The Pharisees, who claim to see, cannot escape responsibility for their failure to do what they claim to have the power of doing. Their guilt remains (*cf.* Mt. 11²⁵).

X. The Close of the Ministry in Jerusalem.[1]**—1–21. The Good Shepherd.**—The first part of this chapter records Jesus' teaching on true and false leadership. In 1–5 we have a close resemblance to the Synoptic parable, with one dominant idea. The true leader, wielding the authority of one sent by God, calls out the willing obedience of the led. It arises directly out of the circumstances of the case. As usual the words, "Verily, verily" introduce a new thought on what has gone before. The blind man, resisting the pressure of the usurped authority of the false leaders, who sought only their own interests, welcomes the true leader who comes by God's appointed way. The Pharisees cannot or will not see the import of His words. In 7ff. we have either further teaching of the Lord given under similar metaphors on different occasions (on the same occasion He could hardly describe Himself as *both* Door and Shepherd), or the author's meditation on the original parable, suggested perhaps by actual words of Jesus. In 8 the thought of true and false leadership is again prominent, though the actual language seems to reflect the false Messiahs of a later period. As spoken by Jesus it could only refer to false leadership of Pharisee and Priest, or of the Maccabean or Herodian dynasties. [*Cf.* 5⁴³. The

[1] [There may be some sacramental teaching here. See Moffatt, INT, p. 549; Scott, pp. 129f.—A. J. G.]

[1] [Those who uphold the theory of dislocation rearrange this chapter thus: 19–29, 1–18, 30–42.—A. J. G.]

difficult "before me" is omitted by some early and good authorities, including ℵ, Syr. Sin., and Sahidic.—A. J. G.] 9 takes up the thought of 7. The true disciples, who follow God's way, shall attain salvation and life. In 10 the aims of the two kinds of leaders, and the consequent results when the crisis has to be faced, are contrasted. Perhaps instead of "layeth down" we should translate "risketh." It is the staking or risking His life when danger approaches, rather than its actual loss, that the metaphor seems to require and which best suits the actual circumstances. In 14 the mutual understanding between Jesus and His followers is compared with the relations between Father and Son. It is based on His readiness to sacrifice Himself. And there are other sheep, beside those of the Judæan fold, who must be brought into the one flock. The author is no doubt thinking of those beyond the pale of Judaism. The Father's love is based on the Son's willingness to gain through death the wider sphere of work. The value of such a sacrifice consists in the fact that it is voluntary. Voluntary sacrifice even unto death, as the condition of full Messianic work, is the Father's command. The religious party is still divided in opinion. Some suggest demoniac possession, others point to His works as excluding such a theory.

X. 22–42. The Feast of the Dedication.—*Mg.*, "At that time" suggests a closer connexion with what precedes than the old reading "And." But in any case the notes of time are not precise. The Feast of the Dedication (p. 104) was instituted to commemorate the restoration (p. 607) of the Temple services in 165 by the Maccabees after its desecration for three years by Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac. 436–59, 2 Mac. 101–8, Josephus, *Ant.* XII. vii. 7). It lasted for eight days from December 25, and according to Josephus was called "Lights," because "this liberty beyond our hopes appeared to us." According to 2 Mac. 19 it was called the Tabernacles of the month Chisleu, many of the customs of Tabernacles being reproduced at it. For the Porch of Solomon, *cf.* Ac. 311*. The Jews, either incited to hope by Jesus' teaching, or wishing to discredit Him with the crowd, demand a clear pronouncement of His Messianic claims. We naturally compare the reticence on this subject implied in the Synoptic story. He replies that doubt is due only to their unbelief. The "works" which the Father has enabled Him to do are adequate proof. Their unbelief shows that they are not true followers. His own sheep know and follow, and gain the life which He has to give. And the Father who gave them is greater than all; no one can seize them from Him (29). The better-attested reading of *mg.* is more difficult. It seems to refer to the true followers "given" to the Son, but how can they, even "as forming a unity" (Westcott), be said to be greater than all? Perhaps it should be explained as carrying on the thought of 25. The power to do the works, given by God to Jesus, is almighty. And it is *given*, no one can grasp it for himself; *cf.* Phil. 26. In respect of these works Father and Son are one. The Father works through the Son, the Son only in the Father's power. In the words of 30, as used by Jesus, there is no necessity to see any idea of metaphysical "oneness" of nature, however the author himself may have interpreted them. To the "Jews," however, the claim implied in them seemed blasphemy. They take up stones. Jesus appeals to what He has done for men. For which of such works would they stone Him? To their obvious answer (33) He replies with an argument drawn from Scripture, "your law" (*cf.* 1234, 1525), as the author calls Ps. 826. If Scripture calls men, commissioned by God to act for Him, "gods," one whom the Father has "set apart" (Jer. 15) and "sent" (Is. 68) cannot be accused of blasphemy for calling Himself God's Son. The meaning of the phrase "the word of God came" is doubtful. It may only mean the passage cited, "those referred to in Ps. 82." More probably it means "all to whom God's message came" empowering them to act for Him. What He does, as God's Messenger, is the true test of His union with the Father. Again they try to seize Him, but He escapes. Recognising His danger in Jerusalem He withdraws to Peræa, the scene of John's former baptism. Many who follow recall, in the old surroundings, John's witness to Him, supported now by "works" such as the Baptist never did. And so they come to fuller faith. The retirement to Peræa is supported by Mk. 101, and perhaps also by Lk., who in 1331ff. records incidents in Herod's dominions (? Peræa), after He has been near Jerusalem (1038ff.).

XI. The Raising of Lazarus.—1–44. The Miracle.—The withdrawal to Peræa is brought to a sudden end by the illness of Jesus' friend Lazarus. Bethany, to distinguish it from the Bethany beyond Jordan (128), is described as the home of Mary and Martha, the younger sister being the better known in Christian tradition as the woman who anointed the Lord. The author assumes knowledge of the story, which he does not relate till a subsequent chapter. The sisters send to tell Jesus that His friend is ill. He announces that the illness is not fatal, but will prove (how, is not said) the occasion of the showing forth of God's glory. The delay in 6 is usually now interpreted as deliberate, that He may not arrive till after the death and so perform the greater miracle. This is merely read into the story. To judge from other incidents (24, 76), Jesus waits, as always, for the Divine admonition, especially necessary in this case, considering the danger of a journey to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which calls out the disciples' remonstrance. He answers that he who walks in the light of God-appointed duty is in no danger. Only in the night of disobedience is there danger of stumbling. In 11, knowing of the death, He tells His disciples in symbolical language which they misunderstand, till He speaks openly. He expresses joy at what had clearly caused Him sorrow, His inability to help His friend, which He now sees will prove a help to their faith. Jesus gives the word to start. Thomas, true to the character he always bears in this gospel, anticipates the worst, and urges his companions to face it (*cf.* 2025, 145). On reaching the neighbourhood Jesus finds that Lazarus has been dead already four days. The distance of Bethany from Jerusalem is given to account for the presence of "Jews," who have come, about two miles, to console the sisters, and so witnessed the miracle. The drawing of the characters of the sisters is not wholly dependent on the Synoptic account. It is Martha, not Mary, who expresses her faith, even if it be imperfect (27). Her cry is natural. "If only He could have come in time." Jesus' answer, interpreted straightforwardly, does not suggest restoration to physical life. Lazarus' faith in Jesus assures him of the higher life over which physical death has no power. Martha's reply suggests impatience with what seems merely conventional consolation. Jesus tries to raise her faith to a higher level. Those who have gained by faith the true life cannot die spiritually. Failing to understand, she falls back on her belief in His Messiahship. Apparently Jesus sends her to summon her sister. She at once goes out to meet Him, but the "Jews" follow, so that private conversa-

tion is impossible. The grief of Mary and that of the Jews, real or feigned, powerfully affects Jesus. He sternly "checks" His spirit (*cf.* Mt. 9$_{30}$, Mk. 1$_{43}$, 1$_{45}$) and "troubles" Himself (*cf.* 12$_{27}$, 13$_{21}$). These natural expressions of severe self-restraint necessary to prevent breaking down, where some of the company have given way, have been differently interpreted in various interests. Jesus then asks where Lazarus has been laid. On the way He can no longer restrain His emotion. "Jesus wept." Again interpretation has run riot. Anger at the Jews' hostility, or the insincerity of their mourning, or at their want of faith in His power, are surely strange, as well as unworthy, explanations of the wholly natural. As in other cases the "Jews" are divided. Some are touched at His sorrow, others are scornful. One who could really open blind eyes, they insinuate, could have saved His friend. The "four days" are significant. The spirit was supposed to remain for three days near the body, in the hope of being able to return. On the fourth, when change set in, it departed. After the removal of the stone, the narrative passes to the moment when Jesus knows that His prayer has been heard. It is this public thanksgiving, not the prayer itself, which Jesus says is made for the sake of the people. Failure to notice this has led to serious misrepresentations of this passage. The presupposition that "The Johannine Christ cannot pray" has led to curious distortions of the passage, as of 12*27*. Reasonably interpreted, it points to the complete dependence of Jesus on the Father's will. The "Lazarus come forth" is probably recorded as uttered after the resuscitation has taken place. The grave-clothes, while hampering, need not be thought of as precluding all possibility of motion.

[25. Probably "and the life" is an addition to the true text. Some Old Latin MSS, also Syr. Sin. and Cyprian omit.—A. J. G.]

XI. 45–57. The Results of the Miracle.—The majority of the Jews who came to comfort the sisters were convinced, but some remained hostile, and gave information to the Pharisees. The chief priests, *i.e.* the Sadducees, always first when action is needed, and the Pharisees, summon a council. In face of the growing number of adherents their inaction is felt to be unsatisfactory. If it leads to civil disturbance, the Romans will intervene and hold them responsible for their failure to maintain order. Caiaphas, the High Priest "of that year," the notable year of the Passion, demands a policy which he pretends to be necessary in the interests of the nation. One must die rather than the whole nation perish. In this the author sees an unconscious prophecy. Jesus would indeed die "on behalf of the nation," and of all God's children scattered throughout the world. That the author supposed the High Priesthood to be a yearly office, like that of the Asiarchs of his own Asia, is inconsistent with his knowledge of Judæa and Jewish customs. It was the "irony" of the situation that the unconscious prophet would have in virtue of his office to offer on the Day of Atonement the sin offering on behalf of the people.

In consequence of the hostility of the Sanhedrin, Jesus retires to Ephraim, usually identified with et-Taijibeh, 13 miles N. of Jerusalem in the "wilderness of Bethaven" (*cf.* 2 S. 13$_{23}$).[1] The Passover was near, and those who came up to Jerusalem to prepare for it were divided in opinion as to whether He would risk the danger of appearing at the Feast.

[1] [Cheyne (EBi. 1321) conjectures that Jericho may have been the original text, which having been indistinctly written was misread as Ephraim. Thus Jn. might be reconnected with the Synoptic tradition.—A. J. G.]

In the commentary on this chapter the attempt has been made to show that even in its present form, and therefore *a fortiori* still more clearly in the events which it records, or in the material (whether oral tradition or fixed in literary form) which the author used, we have something very different from what it is represented as being in most critical commentaries, viz. doctrinal instruction, under the guise of fictitious narrative, on the nature and work of the Incarnate Logos, thinly disguised in human form, and always acting in such a manner as to "fulfil the terms of His definition" (Loisy; *cf.* Scott, pp. 164ff.). The evangelist has, of course, told the story from his own point of view. As usual, by selection and by his process of "writing up," he has brought that point of view rather than the actual events as they really happened into prominence. He intends the narrative to present to us the Christ who is the author of life, to whom it has been given to have life in Himself, and to raise up whom He will. He also wishes to record the occasion of the final outburst of Jewish hostility which culminated in the events of the Passion. But if he has merely worked on Synoptic accounts of raisings of the dead, the Lucan story of Martha and Mary, and the parable of Dives and Lazarus, especially its final statement, "Neither will they believe if one rise from the dead," it is obvious that he has done his work very badly indeed. Behind the obvious points which he sets himself to teach, there is certainly another portrait, of a really human Jesus, not merely a few human traits thrown in as an antidote to Docetism. He is wholly dependent on His Father's will, and obedient to it. He cannot move, even to save His friend, before He receives the sign of the Divine approval. He accepts the delay with resignation, and even finds true cause for joy in what had been real sorrow to Him. Though absolutely sure of the Divine help, and confident that the pain of sickness, and even of death if that ensue, will issue in the glory of God and the vindication of His Messenger, He does not know in what way this will be accomplished, till His final prayer, the answer to which shows Him how it shall be. After severe effort to restrain His human feelings of emotion He breaks down. He has to ask where the sepulchre is. He prays a real human prayer, and announces publicly His thanks for its answer "that the people may know", that the boon comes from God, not from Him, and that God has really sent Him to His people. If the "terms of His definition" are Deity stalking in human disguise, it is certainly difficult to see how in all this the central figure is merely fulfilling them.

The difficulties connected with the event itself are the same as in similar Synoptic accounts. The heightening of the miraculous element, the interval of four days since the death, is a question of degree, not of kind. The difficulties connected with the history of the ministry are undoubtedly great, though in some quarters they have been exaggerated, and they have not been solved. No thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the silence of the Synoptists, and especially Lk., has yet been found. At the same time it must be remembered that the Synoptic Gospels confine their narrative to events in Galilee, to which is added a relatively long account of the last visit to Jerusalem. The story, therefore, belongs to a period which is altogether ignored in the Synoptic narrative, except in so far as it is suggested by the "great insertion" in Lk., in which, however, so much material belonging to different periods and occasions is accumulated that we can get very little help from it towards the reconstruction of the actual history of the period between

the crisis in Galilee and the final catastrophe in Jerusalem. All that can be said is that the incident, if historical, did not form part of a tradition which is obviously fragmentary and incomplete.

When, however, we turn to the narrative itself it is clear that the difficulties of the "critical" explanation of its origin are equally serious. The material in this chapter, even as it stands, which does not help forward the chief objects that the author has in view in telling his story, is so clear that we are justified historically in presupposing as the basis out of which the narrative has been elaborated at least as much background in real history as lies behind the parallel narratives in the other gospels of the raising of Jairus' daughter, the widow of Nain's son, and similar accounts. The final question of what really happened can, of course, only be determined by the consideration of wider problems than those to which the literary and historical criticism here attempted can offer a solution. There will always be differences of opinion as to the limits which the verifiable experience of our own or other times should rightly impose on the credibility of the abnormal.

The view, now perhaps generally held by scholars, that the author, having used up the real cause of the final conflict, the Lord's action in defying the authorities by the cleansing of the Temple, at a much earlier date, had to invent an adequate explanation, is plausible; but it exaggerates the importance attached to that event in the Synoptic account. Even Mk.'s narrative, where the best case can be made out for the view that this incident was the determining factor in the tragedy, is not conclusive (Mk. 11$^{15-18}$*). The rulers intervene subsequently to demand by what authority He does "these things," a general phrase referring apparently to His general teaching in the Temple and His attitude to the authorities at least as much as to the actual cleansing of the Temple. We must be content to wait for the final and satisfactory solution of the great difficulties of this chapter. Meanwhile it should be frankly acknowledged that the difficulties which await solution are not confined to either side in the Johannine controversy.

XII. The Final Scenes in the Public Manifestation. 1–8. The Anointing.—The scene is the same as that recorded by Mt. and Mk. Lk. 7$^{36-50}$ represents a different incident, or at least a widely divergent tradition, from which, however, some details in Jn. may be borrowed. The date, six days before the Passover, may by different methods of calculation be identified with Nisan 8, 9, or 10. The last is the most probable. Apparently the author deliberately corrects the "two days" of Mk. 14^{1}. Allegorists see in the alteration an intentional reference to the setting apart of the lamb on Nisan 10 (Ex. 12^{3}). The feast is in the house of the sisters, unless they are helping in the house of a friend (*cf.* Mk. 14^{3}, where the host is named Simon the leper). Mary, as in Lk. 10^{40}, leaves the serving to her sister, and taking a pound of spikenard (Mk. 14^{3}*), genuine (?) and costly, anoints Jesus' feet, perhaps a natural detail considering the custom of reclining at meals. Judas (*cf.* the "some" of the Synoptists) protests against the waste. The author adds that his motive was greed. He was a dishonest steward. Jesus answers, "Let her keep" (? what remains, the whole could hardly have been used) "for my burial. The poor will be with you longer than I." He thus uses the incident to prepare His friends by significant hints for the coming tragedy. In the Synoptists this anticipation of the future is attributed to Mary. The Lord's saying can be interpreted more in accordance with this view. "Let her keep it. Such was her purpose. Let it not be thwarted." As interpreted above, the whole incident is natural, and used by the Lord, after His custom, as the occasion of teaching.

XII. 9–19. The Triumphal Entry.—If the story of Lazarus is historical it is quite probable that people in Jerusalem should come out to Bethany, to satisfy themselves as to what would happen at the Feast, and that the ruling classes determined to deal with Lazarus as well as with Jesus. The Synoptic and Johannine accounts of the entry differ in details, but the account in our gospel is not in itself improbable. The Feast pilgrims, Galileans and possibly Judæans, but not Jerusalemites, learning from those who had been out to Bethany that Jesus intends to come up to the Feast, take palm branches (contrast Mk. 11^{8}) and go out to meet Him. They greet Him with what was perhaps the ordinary greeting to strangers coming up to the Feast (Ps. 118^{26}), to which is added "the King of Israel." The title refused in Galilee is pressed on Him again. He accepts their homage, and by an acted parable teaches them the true character of the kingdom and the King, as Zechariah had depicted Him (9^{9}; *cf.* Mt. 21^{4}). The author assumes that the rest of the story is known to his readers. He simply adds that it was in the light of later events that the disciples learned the significance of their action. It should be noticed that this account explains, as the Synoptic does not, the sudden change by which the pilgrimage to the Feast becomes a triumphal procession. The Fourth Gospel also accounts for the presence in and near Jerusalem of so many friends on whose help the Lord can depend.

XII. 20–36. The Request of the Greeks.—This incident is chosen to illustrate the Lord's consciousness that only through death could the final success of His work be brought about. If it was invented to gain His authority for the admission of the Gentiles, it must again be confessed that it is very badly done. The Greeks are apparently not even admitted to His presence. The mention of Philip and Andrew is natural if their home was Bethsaida (1^{45}), in a region largely Hellenic in population. The incident seems to bring before the Lord's mind the vision of a wider mission accomplished without the dreaded sacrifice. But it is put aside. The seed must "die" if it is to bring forth fruit. On earth He was confined to Judaism; only through death could the wider mission be accomplished. And if His disciples would serve they must follow even through death, to gain the support of His presence in their true life and work. But this insight does not come without a real human struggle (*cf.* Lk. 12^{50}). He is troubled, He is in doubt, He prays. And the answer to prayer is clearer vision and the assurance of success. The judgment of the world is near, and the overthrow of its Prince. Christ's elevation through death to the glory destined for Messiah will enable Him to draw all men unto Him. In these words the author sees a prediction of the crucifixion. The crowd are perplexed. Messiah is to appear suddenly from heaven, and abide for ever. Who is this "Son of man" who is to be lifted up? After a final appeal to use their last opportunity Jesus retires into hiding.

XII. 37–43. Failure in Judæa.—The many signs have failed to convince. The author explains this by the prediction in Is. 53^{1}, the "arm of the Lord" being interpreted of Messiah. And the ultimate cause is also dealt with in Is. 6^{9}ff. The rule of God's working is that there comes a time when those who will not

obey lose the power of doing so. The situation is similar to that foretold in the story of Isaiah's call. It was the Word of God, now incarnate in Jesus Christ, that appeared to the prophet. But disbelief was not universal, though fear made men keep silence.

XII. 44–50. Final Summary of Jesus' Public Teaching.—This summing up of what was most important in the teaching of Jesus throws interesting light on the author's method of recording the "speeches." Belief in Jesus is identified with belief in God. He is for men the final revelation of the Father. He came to enlighten, to dispel moral and spiritual darkness. His chief purpose was not to execute the Messianic judgment of men, as some had thought, and rejected Jesus in consequence. Salvation, not judgment, was the object of His coming. But the rejection of Him and His message involved judgment. Refusal to accept His words would condemn men at the last day. For the message was not self-taught. In substance and method of teaching He carried out God's command who sent Him. What He spake, He spake as God told Him.[1]

XIII. The Revelation to the Disciples.—1–11. The Agape and the Foot Washing.—According to Jn. the events of the Passion are the voluntary sacrifice of Love. He "loved" His own to the end. At the meal which took place *before* the Passover, an intentional (?) correction of the earlier accounts, He gave them proof of the completeness of His love. Where the others record facts about the Eucharist, our author dwells on the origin of the "Agape." Christ's love is contrasted with the treachery to which Satan had already persuaded Judas. To wash the feet was regarded as the typical work of slaves (*cf.* 1 S. 2541). Peter's first remonstrance is met by the promise that the future will make all plain, his second by words which convince him that the act is symbolical. The sudden change is true to his character as depicted in all the NT. The Lord answers in the words of a homely proverb, "He that has bathed need not wash" (*mg.*). He is clean as a whole, even if the stains of travel need removing, for the slighter shortcomings of even a good man's life must be dealt with. But the Lord's mind is full of the coming tragedy. He cannot say of all what He says of Peter.

XIII. 12–20. The Meaning of the Act: the One Exception.—The disciples recognise in Him their teacher and master. They should, therefore, follow His example by helping each other even in the lowliest services. The Master had set an example which the slave need not be ashamed to copy. If they realise that by doing such things He has made it their duty to do the same, then they will be happy in the doing of them. He returns to the theme of the traitor. He knows, as they do not, the character of each disciple whom He has chosen. But it had to be. The Scripture must be fulfilled (Ps. 419). He has warned them, that when the event happens, instead of being discouraged, they may recognise in the fulfilment of prophecy a proof of what He is. In 20 the author adds that acts of humility will not degrade them, but prove them to be His messengers, to whom all honour is due.

XIII. 21–32. The Unmasking of the Traitor.—The truth must now be told plainly. Jesus is "troubled" (1227), and makes the solemn declaration, "One of you shall betray." With the disciples' looks of amazement contrast the Synoptic account, where their doubts are expressed. Jesus' special friend, reclining on His right, the left being the place of honour, is asked by a nod from the leader of the disciples, always ready to act on the spur of the moment, to find out secretly who is intended. The Lord's answer is apparently ambiguous. "He to whom I give the sop" would refer to all alike. No one (28), the Beloved Disciple included, knew why the Lord sent Judas off on an immediate errand. In the light of later events the Beloved Disciple saw the significance of the fact that the Lord gave the sop to Judas first, which at the time seemed to be simply because He required his services elsewhere. Perhaps the author means that the Beloved Disciple did understand who the traitor was, but like the rest did not grasp the "business" on which the Lord despatched him. So it came about that he got safely out of the room, into the night, fit symbol of his "business." 29 shows that the Feast had not yet begun, or things could not have been bought. Jesus now knows that the first step is taken in the chain of events which is leading through Calvary to Messianic glory. And God is glorified in what the Son accomplishes and suffers, and in return will glorify Him by permitting His return to union with Himself.

XIII. 33–XVII. The Last Discourses and Prayer.—Perhaps this is the best place to consider the general arrangement and character of the final discourses. They present the same problems of style and language, of content and of arrangement, that are raised elsewhere in this gospel. The language and the theology of the author are conspicuous. And yet we cannot escape the conviction that a greater than "John" is here, or fail to ask whether something of his style and theology was not learned in the upper room. These chapters are not merely the reflections of a later generation. The question of order is also difficult. The last words of ch. 14 mark the end of the discourse, the preceding verses are clearly the last words of a speech. The command, "Arise, let us go hence," does not find its counterpart till 181. How are we to regard the intervening discourse and prayer? (*a*) Wellhausen and others find in them a later stage in the growth of the gospel, perhaps an insertion by the final redactor, the author of 1 Jn., with which they have much in common, who also added ch. 21. (*b*) Others suggest that there has been transposition, the content of these discourses having been originally fixed in writing or taught orally in a different order. Some of the matter of 15 and 16 certainly seems to come naturally before parts of 14. The pruning of the vine fits on admirably to the teaching which followed the expulsion of the traitor. On the other hand the mention of the Paraclete in 14 seems to be prior to what is taught of Him in 15 and 16. (*c*) Probably there has been both addition and rearrangement. The interpretation of what Christ taught in the upper chamber grew and took shape in divers parts and at different times. John perhaps taught it at first much as we have it in 13 and 14. But in the light of further meditation he expanded and enlarged, a fact which has left its trace on the present arrangement. In explaining their meaning we shall do well not to regard the whole content of 15 and 16 as subsequent to that of 14.

With 1333 the Lord begins to prepare the disciples for losing Him. He uses the term of endearment, *teknia*, "little children," which is frequent in 1 Jn., though not found elsewhere in the gospel. They will miss Him, and cannot follow yet. But their case is not hopeless as that of the Jews (734). They must make up for their loss by mutual love, according to

[1] [J. M. Thompson (Exp., Aug. 1915) would transpose 37–43 and 44–50, and round off the ministry narrative with the last two verses of ch. 20.—A. J. G.]

the standard which He has set (*cf.* 1 John 2$_{7-11}$*). Peter's remonstrance is met by the prediction of his failure, placed earlier here than in the other gospels (Mk. 14$_{29}$).

14$_{1-4}$ takes up the thoughts of the previous paragraph, not of the last verse. The thoughts of separation and treachery had led to perplexity, if not despair. Jesus bids them trust God and Himself. There is plenty of room in His Father's house (*cf.* Gen. 24$_{23,25}$). 2*b* may be interpreted in three ways: (*a*) Even if not He would have found room for them. "To *you* I would have said I go to prepare a place": this suits the context, but is forced. (*b*) "If not, I would have told you, for the whole object of going is to prepare a place for you. I could not have withheld the truth from you." This also is unnatural. (*c*) It is better, therefore, to take the words as a question; "If not, would I have told you that I go to prepare?" The objection that no such statement has been made is not fatal. It is in the author's manner of reporting speech to refer thus to what has been merely implied. In what follows, the metaphors of going and coming are gradually spiritualised into the expression of abiding presence. But as they know, the way leads through death. Thomas protests. They do not know the way, or even the goal. Jesus replies that He is the way. His death will enable them, if they follow, to gain the truth and life, which He gives and is. And the goal is the Father, as they would know if they had really known Him. Philip protests. How can they know the Father, without some real theophany such as Moses and other prophets enjoyed? The protest reveals the disciples' failure, in spite of long companionship, to learn that in Christ they have had all that men can know of God. His words are not His own, and His works are really the Father's doing, who is in Him. If not the teaching, then at least His works should convince them that He is God's Messenger. Belief in Him will enable them to do greater works than His, which were confined to Palestine and the Jews. The harvest of the Gentiles will be theirs. For from His place of power with the Father, He will do for them whatever they ask "in His name," as His commissioned officers to carry out His commission. And besides the hearing of prayer He will procure for them One who can take His own place. The Father will send another "Paraclete" or "Advocate" (*mg*). For the meaning of the terms, one called in to give whatever help may be needed, see 1 Jn. 2$_{1}$*, also the article "Paraclete" in HDB; Westcott, *Epistles of S. John*; Brooke, *Johannine Epistles* (ICC). If they show that love which is proved in obedience, they shall have the presence of the Spirit, whose power they already know, and shall experience more intimately. But He will also come Himself. Very soon the world will lose sight of Him, but they shall see, for He has and they shall have that higher spiritual life, which will enable them to be sure of His presence. In "that day," the period introduced by His coming, this life will enable them to realise the union of Father and Son, and of themselves with the Christ. It will be realised through that obedience which is the test of love. Their love will be returned by the Father and by Himself, and He will reveal Himself to them. This is altogether contrary to their eschatology. They are expecting a manifestation to the whole world, as Judas protests. Jesus' answer asserts the true character of the Messianic kingdom. Love, which shows itself in obedience, is the condition of entrance. It leads to spiritual union of believers with God in Christ (*cf.* Philo, "Hasten therefore, O soul, to become the house of God, an holy temple, fairest dwelling-place"). So with the explanation of the true meaning of His coming His teaching ends. The Paraclete will continue the teaching, and bring it to their memory. Then (27) He gives them the Hebrew Shalom, the blessing of Peace, not the formal and conventional farewell that men usually give, but a real gift of that which the word connotes. They need not be troubled. They have His promise. He must go, but will come again. To true love that would have been joyful tidings. His goal is the Father, the source of all power. He tells them beforehand that the event may confirm their faith. There is no time for more words. The Prince of this world is on his way. Not that he can avail anything against Jesus. "He has no part in me." But events must run their appointed course, that the world may learn the love and the obedience of the Christ.

[**22. Judas (not Iscariot):** The Curetonian Syriac reads Judas Thomas, the Sinaitic Syriac reads simply Thomas. Resch, *Aussercanonische Texte*, iii. 824–827, argues that both Judas and James the son of Alphæus bore the name Thomas. Judas was the twin brother of James the son of Alphæus. The distinction of Thomas from James and Judas in Lk. 6$_{15}$f. he regards as due to combination of sources. His theory involves the rendering in Lk. 6$_{16}$ Judas *the brother* of James (*mg.*). He regards the twins as "brethren of Jesus," but not in the literal sense. The Thomas of the Fourth Gospel he takes to be James the son of Alphæus, and he identifies the appearance to James in 1 Cor. 15$_{7}$ with that to Thomas in Jn. 20$_{26-29}$. The identification is very ingenious, but open to serious objections. It is very curious that the belief that Judas was the twin brother of Jesus should have been prevalent in the Syrian Church. See further HDB, EBi, "Thomas," and Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 344, and his commentary on Jn., pp. 561f. It should be added that Thomas as well as Didymus (11$_{16}$, 20$_{24}$, 21$_{2}$) means "twin," the former being Semitic, the latter Greek. The name "Didymus" was common, and frequently did not imply that the bearer was a twin, but that he stood in a special cult relation to the heavenly twins, Castor and Pollux. In the case of a Jew this would not apply, so we may assume that Thomas was a twin, whether he was Judas or James, or bore some other or no other name. See Moulton and Milligan, *Vocabulary*, p. 159.—A. S. P.]

XV. The Vine.—The relation of the following chapters to 14 has been discussed. The Parœmia, or parable-like discourse, reminds us of the parable or metaphor of the Good Shepherd in ch. 10. Two thoughts are prominent here, the pruning needed to get rid of useless branches and to ensure the fruitfulness of the rest, and the intimate union between Christ and His disciples, symbolised by the relation of the branches to the vine. We must compare the OT teaching which represents Israel as the Vine. Christ is in the spiritual sphere what the vine stands for in nature, in respect of human necessity. He is the source of spiritual strength which satisfies men's needs. As always, He is subordinate to the Father. The vine-dresser cuts out useless branches, pruning the rest to make them bear more fruit. So the Father has "glorified" the Son by cutting out the traitor. Christ's teaching, which is of the Father, has pruned the rest, if they are true to Him, abiding in Him as the branches in the vine. 5 repeats and emphasizes the teaching already given. Similarly 6 emphasizes the traitor's fate. 7 states the results of abiding union. If they abide in Him, letting His teaching

guide their lives throughout, their prayers will obtain their requests, for they will be His. The Father is glorified in their fruitfulness, which shows that they are true disciples. This is possible if they abide in His love, which obedience will enable them to do, even as His obedience has kept Him in the Father's love. His aim in what He has said is to make it possible for them to feel the joy which He Himself feels, and to share it in full. The sum of the whole matter is love, love for each other like His for them. The highest test of love is that a man should risk his life for his friends, and "friends" their love will make them. When once they have learned the love which issues in obedience they are no longer as slaves, ignorant of their Lord's aim and purpose, but friends to whom He can make known all that His Father sent Him to teach and do. [*Cf.* Philo on Gen. 1817: "The Lord is not a despot. The wise man is God's friend rather than His slave."—A. J. G.] They have not chosen Him, to carry out their ideas of what Messiah should do, but He has chosen them to carry out His work, and bring it to a successful and permanent issue. And whatever they ask God in His name, as His accredited messengers, the things that they know He Himself would ask, God will give them. Then (17) the great command is reiterated, and they are reminded that obedience will cost them dear. They must not be surprised at the hatred of the world. It was first poured out on Himself. The world will love only its own. Those who are not of it, but chosen out by Him to be not "of it," must, of course, incur its hate. Let them remember what He had said. The slave is not above his lord. If He was persecuted, they must expect the same. On the other hand, those who received His message will listen to theirs. The world will treat them harshly because of His Name, because of what He is and what the disciples must be in consequence. For the men of the world have not that intuitive knowledge of what is good and Godlike which makes good men welcome it at once when they see it. After His teaching they cannot plead ignorance, so they have no excuse for their sin. Their hatred of Him shows that they hate God. They have had their full opportunity, the teaching not only of His words but of His works as well. And they have given their answer, hatred of Him and of His Father. Yet God's plan takes account of all this. The Scripture must be fulfilled, "They hated me without a cause" (Ps. 3519). And whatever the world has in store for the disciples, the truth will prevail and become known. The Paraclete, whom He will send from the Father (contrast 1416,26, where the Father sends the Paraclete in Christ's name) will bear witness to Christ. And they too are witness-bearers, for they have shared His company from the beginning of His work, and can speak from knowledge.

XVI. There is no break between chs. 15 and 16. Jesus has told them beforehand, so that His death and their suffering may not daunt their faith, as the Baptist was "offended" by the course of the ministry, which did not correspond to his Messianic expectation. They must expect actual excommunication. Their execution will be thought an acceptable sacrifice to God (*cf.* the Jewish comment on Nu. 2513, "He who sheds the blood of a transgressor should be thought of as if he had offered an offering"). There is no reference in 2 to the rebellion of Bar-Kochba (543*). This hostile attitude will be due to men's ignorance of God and His Messenger. In after time they will remember His warning. It was not necessary to give it while He was with them. But now He must go to the Father. Instead of thinking of the purpose of His departure they are merely overcome with grief. But in reality His going is their gain, for He will send the Paraclete (*cf.* 1526). When He comes He will convince the world of sin, righteousness, and judgment. The fate of God's Messenger would raise the questions, On whose side was the sin, and on whose the righteousness? It would thus involve a judgment. The Spirit of truth would convince men of sin, for it would become clear that the error lay with those who had rejected God's appointed Messenger; of righteousness, for it would appear that the death was not a malefactor's just punishment, but a going "to the Father" (*cf.* Is. 571), who pronounced in His favour by receiving Him, and so their loss in being no longer able to see Him would prove real gain; of judgment, for the verdict which the Prince of this world would succeed in getting passed against the Christ would be seen to be in reality the condemnation of those who passed it. The Paraclete's work would be not only to convince but also to teach. The earthly teaching was not final. It had been limited by the disciples' capacity to understand. The Spirit of truth would lead them into all truth. (*Cf.* the saying in the Hermetic literature of Hermes Nous (Mind): "Nous entering the pious soul leads it into the light of knowledge"; *cf.* also Wisd. 911.) Like the Christ, the Spirit does not speak on His own authority, but what He hears, including the meaning of the events about to happen. He will glorify the Christ by taking of His and showing to the disciples. "Glory" in this gospel generally means the true nature of a thing, which shines out from it, as the radiance of the sun. The Spirit will continue Christ's task of making known to men His nature and work, and therefore the nature and work of God, so far as men can grasp it. But Jesus will Himself return (16). All the language used in these discourses cannot be interpreted of His coming "in the Spirit" as a substitute for the common expectation of the Parousia, which is thus supposed to be altogether spiritualised. They contain something beside "transmuted eschatology." After a little while absence, but only for a little while, after which they shall see. There is here nothing inconsistent with the hope of an almost immediate return in glory. The disciples are perplexed. How are they to reconcile this with what He has said of a journey to the Father? Does not that involve more than a little while? Jesus replies to their difficulties, which He perceives, that length is relative to the issues involved. The night of sorrow, like the hours of travail, is long till it is forgotten in the joy of morning, in the light of which it shrinks into insignificance. Even the thought of His going causes them sorrow, much more the reality. But His return will bring heartfelt joy (Is. 6614), and permanent, compared with which the sorrow will indeed be "a little while." Whatever the interval, it will be such as to secure the desired results. And in that day of reunion, they will not have to go on asking Him questions (*mg.*). The Father Himself will give whatever they ask "in His name." Hitherto His language has been veiled in parable. Hereafter He will be able to speak plainly. And in that day of final reunion, they shall ask for what they need "in His name," and He will not have to ask the Father for them. Their intercourse with the Father will be direct, who loves them for their love of the Christ. He left the Father to come into the world, and now He leaves the world to go to the Father. In these words the disciples see the fulfilment of His promise to speak plainly. His reading of their perplexity has convinced them of His knowledge.

Now they need not question. They are convinced of His Divine mission. Their assertion is met by the warning that very soon they will be scattered and desert Him. But the Father is with Him. Now He has taught them all that is necessary for their peace. The affliction which must come while they are in the world need not destroy it. He has overcome the real power of the world.

XVII. The High-Priestly Prayer.—Various guesses (they are nothing more) have been made as to the scene: the upper chamber, or the way to Gethsemane, or the courts of the Temple. The substance of such a prayer may well have been remembered and handed down. It is clear that the language is Johannine, and that the process of translating has led to the same sort of modification that we find elsewhere in Jn. But it is equally clear that these chapters teach us much as to the source of the author's theology, and perhaps of some of the language in which it is expressed. The prayer is in three parts, natural to the circumstances of its presumed utterance; for Christ Himself (1–8), for His disciples (9–19), and for the wider circle of those whom they should bring into the fold (20–25).

1–4. Jesus prays with full consciousness that the crisis of His earthly career is come. Will His death prove the annihilation of His person and work, or its glorification, the transition to a higher form of life, in which His life-work on earth shall be consummated in fuller life under circumstances of wider opportunity? The glory for which He prays is not for Himself but to disclose what the Son really is, that by the completion of His life-work, which has shown God's purpose of love for men, God may be glorified, revealed in His true nature of Love. He knows the prophets' wider outlook of blessing for all men through the Jews, and that His commission of authority extends to "all flesh." The Heb. form of expression is to be noticed. So He prays to enter into the wider life in which He can fulfil the wider purpose of His mission, which during His earthly life was confined to Palestine. The author adds that this "eternal" life consists in growing acquaintance with God, which can be had by "getting to know" Jesus Christ, whom He sent, the man who lived on earth a human life, that He might be the Messiah of His race, God's Messenger to all men. The London Papyri offer a curious parallel to the language of this passage: "Lady Isis, glorify me as I glorified the name of thy son Horus."

5–8. It is a return to former "glory" for which He prays. Are we to regard this petition as exclusively the author's addition, on the lines of his theology of the pre-existent Logos, or the real expression of Christ's consciousness of former life with God, expressed in language which could be used in speaking to the Father, though He could not have used it in teaching men; or as a real expression of consciousness of pre-existence, in the sense which it would naturally have to the Jews of our Lord's own time (*cf.* Jer. 15), which the author interprets in the terms of his doctrine of pre-existence? In 6–8 He pleads the accomplishment of His appointed work for those whom the Father has given Him, into whose hearts God has put it to accept the message. To them He has made known the nature of God. God gave them to Him to shepherd, and they have received and made effective in their lives His word. So they have learned the Divine origin of His teaching and the truth that God sent Him.

9–19. On the ground of this accomplished work He now prays for these disciples. The world, which is not beyond the sphere of His love, is excluded from this part of His prayer. It can be reached only through them. These disciples, His by God's gift, are the object of the love and care of both, for whom all things are in common. He has proved His ownership by their acceptance of His message. Now that He leaves the world, where they must stay to do their work, and comes to the Father, in the light of this coming separation He prays that they may be kept in true union with God, whose holiness separates Him from the world; that they may keep their unity, even as the Father and the Son are one. While with them He kept them in touch with God, the Holy Father whose name it was His to make known, and guarded them safely. None fell away, but the "son of perdition," Judas, the man of the wasted life. And that was part of God's plan as foretold in Scripture (Ps. 1098). He asks that the joy which He has made His own, the joy of consciously accomplished work, may be fully gained by them for themselves. He gave them God's message, which must needs bring on them the world's hatred, for their acceptance has shown that, like Him, they do not belong to the world (1 Jn. 215–17*). He does not ask for their removal to safer spheres, but that they should be kept from the evil of that to which they do not belong, by being "sanctified," made and kept holy as God is holy, by the truth as it is revealed in God's message which He has delivered (*cf.* Ps. 119142). So they will be fit for their work to which He sends them, as He was sent. Sanctification is that which qualifies the priest to perform his office, or which gives to the victim the quality that makes it well pleasing to God. By His death He sets Himself apart (19) for God's service on their behalf, that they too may receive true setting apart for the same service, a real and not merely symbolical sanctification.

19–24. The prayer now passes to those whom they shall make disciples, the fruits of their missionary labours. For them He asks unity, in the Father and the Son, corresponding to the unity of Father and Son. Such unity will convince the world of His own Divine mission and of God's love for men. The way to God, to union with Him, is not through ecstasy but through faith. 24 gathers up the section into one wish, that all who form the Father's gift should be with Christ to see the "glory" given to the Son by the Father, because of His love.

25f. reviews, after the author's wont, the main points of the whole, in a final appeal to the Father's justice on behalf of the disciples against the world, the refusal of the world to accept the message which gives knowledge of God, Christ's own knowledge, and the disciples' knowledge at least of His Divine mission, His making known to the disciples the true nature of God, a process not yet completed, and the indwelling of the Father's love, which is the true source of real union.

XVIIIf. The Arrest, the Trial, and the Passion.—1–11. The Arrest.—Jesus leaves the room, or the city, and crosses the Kedron (*cf.* 2 S. 1523) to a garden where He often went, so that the place was known to Judas. Contrast the careful arrangements for secrecy in the preparation of the upper room. Judas guides hither Roman and Jewish soldiers. In Mk. Roman soldiers are not mentioned till after the condemnation. As the Jews represent Jesus' influence over the people as a serious political danger, there is nothing improbable in the use of Roman troops to prevent disturbance at the arrest. The word used, *speira*, is the usual description of the cohort, but it is also used more generally. Jesus, knowing what His action means, comes out from the garden or His place of retirement

in it, and asks whom they seek. The traitor is disconcerted. His plans for identification are not needed, and he stands by with nothing to do. There is momentary confusion, and the soldiers fall back in surprise at the unexpected behaviour of the "dangerous criminal." Some fall down. If the author has exaggerated the incident, he has hardly made it the "miracle of omnipotence, that puts its predecessors into the shade," of which we read in some commentaries. Jesus repeats His question. If they want Him, let the rest go. So it comes about that His saying that none should be lost was literally fulfilled. Again the incident is natural, even if the author uses it for apologetic purposes. In the incident of Peter and Malchus the names are given by Jn. alone. Such additions may indicate either true knowledge, or the later love of supplying the names of places and persons, so that its bearing on the historical character of the account is inconclusive. The words of the Lord (11) seem to presuppose acquaintance with the Synoptic account of Gethsemane (Mk. 1432–42 and parallels).

XVIII. 10–27. The Preliminary Examination. Peter's Denial.—Jesus is brought to Annas, the father-in-law of the actual High Priest "of that year" (1151). This preliminary stage, known only to our author, is not in itself improbable. Peter and another disciple, generally and naturally identified with the Beloved Disciple, follow. The latter has acquaintances in the household and gains admission at once. When he tries to gain the same for Peter, the portress is doubtful what to do, and asks Peter if he is a follower of the accused. Apparently his denial gains him admission, and he seeks obscurity among the crowd of servants. It must be noticed that this account of the first denial rises quite naturally out of the circumstances. In the Synoptic account it is unexplained. The High Priest (a term which is not confined to the actual holder of the chief office) examines Jesus as to His disciples and teaching, clearly with intent to extort evidence of sedition. Jesus answers that His teaching has always been open and public. Contrast Mk. 1449, where He addresses a similar remark to His captors. One of the attendants, thinking the answer insolent, strikes Jesus on the face. Again *cf.* Mk. 1465, where the buffeting is general. Failing to get the evidence he wants, Annas decides to send the prisoner on to Caiaphas, the ruling High Priest. Probably Jesus passes through the court, and the servants see, with the result that Peter is again questioned. His second denial is followed by a question which might prove serious, as it comes from a kinsman of his victim in the garden, who had seen him there. According to the Synoptists this third denial was accompanied by an oath. Again we find in the Johannine account satisfactory motives for the several incidents in the denial.

The proceedings before Caiaphas, recorded in the other gospels (Mt. and Mk.) are mentioned here but not described. This, and the difficulty of the mention of "the high priest" in 19, were early recognised and led to a rearrangement in the Sinaitic Syriac, which presents the following order: 12, 13, 24, 14, 15, 19–23, 16–18, 25–27, thus getting the "trial" before Caiaphas as in the Synoptic account, and making the record of Peter's denial continuous. But the reasons for the transpositions are obvious, and individual phrases in the version betray its secondary character (*cf.* Moffatt, INT, pp. 557f.). Except the silence of the other gospels there is nothing suspicious in the preliminary questioning by Annas, who had been High Priest, and is known to have exercised great influence during this period.

XVIII. 28.–XIX. 16. The Trial before Pilate.—From Caiaphas Jesus is brought to the Prætorium, the governor's residence, either Herod's palace in the W. part of the city, or the Antonia, near the Temple, to the NW. To avoid defilement the Jews remain in the open. The Passover has still to be eaten, in contrast with the Synoptic view of the Last Supper. Pilate, to respect their scruples, transacts his business with them outside. In itself this concession to religious scruple is far from improbable in the light of what is known of Roman practice, however we may judge the frequent going backwards and forwards between the prisoner and His accusers. The governor naturally asks first for a definite charge. The Jews endeavour to get his recognition of their decision without going into detail, demanding the sentence which it is beyond their power to inflict. Pilate replied that in that case they must be content with the punishment which lies within their competence. They urge that nothing but the death penalty will meet the case, and this they cannot inflict. So, the author adds, it came about that the Lord's prediction of the manner of His death was fulfilled. If they could have put Him to death, it would have been by stoning. Pilate leaves them and interrogates the prisoner, in words which assume that the Jews have made a more definite charge than has been stated. Jesus asks in what sense Pilate uses the term King? He is no claimant to an earthly sovereignty; Messianic claims He has, which the rulers of His people will not allow. Pilate is scornful; is he a Jew, to be interested in such matters? The leaders of the nation have accused Him of dangerous sedition. Jesus replies that He has put forward no claims which are dangerous from the Roman point of view. If His claims had been political His supporters would have acted accordingly. Pilate presses Him further, and receives the answer that His aim is to set up the kingdom of truth, the true knowledge of God. His subjects are those who will listen to that. He cannot rest on force. Such claims have no political menace, and with a half scornful "What is truth?" Pilate closes the examination. Convinced of the prisoner's innocence, he tries to persuade the Jews to accept a compromise, condemnation and release according to a "custom of the feast." In Mk. the demand for the release of Barabbas comes from the people. The custom is not otherwise known, but is in accordance with known methods of administration. An interesting parallel is supplied by the Florentine Papyri (A.D. 85), which contain the protocol of a process before C. Septimius Vegetus, the Governor of Egypt, who says to one Phibion, "Thou art worthy of scourging . . . but I give thee to the people."

XIX. 1–16. Pilate gives way to the Jews.—Pilate's next attempt is to persuade the Jews to be content with a lighter penalty than crucifixion. The prisoner is not dangerous enough, even to the religious authorities of the nation, to make the extreme penalty necessary. Scourging will meet the case. It was the usual preliminary of the Roman punishment of crucifixion, and in the Synoptic account it is recorded only after the sentence has been pronounced. *Cf.*, however, Lk. 2316,22, where Pilate suggests it as a sufficient punishment. The soldiers obey orders, and, visibly interpreting the governor's wishes, add mockery to the scourging, making sport of the claimant to a kingdom, and perhaps of Jewish "sovereignty" in general. The other gospels record mockery, after the Jewish trial, of the prisoner as a discredited prophet. Pilate shows Jesus to the Jews in this plight, hoping that it will convince them of His helplessness. "Behold the man,"

noted very dangerous leader of men. This only incites their hatred. To their cry, "Crucify Him," he answers that if they want that they must take the responsibility. They declare that He has deserved the death penalty for blasphemy. At this he is afraid, either from superstition, or from his experience of Jewish fanaticism. To his surprise at the prisoner's silence before His judge, who wields the power of life and death, Jesus replies that all earthly power has its source as well as its limitations in the will of God, which enhances the guilt of "him that delivered him up." It is uncertain whether Caiaphas, or Judas, or Satan is meant. Pilate's former conviction of Jesus' innocence gives way at last before the Jews' veiled threat to accuse him of treason against the Emperor. Taking his seat upon the tribunal he gives formal sentence. We may compare Josephus, *Wars*, II, xiv. 8: "At this time Florus took up his quarters at the palace, and on the next day he had his tribunal set before it, and sat upon it." The sentence is given "about noon." This is apparently a correction of the Marcan tradition which places the actual crucifixion at the third hour, *i.e.* 9 A.M. The attempts to harmonise the two statements, by showing that Jn. used the same reckoning of hours that we do, are not convincing.

[**13. Gabbatha:** was connected by Zahn, INT, vol. i. p. 29, with *gabab*, "to rake together," and explained as "mosaic." He has withdrawn this in his commentary, p. 637, where other suggestions are discussed. See also Wellhausen, p. 86, Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 7f.—A. J. G. and A. S. P.]

XIX. 17–30. The Crucifixion.—The statement that Jesus bears His own cross corrects, or at least supplements, the Synoptic story of Simon of Cyrene. It may have been added to show that "the Johannine Christ needs no help," or to deprive the Gnostics of support for their theory that it was Simon who really suffered on the Cross. In itself it is in accordance with Roman custom (*cf.* Plutarch, "Every malefactor carries his own cross"). The incident of the title is certainly effective as depicting the obstinacy of a weak man who has given way on the main point, but it is difficult to see how it promotes the dogmatic aims of the author. 23f. suggests a very natural way of dealing with the clothes of the condemned "malefactors," even if it suits the exact wording of the quotation from Ps. 22$18$*. It is very natural to identify "his mother's sister" with the "mother of Zebedee's children" (Mt.) and Mark's "Salome." It makes the following commendation of His mother to her sister's son a fitting arrangement, especially as the Lord's brethren, even if they were Mary's sons, "did not believe on Him." It should, however, be remembered that the identification of the Beloved Disciple with the son of Zebedee, though probably intended, is never actually made in this gospel. The statement that 26f. is inconsistent with Ac. 1$14$, "where Mary is represented as being in Jerusalem with her sons," is, to say the least, exaggerated. What we read there is that the apostles "continued steadfastly in prayer with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren." The incident can be allegorically interpreted, as intended to exhort the Gentile Church to treat Jewish Christianity with all consideration. But the desire to teach this is not an adequate explanation of the origin of a story without foundation in fact. In the saying, "I thirst," the author sees the fulfilment of Ps. 22$15$, or an incident which led to the fulfilment of Ps. 69$21$. But it is far more reasonable to suppose that the fact led to the discovery of the prophecy rather than that the prophecy caused the invention of the fact. The saying, "It is finished," means, "It is brought to a successful issue" (*cf.* Lk. 12$50$). It is a cry of confidence, if not of victory, and accords with the author's presentation of the Passion.

[**29. hyssop:** we should probably read "javelin," as proposed by Camerarius, and accepted by such scholars as Beza, Cobet, and Field. It is read by Bentley, but whether independently or not does not appear from his note (*Bentleii Critica Sacra*, p. 21). It is read by Baljon and Blass in their texts, and by Moffatt in his translation. Hyssop is quite unsuitable for the purpose. The emendation (*hussō* for *hussōpō*) simply involves the recognition that the letters *ōp* have been mistakenly written twice. The fullest discussion may be seen in Field's *Notes on the Translation of the NT*, pp. 106–108. He regards this as "perhaps the very best" of the few tenable conjectural emendations of the text of the NT.—A. S. P.]

XIX. 31–42. The Lance-thrust and the Burial.—It has been said that these verses contain parts of two accounts of burial, by the Jews, and by Joseph. In reality the Jews only demand that the law of Dt. 21$23$, applicable to any day, should not be broken, especially considering the sanctity of the morrow, which was both a Sabbath and the great day of the Feast. The breaking of the legs was often allowed, as an act of mercy to the sufferers. In the Gospel of Peter the "Jews" object to it, in order that Jesus' suffering may not be shortened. As a means of ensuring death the lance-thrust is perfectly natural, and results which might easily be described by an actual witness in the terms of 34 are not physiologically impossible (Exp., May 1916). Again it is easier to suppose that facts have caused the discovery of prophecy (*cf.* Ex. 12$46$, Ps. 34$20$, and Zech. 12$10$, Heb.), and not *vice versa*. Besides the significance of prophecy fulfilled, the author may have wished to show either that the death was real, against the Docetics, or as indicating what, at a later date, it came to signify to him, that the Lord "came by water and blood" (1 Jn. 5$6$), *i.e.* that the Passion as well as the Baptism was an essential note of His Messianic work. The account of the burial emphasizes its temporary character, which is also recognised in Mt. and Lk.

XX. The "Coming" of the Risen Lord.—1–10. The Empty Tomb.—The gospel, as contrasted with the Appendix (21), follows what is now generally known as the Jerusalem tradition, which makes Jerusalem and not Galilee the scene of the appearance to the disciples. It is often assumed that the Marcan Gospel recognised originally no appearance in Jerusalem. If the lost ending was used by Mt., it would seem that it contained an account of the appearance to the women on Easter Day. The present ending of Mk. is based certainly on Lk. and perhaps on Jn. But in any case the evidence for appearances in Jerusalem is too strong to be summarily set aside as later modification of stories originally confined to Galilee (1 Cor. 15$4$–7*). Instead of the Synoptic account of two or more women, Jn. records the experiences of Mary Magdalene alone, a phenomenon of which this gospel presents several other instances. The narrative, however, shows traces of the presence of others ("we know not," 2). Mary comes early to the tomb to finish the work of Friday which the Sabbath had interrupted. Finding the stone removed she naturally assumes that the body, temporarily laid in Joseph's garden, has been removed, and returns to tell the disciples. The details of the visit of Peter and the Beloved Disciple show the former first in action, the latter in interpreting what is seen. The presence of the grave-clothes indicates

that the body has not been stolen or removed. Their orderly arrangement suggests much more to the Beloved Disciple. The author reminds us that the Scripture proof of resurrection was a later growth. It was the experiences of Easter Day that first brought conviction, not the happening of what prophecy had taught them to expect.

XX. 10–18. Jesus and Mary.—Mary has apparently followed the two disciples back to the tomb. After their departure she looks in, and sees a vision of angels (*cf.* Lk. 244ff.). Her thoughts are still full of the "removal" of the body, as her answer to the supposed "gardener" also shows. As usual, there is no expectation of the event that follows. It is only the pronunciation of her own name that reveals Jesus' identity. Her attempt to offer worship is forbidden on the ground that He has not yet entered into His glory (*cf.* Mt. 289). Perhaps 17 means that the old relations are no longer possible, and the time for the newer and more spiritual communion is not yet. The message to the "brethren" is so worded as to emphasize the difference between His and their relationship to the Father.

XX. 19–29. The Coming to the Disciples.—The first Christian "Sunday" is spent in Jerusalem, where the disciples are in hiding. The interpretation of Mk. 1450 as implying an immediate flight of the apostles to Galilee is purely conjectural. The account of the first appearance to the disciples is told so as to emphasize the fulfilment of the promises, and the teaching, of chs. 14–17. Jesus "comes" (*cf.* 1418), He gives them His peace (1427), they were glad (ἐχάρησαν) when they saw (1622), He sends them, as He was sent (1718), He gives them the Spirit, and power to deal with sin (167ff.). The showing of the hands and side has its parallel in Lk. 2439, which is original, though 40 is probably a later addition to the Lucan text. The word used for "forgive" is the normal LXX translation of the Heb. *nasa'* and *ṣalaḥ*. The corresponding noun is used for the Jubilee, or remission. There is no exact parallel for "retain" in the sense it has here. It is the natural opposite ("grasp," "hold fast," *cf.* Lk. 2416) of "sending away," "letting go."

XX. 24–29. Doubt and Faith.—All the accounts of Resurrection appearances record the fact of doubt (Mt. 2817, Mk. 1611,13f., Lk. 2411,25,38,49). John follows his usual custom of giving one typical and named instance. The bearing of this fact on the historical value of the incidents concerned must be determined by the consideration of the whole series, and their intrinsic "probability." The attitude of Thomas is true to his character as depicted elsewhere in the gospel (1116, 145). The incident is recorded to teach the superiority of faith which interprets evidence by spiritual intuition rather than by the senses. A parallel to 27 is found by some in the story of Apollonius of Tyana (*cf.* Philost. 741, 812). Jewish thought offers a more interesting parallel; *Tanchuma* 8*a*, "The Israelites without the great sights on Sinai would not have believed, the Proselyte who has not seen all is therefore more loved by God" (quoted by Bauer, HNT, p. 184). The words of the confession are significant in the light of the claim, first put forward by Domitian, to be addressed as "Dominus et Deus noster" (Suetonius, *Domit.* 13).

XX. 30f. The Conclusion of the Gospel.—In these words, which are clearly meant to form the conclusion of the whole gospel and not merely of the last chapter, the writer explains his purpose and method. Of the many significant deeds and words of Jesus which His disciples saw and heard he has chosen typical instances which may suffice to call out and strengthen faith in Him as the fulfiller of the Messianic hopes of His nation, as He rightly interpreted them, which could be fulfilled only by one who held the unique relationship to God, best described as "The Son," which those who followed Him on earth had learned to be His true nature. Such faith alone can bring to men the higher "life" which God intended for them, and which the Christ has made it possible for them to obtain. The study of the gospel shows that its teaching is set out on these lines rather than on the ideas of the Prologue, so far as there is any difference between the two.

XXI. The Appendix.—It is pure dogmatism to assert that after the solemn ending of ch. 20 the author could not have added to his work. But 21 is clearly an appendix, added after the completion of the gospel.[1] There is no trace of the circulation of the gospel without it, unless we so regard the present ending of Mk., which may be based on 20 but shows no knowledge of 21. There is an apparent allusion to its content, though not necessarily to its text, in 1 P. 1*a*. Our safest guide as to date is 23. A date soon after the death of the last survivor of the eye-witnesses of the ministry is almost required by these circumstances. If the content of the Appendix is fatal to the view that the son of Zebedee is the author of the gospel, it is also almost irreconcilable with the hypothesis of his martyrdom at an early date.

The relation of this chapter to Lk. 5 is also difficult to determine. "The net was not rent" seems a clear reference to a narrative similar to that of Lk. But it is very likely that the Lucan account has been influenced in details by the tradition of the event recorded here. This chapter shows no trace of dependence on the language of Lk.

1–14. The Appearance by the Lake of Tiberias.—As Josephus speaks of the lake as the "lake near Tiberias," the name used here cannot be pressed as a proof of late date. The verb used for "manifested" is not found in the gospel in connexion with the Resurrection appearances. There is also no mention of the sons of Zebedee. The last extant sentence of the Petrine Gospel shows that it contained a similar story. "I Simon Peter and Andrew my brother taking our nets went back to the sea, and there was with us Levi the son of Alphæus." Loisy and others believe that both accounts are based on a narrative of a first appearance after the Resurrection to Peter and (?) others in Galilee, which perhaps came from the lost ending to Mk. It is the Beloved Disciple who first recognised the Lord (*cf.* 208). Where he sees, Peter acts. He casts himself into the sea and swims the hundred yards or so that separate the boat from the land. When the others reach land they find the results of his work (9). Meanwhile at the Lord's request for fish from their catch Peter returns to the ship (11), and he and they succeed now in bringing their net to land. Here as elsewhere the author does not keep to the strict order of incident, but his account seems to present a scene on the lines suggested. Various interpretations of the number of fishes have been suggested. We may notice (*a*) $50 \times 3 + 3 =$ the Trinity; (*b*) the number of species of fishes was reckoned to be 153, hence a picture of the universality of the Gospel (Jerome); (*c*) the numerical value of the Heb. name Simon Jona (118+35); (*d*) 153 is a triangular number, the sum of the first 17 units. It represents the faithful, inspired by the sevenfold

[1] [For another view, see J. M. Thompson in Exp., Aug. 1915.—A. J. G.]

Spirit, keeping the ten Commandments. No doubt to the author it was significant, though we cannot determine whence he derived it, or what significance he found in it. The language of 13 closely resembles that of 611, a fact made still more prominent in the Western text, which adds, "having given thanks." The Eucharistic character of both meals is emphasized by the author. The third "manifestation" (contrast the "coming" of ch. 20) takes no account of the appearance to Mary in its reckoning of manifestations to "the disciples." There is no need to find in it the traces of an earlier account, in which this story appeared as the third Galilean "manifestation of His glory" during the ministry.

15–23. Following and Tarrying.—According to the earliest Christian tradition, Marcan and Pauline, an appearance to Peter was one of the earliest if not the earliest event after the Resurrection. If this section is historical it must be interpreted as teaching the leaders, and especially Peter, in terms which clearly recalled his former failure, their duty to the whole body of faithful disciples, scattered by the Crucifixion. They cannot return to their former occupations and wait for the Parousia. The work of the Good Shepherd must be carried on. Lambs must be fed, sheep must be shepherded, and fed also. In early life young men can choose their calling. Later on they must follow it, wherever it leads them, even as the old man, who is getting to need assistance, lifts his hands and has his girdle arranged for him. So Peter must "follow." Later Christian thought found in the words a prediction of his martyrdom. In themselves the words point rather the lesson that advancing years bring greater need of obedience. With the language of 18 *cf.* Ps. 3725. Peter sees the Beloved Disciple, whom the author describes by reference to 1323ff., "following," and asks "What of this man?" The answer is a rebuke of curiosity. The action of the moment showed the other disciple ready to "follow." For him, it is hinted, following may involve longer separation from the Christ than the following demanded of Peter. When this chapter was written, the interpretation of the saying, which had gained currency among Christians because of the long tarrying in the flesh of one to whom it was at least supposed to have been addressed, had clearly been falsified by the event. He had not tarried till the Lord came. The author reminds his readers that the Lord's eschatological teaching had ended with an "if." So far as martyrdom is hinted at for Peter, it is in the command to follow (*cf.* 1336) and the contrasted "tarrying," rather than in the saying itself, which Christian thought naturally interpreted in this sense, perhaps only after the event (*cf.* 2 P. 113).

24f. Conclusion of the Appendix.—In 24 the disciple to whom this saying was addressed is said to be the witness of the events recorded in the gospel, and its actual author. The content of the gospel is his, even if he did not actually hold the pen, any more than Pilate actually penned the title on the Cross. Perhaps the solution of the question as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel which leaves fewest difficulties is that it is the Beloved Disciple, probably to be identified with the son of Zebedee, whose teaching is set out in this gospel, the actual writer, whose thought and style have been moulded by his master's teaching, being the author of the Appendix as of the epistles. The "we" of this verse may be the circle to which the writer belongs, or if he himself had seen the Lord on earth, it may correspond to the use of the plural in the Prologue, the natural interpretation of which is that the writer speaks in the name of his former companions, the eye-witnesses of the ministry. But we cannot get beyond conjecture. The question of authorship is still an unsolved problem (pp. 743f.). The last verse, which is omitted by the first hand of one important MS., repeats the warning of the real ending of the gospel, that it contains only a selection from a whole too vast to be recorded.

PERICOPE ADULTERÆ.

VII. 53–VIII. 11. Jesus and the Woman Accused of Sin.—The well-known story of the woman taken in adultery has no claim to be regarded as part of the original text of this gospel. It breaks the close connexion between 7 and 812ff., and in style and vocabulary it is clearly Synoptic rather than Johannine. Of early Greek MSS the Cambridge MS (D) alone contains it, and in a text which differs considerably from that of the later Greek MSS from which it passed into the Received Text. Of early VSS the Latin alone contains it, and it was absent from some forms even of the Latin. It is supported by no early Patristic evidence. The evidence proves it to be an interpolation of a "Western" character. It is found in various places, after 736 in one Greek MS, after 744 in the Georgian Version, at the end of the gospel in other MSS. In one important group of Greek cursives it is found attached to Lk. 2137.

Eusebius (*H.E.*, iii. 39) tells us that Papias recorded a similar story "of a woman accused before the Lord of many sins," which was also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. This suggests as the most probable explanation of its association with the Fourth Gospel that the story, which bears every mark of preserving a true tradition, found a place in Papias' books of "Expositions of the Dominical Logia," as illustrating the Lord's saying (815), "I judge no man" (see Lightfoot, *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 203ff.).

The evidence of Codex D and other textual phenomena suggest perhaps that it existed in more than one Greek translation. If so the original was not Latin, as the Latin texts show clear traces of translation from Greek. Its insertion in certain MSS in Lk. is due to the similarity between 81f. and Lk. 2137ff.

The incident is not one which early Christian opinion would have been likely to invent. It is beyond the power of the sub-apostolic age to produce. As Lightfoot says, "they had neither the capacity to imagine, nor the will to invent, an incident which, while embodying the loftiest of all moral teaching, would seem to them dangerously lax in its moral tendencies."

Like other questions addressed to the Lord the "tempting" consisted in the endeavour to catch Him in a dilemma. If He pronounced against the strict carrying out of the Mosaic Law He would be discredited with the people. If He counselled action contrary to the decrees of the Roman authorities, who had withdrawn from the Jews the power of inflicting capital punishment, His enemies would get material for accusation against Him. The answer contained nothing which disparaged legal punishment, and it threw on the accusers the responsibility of taking action. It left untouched the question of Jewish and Roman relations, and it raised the deeper moral issues of the right to condemn and the true end of punishment.

[**9. when they heard it:** C. R. Gregory (ET, x. 193) quotes an ancient MS as giving "when they read it."—A. J. G.]

THE APOSTOLIC AGE AND THE LIFE OF PAUL[1]

By the Rev. C. W. EMMET

By the apostolic age we mean the period, starting from the Ascension, covered by the lifetime of the apostles, *i.e.* *c.* A.D. 30–100, though reasons of space compel us to confine our present survey to events more or less directly connected with the NT, omitting any reference to such writings as the *Didaché*, the Epistle of Clement, or the Odes of Solomon, which may well fall chronologically within these limits. Such writings are indeed often called sub-apostolic, the fact being that the apostolic and the sub-apostolic ages to some extent overlap.

It must be admitted at once that our knowledge of the period is disappointingly vague. We begin with a certain number of data with regard to the rise of the Church, data of which the historical value is disputed; we then reach comparatively firm ground in the career of Paul and the founding of the Pauline churches, only to find ourselves from *c.* A.D. 60 onwards once more almost entirely in the dark, except for one or two isolated figures and events. Considering the supreme importance of this period for the study of Christianity, this lack of definite information is unfortunate, but it is at least a gain to recognise the limitations of our material and avoid the claim to a knowledge which does not exist.

The central feature of the period is the development of the new religion from its original character as little more than a sect of Judaism, centring in Jerusalem, till it was well on the way to become a world-religion, assimilating many elements from the Græco-Roman world, and showing itself in organisation, though not in doctrine, independent of the Judaism from which it had sprung. As factors in this development come the struggle between Jew and Gentile within the Church, the growing influence of Paul, rather than of the original Twelve, and the territorial expansion of Christianity over the greater part of the Roman Empire. This indeed is what we see when we look at the surface; when we attempt to probe deeper to the hidden forces at work we trace a gradual unfolding of what was implicit in the teaching of Christ and a continued activity of the same power which had been manifested in His life. The third gospel, like the others, tells us all that Jesus "*began* both to do and to teach" (Ac. 1$_1$); the inference is that throughout the apostolic age and indeed the whole subsequent history of the Church the real agent and teacher is still in some sense the same Jesus. Acts is indeed "the Gospel of the Holy Ghost."

There is always something artificial when a single period is isolated for study, since it can never be understood without reference to what has gone before. And this is peculiarly the case with the apostolic age which stands in vital relation to the life of Jesus. From the strictly historical point of view the rise of the Church seems to be unintelligible, if we regard that life as closing with the Crucifixion. To account for it we must suppose not only a belief in the resurrection on the part of the apostles, but also, as a necessary condition of its rise and survival, the resurrection itself as in some sense a historical fact.[1]

For our knowledge of the immediate sequel we depend upon the somewhat fragmentary narrative of Acts. Luke does not here speak with the authority of an eye-witness; he was dependent either on written sources of unknown origin or on such information as he was able to gather from members of the primitive Church.[2] In either case we must be prepared to allow for the growth of a quasi-legendary element, and we must refrain from claiming any certain knowledge as to the course of events in the first years of Christianity. A significant feature, in which Acts agrees with the Pauline epistles, is that it was not Galilee, the home of most of the apostles and the scene of the greater part of the activity of Jesus, but the hostile capital Jerusalem which was the birthplace of the Church. There was an interval between the manifestations of the risen Christ and the commencement of the public activities of His followers. These were clearly called into being by a definite Divine inspiration, the memory of which is preserved in the somewhat difficult narrative of Ac. 2. The outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost was immediately followed by the commencement of the work of evangelisation and by miracles. The underlying motive of Ac. 3f. is to show that the distinctive miraculous powers of Jesus of Nazareth are now found in His followers; we note the continual stress on "the Name of Jesus" (Gen. 32$_{29}$*, 1 Cor. 5$_{3-5}$*) as the means by which the cures are wrought. It at once becomes clear that the movement He began has by no means been crushed, but that it still has the same, or indeed an even greater, power of attraction. The prominent figure throughout the whole of this first period is Peter; though John is mentioned he plays no independent part. The Jewish authorities find it as hard to deal with the movement

[1] This article is strictly confined to history, doctrine and organisation being dealt with elsewhere.

[1] From this particular point of view, the minimum which is required would seem to be not necessarily the empty tomb and appearances of a quasi-physical nature, but manifestations which were not merely subjective, but due to the continued personal activity of the living Spirit of Christ. Whether the one can, in fact, be retained without the other is a question which cannot be discussed here. But the historian of the apostolic age would seem bound to declare his position at least so far. For if he does not hold that Christ had any real personal influence on this earth after His death, he is bound to begin by an attempt to account for the rise of Christianity, and to find some other explanation of its existence. (See further, pp. 670, 845f.).

[2] On the question of different sources in the early chapters of Acts see pp. 742, 776.

in its new form as they had done in the lifetime of Jesus Himself, and the attempts to check it prove entirely futile (Ac. 4, 517ff.). For the time at least they are compelled to adopt the waiting policy suggested by Gamaliel. But in spite of Jewish hostility there is as yet no definite breach with Judaism; the brethren attend the Temple services, and Peter has real hopes of the conversion of the nation as a whole (317ff.), if it will only realise the crime of which it has been guilty, a crime overruled by God and not necessarily shutting the door to all possibility of repentance. Outwardly indeed the Christian community is simply a section of the Jewish Church which claims to know who the Messiah is and to expect His immediate manifestation from heaven. But this community is also marked by an inner spirit of brotherly love which shows itself in some form of communism (245, 432). The very general surrender of private property is no doubt mainly explained by the consideration that if the end of the present world-age was really at hand there was no longer any need to provide for the family or for future requirements; it is a real example of *Interimsethik*. At the same time the stress laid on the action of Barnabas (436), the words of Peter to Ananias (54), the fact that Mary still has her own house (1212), and the absence of further references to the practice, all tend to show that the surrender of goods was in fact only partial and temporary, and that Luke's account is somewhat idealized. But the historian's natural desire to paint the picture of the early days of the Church in glowing colours does not lead him to ignore the existence of blots and difficulties. The fact that human passions and ambitions are not at once crushed by the coming of the Spirit is illustrated by the story of Ananias and Sapphira, while we find in the same episode a further proof of the position of Peter and of the guidance of the Church by the Spirit of the Lord.

Of even greater importance is the difficulty which arises from the growing numbers of the Church, indicating that the experiment in socialism is ill adapted to a large and permanent community. In view of what is to follow it is noteworthy that there is already friction between the homeborn Jews and the Hellenists, *i.e.* the Greek-speaking Jews who belong to the Dispersion. For the significance of the appointment of the Seven see p. 783. But at the moment the chief direct result was the activity of Stephen and Philip, not as administrators but as preachers of the Gospel, working side by side with the apostles and even striking out an independent line of their own.

The space devoted in Acts to the short career of **Stephen** (pp. 639f., 783ff.), is by no means disproportioned, in view of the part he played in the development of Christianity. He was a Hellenist, and perhaps on this account was able to approach the question from a fresh standpoint, with some conception of the actual needs of the outside world. At any rate he seems to have been the first to realise the true inwardness of Christ's teaching, as implying in the end the passing of Judaism. In essence the charges brought against him were true. We need not be surprised that under the provocation of his preaching the more or less neutral policy of Gamaliel is exchanged for one of active hostility. Heretofore the Sanhedrin has been content to try such weapons as threats and beating; it now recurs to the policy which it had been forced to adopt against Jesus Himself. On the whole, the execution of Stephen is best explained as an example of mob-law, winked at by the Roman authorities. It can hardly have been a judicial sentence, since no reference is made to the Roman governor. Here the story is in sharp contrast to the narrative of the Crucifixion, though in other respects there is a striking parallel between the two. The immediate result of Stephen's murder is the outbreak of a general persecution, accentuating the real divergence between the old and the new religions. It also involves the scattering of the Church, and on that very account the wider spread of Christianity. According to Ac. 44 the Church had some time before come to number no less than five thousand (this figure includes the "three thousand" of 241; see RV in 44), but the fact that the brethren can still be assembled together in Jerusalem (62) suggests that there may be some exaggeration in the figures. It is evident from the story of Barnabas, as well as from 67, that the converts were by no means all drawn from the poorer classes. Probably the impression made by Stephen's teaching and behaviour was one of the influences which led to the conversion of Paul (p. 768).

The story now becomes more complicated; the scene is no longer confined to Jerusalem, but there are other centres of interest, Antioch soon becoming one of the most important. Luke has to pass from one to the other in his narrative, and this causes some overlapping and uncertainty as to the chronology and sequence of events. The fact that missionary activity is no longer confined to the Twelve is at once illustrated by the activity of Philip, who is responsible for the spread of the Gospel to Samaria, though the authority of the apostles is still emphasized in their supervision of his work and in the laying on of hands. Of the direct results of the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch we know nothing; but the narrative, though isolated, is intended to mark a fresh stage in the catholicity of Christianity. He was clearly a Godfearer (pp. 625, 770), but he could not be circumcised, and belonged to a class which was by law excluded from the Jewish Church (Dt. 231; but *cf.* Is. 564). Passing over for the moment the conversion of Paul, we have evidence of an interval of peace and quiet expansion (Ac. 931), during which we must suppose that the Church spread throughout the greater part of Palestine; we find Christians at Damascus, Lydda, and Joppa (932ff.). With the **Cornelius** episode we pass to Cæsarea. This again marks a decisive stage in development, and on this occasion it is the leader of the Twelve who is taught to adopt the more liberal policy. Peter himself is convinced by a series of Divine signs (the vision and its sequel, together with the outpouring of the Spirit) that an uncircumcised Gentile may look for admission to the kingdom. Though the precedent is not officially followed up at the time, at a later period it has great weight (15). The questions as to the position of Gentiles are not indeed finally settled, since the case of Cornelius might be regarded as exceptional rather than normal, whilst the relation of the baptized Gentile to the Law was still undecided. Ought he subsequently to submit to circumcision and become subject to the Mosaic law? If not, will he not remain on a lower level than those who are both Jews and Christians, and in particular will not his ceremonial uncleanness prevent the strict Jew from entering into social intercourse with him? The complaint of Ac. 113 shows that this was in fact the crux of the matter, and the later episode at Antioch (Gal. 211ff.) proves that even Peter did not always act consistently in the spirit of the liberal attitude which Luke ascribes to him.

It is indeed again significant that just as the first impulses to a more liberal view are associated not with the Twelve but with Stephen and Philip, so the actual development of the principle implied in the

acceptance of Cornelius is left to unnamed and unofficial missionaries (11 19ff.; this verse is really the sequel of 8 4). In 11 20* we must read with RV "Greeks," not "Grecian Jews" as RVm, this being one of the few cases in Acts where the reading of WH cannot be followed. There would have been nothing specially worthy of remark in preaching to Greek-speaking Jews, since according to Ac. 2 (*cf.* also Ac. 6) this had been freely done from the first. It is these missionaries who bring the Gospel to Antioch, which almost at once becomes the centre of Gentile Christianity, as Jerusalem is of Judaic. The new centre is indeed of such importance that Barnabas is sent to report—a mission which shows that the two centres are in close touch, and that the Twelve exercise their power of supervision here also (for the result and sequel of the mission see below, p. 769). The title or nickname of "Christian" (Ac 11 26*), first given here, indicates that the young community was now important enough and sufficiently distinct from Judaism to attract the attention of Gentile outsiders. The name must have been given by them and not by Jews, since the latter would hardly have allowed to their rivals a monopoly of the Christ, or Messiah.

As we have seen, Jewish hostility had subsided for a time after the removal of Saul, its chief instigator, from the scene (Ac. 9 31); but in A.D. 41 Claudius became emperor, and at once made his favourite, Herod Agrippa, king of Judæa (p. 610); the latter proved himself eager in every way to conciliate the good-will of the Jews, and it is not surprising that he should do this at the expense of the Christians. The death of James, the first apostolic martyr, and the arrest of Peter, may be placed in 44, the year of Herod's death. But the narrative of Ac. 12 comes in as an episode, and it is impossible to be sure of its exact chronological relation to the events of ch. 11; this point becomes of importance when we have to discuss the date of Paul's second visit to Jerusalem and its relation to the narrative of Gal. 2.

We now pass to **the Pauline period**, but before discussing this we must first retrace our steps a little and say something of the early years of Paul himself. He was born at Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia, somewhere about the beginning of the century. His parents were Pharisees (Phil. 3 5, Ac. 23 6), evidently of a strict type, while he himself had all the eager, if somewhat narrow, enthusiasm often found among young men devoted to a type of religion which is also something of a party cry (Gal. 1 14). According to Acts he was educated at Jerusalem in the school of Gamaliel (22 3, 26 4), and it is generally held that he was also more or less in touch with the University of Tarsus. At any rate Jewish and Greek influences met in him in a way they did not in the Galilean disciples (p. 805), while to these was added the possession of Roman citizenship (Ac. 16 37, 22 5). We may note that it was his Roman citizenship which made possible the appeal to Cæsar; to it also was probably due the possession of the Latin name *Paulus*, which is uniformly used after he begins to appeal to the Græco-Roman world (Ac. 13 9); it is in no way probable that this name was first adopted by him in Cyprus out of compliment to Sergius Paulus. He seems to have been of good social position and to have received an excellent education; no argument to the contrary can be drawn from the fact of his trade as a tentmaker, since all Jewish boys were taught some trade; we find him more or less dependent on this during his travels (Ac. 18 3, 20 34, 1 Cor. 9 12ff., etc.). It was quite natural that his family should have disowned him, though as he seems to be in possession of funds at the time of the appeal to Cæsar they may have received him into favour later on (p. 772).

In the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* the apostle is described as "of moderate stature, with curly hair, bow-legged, with blue eyes and meeting eyebrows, and long nose, full of grace, for at times he looked like a man, and at times he had the face of an angel"; *cf.* 2 Cor. 10 10, and Ac. 14 12, where Barnabas, not Paul, is taken for Zeus, evidently as being the more imposing figure.

Paul first meets us at the death of Stephen (Ac. 7 58, 8 1); he may well have been previously one of his Cilician opponents (6 9). He is the principal figure in the campaign of persecution which ensues (*cf.* 1 Cor. 15 8, Gal. 1 12), and he is sent on a mission to Damascus after the manner of Jewish apostles, who were often sent by the Sanhedrin to the towns of the Dispersion as its official representatives. Of the **conversion** itself there are three accounts (Ac. 9, 22, 26 12ff.; *cf.* 1 Cor. 15 8, Gal. 1 12), which differ only in comparatively minor details. The important question is whether the appearance of Jesus was "subjective" or "objective"; was it merely the result of the working of the apostle's own mind, or was it due to the personal action of the living Jesus, through whatever channel? Paul himself would have had no hesitation as to the answer, since he puts it on a level with the appearances after the Resurrection, which he certainly regarded as objective, though probably not as material. But this does not preclude a psychological explanation of the event, and, though scholars differ on the point, we may fairly connect it with the death of Stephen. The martyr's defence and prayer, the shining of his face, and above all, his claim to see the Son of Man, the Crucified One, alive and glorified, may well have made a deep impression on the young man. This is not inconsistent with his subsequent persecution of Stephen's companions; the advocate is most violent, whether in word or action, when he feels that his cause is weakest. So Paul was but "kicking against the pricks"; the way for the vision was prepared by a long period partly of sub-conscious incubation, partly of realised doubts, when the questions whether Stephen was right after all, and whether Jesus indeed lived, refused any longer to be ignored. No doubt this is to fill in the picture, but in the absence of definite data some use of the imagination is inevitable if we are to understand what happened. The mission of Ananias would seem to indicate that not even in an exceptional case such as this could the normal means of instruction and baptism be altogether dispensed with; though Paul himself rather minimises what he owed to the teaching of others (Gal. 1), there can be no doubt from his epistles that he was in fact baptized. It is not quite clear how soon the conviction that his special work was the conversion of the Gentile world took definite shape in his mind. In Ac. 9 15, 26 17 it is connected directly with the conversion (*cf.* Gal. 1 15f.), while Ac. 22 21 refers it to a later vision in Jerusalem. There is always a tendency in the light of after events to regard a decision as definitely formed and realised at a period when it was in fact only implicit and tentative. (On the subject of this paragraph see p. 806 and notes on Ac. 9 1–19*a*, Gal. 1 11–17.)

Paul speaks of a visit to Arabia immediately after his conversion (Gal. 1 17*); probably this was undertaken for meditation on the recent crisis, though it may have been for preaching. The period of public confession in the synagogues of Damascus (Ac. 9 20) must be placed after this; it was brought to a close by a plot on the part of the Jews. This is probably the episode referred to in 2 Cor. 11 32; we must suppose that Aretas,

or his ethnarch, was acting in support of the Jews; on the chronological question involved, see p. 655. With regard to the first visit to Jerusalem it must be admitted that Acts and Galatians are not altogether easy to reconcile. The former gives the impression of a visit paid soon after the conversion (the apostles have not yet heard of it), lasting an appreciable time, and spent in public preaching, while Paul is represented as owing a good deal to Barnabas (who *may* have been with him at the University of Tarsus). Galatians represents the visit as quite short (" fifteen days ") and private, only Peter and James [1] being seen, while the clause " unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa " (Gal. 1$_{22}$*) seems to exclude any idea of public preaching unless we somewhat artificially interpret " Judæa " as the country district, *excluding* Jerusalem itself; on the other hand, the somewhat obscure passage, Rom. 15 19, suggests that Paul had in fact preached in that city. Probably Paul has unconsciously somewhat exaggerated the private character of this visit, while Luke seems to have had no detailed knowledge of this period of Paul's life, and therefore has filled in the picture in general terms.

From Jerusalem Paul goes to Tarsus, whence after an interval, which must remain quite undetermined, he is brought by Barnabas to Antioch (Ac. 11$_{25}$ff. should be connected with 9$_{30}$); Gal. 1$_{23}$ implies active work at Tarsus; Syria may be mentioned first as the more important. In Ac. 11$_{30}$ we have the second visit to Jerusalem; this is probably to be identified with that of Gal. 2 (see below, p. 770); if so, we see that the Gentile question was now discussed in certain of its phases. If the identification is rejected it becomes very probable that the visit as recorded in Acts is either misplaced or altogether unhistorical, since it is difficult to suppose that Paul can have entirely ignored it in his review.

If we accept the former hypothesis we see in **the First Missionary Journey** the direct result of the arrangement just arrived at that Paul and Barnabas should " go to the Gentiles." At the same time the immediate impulse by which the arrangement becomes operative starts from the Church acting under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; we see once more how uniformly Luke regards the history of the early Church as in very fact the working of the Spirit which is the Spirit of Jesus. We may note too that Paul does not start on the great mission which did so much to decide the future of Christianity until after a long period of at least twelve years spent in quiet and uneventful work; even " the chosen vessel " must be shaped by ordinary human means in order that it may be fit for the purposes of God.

For a detailed discussion of the various journeys reference must be made once for all to the commentary on Acts. Only the main principles of Paul's work can be mentioned. In Cyprus we find him appealing for the first time to the Roman official world in the person of the proconsul, while at the same time we see how Christianity at once comes into conflict with the superstitions of the age and the vested interests which live by them (so in Ac. 16$_{16}$ff., 19$_{23}$ff.). Again, both here and subsequently at Antioch in Pisidia, stress is laid on Paul's habit of addressing himself first to the Jews. This does not, as has sometimes been said, really contradict Paul's own account of his attitude. He urges that salvation is " to the Jew first," and he always retained his patriotic desire for the conversion of his own nation; see especially Rom. 9ff. Further it was in the synagogues that the Godfearers, the Gentiles already attracted to Judaism, were to be most easily found, and it was here that Paul met with the readiest response to his teaching. In the full notes of his speech at Pisidian Antioch (Ac. 13$_{16}$ff.) we have a typical example of his method of appealing to Jews, while the speech at Lystra (14$_{15}$ff.) shows the very different mode of address adopted in face of a comparatively uncultivated audience. Later on at Athens Luke gives us a speech suited to an educated Gentile audience (17$_{22}$ff.).

The vexed question arises whether the churches of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe founded on this journey are in fact the churches of Galatia, addressed in the epistle (p. 857). If, as the present writer believes, they are, it appears that Paul was ill at the time he visited them (Gal. 4$_{13}$), and there is much to be said for Ramsay's suggestion that the illness referred to in this passage as well as in 1 Cor. 2$_3$, 2 Cor. 12$_7$ (the " thorn," or stake, " in the flesh ") was some form of recurrent malaria such as might easily be contracted in the low-lying districts of the coasts. Paul changed his plans in consequence of the attack, and went to the more healthy highlands of the interior; it is possible that this change of plan may have been the reason of Mark's defection (13$_{13}$). It is at any rate clear that Paul was subject to some painful and disabling illness (hence probably his close association with Luke the physician at a later time), and on the whole, malaria fits the facts as we know them better than epilepsy or ophthalmia, which have also been suggested. [On the theory that Paul was an epileptic, see Ramsay, *The Teaching of Paul*, pp. 306–328.—A. S. P.]

At the close of the first tour the difficulties connected with the position of Gentiles in the Church, of which we have already had hints, come to a head. The account in Acts is fairly clear as it stands. The trouble arises from the attitude of the strict Jews, who regarded Christianity merely as a development of Judaism, in no way superseding it. Gentiles could become Christians and hope for admission into the Messianic kingdom; so much was admitted; but they must also become Jews and keep the whole Law. Jerusalem is the headquarters of this party, just as Antioch has been from the first the stronghold of the more liberal section. The startling successes of Paul and Barnabas made it impossible to defer the decision any longer, and on the decision rested the whole future of Christianity. The world might become Christian, it would certainly never become Jewish. The whole question was referred to a **Council at Jerusalem**, including the Twelve, James the brother of the Lord, Paul, Barnabas, the elders, and the whole Church. The main verdict was unanimously in favour of the Pauline or liberal party, freeing Gentile converts from any obligation to be circumcised or to keep the Law as a whole; this is the essential point, and with regard to it there is no doubt. But a question arises with regard to the exceptions (15$_{20}$,*29), which are sometimes very misleadingly referred to as though they constituted the main decisions of the Council. According to the ordinary text certain restrictions are imposed: these were not so much concessions made to the Jewish party, still less did they lay down a minimum of Law necessary to salvation—a position to which Paul could never have consented; they embodied a practical arrangement intended to facilitate social intercourse between Jewish and Gentile members of the Church. The Jewish Christian still considered himself obliged to abstain from the eating of unclean food, and especially food

[1] If we assume that Luke includes James among the apostles, as he seems to do in Ac. 15, we escape a verbal contradiction, though the impression remains different.

from which the blood had not been properly drained, or which had been offered in sacrifice to idols and afterwards sold, and therefore there could be no free intercourse between the two sections of the Church unless the Gentile members voluntarily adopted some such restrictions as these (for examples of the difficulty, see Ac. 11₃, Gal. 2₁₀ff.). Possibly "Godfearers" among the Jews of the Dispersion had already adopted some such rules; if so the Council merely extended them to the Christian Church.

Such, at any rate, is the best explanation of the ordinary text. But the combination of fornication with ceremonial rules, though just intelligible from the connexion of prostitution with heathen rites, is strange, and it is difficult to see why Paul makes no reference to the decree in 1 Cor. 8ff. when he is dealing with the eating of meats offered to idols (pp. 650f.). Hence there is much to be said for the "Western reading" adopted by G. Resch, Harnack, and others; this omits "things strangled," and it then becomes possible to interpret the other injunctions as referring to moral requirements (idolatry and idol feasts, fornication, and murder; *cf.* Rev. 2₂₁₅). The decree then contains a warning against gross sins to which Gentile converts were especially liable.

A more important question is raised as to **the relation between Ac. 15 and Gal. 2.** It is generally supposed that the two accounts refer to the same visit. The objections are: (*a*) The omission of the visit of Ac. 11; it is not true that this was unimportant for the purposes of Paul's argument, since he is concerned to show that he had had no opportunity in the past of being influenced to any extent by the Jerusalem Church, and therefore to omit any visit to that city was to give a handle to his opponents; (*b*) the two accounts do not really agree: to say nothing of minor differences, Paul speaks only of a *private* conference between himself and the "pillars," leading to an acknowledgment of his gospel and a separation of spheres of labour, while he nowhere hints that the Church as a whole had formally and definitely agreed to the very point for which he is contending throughout the epistle, by deciding that circumcision was not necessary for Gentile converts. It seems better, therefore, to identify the visits of Ac. 11 and Gal. 2, and further to suppose that the epistle itself was written before the Council. It was addressed to the churches of the *Roman province* of Galatia, founded on the first journey. On this view alone can we explain why Paul does not definitely refer to its decisions. For it will be understood that even if we identify Ac. 11 and Gal. 2 we must account for the omission of any reference to the Council itself if it had already taken place. The difficulty is, in fact, so grave that if we reject the early date of the epistle we are almost compelled to follow the large number of critics who find something seriously wrong in the narrative of Ac. 15, supposing either that it is altogether unhistorical, or that it is a misplaced record of a later decision in which Paul himself had no share (*cf.* Ac. 21₂₅).

It is not difficult, on the view taken above, to form an intelligible picture of the development and settlement of the Gentile question in the Church. We have, first of all, the hints in the preaching of Stephen that Christianity implies the passing of Judaism. We then have sporadic cases of the conversion of Gentile Godfearers, or uncircumcised proselytes, by Philip, Peter (in the Cornelius episode), and unnamed preachers. The threads of the new development become concentrated at Antioch; Barnabas is sent there by the Jerusalem Church to investigate; he returns after some time with Paul, who has also been preaching, and there follows the private interview of Gal. 2. The apostles informally accept their position and leave them free to evangelise the Gentiles. But it is still an open question (*a*) how far the two sections can live together (hence the dispute of Gal. 2₁₀, which is to be placed about the beginning of the events recorded in Ac. 15₁ff.); (*b*) whether Gentiles after being baptized should be, if not compelled, at least strongly urged to go on to perfection by being circumcised. This is the question discussed in Gal. and at the Council, where a final decision is reached, placing the Gentile convert on an equality with the Jew and facilitating social intercourse. There is room both for Gal. 2 and for Ac. 15.

We pass to **the Second Journey,** which had such momentous consequences for the extension of Christianity. Its primary purpose was to visit the churches founded on the previous journey (Ac. 15₃₆). Paul was always solicitous with regard to the progress of his converts, and in this case, if the view adopted above of the outbreak of trouble in the Galatian churches is correct, there was a special reason why he should follow up his letter by a personal visit. We are expressly told that the result of the Council was communicated to these churches (16₄*), though the letter of the Jerusalem church was only actually addressed to the churches of Syria and Cilicia. The quarrel with Barnabas leads to the selection of Silas—the Silvanus of the epistles—while the place of Mark is soon filled by Timothy. The statement in Ac. 16₃ * is sometimes said to be unhistorical, as being inconsistent with the attitude Paul adopts in his epistles. But Timothy was partly of Jewish blood, so that this was a borderline case where the principle of avoiding needless offence would apply. Neither Paul nor anyone else had yet reached the position that circumcision was abolished for Jewish Christians. The first part of Paul's route lay through the Cilician Gates; then, according to the South Galatian theory, after visiting the cities of the first journey in the reverse order, he turns northward from Antioch in Pisidia, skirting the eastern border of the province of Asia, until after a turn to the west he finds himself at Troas. On the other hand, according to the older North Galatian theory, which, it must be remembered, is still held by many scholars, we have to suppose a long detour through the centre of Asia Minor into the old *Kingdom* of Galatia where churches are founded. Of these churches nothing is known beyond the notice in this passage and the similar passage (Ac. 18₂₃), and what can be gathered from the Epistle to the Galatians, which on this view is written to them.

Throughout the first part of this journey Luke emphasizes even more than usual the Divine guidance of Paul's movements. His intention was to evangelise Ephesus and the important province of Asia, but in various ways of which we do not know the details he was prevented from doing this, until finally, after his arrival at Troas, he realised that the obstacles he had met were, in fact, an indication from God that he was to make the supreme venture of carrying the Gospel to Europe. Ramsay makes the fascinating suggestion that "the man of Macedonia" (Ac. 16₉*) seen in the vision was Luke himself. Paul may well have met him, perhaps consulting him as a doctor with regard to his illness (p. 769), and entered into conversations with regard to possible openings in Europe. His suggestions echo themselves in a dream, which Paul rightly interprets as a Divine sign. At any rate, the decisive step is taken, and the immediate result is the

founding of the flourishing churches of Macedonia. At Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berœa Paul is shown in collision with the Roman authorities, but Luke is careful to emphasize that he is never condemned by them. At Philippi the assertion of his Roman citizenship enables him to depart in triumph while in the other two towns the case is never decided. We may note that, according to 1 and 2 Th., Paul's stay at Thessalonica was longer than might appear from Ac. 17₁–₉.

The stay at Athens was short and without important results, though the account is of special interest, as showing us Paul's mode of appeal to the philosophical world. The eighteen months' stay at Corinth bore more definite fruit, and the success was all the more noteworthy since Paul clearly experienced one of those moods of depression which come at times to all highly-strung spirits (*cf.* Elijah in 1 K. 19). He found himself alone and in bad health (1 Cor. 2₃); he was full of anxiety about his Thessalonian converts, depressed at his comparative failure at Athens, and perhaps inclined to think that the whole venture of the mission to Europe had been a mistake. Hence the special vision of Ac. 18₉. As a reward of his perseverance a flourishing church was founded, and the trial before Gallio led to an important vindication of Christianity in the eyes of the Roman authorities (on the important chronological question, see p. 655). At this period Paul made the acquaintance of Prisca and Aquila, who proved such faithful allies, and the Epistles to the Thessalonians were written from Corinth. Paul leaves with a vow (Ac. 18₁₈ *), probably for his safe return, and after a short visit to Ephesus, where he meets with a very favourable reception and a warm invitation to return, he hurries on. The words of AV in 18₂₁, "I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem," though a gloss (RV omits), are probably correct in meaning, and "went up" in 22 * seems to imply a visit to Jerusalem. We note that all along he is anxious to keep in touch with the mother church.

The **Third Journey** begins with 18₂₃, and again we have a visit either to the churches of the first journey or else to the unnamed towns of Northern Galatia (see above, p. 770). His objective is Ephesus, where he has left Prisca and Aquila, and in this context Luke introduces two very suggestive notes with regard to disciples of the Baptist. The first brings Apollos on the stage (*cf.* 1 Cor. 1₁₂, etc.); his precise position is not quite clear, but apparently he has accepted Jesus as the Messiah, perhaps with no knowledge of His death or resurrection. His fuller enlightenment is due to Prisca and Aquila, but Paul himself on his arrival at Ephesus finds twelve others in very much the same position; they receive both baptism and the laying on of hands, stress being laid on the gift of the Holy Ghost as the essential mark of the Christian. We may probably conclude from these narratives that there were in the first generation a not inconsiderable number of half-Christians, who had either been partially instructed by the Baptist or else had come for a short time into touch with Jesus Himself and had had no opportunity of realising the later developments of Christianity. From the stress laid on these narratives it would also appear that, at the time when Luke wrote, it was still necessary to convince them that their position was not satisfactory. At Ephesus itself the incidents illustrate the familiar principles of the collision of the new religion with the superstition of the age, and with vested interests, while its innocent character is once more vindicated by the representatives of Rome. Ephesus became one of the most important centres of Christianity in the first and following centuries, and the influence of Paul's preaching spread at once through the whole province (19₁₀); the beginning of the churches of Laodicea and Colossæ, though they were not founded by Paul himself, must date from this period (Col. 2₁, 4₁₆). 1 Cor. was written during the stay at Ephesus, and 2 Cor. during the subsequent journey through Macedonia; a visit to Corinth is to be placed somewhere between the two; see Introd. to and Comm. on 2 Cor. The visit to Macedonia (Ac. 20₁) must have included Philippi and Thessalonica, while the three months in Greece were presumably spent at Corinth. Romans was written from here, while if earlier dates for Gal. are rejected it also must be dated somewhere during this third journey.

At this time Paul had definitely in his mind the idea of a visit to Rome (Rom. 15₂₃), but for a reason which will appear immediately he wished first to return to Jerusalem. A plot against his life caused him to change his route (Ac. 20₃); it is probable that he had intended to travel by a pilgrim ship, and that advantage was to be taken of the crowd of fanatics on board to murder him. Hence he goes by a longer route, the route and incidents of the voyage being described in some detail by Luke, who accompanied him. Besides the Eutychus incident at Troas, we have the farewell to the elders of Ephesus at Miletus, a speech which illustrates Paul's close and affectionate relations with his churches. Towards the close of the journey the sense of impending disaster is heightened by the frequent warnings he receives (Ac. 20₃₈, 21₄,₁₁ff.). These, however, only emphasize his determination. It is evident from Romans (see Rom. 9ff.) that he entertained at this time a special desire and hope of bringing about the conversion of the Jews as a whole. One means to this end was **the Collection for the Saints**, which, though intended primarily for Jewish Christians, might yet be expected to do something towards winning the confidence of his countrymen in general. The references to this collection form an interesting example of cross-correspondence between the Acts and the epistles. It figures prominently in the letters of the period (Rom. 15₂₅, 1 Cor. 16₁, 2 Cor. 8f.), and the references show clearly the importance Paul attached to making the contributions as representative as possible. On the other hand it is not directly mentioned in Acts as a main reason of Paul's visit until the incidental remark in 24₁₇; in the light, however, of the other references we need have no hesitation in seeing in the names of Paul's companions mentioned so prominently in 20₄ the list of the delegates from the various churches chosen to bring the contributions from each (*cf.* 1 Cor. 16₃f.), Luke himself being probably the representative of Achaia (2 Cor. 8₁₈; *cf.* "we" in Ac. 20₆).

Paul, on his arrival at Jerusalem, is ready to go to great lengths in his desire to play a conciliatory rôle, and takes a share in the performance of a Nazirite vow. This action, like others attributed to him in Acts, is sometimes regarded as inconsistent with his attitude to the Law in his epistles. But the incident need not be unhistorical; Paul had not taken up the position that the Jew was to abandon the Law, and in practice he himself observed it where possible, at any rate when in the society of Jews (1 Cor. 9₂₀). It was not a question of acting so as to suggest that the Law was in any way necessary to salvation, but of rebutting the charge that he was teaching Jews to abandon its observance (Ac. 21₂₁). But Paul's whole attempt was doomed to failure by the fierce hatred of the Jews themselves, a hatred all the more noticeable when we remember that the Church in Jerusalem itself

was at this time apparently not interfered with in any way. The instinct of the Jews was perfectly correct; the real danger to Judaism was not to be found in the stay-at-home, compromising section of the Church, but in those who, like Paul, were making the new religion a world-wide force, and so, almost without realising it, were digging the grave of Judaism proper. Each incident which follows serves to bring into strong relief the fanatical fury of the nationalist element; there is the sudden riot of 21$_{27}$, when the attempt is evidently made to dispose of a difficult question by mob law, without the risks of an uncertain trial; the same feature is seen in the desperate plot of 23$_{12}$ff., when the trial before the Sanhedrin has shown that Paul can reckon on a certain amount of support. The account of his trials and defences at this time is given in some detail, and in the whole story at Jerusalem, and Cæsarea, with the trials before Felix, Festus, and Agrippa, emphasis is laid both on his admitted innocence of any offence against Roman law and on the comparatively favourable attitude of the Roman authorities towards him. It is indeed remarkable that Paul seems to have had a peculiar power of winning the confidence of Roman officials, and the fact has an important bearing on the history of Christianity in the first century, since it was one of the elements which went to secure for it a period of more or less peaceful development before the outbreak of the great persecutions. Paul was, of course, specially helped by his possession of Roman citizenship (22$_{25}$), which made possible the appeal to Cæsar (25$_{11}$). Probably he must also at this time have had access to pecuniary help, since the appeal to Rome, though technically open to any citizen, was as much a matter of money as an appeal to the House of Lords at the present time. Ramsay has pointed out that some at least of his family are now on his side (23$_{16}$), and they may have been ready to supply him with funds. Felix, too, believes that he is in a position to raise a substantial bribe.

Paul's long-planned visit to **Rome** therefore at last takes place, though under circumstances very different from those he had hoped for. With the narrative of the shipwreck and the arrival at Rome our definite knowledge of his career comes to a close. Acts ends abruptly with the notice of a two years' confinement, during which the Gospel is triumphantly preached in the imperial city without hindrance. We may perhaps fill in the picture with data drawn from the "Epistles of the Captivity" (Phil., Col., Phm., Eph.) which were probably written from Rome, though some scholars place some or all of them during the two years at Cæsarea. In all he appears as a prisoner, and we note not only his quiet courage but the tone of dignity and authority with which he speaks. His position has been secured by the sufferings he has undergone, and it is no longer seriously attacked. We hear of some opposition in Phil., but, at any rate in ch. 1, his attitude towards it is very different from that found in Gal. The same epistle seems to look forward to a release (1$_{22}$ff.), and the vexed question arises as to the result of the appeal to Rome. It is often argued that this, in fact, ended in Paul's condemnation, but on the whole the evidence is against this view. (*a*) It is not really supported by the silence of Acts; as we have seen, Luke has laid great stress upon the successive vindications of Paul by the Roman authorities; these are obviously neutralised if the appeal itself ended in his condemnation. There is much to be said for the view of Lake and others that the mention of the "two years" in Ac. 28$_{30}$ implies his acquittal, there being some evidence for the belief, which is quite reasonable in itself, that if the accusers in a case did not put in an appearance before the expiration of two years the charge dropped automatically. On the other hand, it is, of course, possible that Acts was written before the result was known, or else that for some reason it was left unfinished. (*b*) As we have seen, Paul himself looks for his release in Phil. 1$_{22}$, 2$_{24}$, Phm. 22, and this at least balances the despondent tone of Ac. 20$_{25}$. (*c*) The Pastoral Epistles, even if they be rejected as not genuine, are at least evidence of an early belief in a later activity on the part of Paul, since all attempts to fit them in to earlier parts of his life are very artificial. The same holds good if we see in them fragments of genuine Pauline letters worked up by a later hand. With this evidence agrees the early notices of a visit paid by Paul to the West or Spain, found in Clement of Rome and the Muratorian Fragment; *cf.* Rom. 15$_{28}$. If, however, the first imprisonment ended in his release it is still impossible to reconstruct the rest of the story in any detail. The Pastoral Epistles seem to imply visits to Ephesus or the neighbourhood (1 Tim. 3$_{14}$), Macedonia (1$_{3}$), Crete (Tit. 1$_{5}$), and Epirus, if the intention of Tit. 3$_{12}$ was carried out. From 2 Tim. we learn of visits to Troas (4$_{13}$), Miletus, and probably to Corinth (4$_{20}$). This epistle suggests a sudden arrest, and is written from Rome in expectation of martyrdom. An unbroken tradition from Clement of Rome onwards asserts that he did, in fact, suffer in Rome, whether at the time of the persecution of A.D. 64 (p. 774) or towards the close of Nero's reign, *i.e.* before A.D. 68, but though legend has been busy with the story we really know nothing about the details of his death.

Some may raise the perfectly reasonable question whether the position and work of Paul may not have been generally over-emphasized. Half of Acts is concerned with his career, and the majority of NT letters come from his hand, or are at least attributed to him. May not this be more or less of an accident, and may it not have led the Church to ascribe to him a slightly exaggerated importance? May not Peter, or John, or some other of the apostles have really been equally prominent, only that the complete record of their activity has not chanced to come down to us? We may reply that the interest taken in Paul's work and writings at the time when the Canon of the NT was in formation proves that he was from early times regarded as the supremely important figure. And further the story itself shows the unique character of his work in tracing the lines on which Christianity was to develop. No doubt other preachers of the Gospel were equally energetic and self-sacrificing, but Paul had a plan. He followed the great roads, the main arteries of traffic and intercourse, concentrated on the most important centres, and steadily made Rome his objective. He felt the call of the Gentile world, and realised that the Jewish Law supplemented by Christianity could never meet its needs. The new religion must remorselessly cut itself adrift from the old, if it was to win the Greek. He conceived of a Church on the analogy of the Roman Empire itself, transcending social and racial distinctions, and, guided by his own deep religious experience, he sketched the lines of a theology which has ever since been recognised as the foundation of the best Christian thinking.

When we pass from the story of Paul and the narrative of Acts, very little, unhappily, can be said with regard to **the later history of Christianity in the first century.** We have the Catholic epistles, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse; these, however, are all in varying

degree difficult to place as to authorship, date, and destination, while in any case they throw very little light on the history of the period, though they are important with regard to development of doctrine and organization. The same holds good of the early non-canonical books which fall outside the scope of this article. It will naturally be realised that both during the lifetime of Paul, and subsequently, many other Christian missionaries were at work, though there was no outstanding figure among them, and indeed their very names are for the most part unknown. By their efforts Christianity spread in the East, to Egypt and Alexandria, to the Mediterranean basin in general,[1] and to Rome. The story of its origin in the capital is obscure. It had already obtained a substantial footing there when Paul wrote to the Roman church; it was probably brought by travellers or residents who had become acquainted with the Gospel elsewhere (*cf.* Ac. 2¹⁰, and the "Synagogue of the Libertines" in 69*). Every convert became almost of necessity a missionary, and the work of evangelisation was by no means confined to apostles or evangelists proper. Tradition ascribes the origin of Christianity in Rome to Peter, who was believed to have been Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years (Eusebius and Jerome). But this is clearly contradicted by the language of Rom. 1¹¹ff., 15²⁰; Paul is silent as to any work of Peter in this place, and it would have been inconsistent with his principle of not building on another man's foundation to have interfered with a church founded and directed by Peter. Further, early tradition knows nothing of any episcopate of Peter in Rome. Our sources imply a certain connexion between him and Rome, and his martyrdom in that city, and there is no sufficient reason for questioning these facts. If 1 P. is genuine we have probable evidence of Peter's presence there in the mention of Babylon (5¹³); which seems to be a figurative name for Rome, as it is in the Apocalypse. Clement of Rome and Ignatius both couple Peter and Paul in such a way as to suggest a connexion of both with Rome, while Tertullian and Caius of Rome refer to the martyrdom of both as taking place there; later traditions agree with these accounts and develop them. We really, however, know nothing in detail of Peter's movements after the Council of Ac. 15, though 1 Cor. 1¹² * may imply that he visited Corinth.

We have good reason to believe that in the second half of the century Asia Minor and particularly **Ephesus** became important centres of Christianity. Most of the non-Pauline epistles of NT seem to be connected with this neighbourhood, and Ephesus was the residence of that John, whether the apostle or the elder, who survived till the end of the century as a last link with the first generation (p. 744). We may perhaps ascribe the development of episcopacy to his influence (p. 646), and there is a large number of picturesque legends associated with his name. We must imagine him settling at Ephesus, the head of a school occupied in the study and expounding of Christian doctrine and increasingly revered as other links with the past dropped out one after the other.[2]

It remains to say something of two important questions which must have been continually to the fore during the apostolic age, **the relation of Christianity to Judaism and to the Roman Empire.** It is remarkable that after the death of James, the son of Zebedee, the church at Jerusalem does not appear to have been seriously interfered with by the Jews for some time. As we have seen, the attack on Paul is all the more noticeable on this account, as showing that it was only the liberal and aggressive wing which was really objected to. An explanation may perhaps be found in the wide influence of James the brother of the Lord. We learn from Ac. 12¹⁷, 15¹³, 21¹⁸, Gal. 1¹⁹, 2⁹ that he had from early times a position of authority in the Jerusalem church, and also that he was regarded as the natural champion of Jewish Christianity (see especially Gal. 2¹² and the tone of his epistle, if it is in fact from his hand). He continued to hold this position for some years, and seems to have won the respect and confidence of the non-Christian Jews. Hegesippus (*ap.* Eus. *H.E.*, ii. 23) gives a vivid account of his ascetic life and constant prayers, which won for him the surname of "the Just"; according to the same authority the scribes and Pharisees even requested him "to persuade the people not to go astray concerning Jesus," and on his refusal threw him from a pinnacle of the Temple, whither he had been conducted to preach to the people; not being killed by the fall he was stoned and despatched by a fuller's club. Josephus mentions his execution by the Sanhedrin in more general and credible terms, while a later addition to his text sees in the calamities of the Jewish war which followed, a judgment for his murder. His death, which took place before A.D. 70, at any rate brought to a close the peaceful existence of the church in Jerusalem and widened the breach with Judaism.[1] At about this time, perhaps in consequence of the execution of their head, the Christians withdrew to Pella in the Decapolis; according to Eus. *H.E.*, iii. 5, they were warned by an oracle (*cf.* Mk. 13¹⁴). At any rate they escaped the horrors of the siege and fall of Jerusalem. This was an event of the greatest importance for Christianity, though it has left strangely few direct traces in NT, except in Mk. 13 and parallels. The way in which Jerusalem is mentioned in the NT books, or the absence of any reference to its fall, can only be taken with great reserve as indications of date (*e.g.* in Heb.), since in writings such as Clement of Rome, which are certainly later than 70, the Temple services are still referred to as though they were going on. It is, however, not difficult to realise the decisive influence which the practical ruin of the Jewish State must have exercised on Christianity. In the first place, it completed the outward breach with Judaism; neither in the mind of friend or of foe could the two any longer be regarded as mere varieties of the same religion. And in the second place, the inner divergence became clearer. The whole system of sacrifice, Temple worship, and priesthood was swept away in such a manner that the Christian, even if himself a Jew, could only look upon it as a Divine judgment. There was, therefore, no temptation to try to adapt the system of the new religion to these; God Himself had abolished the Old Covenant as a system of worship and life, though, no doubt, before long a tendency became manifest to bring back a great deal of it in a somewhat different form. But the whole attitude was really changed; Christianity could develop its worship, doctrine, and organisation on its own lines, and it was mainly a question of finding analogies or justifications of these in the OT. Finally Jerusalem itself lost its position of supremacy; the logic of facts had made it impossible

[1] 1 P. 1¹ is evidence of its wide spread in Asia Minor in the latter half of the first century.

[2] In 2 and 3 Jn. we have a glimpse of the difficulties of early Church life, with the dangers arising from the abuse of hospitality, the clash of authorities, and the necessity of testing the credentials of strange teachers.

[1] The Syriac *Apoc. of Baruch* (ch. 41) speaks of many "who have withdrawn from Thy covenant and cast from them the yoke of Thy law"; these may be converts to Christianity.

for it to be regarded any more as the headquarters of Christianity. It is true that according to late lists there was a continuous succession of bishops in Jerusalem after the death of James, but it ceased to have a real importance as the mother church. Jewish Christianity itself survived in the obscure sects of the Ebionites and Nazarenes, but with the end of the century we are already approaching the final stage, when the question is no longer whether those who do not keep the Law can be saved, but whether those who keep it can be regarded as Christians at all.

We pass to **the relation between Christianity and the Roman Empire.** (See further on this subject pp. 616, 631.) As we have seen, Acts is at pains to emphasize the comparatively favourable, or at worst neutral, attitude of the Roman officials towards Christianity as represented by Paul. It is even probable that the book itself was intended in some measure as a defence of Christianity at a time when this attitude had changed, and that it is, in fact, the earliest Christian *Apologia*. In the same way we find that Paul in his epistles nowhere takes up a position of opposition or of hostility towards the imperial power. His insistence on a whole-hearted loyalty in Rom. 13 is typical, and, according to the most probable interpretation of 2 Th. 2 3ff.*, an interpretation as old as Tertullian, the power which restrains or delays Antichrist is the strong arm and the liberal policy of the Roman Empire. In 1 Tim. 2₁, a much later passage, prayer is enjoined for the secular authority. In the same way in 1 P., though there are references to persecution, the general standpoint is one of respect and loyalty (2₁₃–₁₇). [Other NT writings reveal a desire to clear Christianity from the charge of disloyalty to the Empire. There is an evident tendency to represent Pilate as entirely convinced that Jesus was innocent of treasonable designs, and to throw the real blame for His crucifixion on the Jews, who played on the reluctant procurator's fears and forced him to become the instrument of their hate. Jn. 18₃₆ explicitly affirms that Christ's kingdom is not of this world. Rom. 13₁–₇ is specially significant because it occurs in a letter addressed to Rome. The conditions in that city were such as to occasion anxiety. There was the Jewish population, impatient of restraint, hating the Government, cherishing Messianic hopes of its speedy overthrow. The Christians were not too clearly discriminated from the Jews, and their emphasis on Messianic doctrine rendered them peculiarly liable to suspicion; all the more that they identified the Messiah with a man who had been executed by the Roman authorities, whose resurrection they affirmed, whose imminent return in glory to bring in the Kingdom of God they eagerly and confidently anticipated. Paul realised that the conduct of the Christians in the capital might prove momentous for the Church as a whole. He was anxious that its progress should not be hindered by entanglements with revolutionary projects. It must go quietly on its way, avoiding collision with the Government or its suspicion. The Roman Church had a special responsibility not to give, by any imprudence, the supreme authority a false impression. By scrupulous submission to the Divinely appointed secular powers they might divest their religion of its suspicious political appearance and carry out their mission under the favourable conditions afforded by the Roman Government.—A. S. P.] In Rev., however, which in its present form seems to date from the end of the century, we find a startling change. Rome is now Babylon, the embodiment of the world-power which is essentially hostile to God and His kingdom; she is drunk with the blood of the saints (17₆, 18₂₄; *cf.* 2₁₃, 6₉), and her emperors are the heads or horns of the Beast who is Antichrist. [This remains true even if some of these passages were of Jewish origin. It is not unlikely, indeed, that some of the sections in which the most ferocious hatred of Rome is expressed were Jewish rather than Christian, and that the Rome drunk with the blood of the saints was, in the first instance, the Rome which had destroyed Jerusalem and inflicted on the Jewish people one of the bloodiest punishments ever meted out to a vanquished nation. But the author of Rev. in its present form, if he did not write these passages, at least made them his own and gave them a Christian application.—A. S. P.]

The change of tone corresponds to a changed attitude on the part of Rome itself. In A.D. 64 came the first great persecution. It is significant that this did not arise primarily from any official hostility to Christianity in itself, or take up the ground that the new religion was in itself illegal, the old Roman policy being to allow as much freedom as possible to local cults so long as they did not interfere with public order or with allegiance to the State. Its occasion was, in fact, the great fire of Rome, for which Nero himself was generally held to be responsible. To avert this suspicion and to screen himself he turned on the Christians as an unpopular sect on whom the guilt might safely be fastened, and many were put to death in Rome with the most horrible tortures (Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv. 44; Suetonius, *Nero*, 16). It is probable that both Paul and Peter suffered at this time. It is not surprising that Nero came to be regarded as Antichrist; after his death it was believed that he was still alive, or that he would be raised again in the character of Antichrist to play his part in the final struggle between Christ and evil.[1] The impulse having once been given by Rome, it is probable that persecutions broke out in other parts as well, and that the Empire found itself committed to a more or less definite attitude of hostility. It is, however, very doubtful whether Christianity in itself was yet a crime, and whether the Flavian emperors were in fact persecutors. A good deal depends on the interpretation of the language of 1 P. We find that Christians are already spoken against as evil doers (2₁₂) and must expect persecution (4₁,₁₂ff.); they may even be said to "suffer for the name of Christ" (4₁₆). Ramsay understands these words to imply that Christians were by this time liable to execution *propter nomen ipsum, i.e.* that it was sufficient to ensure their condemnation if they admitted that they were Christians, and that no further charge of any actual wrongdoing or immorality need be brought against them. He supposes that Vespasian had introduced this policy of dealing with Christianity, and that the epistle was written about A.D. 80. But, apart from the fact that there is really no evidence for such a policy under Vespasian, this view reads too much into the words of the text. Peter does not speak of suffering for the name *alone* but "for the name," and, whatever the technical charge brought against them, Christians would certainly regard themselves as suffering in fact for the name of Christ; *e.g.* the language would be quite applicable to those martyred on the charge of incendiarism. Further, 4₁₆ does not necessarily imply death at all, and the general tone of the epistle shows that the Empire was not yet definitely hostile (see above). In Heb. again we have

[1] This conception is found in Rev.; in 1 Jn., however, Antichrist is simply the personification of the spirit of evil, taking many forms; the whole idea is spiritualised.

references to definite persecutions, and there is a danger of apostasy (6$_6$, 10$_{32}$ff.), but these attacks do not seem to have yet led to actual martyrdoms (12$_4$). Both the date and the destination of the epistle are, however, so doubtful that it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to the conditions implied.

The probability, therefore, is that we are right in placing the second great persecution towards the end of the century in the reign of Domitian. The Apocalypse belongs to this period, and Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla were among the victims at Rome (Suet. *Dom.* 15; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*, lxvii. 14, 1), while Melito, Bishop of Sardis (Eus. *H.E.*, iv. 26) seems to confirm the evidence of Rev. that it extended also to Asia Minor, though it must be admitted with Hort that there is, in fact, very little direct proof beyond the doubtful allusions of the NT itself for any extensive persecution either in Nero's or in Domitian's reign outside Rome. The reminder may be useful as a warning against exaggerations, but there are good reasons to believe that a change of attitude on the part of Rome was inevitable towards the end of the century. The point of collision between Christianity and the imperial power was bound to be found in the attitude of the latter to the growing worship of the Emperor. This had, of course, already begun under the early Cæsars, but it received a great impetus under Domitian, who called himself "Dominus et deus noster," "our Lord and God" (Suet. *Dom.* 13). Further, this worship was especially popular in Asia Minor, where Pergamum, Ephesus, and Smyrna vied with one another in their blasphemous servility. This fact explains much of the language of Rev., especially in ch. 13, where the second Beast seems to be the priesthood devoted to the imperial cult and employing the magical arts for which Ephesus and Asia Minor generally were famous. The worship of the first Beast, by which alone safety can be secured, may well be some form of the worship of the emperor. It was treason to refuse to recognise the emperor as god, and yet no Christian could for a moment consent to do so. Here then we reach the point where the profession of Christianity has become practically, though not yet technically, a capital crime. This last stage is reached early in the second century, where with Trajan's Rescript to Pliny it is enough if a man avows himself a Christian. At the close of the apostolic age, therefore, Christianity is face to face with the declared hostility, not only of Judaism, but also of the secular power, but it is at that very time that the sublime faith of the Apocalypse can declare the certainty of the fall of Babylon and the triumph of the kingdom of the Lamb.

[From its own point of view the Roman Government could plead much justification. As a religion Christianity could hardly seem more than a crazy superstition. But, while intellectually beneath contempt, it was not negligible if it became politically dangerous, or inimical to social welfare. Judaism was a licensed religion, and for a time the daughter religion was sheltered by the protection accorded to the mother. But, as its distinctiveness was recognised, it took the position of an unlicensed religion, and its dangerous qualities came into the foreground. It inherited the hatred felt for the Jews; while its Messianic hopes, its lurid predictions of catastrophe, its refusal to participate in many social usages, because of the taint of idolatry attaching to them, its meetings in secret which made the wildest rumours of incest and cannibalism seem credible to a greedily credulous populace, its apparent atheism and the calamities with which the gods seemed to punish toleration of it, its obstinate refusal to accept the crucial test of loyalty—all combined to convince the authorities that such a religion was dangerous to the Government and a centre of moral corruption.—A. S. P.]

The chronology of the apostolic age and of Paul's life is dealt with elsewhere (see pp. 654–656).

Literature.—Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*; McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*; Bartlet, *The Apostolic Age*; Ropes, *The Apostolic Age*; von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church, Probleme des apostolischen Zeitalters, The Apostolic Age*; Wernle, *The Beginnings of Christianity*; Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*; J. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*; Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* [2]; Achelis, *Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire.* A work suited for more elementary students is Foakes-Jackson and Smith, *Biblical History for Schools—NT.* See also the bibliography to the commentary on Acts, and the dictionaries, esp. DAC.

The volumes mentioned above naturally devote much attention to Paul. Among the earlier Lives of Paul those by Conybeare and Howson, Lewin, and Farrar are still of value. More recent works are: Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (much valuable matter also in his other books); Bacon, *The Story of St. Paul*; Clemen, *Paulus*; Wrede, *Paul*; Weinel, *St. Paul, the Man and his Work*; Deissmann, *St. Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History.* More popular works: Stalker, *The Life of St. Paul*; Gilbert, *Student's Life of Paul*; Franks, *The Life of Paul* (in *Bible Notes*, specially useful for students); Eleanor F. Wood, *The Life and Ministry of Paul.* See also Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, and articles in dictionaries, esp. HDB (Findlay), EB [11] (Bartlet), ERE (Menzies and Edie).

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

By Professor ALLAN MENZIES

The title of the book is to be regarded as a label prefixed to it when a collection of Christian writings was being formed. Marcion (c. A.D. 145) adopted the third Gospel for his followers, but did not take Ac. into his collection; the Muratorian Canon, which gives a list of the Christian Scriptures accepted at Rome about A.D. 175, counts among them "the Acts of all the Apostles," and names Luke the physician as its author. The book forms a continuation of the third Gospel, being dedicated to the same person (Lk. 1₃, Ac. 1₁), and is proved by careful analysis of its vocabulary and style to be from the same hand. *Cf.* Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*², pp. 174–193.

Sources.—The third Gospel introduces itself as a new attempt, in addition to many earlier ones, to set forth in order the facts of the origin of Christianity. Ac. makes no such claim; the writer addresses himself to an undertaking not formerly attempted. Lk. professes to be compiled from sources; and we have in our hands two of the sources on which it is based (Mk. and Q; see article on *The Synoptic Problem*). In Ac. it is natural to think that the writer followed the same plan, and used such sources as he was able to discover. The source which most clearly reveals itself is that which forms the thread of the account of Paul's travels in Ac. 16–28, a journal kept by a companion of the apostle. Can any written sources be traced in 1–15? Many points and features undoubtedly appear, which show the writer to be bringing materials together and skilfully weaving them into one narrative. The statements of time are vague (1₁₅, 3₁, 6₁); stories end in general statements which are very similar to each other (2₄₇, 4₃₁, 5₄₂, 12₂₄); incidents occur so similar as to arouse suspicion that they were originally but one (*cf.* 4₁₉ and 5₂₉; 8₄ and 11₁₉). The account of the Ascension given in Ac. 1 differs markedly from that in Lk. 24, and is manifestly due to a later growth of tradition. The impression produced by the whole of the earlier part is that of a paucity of materials. Apart from the speeches the contents fall into two categories: (*a*) miraculous narratives, of which the writer is evidently fond, and (*b*) short and matter-of-fact historical statements such as 6, 11₁₉–₃₀, parts of 13f. (On this and the following paragraphs see pp. 605, 742).

The speeches are a notable feature; and those in the earlier chapters have every appearance of representing a doctrine which once was customary in the Church. They need not be regarded as verbatim reports of what was said on the various occasions, but they correspond in a remarkable way with what must have been said in the earliest controversy with Judaism, and the teaching they contain no doubt went on for a long time on Jewish soil, and could still be heard in the latter part of the first century. The information that could still be gathered from tradition about the early days of the Church provided the openings which were required for the sermons of the apostles, which are probably in this way historical; and in the stories of the election of the Seven, the scattering of the believers from Jerusalem, the spreading mission in Samaria and Syria and the first Gentile converts, in chs. 6, 8, and 11, there is good information. In the story of Paul's conversion and his subsequent journeys (9) and that of Peter and Cornelius (10), the later growths appear, as also in the account of the meeting at Jerusalem (15). In the Commentary it is held that that meeting ought to have stood before the journey of Paul and Barnabas (13f.), in which many critics find an independent Barnabas source.

There is thus good reason to suppose that the writer found ready to his hand various sources, of unequal historical value, written or oral, for a narrative of the early Church of Jerusalem and of the early diffusion of the Gospel in and beyond Palestine, and that he made them with great skill into a connected story, and supplied the speeches from preaching with which he was familiar. Further than this it is hazardous to go. Many attempts have been made to define the sources exactly, and to point out how far each of them extends. But we must be content with a less degree of knowledge.

When we come to ch. 16, the case is different. In the account of Paul's travels we find four passages (commonly known as the "We-sections") in which the narrative is in the 1st person plural—16₁₀–₁₈, 20₅–₁₆, 21₁–₁₆, 27–28₁₅. In these passages, which are in a somewhat dry and matter-of-fact style, and are confined to the external circumstances of travel, all are agreed that we have before us a contemporary record kept by a companion of the apostle. And it appears certain that the same hand must have written much of the matter that is not in the 1st person plural but in the 3rd person, *e.g.* the story of the prison at Philippi, that of the uproar in the Temple (21), and the various stages of the trial of Paul at Jerusalem and Cæsarea. E. Norden in his book, *Agnōstos Theos* (The Unknown God), shows that the person changes in many Jewish historical works (*e.g.* Neh., Tob.), so that this form was familiar and could easily be adopted. The result is that in this part the narrative is arranged upon a document contemporary with Paul. There were great lacunæ in this document; the writer does not appear to have been with Paul at Athens, Corinth, or Ephesus; and he shows no appreciation of Paul's distinctive teaching as found in his epistles. His account of Paul is occasional and cold; still for the positive information he supplies we must be most thankful to him.

Author.—The opinion of Sir John Hawkins, *Horæ Syn.*², pp. 182ff., and of Harnack, *Luke the Physician* (1907), based on careful analysis of the words used, that the writer of the travel document and the writer of Ac. are the same person, cannot be withstood; there is no important difference between the language

and style of the "We" pieces and those of the other parts of the work. The identity of the writer of the journal is all but known to us. There is less difficulty in supposing Luke to be its writer than any other of the companions of Paul. Not much weight need be placed on the medical terms of Acts (*cf.* Col. 414). In many, perhaps most, cases it would be difficult for any writer to use other terms than those used in this book which are said to betray special medical knowledge; but they certainly prove nothing against the medical character of the writer. Much more important than that character in the author are the views of the recorded history which, as editor of the book, he spreads over the Pauline parts of Acts and indeed the whole. His ignorance of the Pauline Epistles makes him a very inadequate biographer of the apostle (p. 858). Not only that Paul's doctrine does not appear in Ac.; it had disappeared, as first put forward, from the Church as a whole when this book was written. But important parts of Paul's life are unmentioned, and what is mentioned appears frequently in a false light. Nothing is told of the Galatian conflict or of that at Corinth; the contribution from the Macedonian and Greek churches for the saints at Jerusalem is not spoken of when the opportunity occurs for presenting it (21 15ff.). In the epistles Paul is called and acts as apostle of the Gentiles; in Ac. he always goes first to the Jews, and only when they refuse his message, to the Gentiles. He has changed his character, to satisfy the theory that the apostles always acted as one, and that Jerusalem was the centre of all authority.

Other features which there is reason for putting down to the editor rather than accepting as historical are the treatment of the Resurrection as the central doctrine of the preaching not only of Peter, with whom this is no doubt correct, but also of Paul, who at Athens, at Jerusalem, at Cæsarea, and at Rome, represents himself as persecuted on account of it. In the epistles he ascribes his persecution to the Cross of Christ, not the Resurrection. In Ac. there is little about the Cross; to this writer Christianity is mainly the preaching of the Resurrection, a doctrine as yet strange to the world. Another feature is the way in which the teaching of Christianity is generally described as the doctrine about the Kingdom; a phrase which frequently occurs in it but is never explained (1 3, 8 12, 19 8, 20 25, 28 23,31).

These characteristics prove the book to have been written at a considerable distance in time from the facts it records.

The **Date** must be such as to allow of these changes of view. Sir John Hawkins tells us that while the language of Lk. and of Ac. shows the two books to proceed from the same hand, there is difference enough to show that they were not written at the same time. Now Lk. was written about ten years after Mk. which is a source for it; the date of Mk. is generally taken to be A.D. 69. If the date of Lk. is 80—it cannot be earlier, it may be a good deal later—Ac. can scarcely have been written before 85. If the writer knew the *Antiquities* of Josephus, which appeared in 93, since he speaks of Theudas and Judas in the same (wrong) order (5 36f.), and almost in the same terms, we have to bring Ac. a decade later down, and the writer, if a companion of Paul, must have been not less than seventy years of age when he completed it. But *cf.* p. 742.

Text.—It will be noticed that in this, more than in the other books of the NT, variants are quoted which are not the result of careless copying, but must be otherwise accounted for. The variants occur in Cod. D (pp. 599–601) but also in early Latin copies and in the Syriac versions. A few Greek minuscules also contain such variations. Blass, the great German philologist, sought to account for the discrepancy, which goes all through the book, by the theory that the writer had himself issued his work in two forms, one of which was incorporated in the great MSS, while the other passed into the Western text, presented in the above-mentioned authorities. Scholarship is still occupied with this question. It is recognised by most that on the whole the Western readings are to be regarded as changes made on the text of the great MSS, rather than as themselves original. Many of the changes, however, are recognised as having been made by one well acquainted with the local circumstances and with the course of the history. They deserve attention, and some of them may be right.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Lumby (CB), Bartlet (Cent.B), **Rackham** (West.C), Andrews (WNT), Forbes (IH), Furneaux; (*b*) **Knowling** (EGT), Rendall, Page, Burnside; (*c*) *Zeller, De Wette-Overbeck, Wendt (Mey.), Holtzmann (HC), Blass, Knopf (SNT), **Preuschen** (HNT). *Other Literature:* Harnack, *Luke the Physician, The Acts of the Apostles, The Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels;* Norden, *Agnōstos Theos;* Harnack, *Ist die Rede des Paulus in Athen ein ursprünglicher Bestandteil der Apostelgeschichte?* Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen, Pauline and Other Studies, The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the NT;* Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles;* P. Gardner, *The Speeches of St. Paul in Acts* in *Cambridge Biblical Essays;* Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke;* Walker, *The Gift of Tongues;* Articles in Dictionaries and Introductions; also the books mentioned in the Bibliography to the articles on the Apostolic Age and the Life of Paul.

I. 1–5. Introduction.—The writer refers to his former treatise, intimating rather than stating that he is beginning a second. The Ascension is his present starting-point, but instead of simply referring to the account already given (Lk. 24 50–53), he narrates it again, and in a way which shows that the tradition had grown considerably in the interval. The apostles appear as a fixed number, with definite functions. The text reads more simply without 3; "the things concerning the kingdom of God" is the writer's summary of the contents of Christian preaching; *cf.* 8 12, 19 8, 28 23,30. It is nowhere explained. The "forty days" are heard of only here in NT: they provide room for the growing tradition of a life of Christ on earth after the Resurrection.—**2** seems to place the choice of the apostles in this period, as well as the instructions which Jesus gave them through the Holy Spirit, but there is no real conflict with Lk. 6 13.—**4.** The writer silently glides into the narrative of the "second treatise." We are told of a meeting or a meal (*mg.*, see Field, *Notes on Trans. of NT*, p. 110) of Jesus with the disciples, at which He prescribed their future policy. They are to stay at Jerusalem till the promise of the Father (Lk. 24 49) is fulfilled and the Spirit comes to them. (In the *Acts of Peter* their stay is fixed at twelve years.) The prediction of John the Baptist was that Jesus Himself would baptize with Holy Spirit; here the imparting of the Spirit is made to mean the speedy clothing of the disciples with power (8; *cf.* 2 6–11).

I. 6–11. Programme of the Mission: the Ascension.—**6.** The opening words suggest a religious meeting; the occurrences of 9–11 are in the open air; *cf.* the tryst made in Mk. 16 7 = Mt. 28 16. Here the disciples are not thinking of the promise of the Spirit, but of supremacy to be restored to Israel. Jesus' answer does

not notice this limited view, and forbids speculation as to the date (Mk. 13^{32}); 8 states the writer's view, worked out in the whole book, as to the development of the cause, only a part of which these men were to realise. The statement of 4 is repeated. "Witnesses," *i.e.* of the Resurrection (see 1^{22}, 2^{32}, etc.). The Saviour is removed on a cloud, the ascent of which the disciples are following with their eyes, when two celestial beings, as their dress denotes (Mk. 9^{3}), appear beside them and recall them to the earth, or rather state the expectation which is henceforth to fill their minds. Jesus is to come again from heaven, as they have seen Him go up to it, *i.e.* on clouds, as the Messiah was expected to come (Dan. 7^{13}, Mk. 14^{62}, Rev. 1^{7}, 1 Th. 4 ^{17}, etc.).

I. 12–14. The Community at Jerusalem.—The scene of the Ascension was not mentioned before; we hear of it now. Lk. 24^{50} puts it at Bethany which is (Jn. 11^{18}) fifteen stades (about 1¾ miles) from Jerusalem; the Mount of Olives (here expressed in one word *Elaion*, hence, EV properly, *Olivet*), is less than half that distance. (For the tradition that the Messiah was to appear first on the Mount of Olives, see Ezek. 11^{23}, Zech. 14^{4}, and *cf.* Mk. 11$^{1-10}$*.) The account is written for people unacquainted with Jerusalem.

13. The upper chamber is probably in a private house; the believers could not be abiding in the Temple. The religious life of the little community is described in phrases which repeatedly occur: "with one accord"—there is complete unanimity among them—"they continue steadfastly in prayer"; they are directed to one object and know how it is to be secured; only so could the little band prevail who were responsible for the new truth. "The women" may be the wives of the apostles; D adds "and the children," which would point in this direction. Mary, mother of Jesus, was last heard of in Lk. 8^{19} (but *cf.* Jn. 19$^{25-27}$), and His brothers also. Of them James is heard of afterwards (Gal. 1^{19}).

I. 15–26. Election of a Twelfth Apostle.—"In those days" (*cf.* Mk. 1^{9}; a vague expression) Peter comes forward as leader. 1 Cor. 15^{6}* speaks of 500 brethren at once. The first to whom the risen Lord appeared was naturally their leader; though Ac. does not mention this, Lk. does (24$^{24-34}$). We have here the first example in Ac. of the application of OT passages to Christian things. Two passages from Ps. are applied to Judas, whose place is now to be filled. It is assumed that there is a fixed number of apostles, and that the number is to be kept up. Judas (17) was one of the twelve; Ps. 69^{25} proves that there is a vacancy in their number, and Ps. 109^{8} that the vacancy must be filled. It is necessary that these prophecies should be fulfilled. The account of Judas' death differs from that in Mt. 27$^{5-7}$*. There the high priests buy the field, or claypit, with Judas' money after his death: here he buys a field himself and dies the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Mac. 9^{7}ff.). The name *Aceldama* is probably historical; the story explains the name which existed already. The election of a successor is to be by lot; the Lord is to decide. The qualifications of suitable candidates are first set forth. They must have been familiar with the ministry of Jesus, which began with John the Baptist (Mk. 1$^{1-4}$, Lk. 3^{2}), and they must have been present in these last days up to the Ascension. An apostle is elected by the Church (2 Cor. 3^{1}) as well as by God; this the name, which means "sent" or "messenger," implies. It is not the Eleven who put the candidates forward, but the whole meeting, addressed by Peter and invited to act with him. The Lord who knows the heart is invoked; He must know best which of the two is the more sincere (Jer. 17^{10}) and will make the better apostle. The office is one of ministry; not of tables only, but of the Word (6$^{2-4}$). Neither candidate is heard of afterwards. 26 identifies the apostles with the Twelve. In 1 Cor. 15 the Twelve are spoken of first, then the apostles as a larger body. Apostles would come into existence when there were several communities of Christians to be kept in touch with each other; the use of the word in the Gospels, in which Luke goes much the furthest, is an anachronism (p. 646, Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*^{2}, i. 319ff.).

15. *Cf.* Mishna (*Sanh.* 1^{6}), which says a town must have 120 inhabitants to have a council, and the officers must be one-tenth of the whole.

II. 1–4. The Promise of the Spirit is Fulfilled to the Disciples.—**1.** Fifty days after Easter, ten days after the Ascension, the promise of 1^{4,8} is fulfilled and the Church starts into action. The statements of time, however, appear to be independent of each other, and are not to be construed strictly. The place is not mentioned, only that all were together in a house (*cf.* 5^{12}). The situation is that of 1^{14}; at one of the meetings this sound, this sight, occurred; the sound like that of a great rushing wind filling the whole house, the sight, visible to all, of tongues like flames dividing, so that each person received a share, and it settled on each of them. The winds are in the Psalms God's messengers; the tongues point to an utterance that is to take place, under His authority; the whole might be a telling expression of the fact that the message is ready, that the hearts of the messengers are so full of it that they are finding words to declare it. In the writer's view, the promise is thus fulfilled. The Holy Spirit now takes up His dwelling in the believers, each and all, and expresses Himself in manifold ways (*cf.* 1 Cor. 12). Christian baptism has now come about, the baptism of the Spirit which in later cases accompanies the baptism with water; here, it comes independently. The immediate result, in this case, is the gift of tongues (pp. 647f.); "speaking in other tongues," *i.e.* not in ordinary speech, but so that people of other languages than theirs understand them. See further on the significance of the Day of Pentecost and the baptism of the Spirit, pp. 638f., 641–644.

II. 5–13. The Effect on Outsiders.—The visitation has taken place in a house, but the noise is heard, not the speaking with tongues, all over the town; a crowd collects, made up of pious and thoughtful men, Jews of various lands, now dwelling at Jerusalem. Guided to the spot they stayed there in wonder, because each of them heard these Galileans, men of rude dialect, speaking the language of the country to which he belonged. The following catalogue of countries or of peoples goes round the map from the east to Judæa, then to Rome by Asia Minor and by Egypt and North Africa, then come Jews again, but as the counterpart of proselytes, not as a nation; at the end Cretes and Arabians. Not counting the Jews, nor the Cretes and Arabians, who might be put in afterwards for completeness, there are twelve kinds of foreigners; and they all hear the Christians speaking in their own language. If the linguist inquires how many languages were necessary that each of these might hear his own, the reply is that Greek was understood by the educated all over the Empire; if the people in question were all Jews (5) Greek was enough for them all. The gift of tongues as set before us in 1 Cor. 14* has nothing to do with different languages, and the speech of Peter which follows says nothing of this. The narrative is

accordingly symbolical; it conveys the idea that the Gospel, now preached for the first time, was destined for all nations, and that the Spirit was able to make all nations hear and understand it. Another opinion expressed in the crowd of wondering hearers, was that the phenomenon was due to intoxication. Paul (1 Cor. 14 27f.) tells us that the person who exercised the gift of tongues was generally unintelligible and unedifying, and therefore should have an interpreter. The above verdict might naturally occur to unsympathetic hearers, and the early Christians might often hear it, in connexion with these ecstatic utterances (p. 648).

II. 14–36. Peter Explains the Occurrence.—Peter is, as before, the mouthpiece of the community. His speech is not addressed to foreigners but to the people of Jerusalem, and shows us, as his other speeches do, the style of argument used by Christians in their first great controversy, that with their Jewish neighbours. This address falls into three parts: (*a*) 14–21, the phenomena are not due to intoxication but show that prophecy of the Last Things is being fulfilled, and that further fulfilment is at hand; (*b*) 22–32, the Resurrection of Jesus proves His Messiahship; (*c*) 33–36, appeal to the Jews to recognise Him accordingly.

14–21. Intoxication is not an affair of the early morning; it is not yet the time for morning prayer, and the Jew did not eat nor drink before that hour. The lively utterances of the believers are due to the direct inspiration of God according to His promise in Joel (Jl. 2 28–32; LXX with slight differences). The passage predicts what is to precede the final deliverance, and Peter suggests that as the earlier part is being realised in the inspiration of the Christian community both in its older and younger members, the later parts, the heavenly portents and the day of judgment, may be expected forthwith. To escape therefrom they must "call on the name of the Lord" (Jl. 2 32); and by "the Lord" the writer understands Peter to point to Jesus as *Kurios*; in 36 he expressly so names Him.

22–32. That Jesus is Lord and is to be called upon is proved by the fact of His resurrection. The doctrine of Christ set forth in 22–24 is very simple. His human life is appealed to: Jesus the Nazorean, as He is called, is spoken of as a man, but a man whom God approves to the Jews by the wonderful works He did through Him, "powers" and "wonders" and "signs"; powers, as showing the energy which dwelt in Him; wonders, from their arresting character; and signs, from what they proved about Him (2 Cor. 12 12). In spite of all this it was God's deliberate counsel —for nothing happened to Jesus that God did not know beforehand and arrange for—that He should be delivered to His enemies and done to death by the Jews. They were the real authors of the crime, though in the act of His execution wicked hands, the hands of men outside the Law, were employed. The speaker passes lightly on from the death of Jesus to His Resurrection; he has no doctrine of the virtue of Christ's death, but hurries on to the act by which that fearful crime was redressed and turned to its opposite. God raised Him up, having loosed the pangs (so LXX, Pss. 185, 1163; Heb. "bonds") of death. He could not be held of it; it was inconsistent rather with the Divine plan than with the inherent nature of Jesus, just described as "a man."

Ps. 16, from which a quotation follows, is originally an utterance of the Jewish community, expressing its faith in God and in touching phrases its confidence that He will not suffer death or destruction to approach it. In the Gospels and Ac. all the Pss. are regarded as the work of David and as speaking of his fortunes. Ps. 16 records his view of his own death, and expresses the conviction that he will arise out of it and not be left in the place to which all souls went at death. But this was clearly not fulfilled in the person of David. Peter appeals to the Jews, whom he now addresses as "brethren," in a bond of faith and hope with him, to allow that David died and that they know his tomb (mentioned Neh. 3 16 and several times in Josephus); what then do his words mean? He was a prophet, and the words must have a fulfilment. David knew of the descendant, in whom his throne was to be established for ever (2 S. 7 12f., Ps. 132 11), and it was of Him he spoke in Ps. 16. It was actually true of Christ that God raised Him up; that is the fact of which all the apostles are witnesses (13,8,22) and of which David spoke.

22. "Jesus the Nazorean": the origin of this expression is obscure; Burkitt in RTP, ix. 714, discussing the term Nazorean, which occurs seven times in Ac., and Nasarean found in Mk. and Lk., does not profess to have solved the difficulty. He warns us against basing the explanation on the name of Nazara, where the Lord was brought up. The name Nosri was applied to Christ, as Mt. 2 23 informs us, and may mean watchman, tower-dweller, pagan, according to 2 K. 17 9. As a term of reproach His followers would be called Nazoraioi after Him. The sect of Nazoreans was more ancient; Epiphanius speaks of them, and the name may mean "rebels."

33–36. Conclusion.—The inference is that Jesus is the cause of the ecstatic speech, Jesus raised by God's right hand, Jesus exalted. It is He who has obtained from the Father the promised Holy Spirit, and has poured out what is seen and heard in His followers. There is no reference to the gift as one of languages, nor to the fact that Jesus already was full of the Holy Spirit in His lifetime. Another Ps. quotation follows (34), of frequent occurrence in NT (Mt. 22 44, 1 Cor. 15 25, Heb. 1 13) but not elsewhere used just as it is here. In Mt., Ps. 110 proves that the Jews were mistaken in their view of the Messiah; He was a greater than David, not less; in 1 Cor. it proves a point as to the future development of Christ's power; here, that the exaltation is true of Jesus alone, who is therefore to be regarded as Lord and Messiah. David was buried and lies in his tomb (29), he never rose to heaven; but Jesus has sent down the Spirit from heaven to His followers (33). In Him, then, the prophecy is fulfilled; God, as the whole house of Israel is to recognise, has made Jesus both Lord and Messiah.

II. 37–41. Effect of the Sermon.—A rapid and lively narrative succeeds. The hearers feel the sting of their position, and say (*cf.* Lk. 3 10–14), "What shall we do?" Peter's requirements are repentance and baptism, the first being the original requirement of the Gospel (Mk. 1 4,15). The reason is still the same, that the Day of the Lord, with which the Kingdom was to open, is at hand. Baptism (pp. 638f.) is, as in the Gospels, connected with repentance and with a view to the forgiveness of sins. It is to be in the name, or as it should be rendered "upon the name," *i.e.* on the authority of Jesus Christ (Mk. 9 39). The formula of baptism does not appear from this passage; but forgiveness of sins was to accompany it, and so was the gift of the Holy Spirit; this is stated in most of the cases in Ac. in which baptism is administered. The promise of 39 is that found at the close of the passage from Joel quoted in 21; it is addressed to the Jews

and to their children, and to those at a distance, which would point to the Gentile mission or to those at a later time. Finally (40), the hearers are urgently warned to separate themselves from the perverse multitude around them and from their fate. That believers are called to this separation is a frequent note in the epistles (Gal. 1, 2 Cor. 617), and is implied in the "call" spoken of in the Gospels.—**41.** The baptism of so many might have been dwelt on, and some details given, but only the bare fact is stated, and the number is approximate (*cf.* 115, "about 120").

II. 42–47. The Religious Life of the Brethren.—The four items in 42 should be taken in two pairs; (*a*) the believers adhered steadfastly to the apostles as their teachers and to their common life with each other, the formal manifestations of which were (*b*) their common meals and their common prayers (114); this is further shown in 46. The "fear" of 43 did not drive the people from the Church, but marked its authority, as did the wonders and signs wrought by the apostles. Paul speaks of "the signs of an apostle" (2 Cor. 12^{12}) which he himself had furnished sufficiently; our author attests the same of the older apostles, though the instances he gives are few. The common life (42) is further described in 44. The believers all held together, and even regarded their property as common, selling their possessions and their movables to meet the needs of the poorer members. This is enlarged on in 434f.* (*cf.* p. 767). They visited diligently the Temple, the place of prayer of their race (Lk. 18^{10}, 19^{45}f.), and held religious meals in one house and another. Thus their meals were sacraments to them, held without guile. They were full of God's praises, and afforded an attractive spectacle to the Jews round them. Those who joined their company they regarded as saved, and the Lord added such daily to their number. On early Christian worship, see pp. 638, 641, 643, 647f.

46. The *kata* in *kat' oikon* would have no meaning if it did not refer to domestic meetings at which the breaking of bread was reminiscent of the Master's practice (Lk. 24^{35}).

III. 1–10. Example of the Works of the Apostles.—The cure of lame persons is frequently spoken of in the Synoptic Gospels, as a mark of the Messianic age; but no such cure is there recorded. Paul deals with a similar case at Lystra (148). The apostles generally, but not invariably, go in pairs, as Lk. 10^{1} prescribes. So Peter and John here (*cf.* 8^{14}) go for their devotions to the Temple at 3 P.M., the hour of the evening sacrifice. In the following narrative it is Peter only who acts and speaks. At the gate called Beautiful, possibly the same as Nicanor's gate on the E. side of the Temple, and the favourite entrance, they find a man congenitally lame. He asks alms: they ask his whole attention, which he gives them. Peter cannot give him money but has a greater gift for him. "In the name of Jesus Christ the Nazorean" (as if the full title had to be used for such a work; *cf. Actus Petri cum Simone*, xi. 13, 16)—"walk." The power of the Name (Gen. 32^{29}*, 1 Cor. 5$^{3-5}$*) at once appears; as Jesus takes the hand of Peter's wife's mother to help her to rise (Mk. 13^{1}), so Peter takes the lame man's right hand, and the cure is accomplished. The man leaps up and enters the Temple with the apostles, not merely walking but leaping (Is. 35^{6}) and praising God. The effect on the crowd is an example of the fear spoken of in 2^{43}.

11. There is an interesting variant in D: "But when Peter and John were going out, he went with them holding them, and they stood astonished in the porch which is called Solomon's." The scribe who wrote this knew that Solomon's Porch was outside the Temple, the writer of the text translated in RV was unaware of the fact; he makes the apostles enter the Temple with the lame man and here places them in Solomon's Porch without saying that they had left the Temple. We shall meet with other instances of the local knowledge of the scribe of D.

III. 12–26. Speech of Peter.—12–16. The Facts.—The idea and arrangement of the speech closely resemble that of 2$^{14-36}$; it exhibits the style of controversy with the Jews. The hearers are addressed as "men of Israel"; appeal is made to their history and beliefs as such. The apostles have not performed the cure by any power of their own nor merited it by their piety; the cure is due to the new act of God which has taken place in the old religion. God is spoken of by an elaborate title (Ex. 36, 1 K. 18^{36}, Mk. 12^{26}); it was through Abraham and Isaac and Jacob that He declared His mercy to the Jewish race, and it is the same merciful God who has given glory (Jn. 17^{1}) to His Servant (Is. 42^{1}, 52^{13}, Mt. 12^{18}, Ac. 4^{27}) and so caused a new stream of blessings to descend on the world (2^{33}). The guilt of Christ's death is charged, as in 2^{23}, against the Jews; Pilate would not of himself have sentenced Him to death (Lk. 23^{4}f.,$^{20-23}$). "Holy and Righteous"—"murderers"—"killed the Prince of Life"—"whom God raised from the dead"—is an effective series of terms; but the Resurrection is more adequately dealt with in 2^{24}ff. It is what the apostles stand to witness. The cure is due to faith, but in the first place the faith of the apostles, whose faith in the name of Christ is its primary condition. It is the name that has effected the cure, through the apostles' belief in its efficiency. The faith spoken of in 16*b* may be the faith of the person cured, and be reminiscent of the phrases, "Thy faith hath cured thee" and "Lord, I believe." "Through him" must mean that Christ is the inspirer of this faith as well as its rewarder. That is how the man's recovery has come about.

17–26. The Appeal.—Though Christ's death is charged against the Jews the speaker is appealing to the Jews and must in some way approach them. They acted in ignorance; and God used their ignorance that the prediction made by all the prophets (on the "all" see Lk. 24^{25}, Rev. 12, etc.; it is Pauline doctrine) of Messiah's suffering might be fulfilled. If they will recognise that their blindness has proved the instrument of a higher good, they will the more readily listen to the appeal now made, *i.e.* repent and turn, to the obliteration of their sins. Baptism is not mentioned, nor is the suffering of Messiah said to be the means of the obliteration of sins; but His sufferings prove Him to be the person spoken of in the prophets; and the sin of ignorance is one which may be more readily forgiven. What will happen if the Jews repent is that their sins will no longer stand against them, and the Lord (here = God) will cause times of refreshing, *i.e.* relief after the pangs endured, to come to them; and He will send the Christ appointed for them, *i.e.* Jesus, who cannot appear as Christ but must remain in heaven till the times of restoration arrive (*cf.* Mt. 19^{28}, Ac. 1^{6}, Mk. 9^{12}), the full restoration, the details of which are predicted by the holy prophets from ancient times (so Lk. 1^{70}). The Scripture proof begins with Moses (22), most ancient of all; the quotation (Dt. 18^{15}) appears also in the speech of Stephen (7^{37}) and may be alluded to in Jn. 1^{21}. Lev. 23^{29} is added to reinforce the call to repentance. Samuel is the father of the prophets (Heb. 11^{32}); all

of them had before their eyes the days of the speaker (1 Cor. 10^{11}). The audience are the children of the prophets (25), since the prophecies are addressed to them (*cf.* "children of the kingdom," Mt. 8^{12}), and of the covenant, which directly concerns them. Gen. 22^{18} is quoted also in Gal. 3^{8}, *cf.* 16, 29. The promise is not to the Jews only, but it is to them first (2^{39}; Rom. 1^{16}). They are the first to know the blessings God causes to descend through His Servant whom He has raised up.

IV. 1–22. Proceedings before the Sanhedrin.—1–4. Peter's speech seems to have reached its conclusion, but 1 says it was interrupted by the arrival of persons representing the Sanhedrin and exercising its summary powers. "The captain of the Temple" is mentioned only by Lk. (Mt. and Mk. speak of the high priests and elders); he has to maintain order in the Temple, and ranks next to the high priest in the Sanhedrin. The presence of the Sadducees (pp. 624, 637) is set down to their antipathy to the doctrine of the Resurrection (Mk. 12^{18}), of which Jesus is preached as an eminent example. The speakers are at once arrested; as it is evening, their trial cannot take place that day. The second speech of Peter is as effective as the first; many professing their belief, and the number of male adherents rising to about 5000.

5–12. A full meeting of the Sanhedrin takes place in the morning. Annas and Caiaphas are known to us; the former was high priest, A.D. 6–15; Caiaphas, his son-in-law, A.D. 18–34. John and Alexander are otherwise unknown. These and the other high-priestly aristocrats belonged by tradition to the Sadducees (Schürer, ii. 1^{178}). The court sits in a semi-circle, the accused stand in the middle. The interrogation (7) shows that no serious charge is brought against them; it is the same that was put to Jesus (Mk. 11^{28}, Lk. 20^{2}) over the Temple cleansing. The name in which they acted was notorious; as to the power by which they had made the lame man walk, Mk. 3^{22} shows what views might prevail as to the origin of cures; the men who ask were not unconnected with that shameful charge. But the question serves to introduce the speech of Peter (8–12). The Holy Spirit descends on him (Mt. 10^{19}f., Ac. 1^{8}, 2^{3}f.); he speaks before rulers. He is being examined as to the means by which the impotent man has been restored to health. The means is the name of Jesus Christ the Nazorean (full style of the name as in 3^{6}*); here also the Jews are charged with the guilt of Christ's death, and the benefits which accrue from His Resurrection and Ascension are pointed out. Thus strikingly is the text (Ps. 118^{22}) fulfilled which speaks of the rejection by the builders of the stone which God has raised to honour (Mk. 12^{10}, 1 P. 2^{7}). Jesus, Peter asserts, is that stone. From the declaration that the cure was wrought by means of the name of Christ he advances (12) to the general assertion that this name is the only instrument given to men for accomplishing such cures or generally for saving men from any ill.

13–22. Dilemma of the Rulers: their Verdict.—The promise of Lk. 21^{15} is at once literally fulfilled, and the reasoning is given by which the judges felt themselves overborne. It is that Peter and John are certain of their case, and show no hesitation though they possess no literary training and are generally uncultured, and that the man they cured stood beside them, a living corroboration. The recognition of the apostles as having been with Jesus is regarded by many as irrelevant, but if Jesus was still active, He would act most naturally through His former intimates. The apostles are ordered to withdraw while the members of the court deliberate; yet we have a full account of their discussion, an account which has an appearance of probability. It is not based on the discussion of the Sanhedrists on John the Baptist (Mk. 11$^{27–33}$); the matter is different. The priests and elders know nothing about faith healing; if a beneficent act has been done of which no agent is visible, it shows to their thinking that a power or a name has been at work which it only remains to identify. The apostles attribute it to the agency of Jesus, but this was to the court an intolerable thought. The name of Jesus must be suppressed; the apostles must be forbidden to base any claim upon it. They are therefore enjoined not to make any declaration nor teach any doctrine in connexion with Jesus (18). It was natural that the Jews should aim at the suppression of that memory and that cause. Peter and John reply (19) by appealing to what is a commonplace in ancient philosophy. Socrates, *e.g.*, says to his judges, "I shall obey God rather than you" (*Apology*, 29); the judges are to decide if the opposite course can be right for the apostles. They cannot be silent about what they have seen and heard. Nothing follows on this declaration, and conflicting reasons are given for this; that no ground appeared for punishing them, and that the rulers were afraid of the people, though the arrest had taken place in their presence (2–4).

IV. 23–31. Return of the Apostles to their Own People.—The Christians are spoken of as if they lived together (*cf.* 1^{14}, 2$^{44–47}$) or at least had a hall where they could all meet. The prayer (24–30) does not thank God directly for the deliverance of His servants, but rather for the fulfilment of His promises as seen in the proceedings of their enemies; what is asked is that the cause may develop still further in the same direction. The opening sentence shows the beginning of the Christian liturgy, and is to be compared with the prayers in the *Didaché* (p. 641) and in 1 Clement. The praise for the creation is composed of various OT phrases (*cf.* especially Is. 37^{16}). An exact and detailed account is found in Ps. 2 of the proceedings leading to the Crucifixion and continued in the late meeting of the Sanhedrin. The Gentiles of Ps. 2 are the Roman power; the peoples are the Jews, the kings Herod, the rulers Pilate. They all conspired against God and His Servant Jesus whom God has anointed Messiah (*cf.* Lk. 23$^{1–12}$). But they all served a higher purpose. It was God's counsel that they were realising; and the literal fulfilment of the psalm shows that the Divine purpose is maturing and that the end is not far off. The petition (29f.) is that these threatenings to which the believers are still exposed in the Sanhedrin may not avail; that God's servants may continue their even course of bold preaching, and that He may aid them by the healings, signs, and wonders He enables them to do (2^{22,43}, Mk. 16^{20}) in the name of His holy Servant Jesus. The answer follows promptly (31) in the shaking of the place of meeting. There are many examples in profane writers of a tremor of the earth being taken to indicate Divine presence (*cf.* also Is. 64, Ac. 16^{26}). [An interesting parallel may be found in George Fox's *Journal* (Bicentenary Ed., vol. i. p. 24): "After this I went again to Mansfield, where was a great meeting of professors and people; here I was moved to pray; and the Lord's power was so great that the house seemed to be shaken. When I had done, some of the professors said it was now as in the days of the apostles, when the house was shaken where they were."—A. S. P.] What was prayed for is granted. All receive an access of the Holy Spirit and go on boldly delivering the message.

IV. 32–35. The State of the Church (*cf.* 242–44).—The expression "the multitude of the believers (about 5000 according to 4) was one heart and soul," is proverbial for entire harmony. None took a selfish view of his property; all was common. The apostles fulfilled their commission of bearing witness to the Resurrection of Jesus (122, 232) with great emphasis, and the community afforded an attractive spectacle. The prophecy of Dt. 154 was fulfilled to them; this was the secret of their attractiveness; it was attained by the voluntary generosity of the rich members (244f.), who sold their goods and made over to the apostles the price obtained, they dividing the proceeds to the needy.

IV. 36–V. 11. Community of Goods among the First Christians.—36f. The Case of Joses Barnabas.—Joses is not again heard of in the NT under this name, but always under his other name, Barnabas, a translation of which is offered, but one with which scholars are not satisfied. It connects him with prophetic functions (*Nabi*, a prophet) and consolation is one of these. He is Paul's companion in his first journey, but Paul excels him as a speaker (Ac. 1412); and he is a person whom the Galatians and Corinthians know well (Gal. 213, 1 Cor. 96). To his connexion with Cyprus the direction of Paul's first journey was due. He has property, whether in his native country of Cyprus or elsewhere we know not; he afterwards worked for his living (1 Cor. 96), and may have parted with all his property at this time.

V. 1–11. Ananias and Sapphira.—Barnabas' unworthy counterpart is Ananias, who, in league with his wife, was unwilling to part with all his property, but anxious to appear to have done so. Their crime was that they tried to deceive the Church and God by keeping back part of what was dedicated and belonged to God, and so insulting and wronging the Church. Peter feels the attack as directed against the Spirit, therefore a monstrous one which could only proceed from Satan, the first liar. No compulsion, he says, was applied to anyone to part with his property, nor, when it was sold, with the price of it; this shows the statements of 245 and 432 to be exaggerated; but to pretend to dedicate a property to the community and to keep back part of the price, that was to lie to God who dwelt in the community. The death of Ananias takes place forthwith, whether from a violent convulsion of feeling, or in consequence of a deliberate exercise of the power spoken of by Paul in 1 Cor. 55, we need not decide. The inviolability of the Church is thus placed beyond question (243). Not only its members felt it but all who heard of the occurrence. No customary rites, no elaborate mourning were bestowed on Ananias; his family was not summoned. The younger men (not here the description of an office but a plain statement of fact) disposed of his body as quickly and simply as possible. The second act of this judgment required that Sapphira should not know her husband's fate. The young men have scarcely returned from their dreadful errand; when they come in they find the wife also dead, and do the same to her as to her husband. The impression produced on the Church and on those outside is again dwelt on.

V. 12–16. Apostolic Signs and Cures.—In the AV 12*b*–14 are rightly bracketed; the verses are an editorial addition. 12*a* connects with 15. In 243 we read that many wonders and signs were wrought by the apostles, but only two have been placed before us in detail. The statement is here repeated and introduces a picture of the healing activity, especially of Peter, touches in which remind us of the Gospels (Mk. 21–4, 654–56; *cf.* also the balancing statement about Paul, Ac. 1911f.). In 12*b*–14 the Church has given up meeting in private houses and makes Solomon's Porch its headquarters. The two views of the Church as inviolable and feared, and as attractive and making many converts, stand side by side, as in 243–47. It is among the Jews that the healing ministry is carried on which rouses such enthusiasm. Mt. 513–16 gives the teaching of Christ on which the Jewish mission proceeds.

V. 17–42. A Hostile Encounter with the Jewish Authorities.—This account closely resembles that in ch. 4; the imprisonment is at the hands of the same men, extends over one night, and Peter's two declarations (419, 529) are very similar. In spite of a few added touches, Gamaliel and his historical reminiscences, we cannot but feel the paucity of materials that were at the author's disposal for this part of his history. As in 4, the attack comes from the Sadducees. If so the motive could only be political. The Resurrection is not mentioned to explain their action; they were filled with jealousy. They could not wish the new sect to become important; a real Messiah would be the end of their power. Here, as in 4, no ground is given for the arrest. Not only Peter and John are arrested but the apostles generally. The opening of the prison (19) occurs again twice in Ac. (12 and 16); here it is told very shortly. "The words of this life" (20) is a phrase for which it is difficult to find a parallel in NT. It means the message of Jesus' Resurrection and the new life descending on the world from Him. The gates of the Temple were locked at night; only at daybreak could the angel's order be obeyed. The high priest and those with him (17) call a meeting in the morning of "the Sanhedrin and all the eldership." In OT "the elders of the people" is a common phrase; our writer may be thinking of the Roman Senate. In Jewish practice of Gospel times the elders are a part of the Sanhedrin, and the phrase, making them separate from it, shows imperfect knowledge of Jewish affairs. The story of the empty prison, the perplexed judges, the captain of the Temple, the high priests (plural, *cf.* 41*,6), the message that the men who had been imprisoned are preaching in the Temple, is admirably told. The rearrested apostles have to be brought with courtesy, on account of the people (421); the priestly party was prepared to act differently. The high priest appeals to the prohibition (418) of any teaching based on "this name," which he will not pronounce. The apostles have disregarded it entirely, expressly declaring the leaders of the people to be chargeable with the blood of "this man." The passage in which the leaders formally undertook before Pilate for themselves and their children the responsibility for the blood of Jesus, is not in Lk. but in Mt. (2725), but the guilt has been repeatedly charged to them in Ac., and they have shown marked aversion to the "name." Peter's reply (29–32) is a repetition of his former one (419), and he goes on, though the circumstances call for less, to repeat his favourite statement as to the Resurrection of Christ in spite of all the Jews did to Him. It is the "God of our fathers" (313) who raised up Jesus, ill-treated by the Jews, who by His right hand exalted Him as a Prince and a Saviour; in 412* this word is used in a wide sense of deliverance from physical or any other ills. All His mission is for Israel, that repentance may be granted to Israel and forgiveness of sins (238, 319, Lk. 2447). The whole picture is within Judaism. Of these matters the apostles are witnesses and the Holy Spirit (24, 431, etc.) which all those have who obey

God.—**33. cut to the heart:** lit. "sawn asunder," of a painful mental shock.—**they were minded to slay them:** they had no power legally to do so; in the case of Stephen it is done in passion.

34–42. Intervention of Gamaliel.—In Lk. there are various instances of friendly feeling towards Jesus on the part of Pharisees, not given in the other gospels. Of this Gamaliel (223*) not much is known. He is an open-minded man, and his authority is readily acknowledged. Again (34) we have the exclusion of the apostles from the meeting, and the report of the proceedings after they were excluded (*cf.* 415–17). Gamaliel counsels caution, and appeals to history, at least what here appears as such. Theudas (36) figured as a prophet in the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus (A.D. 44) and could not be used as an instance by Gamaliel speaking some years earlier. The details agree with those given by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5). There might be other insurrectionaries of the same name, but probably our author here makes a mistake. The revolt of Judas of Galilee (37) took place in the days of the enrolment or census under Quirinius, A.D. 7 (Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1–6; XX. v. 2; *Wars*, II. viii. 1). The party of Zealots (pp. 609f., Mk. 318*) originated from this revolt [this is the usual view, but Lake argues (*Harvard Theological Review*, Jan. 1917) that the party did not originate till shortly before the Fall of Jerusalem.—A. S. P.]; but no corroboration can be found of Gamaliel's statement as to the fate of Judas. His practical conclusion is the same as that in 415–19, but is based on another reason than the fear of the people. His policy is that of "wait and see" piously expressed. The apostles are beaten and forbidden as before to speak in the name of Jesus, but released. They find the beatitude on the persecuted (Mt. 510) fulfilled in their case; the Name is a power for which they can never do too much, to suffer for which they count great honour. The meetings go on as before, both in the Temple and at home (as 242,46); they preach the Messiah, namely Jesus.

VI. 1–6. Choice of the Seven.—A division shows itself in the Church. The Hellenists (*mg.*), the members who spoke Greek, having been brought up in Greek-speaking countries, murmur against the Hebrews, those who spoke Aramaic. This happens "in these days" (*cf.* 115); we are not told the month or the year, only there is a transition in the narrative. The Church is growing; the existence of different elements in it is felt. A daily dole, probably financial, takes place (435) under supervision of the Hebrew element; the widows of the Hellenist section find cause to complain. The Twelve call a general meeting and propose a cure of the mischief which they cannot personally rectify. Prayer and preaching and teaching is their task (542); they cannot turn from this to financial business. They propose the election of seven men to take it in charge, while the apostles devote themselves to their spiritual functions. The qualifications, however, are not those wanted for "serving tables"; the seven are to be of good report, but are also to be full of the Spirit and of wisdom; speaking is to be their task. In the later constitution there are seven deacons in a church (Euseb., *H.E.*, VI. xliii. 11), and they fulfil practical functions of a subordinate nature; see also 1 Tim. 38–10. In Phil. 11, they are mentioned with bishops who, we see from 1 Tim. 31, have charge of the practical business; in the *Didaché*, xv. 1, bishops and deacons are similarly spoken of together; they may take part in preaching, but that is not their principal office. The seven here chosen are from their qualifications, and from what we afterwards hear of them, preachers not stewards. They are not called deacons, but the story is the account given in Ac. of the institution of that order. The seven have all Gr. not Aram. names; Nicolas is a proselyte of Antioch, the city of which so much is to be heard; the others are born Jews; only Stephen and Philip (was he both one of the Twelve and one of the Seven?) the two first, are afterwards heard of. The community elects and presents them, the apostles after prayer institute them in their office, by laying their hands on them.

7. No number is stated here. The closing statement is without corroboration. The demand made in 155 need not have been made by priests.

VI. 8–15. Attack on Stephen.—This Hellenist Christian draws upon himself the attention of the people. He was full of grace; the inspiration which gave him his power led to disturbance from a synagogue or synagogues of foreign Jews from various countries settled at Jerusalem. Hellenistic Jews could be as narrow as those at Jerusalem (*cf.* 2 Cor. 10–13). To the statement that they could not resist him D adds: "because they were boldly confuted by him and could not face the truth." These disputes not yielding any matter for a charge, they got others to come forward and accuse him of attacking Moses and God, and thus stirred up the people, till now so favourable to the believers. The elders and scribes are also worked upon; Stephen is brought before the Sanhedrin. The charges are, to some extent, borne out by the following speech (748), as the charge against Jesus (Mk. 1458) was by His words (Mk. 132). To a Christian writer they are false charges, because directed against Christ. *Cf.* the charge made against Paul by Jews of Asia (2128). 14 enables us to understand the tendency of Stephen's teaching up to this point, as well as the change of popular feeling, at least towards Stephen's section of the Church. Paul's doctrine completes the theme announced by Stephen. It is "Jesus, this Nazorean" (222*) who is to destroy the Temple and change the ritual ("customs," *cf.* 151, 1621, 2121, 263, 2817). The illumination of the face of the martyr who saw the Divine glory is mentioned in several early martyrdoms.—[**9. Libertines:** *i.e.* freedmen. But probably we should read "Libyans" (*i.e. Libustinōn* for *Libertinon*. This emendation is as old as Œcumenius. It was proposed in modern times by Beza, in the first and second editions of his *Annotations*, and subsequently withdrawn. Wetstein retains "Libertines," but explains it as equivalent to "Libystines" (Libyans). In his *Philology of the Gospels* (pp. 69f.), on the basis of "Libyans" read by Armenian versions of the Acts and commentaries, Blass suggested *Libustinon*, in complete ignorance that it had been suggested before, though a glance at Wetstein, or even at Meyer, would have shown him that he had been anticipated. It suits geographically the combination with Cyrenians and Alexandrians. No synagogue of the Libertines is known in Jerusalem, though there may have been one in Pompeii. The emendation has been accepted by several scholars. Preuschen reads "Libyans." See further Rendel Harris, *Sidelights on NT Research*, pp. 181f.—A. S. P.]

VII. Speech of Stephen.—The speech of Stephen stands after the introduction of the Hellenists, and in the course of the attack on them which led to their persecution and withdrawal from Jerusalem. This explains its tenor. It is an impeachment of the Jews based on their history; they are the true rebels against God and contemners of His will; the true believers in Christ must leave them alone. There are many

discrepancies between the speech and the OT narrative, some due to the use of the LXX instead of the Heb., many to the growth of the Haggadah or OT legend in the period after the Exile. Additional difficulty arises from the lack of divisions in the speech, the aim of which is never stated, and which flows on in historical sequence and reveals its point only towards the end.

1–16. Abraham and the Patriarchs.—The High Priest invites Stephen to plead to the charge. Addressing his audience in the style used by Paul (22r), Stephen speaks of the theophany to Abraham, placing it, as Philo does, in Mesopotamia before the move to Haran (contrast Gen. 1131, 121). The Divine injunction and promise (3) are those of Gen. 121 spoken in Haran. That not a foot-breadth was given Abraham in the land of promise, is taken from Dt. 25, where another country is in question. The promise (5) is from a number of passages (Gen. 12, 13, 17), and that introduced in 6 is a quotation from Gen. 1513–19, Ex. 222, and 1240; "a stranger in a strange land" (Ex. 222) of Gershom. "They shall serve me in this place" (Ex. 312, "this mountain"). The phrase "covenant of circumcision" is composed of Gen. 1710 and 13; Paul has it in Rom. 411. For the circumcision of Isaac, see Gen. 214. The speaker passes quickly on to Joseph, his sale into Egypt and his rise there (*cf.* Gen. 37–41), with the migration of Jacob and the patriarchs.

14. LXX gives the number as 75; Heb. says 70 (Gen. 4627, Dt. 1022).—**16.** In Gen. 4930, 5013, Jacob is buried at Machpelah, not in Shechem.

17–44. Moses.—Stephen describes the growth of the people, the change of ruler and his oppression, as in Ex. 1.

20. fair unto God (*mg.*): from Ex. 22; Philo and Josephus speak of the beauty of Moses.—**21.** *Cf.* Ex. 23,10. The papyri show that the exposure of infants was still common in Egypt in Christian times. The OT says nothing of Moses' education or learning; Philo knows much more of it than is here stated.—**23. forty years old**: according to Dt. 347 Moses is 120 years old when he dies, and this speech, after a rabbinic tradition, gives him three periods of forty years: (*a*) till the visit to his brethren; (*b*) to his return to Egypt from Midian (30); (*c*) to the end of his life.—**24.** Following Ex. 211, somewhat carelessly expressed and presupposing in the audience a knowledge of the facts.—**25.** Stephen's own comment; Moses wished to appear as a deliverer not a murderer, but he, like others afterwards, had to do with a race slow to recognise its saviours. The rest of the story is slightly altered from Ex., and brings out more strongly Moses' anxiety to help his brethren. He also appears here as fleeing from Egypt on account of his own people rather than for fear of the king. They distrust him and resist him always.—**30.** The second forty years' period opens in the wilderness of Sinai; in 32 God Himself speaks to him in the bush as in Ex.—**31–34.** The theophany is narrated as in Ex. 3. Note that the holy ground here spoken of is not in Palestine, but far from it.—**35.** The emphatic repetition of the pronouns with which 35, 36, 37, 38 all begin in the original—"this," "this," "this"—is lost in EV. Moses is placed as strongly as possible before the hearers of the speech; his rejection by his fellow-countrymen; his mission by God; the angel his companion and helper; his signs and wonders in Egypt and in the wilderness for forty years (Nu. 1433, Am. 525, Ps. 9510).—**37.** The prediction by Moses of the true prophet (Dt. 1815) is repeated from 322 and seems somewhat out of place here, introducing Christ too soon for the argument.—**38. church**: the word has been used once only (511) up to this point; it will now occur more frequently. It is the LXX equivalent of *qahal* (Mt. 1618*), which is an assembly for business transactions, not for worship. It could be taken from the phrase "day of assembly," used in Dt. for the day of the Lawgiving.—**living oracles**: Philo compares the Law with the living power of seed (Gal. 321f.). Stephen's utterance swells from this point onwards with fullness of ideas as well as with passion.—**39.** The Israelites receive the Law unwillingly; their hearts turn back to Egypt, not to its fleshpots but to its idols, as Ex. 32 is taken to mean.—**41.** The sacrifice to the golden calf and its accompanying sports (Ex. 325f.).—**42.** As a punishment God gives up the people to strange rites (*cf.* Rom. 125f., where God gives up the Gentiles to unnatural vices, as a punishment for their blindness to His glory in creation); they serve the host of heaven as the prophets, the second part of the Jewish Scriptures, testify. Jeremiah (718, 1913) describes the idolatrous worship in Palestine at the time of the Exile (see also 2 K. 17 9–17), and Amos (526f.) that of an earlier date. For Remphan Amos has Chiun as the god served by Israel, as well as Moloch. The name is spelt in many different ways in the MSS; it has been regarded as the Egyptian name for Saturn, and Cheyne (EBi, 4032) shows how easily in Heb. writing Chiun could be altered into Remphan. Stephen's auditors could readily reply that this idolatry belonged to the infancy of their race, and that they had nothing to do with it. For Babylon, Amos has Damascus; the change is easily intelligible.

44–50. The speech comes nearer the charge it is to refute. The Temple itself is wrong. Moses acted on direct Divine injunction as to the tabernacle of witness which he made according to the pattern showed him and which the fathers carried with them in the wilderness (Ex. 25; especially 9,40). This Tabernacle is contrasted on the one hand with the tent of Moloch, on the other with the Temple of Solomon. While the fathers carried it, they were successful. Joshua (Gr. Jesus) thrust out the nations before them from the promised land, which they possessed and occupied till the times of David. David asked that he might find a habitation for the God of Jacob. Instead of this the Temple was built by Solomon, who was less favoured by God than David; and the Temple was not a tabernacle, such as David would have built, but a house. The sentiment of 48 occurs again in Paul's speech at Athens, and was, no doubt, a commonplace in the thought of Hellenists who dwelt at a distance from the Temple; Is. 661, now quoted, forced it into their mouth. Our Lord quotes it (Mt. 534f.), with a somewhat different purpose, it is true, but His view of the Temple (Mk. 132, 1458, Jn. 421–24) is that of Stephen and Paul: it is not necessary for true religion.

51–53. The Speech Summed up.—The phrases in which the audience is characterised often occur in OT. Their whole history has been a series of recalcitrancies against the Holy Spirit, and the present generation are following their fathers. The question of 52 gives intensity to the charge that the Jews killed those who were sent to them. It is found in more detailed form in Mk. 121–9, Mt. 2330ff., Heb. 1137. The "righteous" probably from Is. 5311; the phrase might not at once be understood, but becomes clear in the latter part of the sentence. The end of the speech (53) contains a sting; the legislation of Sinai took place in splendid pomp, with thousands of attending angels (Dt. 332, Ps. 6817f.), and the Jews rightly look back on

it as the greatest event in the world's history; but they have not kept the Law, and so all their pride in it is turned to foolishness. They have always disobeyed the Giver of the Law, they have worshipped other gods, they have confined Him in a stone temple, they have killed His messengers and now His final messenger of whom all the prophets spoke.

[A few words may be added on the speech as a masterly handling of a difficult situation. Stephen desires to do two things: (*a*) to prove that religion is independent of place, and thus vindicate his attitude to the Temple, and (*b*) to bring home the ingrained rebelliousness of the Jewish people, and thus exhibit the rejection of Jesus as quite in keeping with their character. Such home truths were too unpalatable to be patiently received; if Stephen was to gain a hearing it could only be by giving an exposition to which no exception could be taken. His speech looks at first like a string of irrelevant incidents; but they are drawn from the OT, thus he secures himself against interruption; and they are skilfully chosen to illustrate his two main themes. Revelation comes in Mesopotamia and Haran, in Egypt and at Sinai. In Canaan Abraham has no possession, the tomb he purchases is in Shechem; Moses treads "holy ground" and the angel appears to him in Midian; the Hebrews had the Law given, and the Tabernacle, after a heavenly model, in the wilderness; with it they conquered Canaan, and were content with it till the time of David. Scripture itself proclaimed that no Temple could serve as God's dwelling. Again, the treatment of Joseph by his brethren, the rejection of Moses by the Hebrews in bondage, their disobedience in the making of the golden calf, the persecution of the prophets, all found their appropriate climax in the betrayal and murder of Jesus. Thus with consummate skill the speaker unfolds and illustrates his theses, saying all the while what none can controvert. Only when the case is complete on these lines, does history pass into invective, naturally to the immediate sealing of his doom, which, however, with such views would presumably have been inevitable.—A. S. P.] See further on Stephen, pp. 639f., 767.

VII. 54–VIII. 1*a*. Death of Stephen.—The speech of Stephen cuts the hearers to the quick. It is not said that they interrupted him; the speech is complete, but their apparent and vehement anger showed him that the last had come; they were no longer masters of themselves. We have no longer a judicial investigation before us but a tumultuous attack. Stephen, filled with the Holy Spirit, sees a vision (55), as is recorded of many martyrs. He sees the glory of God (*cf.* 2) and Jesus standing (? to receive His servant; generally sitting, Mk. 14$_{62}$, Mt. 26$_{64}$, Lk. 22$_{69}$, Mk. 16$_{19}$). At this their anger broke out, and they are hurried into a violent and illegal action. The punishment inflicted is that for blasphemy; in decreeing it they forget all forms of law, but in the execution of it they observe the precept of Lev. 24$_{14}$, and hurry the condemned person outside the town. Saul is introduced (58) as sharing the responsibility of the act. In 7$_{59–81}$, the story is narrated over again for the sake of the words of the martyr (*cf.* Lk. 23$_{34,46}$), and another account of his death is given, ending with the statement of Saul's complicity.

54. gnashed: Ps. 35$_{16}$, 112$_{10}$.—**56. Son of man:** *i.e.* Jesus as judge (Mk. 14$_{62}$).

VIII. 1*b*–4. Persecution and Dispersion.—There has been no great persecution of the believers as yet. A night's imprisonment and beating was all they had to suffer. Now we are told that on the day of Stephen's death, a great persecution arose against the Church at Jerusalem, as if the passion that brought about the death of Stephen had sought further satisfaction. Such a persecution would be aimed specially at the Hellenistic side of the Church, not at those who went to the Temple and upheld the customs. The Jewish side of the Church suffered less; the apostles remained at Jerusalem, where we find them seated and recognised as the central authority (8$_{14}$, 9$_{26}$f., 11$_{1,27–30}$, 15$_{1}$f.), and retaining with them many members who did not feel the persecution to be aimed at them. The *all* of 1 must be understood with this qualification; see Wellhausen, *Noten zur Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 9ff. Eusebius (*H.E.* V. xviii. 14) tells us of a tradition that Christ had enjoined on the apostles not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years (14*), and the injunction (Mt. 10$_{5}$f.) would act in the same way. The scattered members are found in the regions of Judæa and Samaria.

There is a discrepancy between 1 and 2; 1 reporting the flight of all the believers but the apostles, so that no one else was left to bury Stephen; and they evidently are not meant. 1 is continued at 4; 3 is also detached. Was the persecution Saul undoubtedly carried on (Gal. 1$_{13}$) directed against Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, or against those of Stephen's way of thinking in the provinces (9$_{1}$*)? The persecution by Saul is said to have been severe, embracing domestic inquisition, and summary imprisonment. The same statement as to the scattering of the believers at the death of Stephen is found in 11$_{19}$, where the story of these missionaries is taken up again. An example of their activity is given here in the mission of Philip to Samaria.

VIII. 5–8. Philip at Samaria.—Philip's activity is given here beside that of Stephen. He belongs to the Seven, not to the Twelve, who remain at Jerusalem except when specially called elsewhere (6$_{1–6}$*). More is heard of him in 21$_{8}$. Samaria presented a very open field for every kind of doctrine, lying as it did on two great trade routes, and visited by people from all countries. The Samaritans had an attenuated Judaism, receiving the books of Moses only, and carrying on a worship like that of Jerusalem (p. 79). What Philip preached there is said to have been Christ, the fact that Messiah had appeared, an announcement the Samaritans, like the Jews, readily understood. The populace accepted it; both what they heard from Philip and what they saw him do helped to that result. The scenes which took place in Chorazin and Bethsaida in the ministry of Christ were repeated at Samaria; and great joy prevailed.

VIII. 9–13. Simon Magus.—This man had been for some time at Samaria. This is the only account of him in NT; but in the early Fathers and in Christian legend he occupies much space, and he has been the occasion during the last century of voluminous controversy; see Baur, *Church History*, i. 91–98, Schmiedel in EBi., Headlam in HDB. Justin Martyr, who was a native of Samaria, tells us that he was born at Gitta, three miles W. of Samaria, and that evil spirits acted in him and enabled him to perform magical works; also that his followers made great use of exorcisms, incantations, philtres, etc. More is known of him by later writers. In the Pseudo-Clementine writings he is surrounded by a rich growth of legend (ANF, vol. xvii.); he had contests with Peter in Palestine and later at Rome; he injured himself in an attempt to fly across the Tiber; and he appears as a caricature of Paul, using some of his expressions and imitating some of his acts. He was regarded by some of the Fathers as the source of

Gnostic heresy; on the other hand his existence has been denied. We assume his historical reality, but some of the details about him in this passage are scarcely transparent to us. When Philip came, and preached about the Kingdom of God—this was the theme on which Jesus bade His followers preach, but we have not heard of it up to this point since 13—and the name of Jesus Messiah, the instrument on which they relied for their works of power, the Samaritans turned away from Simon and accepted baptism. Simon himself became a convert, was baptized, and attached himself to Philip, wondering at his signs and great acts of power.

VIII. 14–24. Peter and Simon.—No more is heard of Philip at Samaria; the Jerusalem apostles appear, represented by Peter and John, who have got over the prohibition of Mt. 105. The baptism of Philip appears to be regarded as imperfect; the apostles only can impart the full rite; the privilege of a Church order is upheld against outbursts of the Spirit which have not the official seal. The connexion of the imposition of hands and baptism occurs only here and 196. It does not appear in the *Didaché*, but in Heb. 62 we have it, and in Tertullian, *De Bapt.* 8. It may be doubted if the occurrence here reported can be historical; Simon sees that the (Holy) Spirit is given through the imposition of the apostles' hands. How does he see this? 1046 explains; also 196; speaking with tongues seems to have been a normal incident of baptism. Simon is much interested, and wishes that he too had the power to put such activities in motion; he offers money to have the power conferred on him also.[1] Power is, in the religious language of the period of Acts, any magic power (Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, p. 183); in Ac. power is connected with the office to which God has entrusted it. What Simon proposes is out of the question; gifts of God cannot be bought or sold. The money offered for such a purpose is cursed, and he who offers it. "No part nor lot" (Dt. 12^{12}, 14^{27}, of the Levites). Simon can have no part to play in the Gospel, from the sentiment of which he is far removed, the God of which he is not willing to glorify (Ps. 78^{37}). A change of mind is what he needs; he must pray to be forgiven for the view which prompted his request. He is in the gall of bitterness (Dt. 29^{18}) and bond of iniquity (Is. 58^{6}). Peter upholds the milder view that there may be repentance and forgiveness after baptism; *cf.* Heb. 6$^{4-6}$. Simon addresses himself to penitence. The words added at the end of 24 in Cod. D, "and he wept much and ceased not," makes this more evident. The story of Simon Magus is not concluded.

25. Return of Peter and John to Jerusalem.—The Church founded by Philip at Samaria is further strengthened by the apostles, who also preached in many villages of the Samaritans, whether before they arrived at Jerusalem or afterwards is scarcely clear. It is not likely that Philip is to be understood as returning with them.

VIII. 26–40. Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch.—Philip appears again; we are not told where, but the instruction given him by the angel shows that he was not at Jerusalem; he is to go southward (*mg.* "at noon"; not suitable for a long journey) to the Jerusalem-Gaza road. That the road was forsaken was in its favour in this instance. Arrived at the junction of the two roads, from Tyre and from Jerusalem, Philip sees a chariot; it contains an Ethiopian eunuch, the treasurer at an African court under Candace (a dynastic title rather than a name). He is returning home from Jerusalem, where he had gone to worship; whether he was a Jew or a proselyte we are not told. An angel suggested Philip's journey; the Spirit now bids him approach the chariot. He hears the eunuch reading aloud from Isaiah words which have recently received a new interpretation among followers of Jesus. The eunuch is a modest man; he cannot understand without guidance what he is reading, and he invites Philip to sit beside him. In the Church the passage, here quoted from the LXX, had been applied to Jesus (3^{13}, "his Servant"; 3^{18}, Lk. 24$^{25-27}$). The doctrine of atonement through Christ was absent from the preaching of Peter, but 1 Cor. 15^{3} shows that a beginning was early made with it, no doubt connected with Is. 53. The eunuch's question (34) was a natural one; it is still asked, and answered in various ways. Philip makes the passage his text for a sermon about Jesus, which proves convincing; and the baptism follows. Philip is carried northward and found at Azotus, *i.e.* Ashdod (p. 28). He continues his missionary activity in the west of Palestine, and his journey ends at Cæsarea (p. 28), where it may have begun. Cæsarea was a new town built by Herod and supplied with a good harbour. It was the residence of the Roman procurator, and the most important town of Palestine.

37. Only *mg.* gives this verse, in which Philip asks for a confession of faith before baptizing, and a very short one is made. This verse was known to Irenæus and Cyprian, but the MSS are against it, and it could easily be inserted, while it would not readily be removed, once there.

IX. 1–25. Paul's Conversion.—This belongs geographically to the field of the Hellenist mission, which was announced in 8^{4}, and occupied that whole chapter. We heard of that mission at Samaria and Cæsarea, now we hear of people at Damascus who belong to "the Way." Saul's persecuting zeal (8^{3}) was not aimed at the apostles, but sought to protect the Jewish communities of the Dispersion from the poison of the Gospel. He is said to have applied to the High Priest for letters to the synagogues accrediting him as a special inquisitor. The High Priest had no authority over the synagogues of foreign towns, and under the Roman procurators the powers of the Sanhedrin were also much restricted (Schürer, II. i. 185); the Roman Government would have defended a believer who appealed to it from the designs here imputed to Paul, and we do not hear of any actual cases. We have his own statement (Gal. 1^{13}) that he did lay waste the Church, but any punishment he brought about must have been inflicted by the local synagogues. The conversion is narrated thrice in Ac. (9, 22, 26) with agreement in the main but differences in details. With these accounts of the outward occurrence, we can compare Paul's account of it as an inner event in his life (Gal. 1^{15}f., 2 Cor. 4^{5}f., Phil. 3$^{7-10}$). Our accounts agree that it took place near Damascus, that the first act was the shining of a bright light, and as to the words addressed to him.

3. It is only a light that he sees, not a form; so in all three accounts; *cf.* 2 Cor. 4^{4}.—**4. fell upon the earth:** so Daniel (8^{17}), and Ezekiel (1^{28}); the voice uses the Heb. and Aram. name of Saul; in ch. 26 it is said to have spoken Hebrew. It is impossible to argue from this passage that Paul recognised the Lord and must have seen him before (2 Cor. 5^{16}*); he has to ask who is speaking to him.—**6.** Paul is not addressed as a blind

[1] Hence "simony," the ecclesiastical offence of using money or promising a consideration in exchange for a spiritual office or privilege.

man.—**7.** The companions are now spoken of; they are speechless, unable to understand what has happened, since they heard the voice but saw not the speaker. In ch. 26 they saw the light but heard not the voice.—**8.** Two Latin MSS read, "And he said to them, Lift me up from the ground; and Saul arose from the ground," etc. In the text he raises himself, but on opening his eyes sees nothing.—**9.** Does the fasting proceed from his mood or is it a preparation for baptism such as is prescribed in *Didaché*, vii. 4, "Tell the person to be baptized to fast one or two days"? Baptism is called in early Church writers "enlightenment," and the blindness keeps Saul in a state for it.—**10.** A vision is often the means of introducing a new action or development (see Gal. 1¹⁶, Ac. 10³, 11⁵, 16⁹, 27²³). It is the Lord, *i.e.* Jesus, who speaks to him, and to whom he speaks (13, 15). Ananias is to go to Straight Street, which still exists in Damascus (Darb-al-Mostakim), though not in the old splendour, and to ask in the house of Judas for Saul of Tarsus.—**12** is omitted, to the improvement of the passage, in a Latin MS. In this vision Ananias is told of a vision which Saul had, and his answer of 13f. is rendered obscure.—**13. thy saints:** the believers at Jerusalem are "saints"; those elsewhere are "those who call on thy name." Ananias knows (how?) that Saul is accredited by the High Priest to Damascus to put the brethren in bonds; that is the story of Ac. on the subject, as to which there is, as we saw, grave doubt. The answer contains a view of Paul's mission somewhat different from his own. He is a "vessel of election" (*cf.* "vessel of wrath," Rom. 9²²), a vessel chosen to bear the name of Jesus before Gentiles and kings and the children of Israel. Paul regarded himself as chosen to preach Christ to the Gentiles (Gal. 1¹⁶, Rom. 15), and confesses himself debtor to all classes of men among them, but not to the Jews (Rom. 1¹⁴, but *cf.* 1 Cor. 9²⁰), though he did address them as occasion offered.—**16.** His destined career is said to be one of suffering, yet it was also one of great and fruitful activity (Rom. 15¹⁸–²¹).—**17. laying his hands on him:** *cf.* 12. Jesus in Mk. 1⁴¹ heals the leper by a touch (*cf.* Mk. 5²³, 7³², 8²⁵).—**the Lord,** in this chapter, is the ordinary title for Jesus; in the earlier chapters He has others; Saul is to know that this is His title (*cf.* 10). Ananias is sent not only to give Saul his sight, but to see that he is filled with the Holy Spirit, as all the believers were at their baptism.—**18. fell from his eyes as it were scales:** a medical man would express himself thus (Hobart, p. 81) but so might another; and the physical blindness is symbolic of Paul's spiritual blindness when he entered the Church and was "enlightened" in baptism.—**19f.** It is hypercritical to compare the statement that on his recovery he was certain days with the disciples at Damascus, with his own assurance in Gal. 1¹⁶. But could he say that straightway he "conferred not with flesh and blood" if, as is here said, he was engaged in preaching in the synagogues in Damascus? That preaching might, no doubt, be uncontroversial, but what became of the High Priest's letters? [Gal. 1¹⁶*b* seems to mean "I did not consult any of my fellow-Christians as to the significance of the Gospel." This does not exclude preaching in the synagogues to unconverted Jews. It frequently happens after a catastrophic conversion that one of the first things the new convert does is to start preaching to his old associates. Paul may conceivably have delivered the High Priest's letters, but this is very unlikely; they were not letters which it would have been a breach of trust to withhold, but letters of authorisation for a commission he could no longer fulfil.—A. S. P.] It seems unlikely that he preached to the Jews what he is said to have done, that Jesus was the Son of God. That insight made him the missionary to the Gentiles, but could it be developed so early? [If, as is not improbable, Gal. 1¹⁶*a*, "to reveal his Son in me," expresses what Paul at the time of his conversion realised Jesus to be, then Ac. may be quite right in representing Paul as using the designation "Son of God," all the more as it never represents his predecessors as using it.—A. S. P.] Only here does Ac. represent him as preaching it (see Introduction to Menzies' Commentary on 2 Cor.). In 22 his theme at this time is said to have been that Jesus was Messiah, much more likely for a beginner.—**21.** Everyone is acquainted with the story, already known to Ananias before he was sent to Saul (13f.), and is naturally surprised at his conduct.—**22.** His increase in strength is not merely physical as in 19; some MSS add "in the message," *i.e.* his confidence increased. He goes on with his demonstration to the Jews that Jesus is Messiah.—**23.** A plot of the Jews brings his activity at Damascus to a sudden conclusion. In 2 Cor. 11³²f. Paul tells us how he left Damascus, and the only important difference between the two accounts is that he represents the attempt on him as proceeding from the ethnarch of Aretas (p. 655) the king, while here it is due to the Jews in the city (pp. 768f.).—**his disciples:** better "the disciples" (AV), since no collection of disciples by him has been reported. Both readings are well supported.—**basket:** a different word from that in 2 Cor. 11³³.

IX. 26–30. Paul at Jerusalem.—This visit is understood to have taken place very shortly after Saul's conversion; the brethren there have not heard of his conversion, nor of his preaching in Damascus. Barnabas has to tell them of it. He associates freely with them, and preaches freely as a disciple of Jesus ("in the name of the Lord"); he also took the step, repeated again and again, of discussing, like Stephen (6⁹), with Hellenists (*mg.*) instead of addressing himself, as the apostles did, to the Jews. They, far from being conciliated, lay their plans for his destruction, and the brethren rescue him as had been done at Damascus; he is sent to Tarsus, his native city.

The account in Gal. 1* is very different. After his conversion he held no converse with men but went to Arabia. From there he returned to Damascus, and after three years he went, for the first time after the conversion, to Jerusalem, a visit which lasted a fortnight and made him acquainted with Peter and James, the Lord's brother, only; then he went on to Syria and Cilicia. The places are the same, but the times are completely altered, and the motive of the visit to Jerusalem is omitted; it is not till he has gone to Tarsus that the churches of Judæa, personally unacquainted with him, realise the fact of his conversion and of his being now a Christian missionary (p. 858).

IX. 31 is an editorial note between the story of Paul and the set of stories about Peter, now to follow. There is much early evidence for the reading of the AV, "the churches," instead of "the church." The same remark occurs at 16⁵ in that form.

IX. 32–XI. 18. A Collection of Peter Stories.—Lydda and Joppa (p. 28) belonged at this time to Judæa, and had a predominantly Jewish population, and Peter's activity is of a peaceful, quiet nature. Peter, who appears here alone, is carrying on a mission outside Jerusalem, to which, however, he always returns as he did in 8²⁵ (see also 12³). The first two stories are of

the same type as those in the Gospels; the third is in broader style, and gives rise to more questions.

32–35. Æneas.—His name shows him to have been probably a Hellenist. This story is modelled on that of the paralytic in Mk. 2₁–₁₂. Many of the words are the same; the case is similar, and only the command to the patient is different. He is told that Jesus is curing him, and that he is to rise and manage his bed himself, which others had hitherto done for him. The use of "the Name" (36*) is effective; and the result is seen by all the inhabitants of Lydda and in the plain of Sharon; a general conversion to the Lord follows.

36–43. Dorcas.—This story is like that of the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mk. 5₂₂–₂₄, ₃₅–₄₃, Lk. 8₄₁f.,₄₉–₅₆). Tabitha (in Gr. *Dorcas*, Eng. *Gazelle*; though the Gr. equivalent for the name is given, the woman was called Tabitha by Peter (40) and was a disciple); the nature of some of her good deeds and alms appears in the sequel. Her burial does not follow hard on her death as with Ananias and Sapphira (5₆,₁₀). The object of the urgent message (38) is not stated; contrast Mk. 5₂₃. As in Jairus' house a great mourning is going on in the upper room where the body lay. The widows are here carrying out the rites; or was it their connexion with Dorcas that brought them? The widows of 6₁ have no connexion with this scene; the Church order of widows (1 Tim. 5₉f.) may already have been present in germ. They are wearing clothes that Dorcas had given them; this is more likely than that the garments were hanging or lying about the room; they pointed to them and said, "She made us this garment; she abounded in such kind deeds." Peter puts them all out (*cf.* Mk. 5₄₀) and addresses the motionless figure in words strangely similar to those of his Master, reported in Mk. not in Lk. He must have used the Name (2₃₈, 3₆*) also; his words are not given fully, and would resemble those of Jesus less closely than now appears. Peter gives the patient his hand after she has sat up of herself. The widows are mentioned along with the saints to whom the revived person is presented. Conversions naturally follow. "Simon the tanner" (43) is a person known to the church.

X. The Conversion of Cornelius.—This incident is parallel to the conversion of the Ethiopian by Philip; both show the extension of the Gospel beyond the Jews, and prepare for the story of the Pauline mission. On the opening vision *cf.* 8₂₆, 16₉, Gal. 2₂. See also p. 767.

1. The Italian Band has been much discussed. The points are stated by Schmiedel (EBi. 908). Mommsen considers that the Italian band cannot be identified. Cornelius is introduced as a Gentile adherent of the Jewish religion. "Devout" is to be taken in the Jewish sense; "fearing the Lord," he reverenced the God of Judaism by attending the synagogue. Ps. 115 9–13 gives the threefold division of the congregation of the Temple; priests, Jewish members, Godfearers; in the synagogue the priests were wanting.—**3. in a vision and openly** contradict each other.—**4.** *Cf.* Ecclus. 35₇.—**memorial before God:** used of a particular sacrifice (Lev. 2₂,₉).—**5.** The distance is thirty miles.—**7. devout soldier:** *cf.* Mt. 8₉ and the whole account of the two centurions.—**9. the housetop to pray:** *cf.* 2 K. 23₁₂, Jer. 19₁₃, Dan. 6₁₀.—**sixth hour:** an hour of prayer (*cf.* 2₁₅). No food was ordinarily eaten by the Jews before midday.—**10.** Peter is in a house where there are people to prepare his meal.—**a trance:** *cf.* Gen. 15₁₂, 2 Cor. 12₂.—**11.** The oldest Fathers and VSS differ much as to what Peter saw coming down to him. According to the Perpignan Latin it was a great box suspended from heaven at the corners.—**12. beasts:** as in Gen. 1₂₄; on clean and unclean beasts, see Lev. 11. The coney, the pig, and the hare were forbidden to the Jew for food, with many inhabitants of the water and of the air. This made the Jews peculiar in the ancient world; with what tenacity they stuck to the dietary rules the example of Daniel tells us (Dan. 1₈ff.), and many others are known, *e.g.* 1 Mac. 1₆₂f., Tob. 1₁₀–₁₂, Judith 12₁f., Ad. Est. 14₁₇. —**13.** The voice tells Peter that the food rules he has observed are to be cast aside, that he may eat what Gentiles eat and join them at their meals. His objection is put aside as not according to God's will; the distinctions he wishes to keep up about clean and unclean foods are not from God but upheld by men against God. The threefold repetition removes all doubt as to the lesson; the vessel is withdrawn, the lesson is taught.—**17. before the gate:** the house has a gateway leading into the inner court, from which the rooms were entered.—**19.** Peter on the roof would hear their voices calling for him. He did not need the Spirit to tell him their errand, only to help him to make the decision.—**20. nothing doubting:** *cf.* Jas. 1₆. —**23. brethren from Joppa:** an apostle has a retinue, and this is an important occasion.—**24.** Cornelius has allowed two days for the journey each way, and has made preparations to receive Peter with dignity.— **25.** D and other MSS add further touches: "when Peter approached Cæsarea, one of the servants ran before and announced his arrival, and Cornelius rushed out," etc. That a Roman officer could act as the text says is sufficiently surprising. The centurion of Lk. 7₆ is evidently influencing his confrère.—**26.** *Cf.* 14₁₅, Rev. 19₁₀.—**28.** Peter finds himself in a new situation, in a Gentile house, expected to address a company of Gentiles; and he acknowledges what all present must have known, that he is breaking through a custom of his race (Philip had not gone so far); he appeals to his vision for justification, and asks why he was sent for; Cornelius repeats the substance of 3–8, and invites Peter to speak.

34–43. Peter's Speech.—34f. declares that Peter regards the persons before him, though not Jews, as fit to enter the Church and share in the promises. The word for "respecter of persons" is a new one; for the notion, see Lk. 20₂₁, Rom. 2₁₁, Gal. 2₆, Jas. 2₁. God does not judge of men by their outward appearance (1 S. 16₇), and their nationality belongs to the outward part of them which God disregards. It is implied that those before Peter belong to a nation which ordinary Jewish sentiment regards as not acceptable to God: but he has learned differently, and agrees with Paul (Rom. 2) that it is doing righteousness that counts with God and not circumcision.—**36f.** The sentence is difficult as it stands. It is necessary to take the "word" in 36 and the "saying" or rather the matter or event in 37 as denoting the same thing, and both governed by the verb *you know*. It was to the children of Israel that the word was sent in Jesus Christ. The hearers know what it was; then follows a description of Christ's ministry. It began after John's baptism (1₂₂), its scene was Galilee and Judæa, where Jesus of Nazareth, anointed by God with the Holy Spirit and with power, fulfilled His wonderful career. All this the hearers know; of all this Peter and his fellows are witnesses. The crucifixion is mentioned without any doctrine being based on it, as in 2₂₃, 3₁₅, etc. The resurrection on the third day followed and redressed it, vouched for by the intercourse with Jesus of the chosen witnesses (1₂₂). The speech ends (42f.) with a statement of what the Saviour ordered His apostles to preach (1₈); it resembles the creed of

1 Tim. 3¹⁶ and 1 P. 4⁵. They are to preach Him as judge of the living and the dead. The passages thought of, where all the prophets witness to Him, will be specially those which speak of forgiveness of sins, of the gathering of the flock to their own pasture, of restoration and redemption.

44–48. Result of the Sermon.—The Holy Spirit comes as a rule at baptism, but here, before anything is said about baptism, Peter's speech is interrupted by the descent of the Spirit. Those who had come with Peter from Joppa knew at once what had happened when they heard the Gentile hearers break out into speaking with tongues and praising God. They were surprised that this should happen to Gentiles; Jews alone till now had had these visitations. Peter's reply to their exclamations was that one part of baptism had already taken place with these people, so that God Himself had solved the question of their reception into the Church. Could anyone refuse them the other part of baptism, the water? They are at once baptized; the Church is opened by Peter's means to the Gentiles.

XI. 1–18. Peter Defends his Action at Jerusalem.—As Philip's action at Samaria (8¹⁴), so here Peter's doings at Cæsarea are reported at Jerusalem. The Samaritans were, in many respects, Jews, but Cornelius and his friends were not. Would the Mother Church agree to the offering of the Gospel to Gentiles? A variant in 2 puts quite a different colour on the course of events. D, with ancient Syriac and Latin versions, reads: "Now Peter wished for a considerable time to go to Jerusalem, and he called the brethren to him and confirmed them, speaking at length and teaching them from district to district, and he met them and announced to them the grace of God (*cf.* 23) and the brethren of the circumcision disputed with him, etc." According to this text Peter had given up living at Jerusalem, but conceived a desire to go there; he did what he could for the new churches before he left them, and when he met certain people on his way told them how matters stood in the province. The place of the following discussion is changed to one not named, where the meeting took place; and it is made plain that those who disputed with Peter were not people outside but Christians of the Jewish sort. EV really points to the same conclusion. It was intolerable to the Jews in the Church that the chief of the apostles should treat the Jewish position of separateness so lightly, that he should enter the houses of Gentiles and share their food (10²⁸). Peter tells the story of his vision.

15. as on us at the beginning (*i.e.* 2¹ff.): in Cornelius there is a new beginning of the Gospel.—**16. the word of the Lord:** contrasting the baptism of John with the Christian rite, is quoted (1⁵*).—**18.** For repentance as a Divine gift *cf.* 5³¹.

XI. 19–26. Another Account of the Early Gentile Mission. Antioch.—This connects with 8². It was the Hellenists at Jerusalem, whose mouthpiece Stephen was, who were driven away at his death. There, they were scattered over Judæa and Samaria; here, they go further, to Cyprus and Antioch, but preach to Jews only. Some of them, however, men of Cyprus, as Barnabas was, and of Cyrene in N. Africa (*cf.* "Lucius of Cyrene," 13¹) took the further step, when they came to Antioch, of addressing the Greeks, not the Hellenists as in AV (Græcians, *cf.* RVm "Grecian Jews"), which would mean the Greek-speaking Jews, but the Greeks who were not Jews (p. 768). To them they preached the Lord Jesus. The title "Lord" is used here with accuracy. It is not much used in Ac. where the history is on Jewish ground; other titles were there thought of for Jesus; "Christ," the "Servant," and once the "Son of God." The title which offered itself most readily for Him in Gentile lands was "Lord." The Roman emperor is Lord, as Oriental monarchs had been, and no title expressed more readily the entire devotion that was due to Jesus. (See RTP, x. 313; Morgan, *Religion and Theology of Paul*, pp. 46ff.)

Antioch, the capital of Syria, was the third city of the empire, a centre of art and science, and had a large Jewish population. Now it becomes the capital of Gentile Christianity.

21. The growth of the Church is noted as elsewhere (5¹⁴, 8⁶,¹²); here it means not only that the number grew larger but that converts of a new order were added.—**22.** The Mother Church hears of the new step, (8¹⁴, 11¹) and sends an envoy to the spot. Barnabas is chosen for this; a Cyprian, he was interested in the doings of Cyprians (20) and he stood well at Jerusalem; the apostles had given him his new name (4³⁶). He saw nothing to disapprove of; his counsel to all, Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians alike, was that they should uphold their common cause, "cleave to the Lord."—**24. a good man:** *i.e.* thorough, efficient; *cf.* the character of Joseph (Lk. 23⁵⁰), and of Stephen (Ac. 6⁸).—**much people:** lit. a considerable number; they might be Jews or Gentiles.—**25.** D and other early authorities read: "and hearing that Saul is at Tarsus he went out to seek for him; and on meeting him he urged him to come to Antioch."—**Tarsus:** for the geographical position of Tarsus, its connexion with the interior of Asia Minor, and its changeful history, see Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, also pp. 768, 805. Tarsus had a notable school of philosophy, and if Paul had attended its lectures he would have heard Stoicism ably set forth. Nor could he fail to be acquainted with the orgiastic cults which formed the living religion of Asia Minor. But he would devote himself to the studies of his own race while he lived at home. *Cf.* Böhlig, *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsos im augusteischen Zeitalter*, 1913.—**26.** At Antioch Barnabas and Saul went to the church meetings. The name "Christian" may have come into use first at Antioch, at a somewhat later time. The word does not occur otherwise in NT except in 26²⁸ and 1 P. (4¹⁶), which is a post-Pauline work. The followers of Christ would at first be confounded with the Jews, with whom they had so much in common; the name "Christians" would be applied to them by the Gentiles when their difference from the Jews became clearly apparent; it is regularly formed like the names of sects or parties, Herodians, Cæsarians, Valentinians, etc.

XI. 27–30. Prophecy of Agabus. Mission to Jerusalem of Barnabas and Saul. Prophets from Jerusalem (*cf.* 15³²*).—Vague dating, "in those days." The story fixes its own date. Agabus appears again in 21¹⁰; he put forward strong statements dramatically. Here he prophesies a world-wide famine; such a famine did take place in A.D. 46; but the prophecy is uttered before the reign of Claudius, A.D. 41. A famine afflicted Judæa early in his reign and suits our passage better (p. 654). The prophecy gives rise to a measure of help for the brethren in Judæa, which occasions a journey to Judæa of Barnabas and Saul. The sum collected is sent to the elders at Jerusalem, a body of whom we have not heard before. This second journey of Saul to Jerusalem will be the same as that spoken of in Gal. 2¹ff. [This view is generally combined with the view that Ac. 15 relates Paul's third visit (see p. 858), but Dr. Menzies holds with several scholars that the visit in Ac. 11³⁰ is to be identified

with that in Ac. 15. Another view is that the two visits in Ac. are to be distinguished, but that the visit in Gal. 2 is to be identified with neither but with an earlier visit unrecorded in Ac. The generally accepted opinion that the visits in Ac. 11₃₀ and 15 are to be distinguished and that the latter is to be identified with that in Gal. 2 seems preferable to any of these theories.—A. S. P.] It is from Antioch, and is made by Paul and Barnabas; it has reference to a collection for the poor at Jerusalem. The ingredients are the same, though differently placed with reference to each other; and the confusion as to the famine and as to the collection made before the reason for it has taken place, shakes our faith in the historical nature of this section. Barnabas and Saul are mentioned in this order down to 15₁₂.

27. D and some Latin MSS add: "and there was great rejoicing. But when we were returning (or gathered together) one of them called Agabus said"—a narrative in first person plural, such as occurs in apocryphal Acts, Gospel of Peter, and later in Ac. (*cf.* Introd. p. 776).

XII. 1–17. Persecution of the Church by Herod Agrippa. Peter's Escape from Prison.—On Agrippa, see p. 610. His persecution of the Christians was according to his general policy. The persecutions of the faithful have been hitherto from the Jews acting through their local courts or the Sanhedrin. Now there is a civil ruler, also a Jew, minded to injure them, and persecution becomes more deadly.

1. about that time: this must be before the death of Herod in A.D. 44; it must be after Paul's visit to Jerusalem in Gal. 2₁, Ac. 11₃₀, for he found James and Peter and John there.[1] James the brother of the Lord is spoken of by Paul under that title in Gal. 1₁₉, and it is natural to take the James and John mentioned along with Peter to be the two sons of Zebedee. [If the visit in Gal. 2 is the Famine Visit of Ac. 11₃₀ this is possible, but no argument can safely be built on the difference of designation of James in Gal. 1₁₉ and 2₉,₁₂. The other identification is in fact open to precisely the same objection, for it might just as well be argued that since Luke refers to James here "as the brother of John" he must be different from the James of Ac. 15, with whom the author of the commentary identifies him. If the visit of Gal. 2 is that of Ac. 15, and later than the Famine Visit, the James of Gal. 2 cannot be the brother of John, he must have been the Lord's brother. The readers of Gal. presumably knew who was meant in 2₉,₁₂; there was no reason to add any description to distinguish him from the son of Zebedee, who would by this time be dead. The natural inference from Ac. 21₁₇–₂₆ is that the James of 21₁₈ is identical with the James of 15₁₃ and presumably with the James of 12₁₇ (confessedly the Lord's brother), who is thus prominent at an early stage of the history. The dynastic principle which accorded a special place to the relatives of Jesus soon made itself felt in Jerusalem, and lasted for a long time.—A. S. P.]—**to afflict:** lit. maltreat; killing is meant.—**2.** It is likely that there were other victims, and the conclusion is accepted by Wellhausen, Schwartz, Heitmüller, Burkitt, and others that John the son of Zebedee was one of them, and that the prediction in Mk. 10₃₉, which could scarcely have stood in the Gospel if nothing of the kind had happened, was thus fulfilled[2] (*cf.* pp. 694, 744).—**3.** Peter, like his Master, is not to be put to death during the festival, but is arrested before it.—**4. four quaternions,** each taking three hours on guard.—**6.** A chain connecting him with each of the two guards. Each touch tells in the narrative; the king's intention, the strength of the guard, Peter's quiet sleep.—**7.** Literature has many instances of such deliverance of the faithful from prison by their deity; *cf.* Ac. 5₁₉, 16₂₆ (see Wettstein and Preuschen).—**8.** The escape is not too hurried.—**9. true:** better "real."—**10.** The first and the second guard, with the two chained to the prisoner, make up the quaternion of this watch. The prison will be in the Antonia; the Roman barrack overlooking the Temple to which Paul was carried (see 22₂₄). D adds to the detail of the place that after passing through the iron gate to the town "they went down the seven steps."—**11** answers to 9; it is a reality, not a vision, that has happened to him; he has got out of Herod's hand, and the Jews will not have their will of him.—**12. considered:** rather "when he was clear about it."—**house of Mary:** identified since the fourth century with the Cenaculum, the house where the Lord's Supper is said to have been instituted.—**mother of John:** on the relation between this Mary and John, and the Mary and John of the Fourth Gospel (1926f.), see J. Weiss, *Das älteste Evangelium*, pp. 409ff. On this John-Mark and his connexion with Peter and Paul and then with Peter again, see 13₁₃f.*, also Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel*, pp. 40ff.—**13. Rhoda:** Rose, a common slave name. The house is a large one with a gateway (*cf.* 10₁₇), where a domestic church could meet.—**15. It is his angel:** Mt. 2₁–₁₂*, 18₁₀*—**17.** James, brother of the Lord, is the leader of the church; he is not present but is to be told.—**to another place:** Roman Catholic writers suggest Rome. So also Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*, pp. 29, 44–58; *cf.* Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 375–9. Wellhausen, with more likelihood, suggests Antioch, where Peter is found in Gal. 2₁₁. The place is really unknown.

XII. 18–23. Fate of the Soldiers and of Herod.—For the soldiers, *cf.* 5₂₁ff. Here they are led away to be put to death. The story of Herod's glorification and end is told by Josephus in a similar way; but our version is at some points defective. Herod's displeasure with Tyre dates from an earlier period; no disagreement with Sidon is reported. As king of Judæa he had a hold on the two towns which depended on importation for their corn, and they might seek to work on him through Blastus, the Master of his Bedchamber; he was a good-natured man—they could get round him.—**21***b* requires some such clause as is found in D, "on his being reconciled to the Tyrians." His decision was evidently to be given at a splendid court ceremony. The scene is described by Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. viii. 2) who speaks of a robe made entirely of silver, which shone brilliantly in the morning sun and prompted the broad flattery, not unheard of in these days, that his voice was that of a god rather than of a man. His death was that of Antiochus (2 Mac. 9₃ff.), Sulla, and other presumptuous characters of antiquity.

[1] E. Schwartz, *Die Chronologie des Paulus*, in the *Nachrichten von der Kön. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1907.

[2] Wellhausen und Schwartz in the *Göttingen Nachrichten zur Johannestradition*; Heitmüller in *ZNTW*, 1914, pp. 189ff.; Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 252ff. A direct statement to this effect is said by Philippus of Side (A.D. 430) to have been made by Papias in his *Exposition of the Sayings of the Lord*, in the words "John the theologian and James his brother were put to death by the Jews." The disappearance of this fact in Church history is due to the growth of the tradition of the long-lived John of Ephesus; see detailed proof of this in Heitmüller. The traditional view is upheld by Bernard, *Irish Church Quarterly Review*, 1908, pp. 51ff. (=*Studia Sacra*, ch. xi.), Harnack, Peake, *INT*, pp. 142–146. See J. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, pp. 232–4. While the present writer inclines to the new view, he recognises that the question is by no means closed.

24f. Return of Barnabas and Saul to Antioch.—**24.** A very vague and general statement; to what region does it refer ?—**25** continues 11 30. The reading in *mg.* is quite inconsistent with the narrative.

XIII. 1–3. The Church at Antioch: the Sending out of Barnabas and Saul.—Prophets and teachers are mentioned by Paul (1 Cor. 12 28) after apostles; at Antioch there are no apostles, the prophets and teachers act as the instrument of the Spirit. Barnabas has remained at Antioch (Gal. 2 13), interested in the Gentile mission (11 19–26). For **Lucius of Cyrene**, *cf.* 11 20*.—**Manaen, foster-brother,** *or* **playmate, of Herod Antipas,** must have been brought up at Rome (Josephus, *Ant.* XVII. i. 3). Saul comes last; he is not a young man at this time, but would be about forty-four years old. The ministry of prophets and teachers is spoken of in *Didaché* xv. Fasting is a preparation for communication of the Spirit. The separation of Barnabas and Saul takes place after a regular form, with fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands by the body of which they are themselves members and to which they may themselves have suggested it. There is no inconsistency between this passage and Paul's assertion (Gal. 1 1) that he is an apostle not from men nor through men.

XIII. 4–12. Successes in Cyprus.—4. went down: the usual phrase in connexion with a seaport.—**Seleucia** is the port of Antioch, about sixteen miles from it.—**5. Salamis** is the eastern port of Cyprus.—**in the synagogues:** this was the natural procedure for a Jew with a message bearing on the faith and on the salvation of his race. Ac. develops later a theory as to Paul's practice in addressing Jew and Gentile; the fact as told here may be accepted. What was Mark's function as their attendant ? The synagogue was fully supplied with officials, and no services elsewhere are spoken of.—**6. Paphos** is at the W. end of the island, and there Paul, like Peter on his first mission among Gentiles (8 18–24), has an encounter with a sorcerer. He has attached himself to the proconsul Sergius Paulus (whose name has been found on an inscription in Cyprus), and tries to prejudice him against Paul's preaching. A proconsul might be interested in the various cults and prophets of the population.—**9.** The apostle receives the name Paul, by which he is afterwards known, but the statement implies that he had that name already, and it is not necessary to connect it with that of the proconsul. He was born a Roman citizen, and in his mission among the Gentiles it was suitable that he should use his Roman name.—**10f.** The denunciation and the threats may be traced in OT (*e.g.*, Hos. 14 9, Ex. 9, 1 S. 55–7); Paul himself had been struck with blindness when opposing the Lord, and had to be led. The threat is at once fulfilled; the *achlys* or mist which spread over his eyes is a term used by medical writers of cataract or of the invasion of the eye by matter from a neighbouring swelling (Hobart, p. 44). It is better not to define the term too closely here. The faith of the proconsul is attributed to what he has seen, not what he has heard (*cf.* 4 16, 8 13). The teaching of the Lord appears to him a teaching with power (Mk. 1 27), being accompanied by such wonders.

XIII. 13f. From Cyprus to Pamphylia and Pisidia.—The seaport Attalia at the mouth of the Cestrus is not mentioned. **Perga** is on the river about eight miles from the sea; it is mentioned because there John-Mark left the party to return to Jerusalem, an act which Paul resented, though Mark's uncle, Barnabas, bore him no grudge for it (15 37–39), and Paul himself afterwards reinstated him (Col. 4 10, 2 Tim. 4 11). For speculations as to Mark's reasons, *cf.* Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 89ff. Barnabas and Paul go northward from Perga, and cross the great chain of the Taurus, arriving after a journey of 110 miles at Antioch in Pisidia. They are said to have passed through on their journey, not to have preached; Pisidia was infested by robbers, and there was many a ravine and torrent to be crossed. Throughout his travels Paul makes the towns his mark, and towns in which there was a population of Jews. Paul's reason for visiting these towns in the centre of Asia Minor may have been that he knew some members of the Jewish populations, and that he counted on their sympathy. If, as will be suggested later, this journey and that of 15 36–16 5 are the same, here told at length, afterwards more briefly, motives of a more far-reaching kind may also have determined him. These towns had been distinguished by Augustus and put on the way to prosperity especially by a new system of roads. Pisidian Antioch was the military centre of the district, and had a large population of Jews from the time of its foundation, about 300 B.C.

XIII. 15–41. The Sermon at Pisidian Antioch.—This is a specimen of Paul's missionary practice. In external matters it is true to the facts, yet the sermon is on the one hand so like the sermon of Peter (ch. 2) and of Stephen (ch. 7), and on the other so different from the evidence of Paul's epistles as to what he did say when he broke new ground on such occasions (1 Th. 1 9, Gal. 3 1, 1 Cor. 2 2), that we can scarcely accept it. The texts quoted are not such as Paul relied on, nor the motives appealed to such as he kept in view. His preaching may not have been the same all through his career; but it must have had a style of its own. [It should be observed, however, that there is considerable difference between this speech and that of Stephen. The *motif* is quite different, the scope almost wholly different; there is, it is true, a historical section in both, but it is brief in Paul's speech while almost co-extensive with that of Stephen. The points mentioned differ for the most part, and the last nineteen verses of Paul's speech (much the greater part of it) are without any parallel in that of Stephen. None of Paul's letters let us see what he said to *Jewish* congregations; 1 Th., Gal., 1 Cor., are all addressed to Gentile churches; indeed, we have lamentably little information about his mission preaching in the epistles. And there is a striking degree of variation in the range of texts employed in the epistles.—A. S. P.] To Paul the synagogue on the Sabbath was a familiar scene; the service was the same all the world over, and he had attended it at Tarsus. It began with the recital of the Shema, or creed (Dt. 6 4–9, 11 13–21, Nu. 15 37–41), then prayer was said, then the lesson from the Law was read, then that from the Prophets, each with translation into the vernacular, then an address, and lastly the blessing. Barnabas and Paul are asked to give the address after the reading.

16–18. Paul's address is directed to two sets of people, the Israelites, or born Jews, sitting there, and the God-fearers, the Gentiles who attended the service. The distinction made at the outset does not afterwards appear except in 26. Jew and Gentile worshippers are taken as one body and spoken of as "we," "our." The historical introduction (*cf.* ch. 7) begins with the Exodus and passes rapidly over the time in the wilderness, where God is said to have "borne the manners" (18) of the people for forty years. *Mg.*, "he bore them as a nursing father," differs from the text by one letter (*etrophophoresen* for *etropophoresen*).—**20f.** The Period of the Judges (according to a current Jewish tradition, 450 years) to Samuel and Saul. The forty

years allotted to Saul are not found in OT.—**22f.** David is brought in as the ancestor of Jesus and because his words in the Psalms refer to Jesus.—**24.** In the account of John the Baptist we have the tradition present in the Fourth Gospel, mingled with that of the Synoptists; with his figure the ministry of Jesus begins (1^{22}, 10^{37}). —**26.** The two classes in the audience are again named, and pointed to the salvation which is in Jesus. It is sent "to us," *i.e.* to the mixed communities of the Dispersion with which Paul identifies himself, because the Jews of Jerusalem and their rulers have cut themselves off from it by their treatment of the Messiah. This appears to be the logic of *27*, and there are echoes of the thought in Paul's epistles (1 Cor. 2*7f.*, 1 Th. 2$^{14-16}$). As in former speeches there is here no doctrine of the virtue of Messiah's sufferings; they are according to God's will, and God speedily replaced them by the Resurrection. Paul does not here count himself among the witnesses of the risen Christ; he is not one of those who accompanied Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem, nor does he refer to his own vision; it is difficult to understand how he could speak in this way. The passage quoted in 33 from Ps. 2 is spoken in Lk. 3^{22} (D) to Jesus by the heavenly voice at His baptism; here it is applied to the Resurrection, as if He then became fully God's Son (see Rom. 14).—**34** is perhaps better translated, "but that he raised him from the dead . . . he said thus, I will give you the sure mercies of David" (Is. 55^{3}). The prophecy in 35 (Ps. 16^{10}) is fulfilled in the Resurrection; the sure mercies of David guarantee it.—**36f.** accordingly unfolds the argument of Peter (2$^{27-31}$) that the prediction of resurrection, not fulfilled to David, must have been spoken of one who actually was raised up, as was Jesus. David served his own generation and is dead; Jesus served and will serve many.—**38.** The practical conclusion follows in a couple of sentences, that forgiveness of sins is proclaimed to the hearers through Jesus, and that the believer in Him is justified from guilt for which the Law provided no justification. This implies that the Law did justify to a certain extent, a conclusion from which the Paul of the epistles dissents strongly (Gal. 2$^{16-18}$, Rom. 3^{20}, Phil. 3^{9}), and that faith in Christ might be regarded as a means for completing one's justification, which the Law left incomplete. The passage from Hab. 1^{5} is taken from the LXX. Its threatenings were little calculated to win the hearers; but all the preachers in this book deal in threats of doom.

XIII. 42–52. The Result: the Missionaries leave Antioch.—**42** reads as if the congregation as a whole invited the preachers to speak to them again on the following Sabbath, but a meeting or meetings at once took place at the instance of many Jews and proselytes in some place not mentioned. The first statement is followed up in 44; to account for the crowded synagogue, D and a few other authorities add to 43, "and it came to pass that the word of God passed through the whole city." There is something awkward in the statement; in the synagogue the Jews need not have allowed the missionaries to speak at all; the scene was possibly elsewhere. The speech which follows is an apology for the Gentile mission which occurs repeatedly in the following narrative, and appears to suggest that the apostles would not have spoken to the Gentiles at all if the Jews had listened to them better. Paul does appear to have spoken to Jews (1 Cor. 9^{20}, Gal. 5^{11}), but in his epistles he never speaks of his preaching to the Gentiles as an ungrateful necessity.—**46. unworthy of eternal life:** *i.e.* the life of the coming age; by rejecting the Gospel they declare themselves, before God, unworthy to live in that age. Is. 49^{6} is represented by the preachers as directly addressed by God to them (*cf.* Mt. 5^{14}).—**48. ordained to eternal life:** *cf.* 24^{7}.—**50.** The women are spoken of before the men; the author tends to bring women forward (*cf.* 17^{4,12,34}), and not only in the case of believers. The apostles are compelled to leave Antioch, but they have planted a church there (14^{21}f.).

XIV. 1–7. Iconium.—From Antioch to Iconium was a journey of about thirty hours, mostly on a new Roman road. It was the frontier city of Phrygia, but was now incorporated in the Roman province of Galatia. Its magistrates are local, not Roman.

1. The mission proceeds in Iconium just as at Antioch; the synagogue, with its mixture of elements, is the scene, and the result is the attachment to the cause of many of each nationality.—**2. disobedient:** AV **unbelieving**; either will do: *cf.* Rom. 15, "obedience of faith."—**3. the word of his grace:** *cf.* 20^{32}.—**signs and wonders:** *cf.* Mk. 16^{20}.—**4f.** Society in the town is divided. The native authorities declare against the incomers, and a hostile movement causes the apostles to leave the town. 2 Cor. 11^{25} speaks of one stoning only in Paul's experience, and it may be identified with that of 19. They go south, cross the border into Lycaonia, and carry on their activity in Lystra and Derbe, though they know that the same thing will happen to them there. Nothing daunts them.

XIV. 8–20. Lystra.—Lystra, 25 miles SW. of Iconium, 10 miles off the trade route, in a secluded glen. Lystra and Derbe were the two cities of the Lycaonian region of Galatia; Roman influence was strong there, and Lystra was a Roman colony.

The cure of a lame man in connexion with the preaching leads to serious consequences. The incident reminds us forcibly of 3$^{2-8}$; in both cases the lameness is congenital, and the man leaps. In this case, however, faith plays the part it does in the Gospels; it is awakened apparently by Paul's preaching. Of the language of Lycaonia nothing is now known; the mention of it is like a mist over the whole story. It is not asserted that Paul and Barnabas understood that language; but we know that Greek was currently spoken in the district. The recognition of the missionaries as divine beings (*cf.* 28^{6}) and the preparations for sacrifice could, it is true, be understood apart from the language, but not the identification of them with special deities.[1] Barnabas appears to have been the more imposing figure, Paul to have been the speaker of the party. For a description of Paul, see the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, which perhaps originated at Iconium (*cf.* p. 768).

13. Jupiter. . . before the city: it was usual for the temple of Jupiter to be outside the town; discovery has not yet found such a temple at Lystra. The priest prepares a sacrifice, and brings forward the victims with their wreaths, probably at the gates of the temple, where the crowd follows. The apostles are in the town, but on hearing what is on foot they rush out to hinder the sacrilege. The speech which follows contains the germ of the speech before the Areopagus (17^{22}ff.), in which the main ideas of it are further worked out. It is (in the words of Paul, 1 Th. 1^{9}) an appeal to abandon idolatry, and turn to the living God. This is the message with which the preachers, evidently human beings (Jas. 5^{17}), have come to Lystra. The idea of God's longsuffering (16)

[1] [The association of the two gods Zeus and Hermes was familiar in the region round Lystra, see Ramsay, *The Bearing of Recent Discovery*, pp. 47ff.—A. J. G.]

is found in Rom. 24, 325, and is in Paul's speech at Athens, as is the idea that God leaves not Himself without a witness, though the witness here is found, as in OT and in Stoic thought, in the unfailing liberality of nature, not in the human desire for God.—**18.** The sacrifice is stopped, but the stay of the missionaries at Lystra soon comes to an end. The Jews of Antioch and Iconium grudge them their success and wreak their hatred on Paul, not apparently on Barnabas, by the Jewish method of stoning (*cf.* 2 Cor. 1125), a case of mob law in the streets of a Roman military colony. The changes of popular mood at Lystra are sudden, and the whole section (8–18) is not free from suspicion; 19 reads quite well after 7; and 8–18 is possibly from a Barnabas source.—**20. Derbe:** a few miles from Lystra, Lycaonian by population, and belonging to the province of Galatia. No persecution takes place here.

XIV. 21–28. Close of the First Tour.—The places already visited are now taken in the reverse order, but no further information is given about them.—**23.** An appointment of elders is made (*cf.* Tit. 15) in each church; the institution takes place in each case with prayer and fasting. The word translated "appointed" (AV "ordained") denotes strictly a popular election by voting (*cf.* 2 Cor. 819; *Didaché*, xv. 1), though it may also be used of cases where there is no popular vote. The elder is in Titus also called bishop: he is a local functionary, with no duties except to his own church. In 1130 the elders at Jerusalem are those presiding over the church there.—**24.** The journey is retraced but Cyprus is not visited again; from Attalia, the port of Perga, they sail to Antioch or rather to Seleucia, its port.—**27.** The importance of the journey is that it proves that the gate of faith is opened by God to the Gentiles.

XV. 1–5. The Question of Circumcision at Antioch and at Jerusalem.—1f. The custom of Moses (*cf.* 614) is the law of Moses as practised. Circumcision was no doubt the most important question to be settled; to exact it would have prevented the spread of the Church among the Gentiles; but there were other points.—**2.** After **with them** Codex D reads: "for Paul said that they should remain as they were when they believed, and was vehement to this effect, but those who had come from Jerusalem enjoined them, Paul and Barnabas and some others, to go up." The church at any rate resolved that this should be done.—**3** speaks of a leisurely and indirect journey, as if the envoys had no urgent commission to discharge at the capital, and the reception on the way of their tidings of the conversion of the Gentiles does not point to any urgency. The same is the case at Jerusalem, where their report of their successes is in the same words as are used in 1427. But this peaceful state of matters is interrupted by certain Pharisees, who raise the question of circumcision and adherence to the Law, as if it had not been raised before. In Gal. 2 Paul says he and Barnabas went to Jerusalem by revelation, taking Titus with them, who is not mentioned here, and the "false brethren" (Gal. 24*) may well be the Pharisees of our passage.

XV. 6–12. The Deliberation.—The meeting is a public one (see 12 and 22). In Gal. 2 Paul says he laid his manner of preaching before those of reputation, in private. Peter comes forward (D says, "in the Spirit") in the character of apostle of the Uncircumcision, rehearsing the facts given in chs. 10f. But in Gal. 2, Peter accepts the character of apostle of the Circumcision, leaving the Gentiles to Paul's province. God's giving them the Spirit is narrated in 1115.—**10. Why tempt ye God?** *i.e.* ask for a further miracle? Peter speaks of the Law, as if he had studied under Paul (*cf.* Gal. 323–25, 52–6); see 11, and *cf.* especially Gal. 216. The report of Barnabas and Paul in 12 had been made already in 4, and is given here in terms which it is difficult to realise. Nothing is said of the commission laid on them by the church of Antioch (131–3). [Observe that Paul and Barnabas do not discuss the principle at stake. To have done so would not have been tactful, when the Jerusalem leaders were prepared to undertake this delicate task. They recount the facts, feeling that their mission is its own best apologetic.—A. S. P.]

XV. 13–21. Speech of James.—Who is this James? In Gal. 29 Paul tells us of the agreement he made with James and Cephas and John. James and John in this account are *prima facie* to be taken as the two sons of Zebedee; when Paul refers to the other James he calls him the brother of the Lord (Gal. 119). In 122 we were told of the murder of James, the brother of John. But the James here will be the same person, if 15 is in the wrong place, and ought to stand before 12. His being the first martyr of the apostles proves his importance. [On the other hand see 121*. The importance of James the son of Zebedee is also rendered probable by the fact that he was one of the three disciples specially chosen by Jesus to be with Him on momentous occasions. Nevertheless in Ac. he has no prominence at all; we hear nothing of him but that he was martyred, and the fact is stated in the curtest way (how different from Stephen's martyrdom!). Moreover, he is simply James the brother of John (122).—A. S. P.] In his speech here he says nothing about Paul and Barnabas nor about the church at Antioch; he goes back to the statement of Peter, here called by his Aramaic name of Simeon (in chs. 10f. we have several times "Simon who is surnamed Peter," here only the Aramaic name), and accepts his story of how first the conversion of the Gentiles began, and finds in Am. 911f. an explicit prediction that the dispersed of Israel should be gathered again, and not only they but the Gentiles also on whom His name is called. In Gal. 29–12 James also is and remains an apostle of the Circumcision. His sentence is that no unnecessary trouble is to be put in the way of the Gentiles who enter the Church, but that a letter should be written setting forth the conditions on which they are received. There are some things they must give up: (*a*) Pollution of idols, *i.e.* participation in the sacrificial meals of the heathen; (*b*) Fornication; *i.e.* perhaps the impure acts done in the name of religion in idolatrous temples; but the word may cover impurity generally, which to the Gentile was no serious sin, but in the Church was entirely forbidden; (*c*) "What is strangled," and "blood," mean the same thing. The Jew might eat no meat from which the blood had not been drained away (Gen. 94*). The synagogue still has its own butcher. Many witnesses (including D), omit "things strangled"; an omission which might point to a moral rather than a ritual interpretation of the decree. These prohibitions are to be a wall separating the life of the Church from Gentile life.—**21** probably means that it is unnecessary to say anything to the Jewish Christians about these points, which are familiar to them from their early life. D, with Latin copies, and some versions, give an addition to the decree, which is found also in Irenæus; "and what they would not have done to themselves, not to do to others," which is not a ritual but a moral injunction and suggests the moralising of the others also (p. 651). But the three members of the decree are more likely

ritual; "pollution of idols" is a technical term (Mal. 17–12).

XV. 22–29. The Letter is Sent.—The apostles and elders have never in this chapter acted alone (see 6); the action is that of the whole Church. Silas does not stand for Silvanus, but is a Semitic name, the Aramaic form of Saul (Schmiedel in EBi. 4519); in Ac. he is the companion of Paul. Judas and Silas are leading men in the Jerusalem church; in 32 they are prophets, men holding official position. The letter they carry is addressed to Gentile believers in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia. Why not also in Pisidia and Lycaonia, the regions visited by Paul and Barnabas in chs. 13f.? This verse is the strongest, though as we have seen not the only, evidence, that the Jerusalem meeting is in Acts misplaced. Its historical position is before 13f., when, as Paul tells us (Gal. 121), he had carried on his mission in Syria and Cilicia only.—**greeting:** the ordinary salutation at the beginning of a Greek letter. In Paul's epistles it is always expanded.—**24–26** may be compared with Lk. 1–4; this reveals the editor, as does the repetition of the doubtful story in 1f., that the discussion began not in Jerusalem but in the northern churches.—**27.** Judas and Silas are to confirm by their voice the contents of the letter. There follows what was proposed by James, D again adding the Golden Rule in its negative form, and, after the words "Ye shall do well," "*being borne along in the Holy Spirit*," words known to Irenæus and Tertullian, and favouring a spiritual interpretation of the rescript. The word translated "Fare ye well" is the ordinary conclusion of a Greek letter.

XV. 30–35. Events at Antioch.—At Antioch on the arrival of the party, everything is quiet and decorous: there is no mention of the disturbers of 151; the impression is given that the authority of the Mother Church was decisive to all. They rejoiced apparently on account of the freedom given from unnecessary restrictions to the Gentile members. The prophets held long discourses, as prophets were expected to do (*Didaché*, 107, 11, 1 Th. 519f.). The prophets are sent back to Jerusalem; D and other authorities in 34 (omitted in RV) account for the inconsistency with 40 by saying that Silas chose to stay there and that only Judas made the journey. That the peace which prevailed at Antioch was soon broken by Peter and James (Gal. 211ff.) is not mentioned. The church pursues its course (*cf.* 1119f.). The journey of Paul and Barnabas detailed in chs. 13f. must have taken place at this point, and a journey is given. But the author has little left to say on it, as he has narrated it already.

XV. 36–XVI. 5. Shorter Account of Paul's Journey in Asia Minor.—The editor's hand is apparent throughout this section. We know from Gal. 213 the real reason of Paul's difference with Barnabas, which was one of principle; here it is reduced to a personal matter. Instead of Titus, who (Gal. 23) was not compelled to be circumcised, we have Timothy, who was circumcised by Paul (161–3). In 164 Paul acts as a delegate of the Jerusalem church, handing to the faithful, city by city, the judgments of that church, to which in his epistles he pays no regard. In 165 the result of the journey is summed up in a general statement such as that at 1224; *cf.* 931, 1121; and at 166 we find we are in the substantial and authentic narrative of the "Travel-document," which thenceforward supplies the thread of the story.

36. The statement of time is vague; the object stated for the new journey keeps up the continuity of the narrative; Paul may be supposed to have had larger ideas. The difference with Barnabas and that with Mark were afterwards forgotten (1313*); here the Gr. states, with an emphasis lost in RV, that Paul had a very strong objection to Mark as a companion; he would take anyone but him. He chose Silas, the Jerusalem prophet and leading man, who was his close companion up to Corinth, took part in founding the church there (2 Cor. 119), and is associated with Paul as fellow-writer of 1 and 2 Th., after which he appears no more with Paul, but with Peter (1 P. 512). Of the journey the account is meagre; it has been told already. The land route is chosen this time, Barnabas taking Mark by the former sea route. Cilicia is traversed, but there is no mention of Tarsus. Derbe, the last stage of the former journey, is now the first, Lycaonia being entered from the south. Companions of travel are enlisted on the way, in particular Timothy (see Moffatt, EBi. 5074). He is a native of Lystra (but see 204*), and is favourably known among believers there and at Iconium. Paul's circumcising him is contrary to the principle stated in Gal. 52, and is thought by many eminent scholars to be an invention of the editor to counteract what is said about Titus in Gal. 23. It is more credible, however, that the circumcision did take place, Timothy being half a Jew by birth, as Titus was not, and Paul seeking to avoid offence to the Jews among whom he was to travel. 164 belongs to the editor's scheme and is scarcely historical. The phrases are those used to describe imperial rescripts (*cf.* Lk. 21); the apostles and elders as a supreme authority have ordained them.

XVI. 6–10. Journey through Asia Minor to Macedonia.—Here we come to the "Travel-document," which is followed henceforward. It was till recently the custom to speak of the "We-Passages," which are found in 1610–18, 205–16, 211–18, 271–2816, and to ascribe to these the highest degree of authenticity. The pieces in the third person lying among these were thought to have been written later by the diarist himself when he came to make up his book, or to have been taken from other sources. But see Introd., p. 776. The speeches are to be ascribed to the editor, who also fills up lacunæ in his source, but he employs a more considerable and authentic source than hitherto. The style is short and dry; the writer has a curious power of ignoring what is most interesting in the Pauline churches and in Paul's thought.

What comes first in time in the sentence in 6f. is that the party was prevented, by the higher power that directed their journey, from preaching in Asia, *i.e.* Ephesus and the W. parts of Asia Minor, including the islands. This, it is plainly intimated, was the intention with which Paul set out on this journey; but when it was frustrated they "went through" Phrygia and Galatia, a phrase which does not exclude preaching (932, 1424). But of Paul's experience in Galatia, and of the Galatian churches, should they be in the north, as the present writer believes they were (see on the other hand, pp. 857, 769), the editor is quite silent. The much-debated phrase, "the Phrygian and Galatian land" conveys no clear impression. Probably the writer is summing up in brief phrases things which had taken place before he joined the party. After passing through Phrygia and Galatia they found themselves near Mysia and tried to go northwards into Bithynia, another land lying on the sea, but this also the guiding power would not allow. Straight west apparently it directed them to go, through Mysia, without lingering in it, to Troas. The district probably is meant, not the town of Alexandria-Troas, which lay on the coast, opposite Tenedos. Paul tells us (2 Cor. 212f.) of a fruitful mission there a few years

later.—**9.** Who is the person who appears to Paul and brings him finally to the step which the foregoing geographical statement shows to have attracted and yet daunted him? Ramsay thinks it was Luke, already known to Paul, and the reading of the Peshitta, "Come over and help *me*," would agree with that view (p. 770). But a letter would have served the purpose in that case. The party is now complete, diarist and all; "As soon as he saw the vision we . . ."

XVI. 11–15. Philippi. Lydia.—The voyage from Troas to Samothrace was past Tenedos and Imbros, and Samothrace was about halfway. The voyage back took five days (20$_6$); this voyage only two, the wind being favourable. Neapolis on the Strymonian gulf had wharves and gold mines and lay in a fertile district. Philippi was 8 miles N. of Neapolis. How it could be called the "first of the district" is not clear; Thessalonica was the capital of Macedonia, Amphipolis of the district which embraced Philippi. Philippi (p. 872) was made a "colony" by Augustus; for its government, see below. Paul was happy in his Macedonian converts, to whom three of his extant epistles are addressed; their frankness and affection, with their freedom from conceit, made them fit for the Gospel.

13. It is Paul's custom to open his mission in a new place among the Jewish community. Philippi had not a large Jewish population: the place of prayer was by the riverside, outside the town, perhaps in the open air, as in other cases; the persons Paul finds there are women only. The teaching is of an informal nature. Lydia (a Roman name; her name at Thyatira (Rev. 2$_{18}$*), which is in the district called Lydia, would be different) is a Gentile devoted to the Jewish religion who has a house at Philippi; the industry in purple was carried on both at Thyatira and at Philippi and required capital. She becomes, instead of a *sebomené* (God-fearer, p. 625), a believer in the Lord, is baptized with all her house, and prevails on Paul and his party to stay with her. Many such women, affluent and devout, do we find in the second part of Ac. and in Paul's epistles (135$_0$*, Rom. 16, Phil. 4$_2$).

XVI. 16–18. Exorcism of a Possessed Girl.—The walk to the place of prayer is made frequently, and the party comes to be known. A girl who carried on a trade in the fortune-telling of these days notes them; a girl believed to be possessed by a *python*, a spirit which could on being consulted foretell or warn, possibly a ventriloquist. She attaches herself to the party and gives her version, to be taken as inspired, of what they are. The treatment for possession is applied to her successfully by Paul, who is wearied of hearing her, and her gift ceases at once (*cf.* Mk. 1$_{23}$ff, 3$_{11}$f.).

XVI. 19–34. Imprisonment of Paul and Silas. The Prison Broken.—The "rulers" (19) are the heads of police; they are afterwards called *Strategi*, which answers to the Roman *Prætores*. Philippi was a colony, its magistrates were Roman, *duoviri*, and had the *fasces*, the Roman rods, showing their power to order a beating. The missionaries are accused of making a disturbance in the city, being Jews (Jews are generally unpopular, and at Philippi they are not strong), and of introducing strange customs, *i.e.* a religion which was not an allowed one, in the Roman community. The populace takes the side of the accusers; a beating on the bare body is at once inflicted (*cf.* 2 Cor. 11$_{25}$). The inner prison into which they were put was, to judge by other known cases, a place totally dark and underground. (*Cf. Passion of Perpetua*, 3; Euseb., *Eccl. Hist.*, V. i. 31.) The opening of the doors by the earthquake is quite possible, but not the loosening of the chains; this happens to Peter also (see 12$_7$). 12$_{19}$ shows what happened to the gaoler whose prisoners escaped. This one is about to commit suicide. The doors being open, there is some light in the inner cell; Paul can assure the gaoler that his prisoners are all safe. The reporter of the scene is not present. The gaoler brings out Paul and Silas (D says he first secured the other prisoners); and in his alarm, having heard no doubt of the nature of their mission in the town (17), he addresses them respectfully and asks them to direct him for his salvation. The rest of the story speaks best for itself.

XVI. 35–40. Reckoning with the Magistrates.—The legal proceedings are to go no further. But Paul has two grievances to clear up with the magistrates before he will leave the prison. The proceedings of the former day had no form of law; the accused were not properly tried; and the magistrates had no power to beat a Roman citizen. Many scholars infer that Silas also held this rank, but if one of the two held it the contention was justified. The magistrates have to come themselves and to make a personal appeal to the missionaries and request them to leave the town; it is not an expulsion, but the request could not be disregarded.

XVII. 1–9. Thessalonica (*cf.* 1 Th. 2$_2$).—From Philippi to Amphipolis is a distance of 30 miles, from Amphipolis to Apollonia 29, from Apollonia to Thessalonica 35 miles, all on the *Via Egnatia* which connected the Adriatic and the Hellespont. Why there was no preaching at Amphipolis and Apollonia, we cannot tell; probably there was no synagogue at either place.

Thessalonica (p. 876), on the Thermaic Gulf, made the capital of Macedonia by the Romans 146 B.C., and a free city after the Second Civil War, had a parliament ("the people"; *demos*, 5) and magistrates (*politarchs*, 6) of its own. That it had a Jewish population the text shows. Salonika is still a populous city. [Since this was written it has again become famous.—A. S. P.]

2. Sabbaths: read "weeks" (*mg.*). Paul's own description (1 Th. 1$_5$–2$_{12}$) points to a longer stay, and shows him labouring with his hands to support himself amid the manifold efforts and cares the budding church imposed on him. The account here given of his preaching (read "he *preached* to them from the Scriptures," *i.e.* the OT) is inadequate, as 1 Th. shows. There is no advance on Peter's sermon in ch. 2. His success (4) is immediate, but only "some" Jews adhered to him; of the Greek frequenters of the synagogue, on the contrary, a large number, and not a few of the leading women. The change to 5 is abrupt; nothing is said of the withdrawal of the believers from the synagogue or of the first members of the church. It is the Jews, members of the synagogue where the preaching began, who set up an attack on the missionaries, enlisting a body of loafers and producing an uproar. Paul and others of the preachers are in the house of Jason, and an attempt is made to get them out and place them before the assembly of the citizens. Failing in this they turn to the magistrates; Jason and some of the brethren are produced to them with a vague accusation that they go about the world creating disturbance and that they had another king—Jesus. The latter charge was true; the Christians did refuse to call the Emperor their "Lord." The charge that they do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar means this. It is this that appeals to the minds of the magistrates, and makes them take bail from Jason and the others before letting the missionaries go.

XVII. 10–15. Through Berœa to Athens.—Berœa was a populous place but off the main route. Paul and

Silas at once go to the synagogue; by this time we should think they could scarcely look to the synagogue with hopeful eyes. The Bercean Jews, however, were "more noble," *i.e.* better-behaved, than their brethren at Thessalonica; they did not close their minds to the message, but applied themselves with interest to testing it by Scripture. The new church at Berœa is composed, like that at Thessalonica, of Jews, Greek ladies of position, and men, *i.e.* Greeks. We hear of Sopater of Berœa in 20₄. The Jews of Thessalonica follow Paul with their hostility and he has to leave Berœa also. As to Silas and Timothy there is a little difficulty. In 18₅ they do not join Paul at Athens as he expected, but at Corinth. But in 1 Th. 3 we read of Timothy having been with Paul at Athens, and having been sent by him from there to Thessalonica. According to 2 Cor. 1₁₉ Silas and Timothy acted along with Paul in the early days of the Corinthian church. We are not fully informed as to these movements.

XVII. 16–21. Paul at Athens.—Athens was at this time no longer the intellectual centre of the world, nor the best of the leading schools of philosophy; but the fame of the city drew many to it, and a visit to Athens gave finish to the education of a Roman. With no great seriousness, all matters were discussed there, and it offered no promising soil for the Gospel. See Renan's chapter on Athens in his *St. Paul*.

16. The images of Athens were multitudinous; the pillaging of Greek masterpieces by Roman magistrates was not yet far advanced, and what Paul saw might have suggested reflections on the magnificent achievements of Greek art. But to his Jewish eye they were the aberrations of men who did not see God in His works but tried to make representations of Him to worship; he would consider they were all there for that purpose (Rom. 1₂₃, 1 Th. 1₉).—**17. reasoned:** or preached. The Jews and God-fearers in the synagogue did not need to be convinced of the true nature of idols; he had as usual begun with them, but he also preached in the market-place, in the low ground N. of the Acropolis, to those he met with, where all the life of the city, intellectual and otherwise, had its centre.—**18.** It was a matter of course that he would meet with philosophers there; Epicureans and Stoics (pp. 633ff.) were by no means the only schools in Athens, though they were the oldest, and there is nothing characteristic in their questions and replies (*cf.* 21₂f.).—**babbler:** lit. "seed picker," then of one picking up crumbs of wisdom and applying them without skill. Ramsay renders "bounder" (*St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 243ff.).—**a setter forth of strange gods:** this was the charge brought against Socrates. "He does not count those gods whom the city counts such, but introduces new demons." The new gods Paul introduced were Jesus and Anastasis, *i.e.* Resurrection; how this was picked from his words we cannot tell, but the resurrection is treated throughout Ac. as Paul's principal doctrine (see 23₆, p. 777). He is taken to the court, not the hill, Areopagus; the court could meet elsewhere, and it also had charge in Roman times of matters of religion and education (p. 614). What follows is not a criminal proceeding but an inquiry. The speech is not calculated for philosophers: it is a popular discourse against idolatry with a Christian conclusion. It is the apparent newness of his doctrine that arouses interest; it is aptly remarked how eagerly new things were sought after at Athens.

XVII. 22–31. Paul's Speech to the Areopagus.—He opens with a compliment to the religiosity of the Athenians. He has walked up and down the city and marked the many objects of worship; he has also found an altar with the inscription "To the Unknown God" (the argument that follows calls for the definite article). There are various instances in antiquity of such an inscription; though always, it is true, in the plural, not the singular number. Jerome says the inscription in the text must have run "To the unknown and foreign gods," and in Pausanias, Philostratus, and other ancient writers such inscriptions are spoken of. In Deissmann's *St. Paul* (p. 261) an inscription is described which has recently been unearthed at Pergamum, also in the plural. That in our text is the only example in antiquity of the inscription in the singular, and Paul's argument is based on it in that form. It would dedicate the altar on which it appeared to a god of whose name and title the founder was not sure, but whom he took to be a real being. Paul uses the inscription in an opposite sense and makes it refer to the one Supreme God, Maker of the world.

25. That God needs nothing is a commonplace in ancient philosophy and literature.—**made of one:** AV **of one blood,** according to an old reading, might refer to the ancient belief, excluded by Genesis, in the autochthonous origin of man. God has settled the order in which each people is to come and the territory it is to occupy; the purpose of the whole is that they should seek for Him; He is not hard to find.—**your own poets:** the quotation (*cf.* Tit. 1₁₂) is from a Stoic poet Aratus (*Phaenom.* 5). Cleanthes, also a Stoic, has a similar sentiment: "For we are his (Zeus's) race." Paul had no need to be familiar with Greek poetry in order to quote a line no doubt well known to every one. In 29 he comes back to the images. Athens had many artificers of such things, but if man is of God's race, no human figure in whatever precious metal can express the Divine to which he is kindred. A sentence should follow, condemning the view of God which lies behind idolatry: but the speech hurries to its conclusion. God might have visited earlier the mistaken worship of Him in idolatry (Rom. 2₄) but He has not done so. Now, however, the day of judgment is at hand (Ps. 9₈); men are called to repent; the Judge is known, He whom God raised from the dead.—**32.** Nothing indicates judicial proceedings; the scene ends abruptly with the moderate success secured by Paul. One male convert is named, Dionysius, a member of the court of Areopagus, and one woman, Damaris; and there were others. Of the church of Athens we hear no more; it is perhaps included in 1 Cor. 1₂.

XVIII. 1–11. Paul at Corinth.—Corinth (p. 832), the seat of the Roman proconsul, was to the Christian missionary as good a field as Athens was the opposite. A great seaport, it was much addicted to vice and luxury, and had a very mixed population, as the Corinthian epistles show us, of rich people and poor, of tradesmen and would-be philosophers.

2f. The edict of Claudius (Suet. *Claudius*, 25) is to be placed in his 9th year, A.D. 49 or 50. We shall see in connexion with Gallio that Paul's arrival in Corinth falls early in 50. Aquila and Priscilla (her name is, for an unknown reason, placed first in 18 and 26, also Rom. 16₃), were there before him, Jews of the Dispersion like himself, and carrying on the same craft. It was natural that he should live with them and join his forces to theirs in the trade whatever it was.[1] It was important for him to set an example of

[1] There is some difference of opinion as to the meaning of "tent maker," and we should like to know whether Paul sat at his work as a weaver, or stood at a table as an upholsterer (Renan translates "tapissier"), or cut out at a table and moved about the floor putting the tent together. In Corinth, as a place much concerned with travel, there would be a steady market for tents.

industry and of independence.—**4** is an editorial insertion, as 5 (read with AV, "Paul was pressed in spirit") tells us that the effective synagogue preaching did not begin till Silas and Timothy joined him. The tenor of the preaching is different from that at Athens, but Paul's preaching was more than this (1 Cor. 2$_2$). It is addressed to the Jews in the synagogue, and sets up vehement opposition on their part; Paul then acts according to the principle stated in 13$_{46}$, and turns to the Gentiles. From 1 Cor. we see that the Corinthian church contained a Jewish element (7$_{18}$), but was predominantly Gentile (12$_2$).—**7.** The opposition decided Paul to change his lodgings; he left the house of Aquila the Jew and went to that of Titus Justus, a Gentile by birth, who had frequented the synagogue. That this house was close to the synagogue would make the breach more marked; the Christian meeting probably took place there. Crispus is mentioned in 1 Cor. 1$_{14}$ as an early convert whom Paul himself baptized.—**9.** This promise explains Paul's long residence at Corinth. The attack (12–17) did not take place at once. The chronological data in Ac. are satisfactory.

XVIII. 12–17. Gallio and Paul.—Gallio's proconsulship is fixed by an inscription at Delphi which came to light in 1905; and gives an absolute date in Pauline chronology (p. 655). He had not been proconsul when Paul came to Corinth (12); his arrival in Achaia is found to have been after midsummer (A.D. 51), while Paul came there early in 50. Gallio was the brother of the philosopher Seneca, who describes him as "sweet" (*dulcis*), and was a man of the highest culture. After his arrival the Jews brought Paul before him on the same charge as that made at Philippi (16$_{21}$) and at Thessalonica (17$_7$), that he preached an illegal religion. Gallio at once decides that as no punishable act is alleged, he will not enter on discussion as to a doctrine and a controversy about persons and the Jewish Law, and so dismisses the case. The attack made by the Jews drew down the wrath of the populace (D has "all the Greeks"). Sosthenes (not he of 1 Cor. 1$_1$) has to suffer for it; Gallio continues in his attitude of indifference to such squabbles.

From 18$_{18}$ to 19$_{20}$ we have a set of anecdotes mostly connected with Ephesus and hanging loosely together.

XVIII. 18–23. Journey to Syria.—No special object, is stated; the facts are placed before us abruptly, and some are hard to understand. An apostle is by his office a traveller who does not give himself to any one church, and Paul had been the best part of two years at Corinth when he bade the brethren there farewell and sailed for Syria. It was Aquila, not Paul, who had a vow and terminated it at Cenchreæ. For the hair sacrifice, see Nu. 6*, and *cf.* 21$_{24}$ below; it would refer here to an escape from some danger of which we know nothing.—**19.** At Ephesus Paul addresses, as elsewhere, the Jews in the synagogue, and is well received, but he will not stay there. With a promise to return he sets off on the voyage. He lands at Cæsarea, and goes up and greets the church. Jerusalem is not mentioned, nor any errand which would take him there, and, so far as the words show, the church may have been that at Cæsarea. The D text of 19$_1$ denies that Paul went to Jerusalem at this time. The phrase "went down to Antioch" does not imply that he went there from Jerusalem (*cf.* 8$_5$). He would reach Antioch in late autumn and spend the winter there, and go westwards when the roads were open in spring. The route is the same as that of 16$_6$.

XVIII. 24–28. Apollos at Ephesus.—Apollos is well known to us from 1 Cor.; his name was adopted by one of the Corinthian parties as their standard (1 Cor. 1 12*). Here we learn more about him, that he was at Ephesus in Paul's absence, and that Aquila and Priscilla were of use to him as teachers. He is a cultivated Alexandrian with a good grasp of Scripture, and he has also had instruction (*cf.* *mg.*) in the way of the Lord; *i.e.* probably in the duties and observances of the new religion. He has the gifts of a teacher, enthusiasm for the subject, information, conviction (the word translated "carefully" conveys more probably this meaning); one thing he lacks. There seems to have been at Ephesus a set of followers of John the Baptist with his water baptism without the Spirit (p. 771). Priscilla and Aquila fill up what is wanting to Apollos' equipment as a Christian missionary and he goes to Corinth (in Paul's absence from both places) recommended by the brethren at Ephesus. D explains the matter thus: "There were some Corinthians living at Ephesus, and when they heard him they urged him to go with them to their city, and on his agreeing the Ephesians wrote to the brethren at Corinth to receive the man." There he used his gift ("grace" seems a better reading; *cf.* *mg.*) effectually to help the believers. That his doctrine was different from Paul's, if only in style, appears from 1 Cor., but not from Ac.

XIX. 1–7. Other Followers of John the Baptist at Ephesus.—Paul's return to Ephesus, promised in 18$_{21}$, is made a part of this anecdote. His movements were not fully known, as we saw in 18$_{21–23}$.[1] The story is, like that of Apollos, obscure; it exhibits a bizarre form of early Christianity (*cf.* 8$_{14}$ff.). For "into John's baptism" we should expect "into John's name." Speaking with tongues indicates (as in 10$_{45}$f.) the descent of the Spirit. The whole story is primitive.

XIX. 8–10. Paul at Ephesus.—After three months in the synagogue (18$_{19–21,26}$) Paul finds it necessary, as in other places, to leave it, and takes his followers to the lecture room of Tyrannus, where he preaches to them. D and other authorities add, "from the fifth to the tenth hour," which corresponds to the time after the conclusion of business.

XIX. 11–20. Miracles, Exorcisms, Burning of Books of Magic.—Peter's shadow cured the sick (5$_{15}$); Paul's minor articles of clothing do the same, according to the widespread belief of antiquity in the indirect communication of personal influence. The belief in possession is best known to us from the Gospels in Palestine; but Greek magical literature shows that it flourished vigorously in other countries also. A humorous story follows, about some wandering Jews who used the name of Jesus as an instrument of exorcism (*cf.* 8$_{19}$). —**13. I adjure you:** *i.e.* "to come out of him." Sceva must be intended as a Jewish high priest, but there is none of such a name.—**16. both:** should be "all" (see Moulton, *Prolegomena*, p. 80).—**17.** The name of the Lord Jesus is the power by which such things come to pass (3$_6$*).—**18.** The deeds confessed might be such as we read of in magical papyri.—**19. curious arts:** a euphemism for magic (*mg.*). These would be books of formulæ for compelling the assistance of spiritual beings, or securing the affections of a beloved, or for inflicting pain and spiritual torment. Ephesian charms had a special reputation.—**50,000 pieces of silver:** say £2000, but we do not know the rate at which such books were sold.

XIX. 21f. Paul's Plan of Travel.—The plan here stated (for "in the spirit," "in his spirit," or "in

[1] D reads here: "When Paul wished to follow his own plan and to travel to Jerusalem, the Spirit said to him to return to Asia, and he went through the upper parts and came to Ephesus."

spirit" may suffice) is that intimated in 1 Cor. 165, which he says in 2 Cor. 115f. that he changed, and which eventually he carried out as far as to Corinth (2 Cor. 212). His desire to visit Rome was an old one; see Rom. 113–16, 1524. In Ac. the shadow of this journey has already been felt (1821, 191, Cod. D). Timothy's journey to Corinth is also spoken of; in 1 Cor. 1610 he is to return to Paul before the latter sets out. The name Erastus occurs in Rom. 1623 and 2 Tim. 420, but it may be doubted whether one, two, or three persons are spoken of in the three passages (see Headlam, art. "Erastus" in HDB).

XIX. 23–41. Tumult at Ephesus.—A change of religion (for "the Way," *cf.* 92) bears hardly on certain trades. In ch. 16 the Gospel interfered with the trade of soothsaying; here the art of the silversmith suffers. This opens a large chapter in the early history of Christianity (*cf.* Tertullian, *On the Public Games; The Soldier's Crown*). Demetrius, to judge from his speech, is rather an employer than a craftsman. His business has been falling off, or he fears it may do so. The silver shrines would be used as mementoes of travel, but people would not purchase them if they ceased to believe in Artemis, and this was the evident outcome of Paul's teaching. The silversmiths and allied trades are therefore called together, and it is pointed out that not only the trade but the goddess herself must suffer if the preaching goes on. The audience fully agrees, works itself up, and vents its feelings in the cry or invocation, "Great Artemis of the Ephesians" (*cf.* D). The feeling overflows the city; the population flocks to a meeting in the theatre. Two of Paul's companions are hurried there. Aristarchus is of Thessalonica (204); Gaius is called a Macedonian (*cf.* 1 Cor. 114, Rom. 1623), but in 204* is perhaps said to be of Derbe. Paul is kept by his friends from going to the theatre; so this was not the deadly peril of which he speaks in 2 Cor. 18, 49. Some of the Asiarchs also (imperial functionaries with certain religious duties connected with the temples and service of the Emperor in Asia) dissuade him from going to the meeting; he has thus attained an influential position at Ephesus. The meeting is graphically described, the shouts, the confusion, the want of purpose. A Jew named Alexander is put forward by his fellow-countrymen to speak; he no doubt was ready to disown the Christians and denounce them as the source of unrest, but the crowd refuse to listen to a Jew, and set up again the shout "Great Artemis!" "Great Artemis!" which goes on for two hours. Then the town-clerk, who doubtless has seen such outbreaks before, comes forward and with a little flattery quiets the people down. All know, he says, that Ephesus is the Warden of great Artemis and of the image which fell down from heaven (not a pretty image if it was like the known representations of the goddess; Demetrius dealt more in temple-models, which might be more artistic). Robbing of temples (37) was an offence with which Jews were liable to be charged (see Rom. 222); the town-clerk vouches for those against whom this tumult has been got up, that they could do nothing of that sort, nor yet blaspheme the goddess. Demetrius is to proceed regularly in the courts if he has any lawful grievance, and any public question is to be settled in the regular meeting of the citizens. The town has gravely exposed itself by the tumult.

XX. 1–6. To Greece; Return to Troas.—The journey sketched in 1921, 1 Cor. 165–9, is entered on; for what happened at Troas and in Macedonia on the way *cf.* 2 Cor. 212f., 75; but of all that intense experience there is little echo in Acts. The sketches of the journey did not fix what route was to be followed from Greece to Jerusalem; here (3) we find that the intention was to go by sea. The plan is changed on account of a Jewish plot. Accordingly Paul sets out to Macedonia with a part only of his companions, the others remaining behind in Greece and overtaking the party by sea. Light is shed on this journey by the epistles; *cf.* Rom. 1522–33, 1 Cor. 161–4, and especially 2 Cor. 8f., where Paul explains the arrangements for carrying to Jerusalem the money collected in Macedonia and Greece for the poor of Judæa, and introduces the envoys chosen by the Macedonian churches who are to go with him. The land party accompanying Paul embraces Sopater of Berœa, son of Pyrrhus, Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica (*cf.* 2 Cor. 818 and 22; these would see their friends on the way), and Gaius and three men from Asia Minor. In 1929 Gaius is named with Aristarchus as a Macedonian. The insertion of a colon after Gaius in the Gr. would give "and Timothy of Derbe." For Tychicus, *cf.* Col. 47; for Trophimus, 2129, 2 Tim. 420. The date of the sailing of the others (6) is given by the Jewish calendar; they reach Troas in less than five days (1611*), and the united party spend a week there.

XX. 7–12. Story of Eutychus.—Paul speaks of the first day of the week in 1 Cor. 162, but not of a breaking of bread on that day, which appears here as an established usage (*cf.* 242). It is Paul's last interview with these people, and he makes the most of it. The lights may be mentioned because of the accusation in early days that the Lord's Supper was partaken of in darkness and was accompanied by excesses. Eutychus (9) is a common name. The treatment is like that by Elijah (1 K. 1721), but the incident may be quite natural: it is reported by an eyewitness. It does not interrupt the proceedings nor, except for a short time, Paul's preaching, which goes on till dawn, after the bread is broken.

XX. 13–16. Troas to Miletus.—In the Armenian *Catena* we read: "But Luke and those with me came on the vessel"; words which, if we were sure of their really being in the journal, would show that Luke was not its author. Preuschen thinks the original text was, "But I, Luke, and those with me," the present text being grammatically impossible, and the emendation in the Armenian easy.

13. Assos, about twelve miles from Troas by land, on a hilly road. A ship has to round Cape Lekton. The Gr. does not compel us to think that Paul walked the distance; he may have ridden.—**14. Mitylene,** the capital of Lesbos, is not far from Assos. For Chios and Samos, see EBi, HDB.—**15.** The call at Trogyllium is omitted in the corrected text. The voyage of four days was made with the N. wind, which blows at that season early in the day and dies away later. The ship seems to have been at the command of the party. 16 speaks of haste at the beginning of the journey; it appears to have been unnecessary later (*cf.* 214), and the reason for avoiding Ephesus may have lain in the circumstances of Paul's leaving that place.—**16.** From the days of unleavened bread (6) to Pentecost is a period of six weeks, and Paul seems to have reached Jerusalem at the time of a festival (2126).

XX. 17–35. Paul's Speech to the Elders of Ephesus at Miletus.—See Ramsay, art. "Miletus" in HDB, as to the difficulties of the journey at that period from Miletus to Ephesus; one had to sail to Priene and make from there a journey of 25 miles across the mountains to Ephesus. The elders or presbyters (*mg.*), afterwards called "bishops" or "overseers" (28), make the toilsome journey, and Paul addresses them.

We have had Paul addressing Jews (ch. 13) and Gentiles (ch. 17); here he addresses Christian office-bearers at a solemn point of his life. This speech hardly stood as we have it in the source; still there are things in it which do belong to this situation and to no other; some heads of it might be in the source, which have been worked up later with hints from Paul's epistles and other writings, and with reference, as we shall see, to later circumstances in the Church. The whole is in a fine style and in a warm tone of sentiment. There is an entire absence of specific Pauline ideas, but there is much in it that Paul could say and did say (*cf. Cambridge Biblical Essays*, pp. 401ff.).

XX. 18–27. Pathetic Appeal to Paul's Past Work at Ephesus and to his Present Position.—18. after what manner I was with you: *cf.* 1 Th. 2₁.—**19. serving the Lord:** *cf.* Rom. 1₁, Phil. 1₁.—**tears:** *cf.* 1 Cor. 2₃.—**trials:** from the Jews; these are not specified in the narrative.—**20. in houses:** *e.g.* of Aquila.—**21. repentance . . . Jesus:** *cf.* 1 Th. 1₉f.—**bound . . . to Jerusalem:** Rom. 15₃₀–₃₂ shows the same mood.—**23.** These intimations come afterwards (21₁₀f.).—**24. ministry . . . Jesus:** somewhat different from Paul's usual statement on the subject.—**25.** How is he so sure he will never be at Ephesus again? Jewish hostility did not usually keep him from revisiting his churches, and he is indulging, at the period this chapter refers to, in plans of a journey to Spain (see Rom. 15₂₄).

XX. 28–30. Duties of the Elders: Coming Dangers.—They are to be as free from blame as he is. The Holy Ghost has made them *episcopoi* of the flock, lit. *overseers;* if we remember what the word means we may translate "bishops"; they are the same persons as the elders (17). The office is local in early Church life; Paul mentions it only in Phil. 1₁; he generally speaks of "those who are over you and admonish you"; see Rom. 12₈, 1 Th. 5₁₂. The earliest bishops have to do with the stores and the hospitality of a Church (see 1 Tim. 3, 5₁₇–₂₀, Tit. 1₅–₉, *Didaché* xv.); those spoken of here have to do with teaching (*cf.* 1 P. 5₂).

28. The end is strange. WH propose to read "the blood of His own son."—**29f.** Who the adversaries are, is hard to tell; there are predictions all through the NT of persecutions without and of strange doctrines arising within (1 Jn. 2₁₉, Rev. 2₁₄). The mention of bishops and the forecast of heresies are probably both marks of a somewhat later time for the redaction of this speech.

XX. 32–35. Conclusion.—32. Read *mg.*—**33.** *Cf.* 2 Cor. 12₁₄f., 1 Cor. 4₁₂, 1 Th. 2₉.—**35. the words of the Lord Jesus,** which are in none of our Gospels (see Ecclus. 4₃₁, 1 Clem. 2₁), make a very effective conclusion of the affecting speech.

XXI. 1–6. From Miletus to Tyre.—The sailing is by day, with a following wind (*cf.* 20₁₅). After "Patara" D adds "and Myra," where Paul touched on his journey to Rome (see 27₅). Vessels from the East for Rome made for Myra and coasted from there. The vessel from Assos in which Paul was, whether or not chartered for the party, probably went no further than Patara or Myra; he had to tranship, and the rest of his voyage was on the open sea, past the SW. corner of Cyprus, which was sighted. At Tyre there was an enforced delay for the discharge of cargo (*cf.* "accomplished the days," 5). The Christians in the large city had to be looked for, but they took an interest in Paul and warned him that it was dangerous for him to go to Jerusalem. Paul was himself aware of the danger (Rom. 15₃₀f.). The scene on the beach shows that the church at Tyre was not a large one; the fragrance of it is still sweet to us.

XXI. 7–14. To Cæsarea.—From Tyre to Ptolemais (p. 28) is 20 miles. The stay there is brief; the journey from Ptolemais to Cæsarea, about 30 miles, was probably by land. Philip arrived at Cæsarea after his meeting with the eunuch (8₄₀); he still lived there and he received the party. None of the prophecies of his daughters on this occasion are given; the visit lasted some days, and if Philip was one of the Twelve as well as one of the Seven of Ac. 6, much would be said that we should like to know. The third Gospel, according to some scholars, was largely indebted to this meeting. Agabus (11₂₈) is here introduced to us afresh, and symbolises with Paul's girdle the bonds and imprisonment which in 20₂₃ Paul said were everywhere foretold to him. Yet his resolution is not shaken.

XXI. 15f. To Jerusalem.—"We packed up" is probably nearer the original than either AV or RV (see *mg.*). The arrangement of quarters at Jerusalem for the party is interesting; but D and the Philox. Syriac read: "when we came to a certain village we found quarters with Mnason." The journey was 65 miles; they would be more than one night on the way.

XXI. 17–26. Arrival at Jerusalem: Paul's Nazirite Vow.—17 gives the general impression on both sides when Paul arrived; in 18 he presents himself to James with his retinue, and finds the elders, *i.e.* the governing body of the Church (11₃₀), assembled to receive them. His report to them is given as in 14₂₇, 15₄. Nothing is said of the subvention from the churches of Macedonia and Greece. The elders have already been considering Paul's arrival, the painful impressions which prevail about him and doubtless occasioned the warnings received on the journey, and possible means of removing them. They represent multitudes of Jews who believe in Christ and yet are upholders of the Law and the customs. These Christian Jews have been told that Paul encourages all the Jews who live among Gentiles to desert Moses, to give up circumcising their children and all their distinctive practices. This must place the Jewish Christians in a painful position. Paul should consider this. The elders have thought of a plan to remove these misconceptions and establish his reputation as a law-abiding Jew. He is to associate himself with four men who have a Nazirite vow (Nu. 6*) to discharge, himself coming under the same vow and paying the expenses of the whole party. The person taking the vow let his hair grow and abstained from every form of wine and defiling contact, and, when the vow matured, presented offerings at the Temple (Nu. 6₁₃–₁₇), and then shaved his head and put the hair in the fire of the sacrifice. Paul, having just arrived at Jerusalem, could not fully discharge such a vow, which took time (at least thirty days); but the considerable expense of the party of five, two lambs and a ram each, with additions, would show his sincerity as a supporter of the Temple and its rites. This on his part, and on the part of the Gentile Christians the careful observance of the rescript of ch. 15, will secure the position of the Law for all parties. Paul agrees; he goes next day to the Temple and adds his vow to theirs; it is to be for seven days (27).

XXI. 27–36. Outburst of Jewish Fury against Paul in the Temple: his Arrest.—A week later Paul is in the Temple to discharge his vow; whether it was discharged or not is uncertain. The sight of him there infuriates certain Jews from Asia (Ephesus was the metropolis of that province), who at once begin shouting, as they lay their hands on Paul, that he teaches everywhere a doctrine subversive of all that the Jew

held dear; and that he had violated the Temple by taking a Gentile into the inner court. An inscription on the railings (Rev. 11_2*, *cf.* Eph. 2_{14}*) denounced the penalty of death against any Gentile found there. It was a suspicion merely; Trophimus (20_4) had been seen with Paul on the streets but not in the Temple. Paul is dragged at once out of the Temple, which he is accused of defiling and which must at once be cleared. The Roman garrison at Jerusalem was a cohort (600 men) with some cavalry, under a tribune (3_1 *mg.*); it was lodged in the Antonia Tower at the NW. corner of the Temple area and connected with the Temple by two flights of steps. The tribune, thinking he has before him a dangerous character, orders him (33) to be heavily chained (*cf.* 12$_6$), and to ascertain the merits of the case takes him up to the barracks (34).

36. Away with him: *cf.* Lk. 23_{18}.

XXI. 37–40. Conversation on the Steps: Paul Addresses the Jews.—Josephus (*Wars*, II. xiii. 5, *Ant.* XX. viii. 6) tells us of an Egyptian Jew who, under Felix, led 30,000 men to the Mount of Olives with promises of the Messianic kingdom. He escaped when his followers were killed and dispersed; the tribune here supposes the Jews to be taking vengeance on him. He is surprised to hear Paul speak Greek: what language he expected the Egyptian to use, is not clear. The assassins are the *Sicarii*, dagger-men, who were the extreme Jewish party and spread terror in Judæa in the days of Felix (p. 610). That Paul after his rough usage should be anxious to address the excited crowd at his feet, seems unlikely, as also is his being allowed by the tribune to do so. But this is the last opportunity for Paul to address the Jewish people; the stairs give the position, and he is exhibited once more as enjoying the favour of a Roman official (*cf.* 13$_7$, 18_{12}ff.).

XXII. 1–21. Paul's Speech to the Jews.—The opening of the speech is like that of Stephen (7$_2$). In 2 Cor. 11_{22} Paul attests his full membership of the Jewish people, and having lived many years in Palestine he could no doubt speak Aramaic, though his countrymen did not expect it of him.

3. at the feet of Gamaliel: Jewish boys sat on the floor at their lessons.—**Gamaliel:** *cf.* 5$_{34}$. Some scholars are strongly inclined to put Paul down as a pure Hellenist in his schooling. If he did study with Gamaliel, it was probably immediately before his conversion (1_{25}*).—**zealous for God:** *cf.* Gal. 1_{14}.—**4. this Way:** *cf.* 9$_2$, Gal. 1_{13}; on the High Priest's letters *cf.* 9$_2$. The following narrative has curious differences from that in ch. 9; it was an oft-told tale.—**6. about noon** is a new touch here.—**7f.** as in ch. 9.—**9** differs from 9$_7$.—**14.** The knowledge of his vocation, which Paul himself (Gal. 1_{16}) ascribes to Divine revelation, is here communicated to him by Ananias. In Ac. 9 Ananias has it imparted to him; here he imparts it to Paul.—**know his will:** *cf.* Lk. 12_{47}, Rom. 2_{18}.—**the righteous one:** *cf.* 3_{14}.—**15.** In $1_{8,22}$ the believers are to be witnesses of the Resurrection; what Paul has seen and heard qualifies him to be so too.—**16. calling on his name:** *cf.* 2_{21}, 9_{14}.—**17–21.** Paul's call to the Gentile mission is here represented as taking place not as, in 9_{15} and 26_{17}, at his conversion, but some time after it at Jerusalem. This is not consistent with his own statements in Gal. 1, where his first visit to Jerusalem had no such importance for him; but explains how his call came to be different from that of the first apostles.

XXII. 22–29. After the Speech, in the Barracks.—Like Stephen, Paul is interrupted, and threatened with stoning. The throwing dust into the air is probably to be understood as an expression of blind fury (*cf.* 2 Mac. 4_{41}). But the tribune takes him into the barracks and proceeds himself to deal with him. The story is taken up from 21_{38}. If Paul is a leader of sedition, the case must be dealt with instantly. The examination was to be with scourging, as was customary with slaves and persons not citizens (see Lk. 23 16). The apostle is being stretched out "for" (*mg.*) the scourging with leather thongs, when he remonstrates with the centurion in charge (as at Philippi, 16_{37}) that he is a Roman who must not be subjected to such usage, and that there has been no trial. The tribune comes to inquire into the first point: he is a Roman himself, by purchase, and knows he has gone too far. It was a crime to bind a Roman citizen (Cic. *in Verrem*, ii. 5). On Paul's citizenship, which he inherited from his father, as he perhaps from his, see Ramsay, *Cities of Paul:* Tarsus.

XXII. 30–XXIII. 10. Paul Before the Sanhedrin.—This is a difficult section, and does not advance the action. Unless the proceedings took place in Greek, the tribune would scarcely secure his object of learning the charge against Paul; it is strange that he should have called a meeting of the Sanhedrin for this purpose, which could be reached otherwise. Paul is released from his chains and faces the court without them, and without the presence of military. He begins a speech which was to explain his position, but is rudely interrupted; he has not been asked to speak, and might be regarded as treating the court without respect. He retorts with applying an abusive epithet to the High Priest who had ordered the interruption. The "and" before his question (3*b*) expresses surprise or indignation. Ananias, son of Nedebæus, was High Priest from about A.D. 47; Paul might not have seen him before, but he was presiding at the meeting, "judging" him, Paul says. There is a screw loose in the narrative, and the appeal (5) to Ex. 22_{28} does not make it tight. Paul, however, is not silenced; he calls out aloud the subject of difference between the two great parties, which they no doubt ignored at their meetings, thus playing the *enfant terrible* among those grave and reverend men. It is on account of the hope and the resurrection of the dead that he is being judged, he says. He was not being judged at all (22_{30}), and if he was, the charge against him was not that he believed in the Resurrection, but that he subverted the authority of Moses among the Jews of the Dispersion (21_{21}). The diversion, however, is very successful; the meeting is at once in an uproar. Some of the Pharisees actually defend Paul; they find the story he tells (ch. 22) of his vision credible. He may have been visited by a spirit or an angel, and then—the conclusion is left to be imagined. The tribune fears that in spite of this Paul will be torn in pieces; the military are to come and remove him. The author does not state his conclusion as to the charge here, but see 29.

XXIII. 11. The Lord Appears to Paul.—This section is independent of the preceding scene; the testifying spoken of is in ch. 22, and the vision would stand quite well after 22_{29}. The idea of Rome was in his mind (see 19_{21}); the Lord makes his imprisonment appear as a road there, which it was.

XXIII. 12–24. Jewish Plot: Removal of Paul.—The Jews propose what the tribune, in 22_{30}–23_{10}, has already done on his own initiative; here we are on historical ground. The hated person being removed from their power, they plan an assassination. Forty of them make themselves a curse (so literally), *i.e.* they are to be accursed if they do not carry out their purpose; and they are to fast till it is done. For this

end they apply to the high priests and elders to get the tribune to bring Paul down to a meeting for a further inquiry. No doubt is entertained apparently that the leaders will countenance such a plot. The tribune, who is well disposed to Paul since he discovered his citizenship, at once removes him from danger; but 470 men seem a large force for the purpose. Lysias' motive in all this apparatus was his fear that the Jews might get hold of Paul and kill him, and he be accused of corruption in letting them do so. The start is ordered at 9 P.M., and Paul is to be got through to Felix at Cæsarea. On Felix, see p. 610.

XXIII. 26–30. Letter of Claudius Lysias to Felix.—Felix is addressed as "most excellent" (so Lk. 1$_3$, Ac. 26$_{25}$), a title of courtesy applied to proconsuls, officers of rank, and private persons. Lysias allows himself to say that he had assisted Paul because he had heard he was a Roman, and that he had done nothing worthy of bonds (*cf.* the two chains, 21$_{33}$, 22$_{30}$). An official sending a prisoner to a higher court might specify the charge (*cf.* 25$_{27}$); and Lysias takes credit for having investigated the point, and for having found that the charge involved no legal offence. This, even if true, does not prove that the Sanhedrin scene (22$_{30}$–23$_{10}$) had really taken place; Lysias had other means of satisfying himself.

XXIII. 31–35. Arrival at Cæsarea.—Antipatris (p. 28), a Greek town even the name of which has disappeared, was where Ras-el-Ain is now, on the road from Lydda to Cæsarea, 40 miles from Jerusalem, 25 from Cæsarea. 40 miles are more than a night's march for infantry. The procurator asks the necessary question as to the province of the prisoner (*cf.* Lk. 23f.), and undertakes to hear the case when the prosecutors arrive. Of the prætorium (*mg.*) of Herod at Cæsarea nothing is known.

XXIV. 1–9. Hearing before Felix: Speech for the Prosecution.—It would take five days (1) for the summons of Lysias (23$_{30}$) to be acted on, and the prosecutors to travel down. The High Priest and some elders appear, to sustain a judgment they have not yet passed (*cf.* 6–8 *mg.*, which may well be the true text) with an orator acquainted with the practice of Roman courts. Information is laid against Paul; Paul is called before the court, or the case is called in court (2), and counsel appears for the prosecution. His speech is given in short; his compliments to the procurator (who had in truth done much to suppress piracy; what other evils we do not know), his desire to be brief, then the charge and the suggestion that the facts will come out in the examination of Paul himself. The charge is that of sedition, disturbance of order, and an offence against the Temple. He is a pest; he has created disorder all over the world; he is a ringleader of the sect of the Nazoreans.

XXIV. 10–21. Paul's Speech.—Paul does not speak till the procurator invites him to do so, according to the necessary order of all judicial proceedings. His speech is not quite so "fine" as that of Tertullus, yet while strictly to the point, as was necessary in the circumstances, it is full of elegant turns which have to some extent confused the scribes, so that the text is at some points uncertain. Felix has been for many years procurator; no further compliment is paid him.

The twelve days of 11 are apparently the sum of the seven days of 21$_{27}$, and the five of 24$_1$. But a few more must be added (21$_{17,18,26}$, 23$_{11}$). Paul's visit to Jerusalem was made from a religious motive, and he was not involved in any disturbance or debate there, in Temple or synagogue or street. The accusations are denied, as incapable of proof; except that which charges him with belonging to a sect. He calls it "the Way," the method, and claims that it does not prevent him from being a good Jew, nor from believing all that is contained in the Law and the Prophets, nor from the belief of the Pharisees, who are accusing him, in the coming resurrection of just and unjust. His principles are those of all good Jews, and he has striven to act up to them (16). He then speaks (17) of the errand which after an absence of years brought him to Jerusalem, of which in all the exciting days there no mention was made. Having come to Jerusalem with alms and offerings for his people, he was quietly discharging in the Temple, in the course of that undertaking, a vow of purification; here the grammar breaks down; he thinks of the Jews of Asia (21$_{27}$) who raised the outcry against him, and they are left without a verb to say what they did; they should have been present before Felix to substantiate the charges they made. The Pharisees who appear as his accusers were not present, but they had him before them in the Sanhedrin. Can they bring any charge against him on the ground of what took place there? On one point perhaps they can; the apostle apologises for having said he was being tried for believing in the resurrection (23$_6$), which shows the artificial nature of this speech and of the part of the narrative on which it is based.

XXIV. 22f. Felix Adjourns the Case.—The clause "having more exact knowledge concerning the Way" may be due to the editor, who tends to exhibit Roman officials as favourable to the cause (Preuschen). It was necessary, of course, that the tribune should be heard on the matter.

XXIV. 24–27. Paul and Felix.—Drusilla was the third daughter of Agrippa (12$_1$); and Felix had taken her from her husband Azizus of Emesa. She was his third wife, and all three were queens. The marriage was still recent, and Paul's preaching of temperance and judgment would touch them. Other hearings took place; but the delay in the case is set down to another motive than interest in the preaching. The trial of Paul seems to be the date from which the two years (27) are reckoned; two reasons being given for the long delay. Felix's last thought on leaving is to win favour from the Jews; which he much needed. The Syriac gives an additional motive for leaving Paul in prison; it was done on account of Drusilla.

XXV. 1–12. Trial before Festus.— Of Festus little is known, but nothing unfavourable. Here he appears as a conscientious magistrate, who keeps everyone in his proper place and does not allow the course of justice to be unduly delayed. Mommsen in ZNTW, 1901, p. 81, finds the account of Paul's trials before Felix and Festus, in spite of some editorial touches, to be quite in accordance with Roman legal form, and says that in this report alone is a case of appeal to the Emperor placed before us in living reality. The new procurator having entered on his office (1 *mg.*) there is an end of the long delay. The animosity of the Jews against Paul is unabated after the two years. To their application (3) Festus replies by pointing out their proper legal course; "those who are of power" (5) means those who had a right to appear at Cæsarea. This takes place without delay, the Jews from Jerusalem standing round Paul and making their charges. If the nature of these can be inferred from Paul's answer in 8, they were identical with those made in the Temple (21$_{28}$), together with a general one of disloyalty. The Asiatic Jews of the Temple being absent, there was a want of evidence for all this, and Paul denies their statements. Festus then puts to him what the Jews asked for. Will he agree to a trial at Jerusalem at which he, the procurator, will preside?

Paul is aware (they have no doubt made it plain) that it is his death and nothing less that the Jews desire; and that to take him to Jerusalem is virtually to hand him over to those who have already sentenced him. He does not seek to escape from death if he deserves it, but if their charges are without substance, he pleads, no one is entitled to make a present of him to them, as they asked (3). He insists on his rights as a Roman citizen to be tried in the Emperor's court. The appeal to Cæsar is formally made, and after Festus has consulted with his assessors (23*), is formally allowed.

XXV. 13–22. Agrippa and Bernice: Interest of Agrippa in Paul.—Agrippa was seventeen years old when his father died (12$_{23}$). He obtained from Claudius and Nero certain territories in the N. of Palestine, but he had little power of action. He built largely at Cæsarea Philippi and at Berytus (Aleppo), and was not much interested in religious matters. Bernice was his sister, the sister also of Drusilla. After living many years with her brother she excited the admiration of Titus and lived with him at Rome. The private conversation of Festus and Agrippa (14–22) was probably given by the writer of the source, who was acquainted with the principles of Roman law, and made it up very correctly. Festus gives his view of the case publicly in 23–27. In 25$_3$ the Jews asked that Paul might be sent to Jerusalem; here, that sentence of condemnation might be given against him. The maxim of 16 is to be found in the Roman Digests, xlviii. 17$_1$. Festus' account (17ff.) shows that there was no delay on his part; the charges which he reports are not those against which Paul protests in 8 but rather those of the Sanhedrin meeting in 23$_{1-9}$.

20. Translate: "and as I knew little about such disputes."—21. Note *mg*.

XXV. 23–27. Paul Placed before Agrippa.—Festus probably lived in Herod's palace at Cæsarea, which would contain a large court-room for judicial proceedings, the "place of hearing." The officers of rank and the leading people of Cæsarea are taken by Mommsen to make up the council which Festus consulted (12), and Agrippa is also allowed to be connected with that body. Festus states the case again, but shortly: he confesses himself to be at a loss how to write the letter with which a prisoner appealing to a higher court had to be accompanied (*Digests*, xlix. 6).

26. my lord (Kyrios): the emperors from Caligula downwards accept the title by which Oriental monarchs were addressed, and which Augustus and Tiberius had refused. The words "after examination had" (26) represent the following scene as a quasi-judicial inquiry, not merely the diversion of a court. But the hearing of Paul by Agrippa may have been found existing by itself and adopted by our author in spite of the fact that the same matter has been given twice already in his book.

XXVI. 1–23. Paul Speaks before Agrippa.—It is Agrippa the vassal king, not Festus the representative of the sovereign power, who calls on Paul to speak, and to whom Paul addresses himself throughout, even after the intervention of Festus (24–26). In 9$_{15}$ it was predicted that Paul would speak before kings, and he now does so. The speech is in elegant Greek, and abounds in classical turns and expressions, suited for such an audience. The king is not called a Jew, but complimented on his familiarity with Jewish ways and questions. Expressions are piled up to indicate that all the Jews, both in his own nation (*i.e.* at Tarsus) and at Jerusalem know that from his earliest days Paul was never anything but a Pharisee. To the Jewish king this might be a recommendation. He repeats that it is for believing in the Resurrection that he is prosecuted (see 23$_{6-9}$), which will not bear scrutiny, since the Pharisees generally believed in it. He was prosecuted for the consequences he inferred from the resurrection of Christ, viz. that the Law was not essential to salvation. The question in 8 is therefore irrelevant, though it throws light on early controversies in which the Christians may have sought to shelter their belief behind that of the Pharisees. On the story of Paul's conversion (9–18), see 9$_{2}$ff*. The words "gave my vote against them" (10) are not to be taken strictly; he no doubt did what he could in local synagogues to secure their punishment, but he could have no vote there nor in the Sanhedrin. He also "strove to make them blaspheme," *i.e.* to abjure Jesus (*cf.* 1 Cor. 12$_3$). On the power he may have had from the high priests (12), see 9$_2$*. The slight changes from the earlier versions of the story: that the whole party fell down; that the voice went on, in the proverbial expression, "It is hard . . . pricks"; that the message conveyed in ch. 9 through Ananias is here spoken by the Lord Himself; all show how much the story was repeated and how it varied in repetition. The principal facts and words are in all three versions. Paul's witness (16) is to be both of what is revealed to him in his first vision and of what will be revealed to him of Christ in visions yet to come, and he is (to be?) delivered (this word may also mean "chosen") from Jew and Gentile alike, to be sent to both alike, to fulfil to them prophetic predictions (Jer. 1$_7$, Is. 35$_5$). Passages of later Pauline epistles are also echoed here; *cf.* Eph. 2$_2$, Col. 1$_{13}$. In his own account, the Gentiles are his mark; see Gal. 1$_{16}$. Agrippa is personally called on (19) to recognise that Paul was faithful to this charge. The statement (20) that he preached at Damascus and at Jerusalem and throughout all Judæa, agrees with 9, but can with difficulty be reconciled with Gal. 1$_{16}$f.* That his preaching to the Jews and Gentiles was the reason of the attack made on him by the Jews in the Temple (21) is not the whole truth (see 21$_{27-30}$). The help by which he was freed from that peril (22) and enabled to continue his testimony, was brought to him by Lysias, whom he is here made to recognise as an instrument of God. What he states as his Gospel is what in Lk. 24$_{44-47}$ the risen Lord Himself puts in the mouths of His followers, that the prophets and Moses are fulfilled in Him, that the Christ is not only a Conqueror but a Sufferer; but special weight is laid here on the Resurrection. Christ as the first risen from the dead is the great proclaimer of light to Jew and Gentile. A parallel to this will scarcely be found in the Pauline writings (*cf.* 1 P. 2$_9$, Jn. 1$_4$, 8$_{12}$).

XXVI. 24–29. Challenges and Rejoinders.—That Paul was out of his senses was said of him at Corinth (2 Cor. 5$_{13}$); there is nothing in what he is reported to have said on this occasion that would suggest it even to a heathen, who must have seen various forms of religious enthusiasm. Paul answers that he is in his sober senses, but he turns to Agrippa, in whom he is interested; he is acquainted with the facts about Christ which are notorious; he believes the prophets and must concede that they spoke of Christ. The speech of Agrippa in 28 is given in a text which has many variants and which WH (ii. *App.* 100) despair of restoring.[1] With the reading of Ephraim, given below,

[1] The reading underlying AV. "to become a Christian," is a correction to escape the difficulty of the older text "you are lightly persuaded to make me a Christian" (RV), which is unsatisfactory. The use of the term "Christian" by Agrippa is strange; it originated at Antioch (11$_{26}$); the Palestinian name for the new sect was Nazoraios (24$_5$, *cf.* 2$_{22}$*). In the Armenian Catena the Syrian Father Ephraim omits this term, and reads simply, "You are persuading me to a small thing."

Agrippa puts Paul's question aside as a trifling one; of course he believes the prophets, but what then? Paul, on the other hand (29), plays with Agrippa's phrase, and declares his desire that whether in a small matter or a great (or, his words may be taken, whether for a little time or a long time), his hearers might stand where he does, though with better fortune.

XXVI. 30–32. Result of the Hearing.—30 scarcely suggests the deliberations of a court after the hearing.

XXVII. Paul's Journey to Rome.[1]—**1–8. To Crete.**—Here we again reach the Travel-document, which accompanies us to 28 16. There is evidence of an Augustan cohort in Syria. A coasting vessel is taken for the first part of the voyage. For Aristarchus, see 19 29, 20 4. The voyage eastwards (21 3) passed to the S. of Cyprus; this time the northern route is taken, on account of the W. wind which prevails in the Levant in summer. On reaching the coast of Asia Minor local land breezes carried the ship more slowly westward; the voyage to Myra (21 1*) is said in various MSS to have taken 15 days. The W. wind would enable the corn ship (38), in which the voyage was continued, to cross the Mediterranean from Alexandria direct to Myra, and it would coast from there along Asia Minor; this was the normal voyage in those days. Progress was slow from Myra to the longitude of Cnidus, the wind being still from the W., and from there the shelter of the S. of Crete was sought, as that wind allowed. Salmone is the NE. point of Crete, on rounding which it was possible, though not easy, to coast along westwards. Fair Havens is a bay sheltered from the W. and the N. winds, and the last shelter in this voyage from the W. wind.

XXVII. 9–26. To Malta.—The Fast of the great Day of Atonement fell on the 10th of Tishri (Sept.–Oct.). The season for shipping ended November 11, and opened again March 5; but voyages were counted dangerous after the middle of September. Paul speaks as an experienced traveller, and one who has been thrice shipwrecked (2 Cor. 11 25). He is against setting sail again (21). The centurion, who had authority to control the navigation since the corn ship was a government vessel (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 321), does not listen to him; quite rightly he is guided by the experts who are responsible for the navigation, the master of the ship and the owner. The experts agreed with Paul so far that they did not wish to leave the shelter of Crete (12); they considered Fair Havens unsuitable for wintering, and were for holding along the S. shore of Crete till they came to a harbour suitable for that purpose. Phoenix, the best harbour of Crete (now Lutro), has an island at its mouth and looks, it is said, down the SW. and the NW. wind (*mg.*), *i.e.* affords shelter from these winds; it is 40 miles from Fair Havens, over open water. (12 would, as Wellhausen points out (*Acts*, p. 17), read better after 8.) The hurricane which came down from the mountains of Crete is called in the old text *Euroclydon*, "SE.," which may mean East-billower; in the text followed by RV it is *Euraquilo*, "NE.," which answers well to the circumstances. The bow of the ship could not be brought up to this wind, so they let her away and drove before it. The little island Cauda, or Clauda, gave so much shelter, that the boat the ship had been towing behind her could, though with great difficulty, be hauled on board. The operation next described, "they used helps (Ramsay, 'attempts to ease the ship') undergirding the ship," is no longer practised since ships are built of iron, but was frequently carried out on wooden ships even in the nineteenth century; the timbers were to be prevented from opening, through the straining of the mast under the great sail, by passing cables round her waist. 17*b* has been explained in different ways. The ship is now in the open sea, and the NE. wind would of itself drive her upon the Syrtis, the great sands on the N. coast of Africa. To prevent this the rate of drifting might be reduced; most German commentators consider that this was the intention, and that a sea-anchor of something heavy was lowered from the stern. The Gr. words might be used of such an apparatus. But the ship drifted westwards, to Malta, and the operation, if we take "the gear" to be the yard and sail, was aimed at that result. Sail was shortened, so that the ship could lie to and not be carried to the S. but drift W. This would increase the rolling of the ship, and let the waves wash more freely over her; lightening operations were therefore resorted to, so that she might rise in the water; a beginning was made with the cargo, though enough was left to act as ballast (38), and the day after, the deck lumber (Smith thinks the great yard) was thrown out. (The AV gives this in the first person; the passengers had to help.) The sun and stars (20) were the mariner's compass in these days; without seeing them he could not tell in what direction he was going; and the wind still blew strong. But Paul, who had been shipwrecked thrice before, and had a fixed conviction that he was yet to see great things, did not yield to the despair that had fallen on the ship's company (21). He is sure all who are in the ship will be saved; he has had a message to that effect; God's designs with him will have that consequence. An island will receive them.

XXVII. 27–44. Landing on Malta.—"Adria" was not then what is now called the Adriatic, but was a general name for the sea between Malta, Italy, Greece, and Crete. After a fortnight's tossing on this sea there were signs that "some land was approaching." This took place at night when nothing could be seen; distant breakers probably were heard. The surmise was confirmed by the use of the lead, and lest she should go upon the rocks in the dark, the ship was anchored, but in such a way that her bow pointed to the shore. When day broke they would know what kind of a shore it was. The crew may not have wished to desert the ship (30), but the safety of the party required that they should remain on board, and on Paul's initiative, the soldiers secured that they should do so. The exact translation of the first clause of 33 is: "But till it should come to be day," indicating that the time of waiting was filled up by the action of Paul, which is narrated, and which needs little comment. There was nothing to be done, and the people were hungry (21); food is hard to come by, and apt to be forgotten, in a storm, and provisions get spoiled. The meal put them in better heart for the efforts still to be made. As for the number (37), Josephus tells us of a voyage he made to Rome with 600 on board. The discharge of the cargo (38) would help the ship when run aground to move higher up the beach. The bay with a sandy beach (39) is identified with St. Paul's Bay in the NE. of Malta. For a description, see Smith. The anchors, accordingly, were slipped and left in the sea (40); the two great oars, one on each side of the stern, by which the ship was steered and which were tied up while she was at anchor, were released from their fastenings; the foresail, the smaller sail, was hoisted to give her steering way, and they made for the beach. The "place where two seas met" (41) is probably at the inner side of the

[1] On the whole chapter see *The Voyage and Shipwreck of S. Paul*, by James Smith, 1848; a book full of valuable information on the whole subject.

island Salmonetta, which lies at the mouth of St. Paul's Bay. There is a stiff, muddy bottom, good for anchoring, or for holding fast a ship that runs aground on it. If the ship drew 18 feet, there would be a good deal of rough water between her and the land.

[38. In spite of the opening words, "the wheat" must be the cargo of grain which they were taking to Rome, not the provisions for crew and passengers; to have thrown these overboard would have been improvident and of little use. Naber (*Mnemosyne*, 1881, pp. 293f.) conjectures *histon* for *siton*, "throwing out the mast." This involves merely the transposition of two letters. He thinks the "mast" is not the main-mast, but a smaller mast in the bows to which the foresail could be attached. The main-mast, he supposes, may have been cut away several days previously. His discussion is reproduced in Baljon's edition of the NT, pp. 421f. It rests on the (probably incorrect) view that "the wheat" means the supplies for the voyage; and the emendation cannot be pronounced more than tempting and ingenious.—A. S. P.]

XXVIII. 1–6. The Inhabitants of Malta.—The inhabitants of Malta were of Phœnician extraction; they are called barbarians in 2, as they spoke another language than Greek; inscriptions in two languages are found in the island. The date of the landing was before the middle of November (27$_{9,27}$), and the weather was cold, a miserable situation but for the kindness of the inhabitants. For Paul's sentiments on such an occasion, see 2 Cor. 14 and that epistle generally, written about a year before this. But all that is told us of him is that he gathered some sticks, and what came out of them (*cf.* Mk. 16^{18}). Ramsay (*Luke the Physician*, pp. 63–65) identifies the snake as *Coronella Austriaca*, a constrictor without poison fangs, similar in size and appearance to the viper. It was not the first time that Paul had been taken for a god; *cf.* 14^{11}f.

XXVIII. 7–10. Visit to Publius.—The "chief" man of the island is in the Gr. the "first" man, an official title, found on inscriptions in Malta (p. 614). The cure of his father by Paul is effected by prayer and imposition of hands (*cf.* 9^{12,17}). Paul believed in his own power to do such things (2 Cor. 12^{12}), and in the gift of healing given to other believers (1 Cor. 12^{9}); see also Jas. 5^{14}. It is not necessary to suppose that there was a physician in the party.

XXVIII. 11–15. Journey from Malta to Rome.—"Three months" brings us to the middle of February, which is before the opening of navigation. They had doubtless seen the *Dioscuri*, Heavenly Twins, a ship like that in which they were wrecked, and making the same voyage from Alexandria to Italy. A day's sail would bring them to Syracuse. From Syracuse to Rhegium they had not a S. wind, and if the text is correct they had to tack. The *mg.*, "they cast loose," adopted by WH, is too trivial a statement. After a day at Rhegium (now Reggio), the wind sprang up which they wanted, and they sailed in a day to Puteoli, where the passengers landed.

The journey is not like that of a prisoner on his way to trial, as Preuschen remarks, but like that of a missionary whose time is at his own disposal. The centurion has disappeared out of the story, and only comes forward again in 16 (*mg.*). Paul is twice said to have come to Rome (14 and 16). Ramsay suggests that the first time it is to the "Ager Romanus" that he comes, the Roman territory, marked, no doubt, in some way at its border. But 15 is against this; the brethren did not come from the Roman territory to meet Paul, but from Rome itself, we must presume. The writer seems to be working from two sources, the one telling of Paul's coming to Rome as 14f. does, and the other which presents him as a prisoner in 16. Appii Forum on the Appian Road is 40 miles, "Three Taverns" 30 miles, from Rome. We may suppose Paul to have been glad to meet some of those he had lately addressed in the greatest of his letters, but the narrative is abbreviated. We find the centurion again (16), who in some codices (*mg.*) hands over his prisoners to the *stratopedarch*, *i.e.* not the commander of the prætorian guard but the officer in charge of the communications between the legions of the provinces and headquarters. Paul's confinement is easy; he must have been in command of resources (p. 772). He lives in a lodging of his own, chained, no doubt to the soldier who guarded him.

XXVIII. 17–21. Interview with the Jews at Rome.—30 is continuous with 16. In 17–29 the programme ascribed to Paul in Ac., that he addresses the Jews first, the Gentiles when the Jews have proved unbelieving, is exhibited in a conspicuous instance. The relations of Paul with the Christians at Rome (15) are not mentioned again. On his arrival he at once (17) summons the principal Jews and defends himself to them as he had done in 24^{12} against the charge of attacking the Law. The end of 17 is a perversion of the facts as placed before us in ch. 21; the Jews are represented as arresting Paul at Jerusalem and handing him over to the Romans at some other place. Claudius Lysias is quite forgotten. The verdict of the Roman officials on his case is correctly reflected in 18, and his appeal to Cæsar is stated as in 25^{11}. Speaking to Jews he forgets the plot made against him (25^{2}f.). 20 repeats the claim (23^{6}, 24^{15}, 26^{7}) that it is for believing in the Resurrection that he is a prisoner. *Cf.* p. 777.

The reply of the Jews in 21 is curious in view of the charges made by Jews since the beginning of his European mission (17^{6}f., 21^{20}f.,28, 24^{5}) against which he constantly defends himself. Their politeness must have put a strain on their conscience if they spoke as here reported; or is it the writer of Ac. who thus prepares the scene which is to exhibit them as deliberately rejecting the Gospel? Though they have heard no evil of Paul, they have heard of his sect, but for Paul's sake they are willing to listen to its doctrine.

XXVIII. 23–28. The Jews are Hardened.—It was a numerous meeting; we can scarcely understand the words to mean that more came the second time than the first. "The kingdom of God" is a wide phrase for the Christian doctrine which began with the announcement of the nearness of God's rule (*cf.* 1^{3}). The doctrine about Jesus, supported by texts from the Law and the Prophets, is appropriate to the audience, and sums up what the writer considered to be the essence of Christian preaching (*cf.* Lk. 24^{44}). But they must have heard it all before; the occasion could not have such tragic importance for them as Paul's quotation of Is. 6^{9}f. (LXX) suggests. The passage appears in the Gospels in controversy with the Jews; see Mk. 4^{12}*, Jn. 12^{40}; also 1 Clem. 33, Justin, *Dial.* 12 and 28. The words added in *mg.* (29) are a repetition of 24f., and are out of place after the verdict on the Jews given in the quotation. In Rom. 1^{14} Paul does not profess himself debtor to the Jews; the word "first" in Rom. 1^{16} is given by WH in brackets.

XXVIII. 30f. Conclusion.—These verses take up 16 and show us Paul carrying on his mission in Rome undisturbed, preaching as in 23. Here the book ends: if the writer has information about the trial and the death of Paul, he does not enter upon it. If Ac. appeared in the reign of Domitian, the closing words are very effective. *Cf.* p. 772.

THE PAULINE THEOLOGY[1]

By Professor H. A. A. KENNEDY

I. Presuppositions. (*a*) *Pharisaic Training.*—It is true even of the most gifted thinker that his ideas are permanently influenced by his early training. Such influence will be more marked when the training is determined by a sacred tradition. As the son of devout Hebrews (Phil. 3$_5$), and probably destined to be a religious teacher, Paul's acquaintance with the OT was that of an expert. In the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, he had found spiritual nurture and intellectual illumination. He had learned to use the Scriptures as absolutely authoritative for faith and life. When he became a Christian he did not abandon, but only modified his attitude. The fulfilment of the earlier revelation in Christ confirmed its value and gave him fresh insight into its meaning. Its regulative importance for his thought is evident from his constant use of Scripture proofs in establishing his arguments (*e.g.* Rom. 3$_{10f.}$, Gal. 3$_{6,8,10-13}$). This method had been carried to extravagant lengths in the Pharisaic schools. Their main business was commenting on the text of the OT. These comments, remarkable for their ingenuity and pedantry, had accumulated into a mass of tradition, chiefly occupied with the Law, and possessing an equal authority. Traces of the Rabbinic exegesis in which Paul had been trained appear in such arguments as Gal. 3$_{16}$, 4$_{21-31}$. But nothing more completely reveals the completeness of his religious transformation than the manner in which he has shaken off the limitations of his professional education.

The Law was not, however, studied by the Pharisees for its historical interest. Its strict observance was the most pressing question of the national life. To outward appearance the Jews were a conquered, broken people. There was nothing in their present experience to kindle expectations of a happier future. But that was to reckon without God. For God and God's Covenant were the supreme factors in their history. The Law was the visible expression of God's relation to them, God's will for them. To obey the Law was to hold God to His promises. And these promises were summed up in the Messianic Hope which had preserved their vitality in the midst of overwhelming disasters. Hence those who ignored the claims of the Law were a positive hindrance to the realisation of the nation's splendid destiny. But there were also serious consequences for the individual. The conception of personal retribution had by this time come into the forefront. God's final verdict on each life at the day of reckoning was based on its obedience or disobedience to the legal standards. Thus the religious experience of a Pharisee largely consisted in his consciousness of blamelessness or transgression when confronted with the prescribed requirements of the authoritative code.

The central place of the Messianic Hope in the Pharisaic outlook reminds us that the devout Jew of Paul's day was constantly engrossed with the future. When the woes of the present had reached a climax, he expected a catastrophic intervention of God, in which the existing evil age should be transformed, and the Divine rule established once for all in righteousness. The pictures of the coming age are confusingly varied. At times its basis is earthly, at times it belongs to a new heavenly order. Perhaps more often than not it is associated with the figure of a personal Messiah. Throughout his epistles, Paul reveals the influence of this strain of thought.

(*b*) *Diaspora-Environment.*—While Paul took his theological curriculum, if we may so describe it, in the Rabbinic schools of Jerusalem, he was by birth a Jew of the Diaspora. There can be little doubt that the more liberal atmosphere of Hellenism was not without effect even upon so exclusive a temperament as the Jewish. Recent discoveries have shown a closer touch with Greek life than was formerly recognised. In any case, the fringe of Greek enquirers attached to the synagogues in important centres formed a medium for the communication of Hellenistic ideas. Paul's native city of Tarsus was famous for its school of Stoic philosophy. Whether, in his earlier days, his eager spirit was affected by the doctrines of Stoicism which were being diffused among all classes of society we cannot tell. The occasional points of contact between Paul and the popular philosophy of his time can quite well be accounted for by his inevitable intercourse, as a Christian missionary, with men and women whose thought had been influenced by the current beliefs of the day. To the same source must be referred those traces of affinity with influential mystery-cults which are occasionally discernible in his conceptions and (still more) in his terminology.

(*c*) *Pre-Christian Religious Experience.*—The influences described in the preceding paragraphs must be regarded as secondary factors in shaping the Pauline theology, as compared with the crisis of Paul's conversion which cleft his life in twain. But the significance of his conversion can scarcely be grasped, apart from a brief survey of his pre-Christian religious experience, so far as that may be inferred from the hints supplied by his letters. Two considerations ought here to be emphasized. First, Paul's experience must not be regarded as typical of the average Judaism of his day. That explains why so many Jewish Christians failed to understand him. And, secondly, the account which he gives of his pre-Christian life, notably as regards the operation of the Law (*e.g.* Rom. 7$_{7-24}$), could only have been given by a Christian believer. Still, we have sufficient data from which to compose a rough picture.

1 The Pastoral Epistles are not used in this discussion, as the present writer, while admitting the existence in them of some Pauline material, is unable to assign them to Paul in their extant form.

It is plain that before the revelation of Christ to him, Paul was in a state of spiritual unrest. The religion of legalism did not satisfy his conscience. Rather did it intensify its sensitiveness to sin. And he found himself further and further removed from a standard of obedience whose claims grew ever more exacting. He was oppressed by that consciousness of failure so poignantly expressed by another devout Jew, almost a contemporary of his own, in the Ezra-Apocalypse (*e.g.* 7118f., 936). We possess only his Christian explanation of the situation. Probably that reveals elements prominent to his mind in the earlier epoch. Why was he unable to keep the Law? Because of "the flesh" (Rom. 83). Paul's use of this term has its roots in the OT. There human nature in its weakness and transiency is designated "flesh," and contrasted with the might and eternity of God, who is "spirit." The same word is employed in a disparaging sense of the body in the Platonic schools. Paul discloses no theory of the inherent evil of matter as such, and it is difficult to determine his idea of the origin of evil (Rom. 512ff.). But as a fact of practical experience, he has found his bodily life to be tainted and weakened by sin (Rom. 718), and this condition is universal. Thus, when the Law utters its prohibitions, so far from obeying, his sinful nature feels resentment. What, then, can be the meaning of such an order of things?

As accepting the Pentateuch in the most literal sense as a Divine revelation, Paul can only pronounce the Law to be "holy and righteous and good" (Rom. 712). But through his marvellous spiritual intuition he penetrates to the foundations of OT religion, and discovers there a higher element than legalism. He is led to the discovery by his own experience. As a Pharisee under the Law, his attitude to God was largely one of fear. As a believer in Christ he has exchanged this for an attitude of freedom and joy. There can be no comparison between the two kinds of relationship. With extraordinary boldness as well as insight he finds in the OT the foreshadowing of the higher attitude. This is illustrated in the religious life of the patriarch Abraham. He is not hemmed in by legal sanctions. He is content simply to cast himself upon the gracious promises of God (Gal. 316–18). Legalism, therefore, was only a temporary phase of OT religion (Rom. 520). It was meant to intensify men's consciousness of sin (Rom. 713). It was intended to be a discipline preparatory for Christ (Gal. 323f.). Here, by the sheer power of his religious sensibility, the Apostle anticipates the discovery of modern investigation, that legalism was not the foundation of OT religion, but rather a phase in its development. Naturally, therefore, in his controversy with Jewish Christians whose experience of Christ was far less profound than his own, and who failed to recognise the essential limitations of legalism as a religious system, he uses language which appears inconsistent with his fundamental recognition of the Law as an expression of the Divine will.

But, as a Pharisee, he had not come within sight of such conclusions. Nay, he had striven with might and main to be blameless, according to the accepted standards (Phil. 35f.), and was recognised as a leader in his sect (Gal. 114). The tumult of dissatisfaction within would at first spur him on to an excess of outward zeal. It is not, therefore, surprising to find him "beyond measure persecuting" (Gal. 113) the followers of the crucified Nazarene, who, in defiance of all national expectations, had claimed to be Messiah. In an attitude like that of Stephen (Ac. 68–753), which seemed to make light of th hereditary ritual of Judaism, Paul would find the inevitable outcome of a Messianic claim that appeared so scandalous. He was not yet aware that the majority of those who adhered to the new sect had in no sense departed from allegiance to the Law of their fathers.

II. The Crisis of Paul's Conversion. (*a*) *Revelation of the living Christ.*—The story of Paul's conversion belongs to his biography. What concerns us here is its significance for his theology, a significance which the Epistles show to be primary. In one of the most illuminating passages that he ever wrote, he speaks of the good pleasure of God, who had separated him from his birth and called him by His grace, "to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Gentiles" (Gal. 116). That sentence is a crucial description of his epoch-making experience. Whatever else it was, it meant a revelation of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in the depths of his being, with the high purpose of inspiring him with a Gospel which should appeal to the heathen world. We have considered what may be called the silent preparation for this crisis. In that there were psychological factors of real importance. But Paul always regarded the event as a wonder of the Divine grace (*e.g.* 1 Cor. 158–10). For him it was no culmination of a subjective process. It was the condescension of a love that passeth knowledge, which suddenly checked him in a career of ignorant folly. Perhaps the "call" referred to in the passage quoted embraces all the providential circumstances which unconsciously were shaping Paul for his great vocation. At any rate, the idea of a "choice" or "call" of God is central for his thought. We are apt to estimate his conception of Election from the famous section of Romans (chs. 9–11) in which he attempts to explain the acceptance or rejection of salvation on traditional Jewish lines. But even in that discussion, with its apparently arbitrary outlook, he asserts that "the gifts and the calling of God are not things about which he changes his mind" (Rom. 1129). Here is the worth of the idea for his personal life. For him Election means that his salvation is not an accident. It forms an element in a mighty Divine purpose for the world. The power and grace of God are behind it. Surely he has a right to believe that that purpose will not fall to the ground, that God will be faithful to the end (Rom. 829f.). He is quite conscious of his own frailty and of the fickleness of his converts. Yet he can assure the Philippians of his confidence "that he which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ" (Phil. 16). So his election does not stand for a capricious favouritism. Rather is it the bulwark of his faith and hope, when with fear and trembling he applies the standard of Christ to his life.

(*b*) *Missionary Call.*—The crowning-point of his call is the revelation to him of the living Christ. We must examine the content of that revelation immediately. Meanwhile, let us note its bearing on his career, for that career shaped his theology. Why did Paul directly associate with the revelation a summons to preach Christ to the heathen? To begin with, the experience transformed his whole existence, above all things in the matter of his relation to God. He now knew the joy of coming as a son to his Father. In Jesus Christ he understood the Divine heart, and found it to be infinite love. How could he refrain from proclaiming the good news far and wide? "Necessity is laid upon me; for woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel" (1 Cor. 916). But this Gospel could be no national privilege. The very nation whose history

had led up to Christ had rejected Him. The invitation to sonship which Paul recognised to be the core of the love of God could in no way be affected by difference of status or sex or race. "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3^{28}). Thus it is of small importance to ask at what point Paul realised his obligation to be a foreign missionary. Whether it laid constraint upon him sooner or later, it was inherent in his new conception of the Christian's relation to God.

(*c*) *Paul's Theology as Mission-Theology.*—What must be the character of the message which Paul should present to Jew and Gentile alike? That was determined by his aim—to lead men out of sin and failure into that relation to God which had been made possible for him by his contact with the living Christ, to prepare them for the great day of Christ's appearing. He must hold up before them the Divine influences and operations which had made all things new for him, that they might share in his victorious experience. But the environment in which his work was carried on, and the fact that he was the pioneer of a new faith, compelled him to do more than preach the Gospel. He must clarify for his own thought the meaning of those redemptive facts and processes which formed the content of his preaching, for they had constantly to be justified to critical as well as hostile audiences. So his message must be to some extent a Christian apologetic, opening a pathway by which the revelation of God in Christ might find access to mind and heart alike. Apart, no doubt, from the needs of the moment, Paul's nature was such as to seek for an organic unity in his own life. Still, the practical aim seems always apparent. Many of his conceptions have been elaborated in his keen controversies with Jewish and Jewish-Christian opponents; many have taken shape through his effort to reveal the saving power of Christ to Greeks, both learned and ignorant. So that his theology may justly be designated Mission-Theology, a working instrument rather than a technical system. It is worthy of observation that when the Apostle enters upon any more or less theoretical speculations, as he enlarges on the facts of his religious experience, he shows a tendency to make use of the typical thought-forms of Judaism. That feature of his method must be reckoned with in the investigation of his theological conceptions.

III. Convictions reached through his Conversion.—In view of the fact that Paul's theology is mainly the outcome of reflection on his Gospel, and that his Gospel is an invitation to his fellows to share in the experience which has made him a "new creature," we are justified in looking for his central conceptions among the convictions most powerfully borne in upon him at the crisis of his conversion.

(*a*) *Jesus as risen.*—The first thing of which he became sure was that Jesus of Nazareth, whose high claims he had counted blasphemous, and whose followers he had relentlessly persecuted, was living and exalted to Divine glory. For this Jesus appeared to him in wonderful fashion (1 Cor. 15^{8}, 9^{1}), and laid hold of his nature with compelling power (Phil. 3^{12}). All manner of consequences were involved in such an experience. Jesus had triumphed over death. The dim hope of resurrection which belonged to the eschatological picture of Judaism was an accomplished fact. But it was stripped of the crude materialism with which Jewish thought had depicted it. The risen Jesus was for Paul "life-giving spirit" (1 Cor. 15^{45}). This disclosure brought the spiritual order close beside him. He could already realise that the commonwealth to which he belonged was in heaven (Phil. 3^{20}). For here and now he was in contact with Divine energies. God was no longer far off, to be approached through the elaborate ceremonial of the Law. In this revelation of love and life to his soul he knew that God was at work. The living Lord was the channel to him of the Divine communion. It was, therefore, possible for men to enter into a fellowship with the Eternal such as had never been dreamed of. The Divine condescension subdued his soul. He could not yet explain it all. But he was aware that he stood on a wholly new footing with God. The grasp of Christ upon his life had redeeming power in it. He was liberated from the sense of bondage to sin under which he had groaned in the days of his legalism. "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and death" (Rom. 8^{2}). Henceforward he conceives of Jesus pre-eminently as "Son of God" and "Lord."

(*b*) *Jesus as Messiah.*—Before we examine the significance of these titles, "Son of God" and "Lord," we must observe the bearing of the revelation of Jesus to Paul upon the Messianic Hope which, as already indicated, was central for the religious thought of Pharisaism. A crucified Messiah was for Paul in his pre-Christian days a contradiction in terms. Death on the gallows was pronounced accursed by the Law (Dt. 21^{23}). Jesus was not only an impostor but marked out as under the ban of God. But the assurance that He was risen shed a transforming light on all His circumstances. Plainly, this glorified Man was the chosen of God. The testimony of His followers was true. He had claimed to be Messiah, and God had vindicated His claim.

It is impossible to determine what conception of Messiah Paul held as a Pharisee. The evidence of apocalyptic literature, scanty as it is, indicates the variety of forms which the expectation assumed. Wherever a personal Messiah was looked for, he was regarded as Divinely equipped for his vocation. But in such writings as 1 Enoch and the Ezra-Apocalypse, he is represented as a being of heavenly origin, revealed supernaturally for judgment. It is conceivable that such a notion may have appealed to Paul in his pre-Christian days, but the fact that in Rom. 1^{3} he emphasizes the Davidic descent of Jesus makes it more likely that he shared the prevalent idea of a prince of the royal house. In any case, his Messianic conceptions, like all the rest, were revolutionised. In Jesus the crucified and risen, God's high purpose for His people is consummated. "How many soever be the promises of God, in Him (*i.e.* the exalted Jesus) is their yes" (2 Cor. 1^{20}). But this certainly meant for Paul a remoulding of the Messianic Hope. Not that its eschatological features cease to be of importance for him. Throughout the Epistles his eyes are fixed upon the end. "We eagerly look for a saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ" (Phil. 3^{21}). Again and again he appeals to the great climax of the Second Advent as supplying a motive for serious watchfulness (1 Thess. 5^{4}f., Rom. 13^{11}f.). But Christians are placed in a new attitude towards that coming age, in which God's will shall be supreme. In Christ Jesus they have already a foretaste of the final salvation. The new epoch has projected itself into "this present evil age." The future, which means being "with Christ," is the culmination of their present experience, which means being "in Christ."

(*c*) *Jesus as Son of God and Lord.*—We are now in a position to estimate the significance of Paul's favourite designation of Jesus Christ as "Son of God" and "Lord." No doubt he was familiar with the former

as a Messianic title in his pre-Christian days. But as such it had little more than an official connotation. Apart altogether from the probability that he became acquainted with the tradition of the Church that Jesus had called Himself "the Son," Paul filled the description with fresh content as the result of his own experience. This marvellous Person, who had re-created his life, who had lived a man among men well known to Paul, stands solitary in the world of being. He has disclosed to Paul the heart and purpose of God. He must be placed on the side of Deity. And the unique relationship cannot be more adequately expressed than by the name of "Son." Plainly, metaphysical implications will ultimately be involved in the designation, and the Apostle does not fail to emphasize them. But in his formulation of this title he starts not from metaphysics but from religious faith (Rom. 13f.).

For Paul "Lord" is pre-eminently the name of Christ as exalted. In the great passage which describes His glory as the result of His humiliation, God is said to have given Him "the name which is above every name." Every tongue is to confess "that Jesus Christ is Lord" (Phil. 2$_{9,11}$). The word has an interesting background. The Egyptian Jews who made the translation of the OT known as the Septuagint, the Bible of Paul, rendered the Heb. *Yahweh* by *Kyrios*. It has been suggested that they did so because the chief deities of Egypt, like many prominent gods of the Hellenistic epoch, received this designation. It was certainly prevalent on Hellenistic soil among religious associations as well as in the worship of the Emperor. Possibly, as Bousset has recently argued, Paul found the term in the worship of Christian communities in the Diaspora. In any case, he delighted to call Christ "Lord," the being to whom as bond-servant (*doulos*) he had consecrated his life without reservation. He exulted in the thought of being led captive through the world in Christ's triumphal procession (2 Cor. 2$_{14}$).

(*d*) *The Spirit.*—Paul lays stress on what he regards as the objective side of the revelation of Jesus to him only as an argument for the resurrection. It was something solitary in his history. But the main result of the experience, the contact of his spirit with the Divine life in Jesus, remained as a permanent possession. It is from this point of view that he described Him as "life-giving Spirit." In the earlier narratives of the OT all sorts of abnormal phenomena in human lives, such as exceptional skill or physical strength, were referred to the "Spirit" of God (*e.g.* Ex. 35$_{31}$, Jg. 14$_{6}$). The same origin was assigned to the ecstatic experiences both of primitive and later prophets (1 S. 10$_{10}$, Ezek. 11$_{24}$). Occasionally, equipment with the Spirit is associated with a special call to service (*e.g.* Is. 11$_{2}$) and with the needs of the religious life (Pss. 51$_{11}$, 143$_{10}$). Closely akin is the conception of Wisdom, which, in the Wisdom-literature, is regarded as a quasi-personal medium of Divine influence to the world. In Rabbinic tradition the "spirit of holiness" is the endowment of specially gifted teachers. Of peculiar importance for our discussion is the expectation of a rich outpouring of the Spirit in the Messianic age (*e.g.* Jl. 2$_{28}$f.). The evidence of the early Palestinian source which is used in the first half of Acts reveals the extraordinary prominence which this idea occupied in the thought of the primitive Church. The remarkable ferment of spiritual power and enthusiasm which prevailed among believers was directly ascribed to the action of the Spirit. Perhaps Paul was influenced by the conception as he found it in the Church, when attempting to formulate his individual experience. And he must have been acquainted with the OT and Jewish belief in the Spirit as the channel of Divine energies to the world. But the fundamental explanation of his emphasis upon the Spirit must be sought in his new consciousness of spiritual power as the result of contact with the risen Christ. This was a contact with the unseen Divine order which generated in him a high moral energy such as he had never before conceived. The consequence was that the vague idea of the Spirit, through its intimate association in this crisis with the living Lord, became for Paul far more concrete and personal. Indeed, in several passages he does not hesitate to identify the Spirit with Christ (*e.g.* 2 Cor. 3$_{17}$, Rom. 8$_{9}$f.). At a later point we must note the significance of the identification.

(*e*) *New Relationship to God.*—We cannot surmise the actual stages of thought and feeling by which Paul reached his mature conception of the God whom he met in Christ, but it is plain that the earlier one of his legalistic days was shattered by his conversion-experience. For the direct result of the crisis was a transformed religious attitude. And a transformation of religious attitude means a fresh vision of God. We have seen that the outcome of this vision was the consciousness of a vocation to the heathen. That was involved in Paul's discovery of what God was. The revelation of the living Christ to him was really an interpretation of the character of God. He never doubts that all that has happened to him must be traced to the Divine grace. Grace, for Paul, means primarily the loving, generous disposition of the Almighty. But as a rule he thinks of it in concrete form as embodied in the gift of His Son, Jesus Christ, to mankind. And often it cannot be separated in his thought from the bestowal of the Spirit. Brückner is right in saying that "God is for Paul first and chiefly the Father of Jesus Christ." In virtue of their perfect harmony, all that Christ does is the expression of the Father's will. Hence the experience of love and joy and praise kindled in his soul by the condescension towards him of the exalted Lord is a mirror of the Divine purpose. That is to say, God shows Himself eager to forgive a man conscious of his own failure and powerlessness to attain the ideal which his conscience holds up to him. He does not stand behind the Law, reckoning up in aloofness a man's transgressions. He yearns to draw him into fellowship with Himself, to be able to deal with him as a son. Paul was assured of this in the crisis of his conversion. He felt he owed all to Christ. But not to Christ as distinct from the Father. The profoundest utterance in the Epistles is this: "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself" (2 Cor. 5$_{19}$). The attitude which corresponds to his epoch-making discovery is described from varying points of view by such terms as justification, adoption, peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. When he reflects upon this new and blessed condition from the Godward side he exults in the fatherly love which made it possible (*e.g.* Rom. 5 6–8). When he considers it from the human, he finds in it a sacred obligation laid upon men to present themselves to God a living sacrifice (*e.g.* Rom. 12$_{1}$). This is the doom of legalism. The Christian obeys not by compulsion but by inspiration.

(*f*) *The Cross.*—The crucifixion of Jesus was a paralysing blow to His chosen disciples, although He had emphasized in His training of them the necessity of self-sacrifice. When Paul was compelled to revise his estimate of a crucified Messiah, he was confronted by a problem which must have profoundly exercised

his thinking in the days that followed his conversion. The death of Jesus was not that of a malefactor. It was the Son of God who had been nailed to the tree. Such an event must possess unfathomable significance. It must have an integral place in the wonderful redeeming purpose of Christ which had illumined his own soul. Perhaps, as he sought to adjust his mind to the facts, the first impression which remained with him was that of unspeakable love. For Jewish feeling the death of the Cross was the climax of degradation. Put the Holy Son of God, the chosen Redeemer, in the place of the criminal for whom such a fate was reserved. Thought must almost fail in presence of such an event. But if the risen Jesus was, as Paul had found Him to be, the medium of the Divine grace to men, this could not be merely an awful tragedy. It must be the voluntary self-dedication of one who loved human souls better than life. This perception would at once fall into line with what Paul had felt from the moment of his first contact with the risen Lord, that he had passed into an atmosphere of ineffable mercy and grace. Possibly we may go further, and suggest that from the first, Paul, on the basis of his inward crisis, would associate this death of self-sacrificing devotion with the destruction of the old order of sin and weakness which circled round a merely legal relation to God.

IV. Influence of Early Christian Thought on Paul's Fundamental Convictions.—No careful reader of Paul's Epistles is in danger of supposing that any vital element of his thought came to him at second-hand. His fearless words in Gal. 1 11f. assert a position which he never relinquished And yet we must remember that, at his conversion, Paul entered a community which included several at least of the Twelve, besides many men and women who had been personal followers of Jesus. It would be unsafe to fix a date for the earliest written records of Jesus' words and deeds; but when Paul became a Christian he would at once be brought into touch with living traditions of the Lord. By this time, also, manifold efforts would be made to grasp the meaning of the death of Jesus, to re-shape the current Messianic expectations in the light of His eschatological utterances, to understand more fully those portions of His teaching which the Master was wont to emphasize. More than once Paul reveals his attitude to the existing situation, *e.g.* 1 Cor. 15 3f.: "I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures" (*cf.* 1 Cor. 11 23f.). This shows that the early Christians went back to the OT for light on such crucial events as Christ's death and resurrection. Peter's speeches in the opening chapters of Acts supply details of the method which they followed. Nothing could be so effective for mission work among adherents of Judaism as the exhibition of proofs from Scripture for the essential verities of the new faith.

(*a*) What light did Paul receive in the Christian Church on the central fact of the *Death of Christ?* It is not by accident that the Passion occupies so large a space in the Synoptic tradition. It would be natural that these early disciples should explore the recognised Messianic passages of the OT to find clues to the significance of this overwhelming event. But Peter's addresses indicate that it was easier to discern references to the glory of the risen Christ than to His sufferings and death (*e.g.* Ac. 2 25f., 34f.). The second Psalm, indeed, is quoted (Ac. 4 25f.), but a suffering Messiah was an anomaly. Very early, however, they must have been impressed by the figure of the Servant of Yahweh, and especially by the marvellous delineation in Is. 53. In Ac. 8 32–35 the foreshadowing in him of Jesus is definitely recognised. Soon it would dawn upon them that many of the Master's words and thoughts (*e.g.* Mk. 10 45 || Is. 53 10 (*mg.*), Mk. 14 24 || Is. 49 8) circled round this mysterious redeeming personality. Then the redemptive idea, so central in the prophetic picture, and finding expression there in terms so significant as "wounded for our transgressions," "bruised for our iniquities," "making an offering for sin," "bearing the sin of many," would link itself on to the great sacrificial system of Jewish ritual. The whole range of propitiatory sacrifices would receive a new importance as pointing to "a sacrifice of nobler name and richer blood than they." This process of theological reflection must have been at work when Paul entered the Church. It presented a basis on which his eager mind could build. And when he received the tradition of Jesus' solemn words at the Supper concerning the "new covenant" in His blood, he would recognise that Jesus' thoughts had also been moving among the symbols of OT religion. The forms in which his reflections took shape remain to be considered in a subsequent paragraph.

(*b*) *Eschatological Ideas.*—The Synoptic Gospels supply ample evidence of the eager eschatological interest which possessed the mind of the primitive Church. It is safer to make such a statement than to attempt to determine the precise scope of Jesus' outlook on the Last Things. Still, the extraordinary place of eschatological expectations in the earliest period of Christianity testifies to a definite impression made by Jesus' teaching concerning the Future. Probably Paul, as a genuine scion of the prophetic line, could never dissociate God's saving purpose for the world from catastrophic events which, like Jesus, he described in the traditional language of Apocalyptic. Here, again, he took common ground with the Church. Like the Church, he retained pictures of the Judgment, the Resurrection, the Parousia. Yet side by side with these he conceived a process of salvation which was really independent of these pictures. Perhaps he scarcely realised the contrast. The conception of the Parousia, in any case, expressed the ardent yearning that the will of God should speedily triumph. It was left for the writer of the Fourth Gospel completely to spiritualise eschatology. But he was only carrying to its logical issue the development begun by Paul.

(*c*) *The Spirit.*—We have already indicated the inevitable association with his conversion of Paul's conception of the Spirit. For the revelation of the living Lord was for him pre-eminently a baptism of power. At the same time it ought to be noted that when Paul entered the Christian Church, the idea was in the air. Nay more. The emergence of abnormal phenomena such as "speaking with tongues" (p. 648), "prophesying" (*i.e.* disclosing profound religious truth), "works of healing," was evidence of the Spirit's operation. And this was, in turn, a remarkable demonstration that the Messianic age, the age when unique spiritual energies should be liberated, was already at the door. It is in the Fourth Gospel alone that we find specific teaching of Jesus on the Spirit, and that has no doubt been re-shaped in the mould of the wonderful individuality which stands behind the Gospel. But we are inclined to agree with Titius that more emphasis was laid by the Master on the Spirit than the scanty hints of the Synoptics would suggest. So that Paul may have been helped in clarifying for his own mind this most fruitful conception by the tradition of Jesus in

the Church and those religious experiences which put the seal upon the tradition.

(*d*) *Life and Teaching of Jesus.*—One of the most baseless utterances of recent NT criticism is that which declares that Paul was not interested in the life and teaching of Jesus: that for him Jesus was simply a heavenly Being who came to the world to die. It is true that the crucified and exalted Lord stands nearer to him because He had been the channel of that new life which transformed him. But any attentive student of the Epistles will discover that virtually in every section of his thought, Paul has been influenced by the Church tradition of the historical Jesus. The incidental fashion in which he refers to traits in His character (*e.g.* 2 Cor. 10₁), the authority he assigns to His precepts for details of conduct (*e.g.* 1 Cor. 7₁₀, 9₁₄), the direct parallel of his ethical ideal to that of Jesus (Gal. 5₁₄) whom he daily strives to imitate (1 Cor. 11₁), are more impressive proofs of the value he assigned to the Man who had walked in Galilee than any elaborate argument he might have constructed in support of the historical basis of the faith. Perhaps nothing so clearly attests the dependence of the disciple upon his Lord as his conception of the sonship of Christians. We know that Paul entered on a relationship of inward freedom towards God in that crisis which made him a new man. The whole circumstances of his call were shot through with the Divine love. But it is much easier to understand such classical passages as Rom. 8₁₄–₁₇ and Gal.3₂₆–₄₇, if we suppose that Paul's mind was prepared by the tradition of Jesus' fundamental teaching on the Fatherhood of God, which was one of the priceless memories of the first disciples. A noteworthy corroboration of this view is found in the fact that the idea of the Kingdom of God, so characteristic of the preaching of Jesus, while appearing in Paul, has to a large extent been replaced by that of the Divine family of believers. In this identification he was anticipated by his Master.

V. Fundamental Conceptions of Paul's Theology.—Let us now attempt to elaborate the fundamental conceptions of the Pauline theology, intimately related, as we have seen, to his conversion-experience, and influenced at various points by the tradition of Jesus which he found in the Christian Church. Our survey must follow the growth of those convictions, already outlined, which were born of his spiritual crisis.

(*a*) *Union with Christ as life-giving Spirit.*—The result of the revelation of the living Christ to Paul was, for him, the establishing of a new and all-satisfying condition which he describes as being "in Christ": *e.g.* 2 Cor. 5₁₇, "If any man is in Christ he is a new creature." The description is interchangeable with another, "Christ in me": *e.g.* Gal. 2₂₀, "It is no longer I that live but Christ liveth in me, and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by faith, faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me." This passage is extraordinarily significant for Paul's religious thought and life. It shows that, on the side of the Christian, union with Christ is constituted by what the Apostle calls "faith." Faith, for him, is not mere assent to certain truths. Of course an intellectual element is involved in it, and may be regarded as its presupposition. But from Paul's standpoint that is overshadowed by the act of feeling and will, the surrender of the whole personality in trust and love to the living Lord. This attitude means the throwing open of the soul to the entire range of Divine influences and energies concentrated in Christ. Hence for faith all the Divine gifts are available. Chief among them, in Paul's estimate, is that of the Spirit, which finds its sphere of operation in what he calls "the mind," the higher element in human nature as it is. Accordingly, the phrases, "we in the Spirit" or "the Spirit in us" may be substituted for those mentioned above. Thus, in a sense, the living Christ and the Spirit are identified (*e.g.* 2 Cor. 3₁₇). But the identification is not conceived metaphysically. It is, to use Titius' apt expression, "dynamic." Each is regarded equally as producing the new life. And in Paul's thought "life" is synonymous with salvation (*e.g.* Rom. 6₂₃).

(*b*) *The Death of Christ.*—The Apostle is never weary of drawing out the consequences involved in this wonderful relation of profoundest intimacy with Christ. They will confront us in the various sections which follow. Meanwhile, let us work back from the initial experience of Paul's conversion to that which constituted its indispensable condition, and, in its soul-subduing power, inspired him with a confidence which nothing could daunt, the Death of Christ. The Christ whom Paul knew as life-giving Spirit had met and conquered death. Only as raised above earthly limitations could He operate in the hearts of men. But He, the risen Lord, the source of Paul's life, is pre-eminently "the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me." What had taken place in His death of agony and shame? It is probable that Paul had earnestly pondered that question before he was able fully to realise or to express to himself the meaning of his new experience. At any rate, this new experience invariably stands out against the background of the Cross.

The Apostle starts with certain assumptions. Christ was sinless. That was involved in his own experience of Him, and was corroborated by the testimony of the Church. For Paul as a Jew, death, viewed synthetically in what we are accustomed to distinguish as its "physical" and "spiritual" aspects, and regarded as separation from God, was the penalty of sin (Rom. 5₁₂). And the death of the Cross, more especially, involved the curse of the Law (Gal. 3₁₃, Dt. 21₂₃). But Christ was not liable to this penalty. There must, therefore, be some larger interpretation of His experience possible. Now already, in the most remarkable delineation of OT religion, the Servant of Yahweh was represented as "bearing the sins of many" (Is. 53₁₂). Indeed, the idea of righteous men atoning for sinners finds noteworthy expression in 4 Mac. (17₂₂, 6₂₉), a Jewish document probably earlier than A.D. 50. So Paul's fundamental theory of the death of Christ seems to be that, in accordance with the will of the Father, Christ identified Himself so completely with sinful men that He took upon Himself the load of their transgressions, and suffered in their stead the penalty of the broken Law, becoming an atoning sacrifice. The Law, personified as an imperious power, exhausted its claims on the vicarious Redeemer. Those who by faith identify themselves with the Redeemer are thereby relieved from its obligation. They can face the final verdict of God without faltering. Crucial passages for Paul's central standpoint are 2 Cor. 5₂₁ and Rom. 3₁₉–₂₆.

But his treatment of the theme is so manifold as to suggest that he is endeavouring by means of imperfect analogies to set forth the awe-inspiring fact which he had discovered in the depths of his experience, that the Divine heart suffers in and for the sin of the world. Paul does not attempt to explain the bearing of the "propitiation" or "sin-offering" (Rom. 8₃) upon God. It is rather the Divine attitude exhibited in it towards men that he depicts from

various standpoints. Sometimes he emphasizes the fact of Christ's love in dying (*e.g.* Gal. 220), sometimes the love of God in making this sacrifice, torn from His own heart (Rom. 58). Closely akin to this is the idea of Christ's death as mediating God's purpose of reconciling men to Himself (2 Cor. 519). Occasionally, it is described as redemptive (Gal. 313), this conception, of course, underlying all its aspects. One point of view is of speculative interest. We have already seen that for Paul "the flesh," *i.e.* human nature as known in experience, is invariably sinful. If sin is to be vanquished, "the flesh" must in some way be robbed of its vitality (Rom. 66). Christ, in becoming incarnate, entered into the living organism of human flesh in order to redeem it. In His death, a Divine judgment is pronounced upon "the flesh," that sinful human nature which He represents as the second Adam. Those who are united to Him by faith are therefore set free from condemnation (Rom. 81–4). They have been crucified with Christ (Gal. 220). And thus we have come back to the point from which we started. For, what the Apostle seeks to bring out by argument is that the soul linked to Christ by faith shares in all His experiences. In Him it dies to sin (and the bondage of a legal relation to God). With Him it rises to newness of life (see especially Rom. 63–11). This is an exposition of Paul's discovery of a gracious, forgiving God in Jesus Christ, the risen Lord. No wonder that the "word of the Cross" becomes on the Apostle's lips a summons to repentance, faith, love, and obedience.

(*c*) *Interpretations of the new Relation to God and its Issues.*—Paul had entered upon the new relation to God, set open to him in Christ, before he attempted to make an analysis of it. His descriptions vary according to the aspect of the experience which is uppermost in his mind. Each reflects his situation at the time. Now the most "theological" of his Epistles are those to the Romans and the Galatians, documents which at every turn reveal the influence of his burning controversy with Judaism, both within and outside the Christian Church. We know that in his missionary labours his footsteps were dogged by representatives of the Mother Church at Jerusalem, who urged that no man could be accepted by God as righteous apart from obedience to the Mosaic Law. Christianity they regarded as a supplement of Judaism. For many the difference between the old faith and the new consisted mainly in the recognition of Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah. Paul had discovered that not only had legalism given him no help in attaining righteousness but that it was a positive hindrance. But in communion with the risen Lord he felt himself able to do all things (Phil. 413). So he concludes that the legal order has come to an end in Christ (Rom. 104). Righteousness, the attitude in man which God approves, is reached apart from the Law (Rom. 321f.). A man is "justified" by faith in Christ (Gal. 216). By *justification*, which is a term of Pharisaic theology, Paul means the pronouncing by God of a verdict of acquittal instead of condemnation. Under the religion of the Law men looked forward with apprehension to the great day of reckoning. Would their good deeds outweigh their transgressions? Would they be acquitted, *i.e.* have a share in the Messianic age, or would they be condemned? Paul declares that, tested by the legal standard, no man can be accepted by God. He cannot win merit with the Almighty. Sin is too subtle and persistent for that. The revelation which has illumined the soul of the Apostle is that God "justifies" sinners. What does that imply? Not, of course, that He condones evil. Sinners are justified by faith in Christ. That is, God accepts them as linked to Christ, as taking Christ's attitude to sin, as welcoming Christ's revelation of God in the Cross as the all-loving and all-holy. This is what he means by a "righteousness of God" which has been revealed to men (Rom. 117, 321). Although as yet they may be far from perfection, God sees the end in the beginning. In matchless grace He anticipates the result of this new direction which, through faith in Christ, their life has taken. Hence their salvation is present as well as future. "We have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ" and "we rejoice in hope of the glory of God" (Rom. 51f.). In effect, justification is really a more positive aspect of forgiveness. The soul becomes once for all conscious that there are no barriers between it and God.

The result of this relation of acceptance Paul describes by the term *adoption*. It has a more juristic flavour than the "birth from above" of the Fourth Gospel. But it stands for the same spiritual reality. The man who, through trusting Christ and identifying himself with Him, discovers that God is not against but for him, approaches God no longer with the hesitating fear of a slave but with the glad freedom of a son. This is the greatest conception in the Pauline theology, just as it is the supreme revelation of Jesus. In the parable of the Lost Son, the father, who stands for Jesus' view of religion as against that of the Pharisees, represented by the elder brother, says, "Son, thou art always with me, and all that I have is thine" (Lk. 1531). Paul has a similar splendour of outlook. "He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things" (Rom. 832). No instance of the "all things" is more impressive than the inward liberty which Paul claims for the Christian. This is his rightful heritage (Gal. 51f.). Its only limitation lies in the claims of love (Gal. 513, Rom. 1413–21).

It is plain that a relation which begins with faith in Christ, in Paul's profound sense of the word, must issue in likeness to Christ. That is to say, from the nature of the case, the new status in God's sight involves a break with sin. The purpose of the far-reaching discussion of Rom. 6 is to make that unmistakable. Paul does not often dwell on the stages in the experience of the "justified" man. But incidental references such as Phil. 312, "Not that I have already attained . . . but I press on," reveal the current of his thought. No more profound description of the process has been given than 2 Cor. 318: "We all, with unveiled face, reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit." When we remember that "glory" in the Pauline Epistles means the nature of God as manifested, we can realise the loftiness of the consummation which in his view awaits the redeemed soul. Hence, the designation, "sons of God," is found to express the richest reality.

We have seen that Paul keeps his gaze directed towards the accomplishment of salvation in the Second Advent of Christ. It is difficult, however, to find in his writings any consistent scheme of *eschatology*. Such questions as the fate of those who reject the Gospel, an intermediate state, and the like, are never discussed. But he seems to agree with the fragmentary hints to be found in the teaching of Jesus as to the basis and the nature of the Future Life. Its basis is communion with God in Christ (or, by the Spirit). Believers are "alive unto God in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 611). But "flesh and blood cannot inherit the

kingdom of God" (1 Cor. 15^{50}). Therefore Paul postulates a transformation of the "fleshly" organism of the Christian by the Divine power into a "spiritual" organism (1 Cor. 15^{44}), which will be a fit instrument for his perfected spirit. There are gaps in his account of this fascinating speculation, but it is noteworthy that he speaks of it as "the image of the heavenly," *i.e.* of the exalted Christ (1 Cor. 15^{49}). Possibly his reflection on the whole theme was influenced by the picture of the living Lord which had stamped itself upon his mind in the crisis of his conversion. The final victory will be over death in its fulness of meaning. Then shall believers, conformed to His likeness, be "ever with the Lord" (1 Th. 4^{17}).

(*d*) *Christian Conduct.*—The new relation to God involves the control of the whole nature no longer by the "flesh" but by the Spirit. The "sons of God" are those "led by the Spirit" (Rom. 8^{14}). One of Paul's most memorable achievements as a Christian teacher was his transformation of the conception of the Spirit as an abnormal, fitful energy, manifested in strange outbursts of religious enthusiasm, into that of the abiding principle of the Christian's moral life. The effect of the Spirit's indwelling for him is not, primarily, "speaking with tongues" or gifts of healing or prophetic power. It is "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control" (Gal. 5^{22}f.). "Paul," says Harnack, "has created an unsurpassable moral ideal." This he accomplished by following close in the footsteps of his Master. At no point is he more loyal to Jesus' teaching than here. As might be expected from the genesis of his Christian experience, the Apostle makes love the cardinal virtue. It is essentially the response of the soul to the love of God demonstrated in the Cross of Christ, and will resemble that love in spending itself upon the needs of others (Rom. 13^{9}f., 1 Cor. 13). Hence, like all wholesome moral energy, Paul's ethic is largely social. Its sphere is determined by the existing situation. Paul was an indefatigable missionary. All his unresting activity was absorbed in the evangelising of new communities or the discipline of converts already won. They depended on him for moral direction. And the closing sections in all the Epistles show how seriously he regarded his responsibility. It is futile to look for ethical theory in his writings. In his relation to the State, the conception of justice, and the order of nature, he reveals affinities with the popular philosophy (Cynic-Stoic) of his time. But his positions are invariably determined by religious motives.

(*e*) *The Body of Christ.*—It was inevitable that from the idea of the union of the believer to Christ as mediated by the Spirit, Paul should advance to that of the communion of believers in Christ through the same Spirit. Thus he arrives at his great conception of the Christian society as the Body of Christ. "As we have many members in one body, and all the members have not the same office, so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and severally members one of another" (Rom. 12^{4}f.). The conception is most fruitfully elaborated in 1 Cor. 12 and Eph. 4^{1}–^{16}. The following features may be noted: (1) External organisation is barely referred to. No doubt that was in a thoroughly flexible condition when Paul wrote. He is chiefly concerned with the spiritual health of the Church. (2) He lays stress on the unity of spirit which must pervade the organism of which the exalted Christ is Head. Already he had ample experience of friction in Christian communities. But the will of the Head cannot be realised if His members are at cross-purposes. (3) Nevertheless, unity of spirit does not mean unity of function. The limbs and organs of a body have an endless variety of functions. Each of them, when rightly discharged, ministers to the well-being of the body as a whole. None, however humble, may be dispensed with. (4) The Church is Christ's special representative upon earth. The sacred responsibility is laid upon her members of giving a faithful picture of the spirit and purpose of their Lord (Col. 1^{24}, 1 Cor. 14^{24}f.). (5) The union of Jews and Gentiles in one body is for the Apostle a unique revelation of the manifold wisdom of God (Eph. 3^{3}–^{11}).

The unity of the Body of Christ, which counted for so much in a heathen environment, finds solemn expression in Baptism and the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 12^{13}, 10^{17}). Paul found these rites in the Church when he became a Christian. As a Jew of the Diaspora he was familiar with sacred lustrations and sacred meals, both in his own religion and in heathen cults. Baptism marked the entrance of the convert into the Christian society. More than once, Paul points to the immersion of the candidate in the baptismal water as an impressive picture of his passing out of relation to the old life, an experience which he compares with the burial of Christ (Rom. 6^{4}, Col. 2^{12}), while the emerging from the pool suggests the new life on which he enters in fellowship with the risen Lord. But Baptism was more than a symbol. It constituted the decisive step by which the individual deliberately identified himself with Christ and the Church. He was baptized "into the name of Christ," *i.e.* made himself over to Christ's ownership and protection. Hence the rite was possessed of very definite religious value. It intensified faith and was thus the occasion of a fresh spiritual quickening. But Paul associated no magical efficacy with it. For him baptizing is altogether secondary to the preaching of the Gospel (1 Cor. 1^{17}). What concerns him is the faith which Baptism presupposes, and the enhancing of that faith which is its accompaniment.

He takes a similar attitude towards the Lord's Supper. Participation in that ordinance, which goes back to Jesus Himself, is a "representation" of the Lord's death, till He come (1 Cor. 11^{26}). That is to say, the bread and wine in the celebration represent not the flesh and blood of Christ as such, but His human person as slain on the Cross for the sin of the world. Hence, communion with the body and blood of Christ means for Paul communion with the Lord as crucified, and all that that involves. Here there is concentrated in a solemn, visible act the supreme spiritual experience described in Gal. 2^{20}. Only, the action is peculiarly fitted to invigorate faith. To the believing soul the symbols become a sacrament, a convincing pledge of the mercy of God in Christ the crucified. But the effect is not magical. It is the response which is never denied to an adoring faith.

(*f*) *Inferences as to Christ.*—If Christ is for Paul the medium of human redemption, redemption from the guilt and power of sin and from the dominion of spiritual hierarchies of evil which work destruction for men (Eph. 6^{12}, Col. 2^{15}), if through Him humanity attains its Divine destiny (1 Cor. 15^{20}f., Rom. 5^{10}, 8^{23}, Eph. 1^{10}, Col. 1^{20}), it is a natural inference to find in Him the centre of the cosmic order, the constitutive principle of universal life. Accordingly, in the Imprisonment Epistles, written towards the close of his career, Paul broods with wonder and adoration over the cosmic functions of Christ. In the Wisdom-literature of Judaism, Wisdom had been almost personified as the instrument and vicegerent of God in creation (*e.g.* Pr. 8^{22}–^{31}). In contemporary Hellen-

istic thought similar functions were assigned to the Logos or Reason of God. These influences may have helped to shape the form of Paul's thought, but the genuine basis of his speculations is that in Christ he feels he has been brought into touch with ultimate reality. Hence he describes Him as "the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation"; "all things have been created through him and unto him; and he is before all things, and in him all things hold together" (Col. 1^{15,17}). His supreme office in the Divine order is to reconcile all things unto God, whether things on earth, or things in the heavens, "having made peace through the blood of his Cross" (Col. 1^{20}). This high purpose may also be characterised as the "summing-up" of all things in Christ (Eph. 1^{10}).

One moment in the reconciling process is of primary interest for the Apostle. In a single passage only does he dwell upon it (but *cf.* 2 Cor. 8^{9}), and he introduces the subject almost incidentally. In urging lowliness upon the Christians at Philippi, he appeals to the example of Christ, "who, although by nature in the form of God [*i.e.* sharing in the Divine essence], counted not equality with God [*i.e.* as manifest to men and constituting a claim on their worship] a thing to be snatched, but emptied himself, taking the form of a bond-servant . . . and being found in fashion as a man, humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the Cross" (Phil. 2$^{6-8}$). This is Paul's most explicit statement of his belief in the pre-existence of Christ. He has reached his position along the lines already described. But, true to his fundamental outlook, he lays the chief emphasis on the Divine lowliness which stooped to earth for the salvation of men. Yet the path of lowliness was for the Son of God, as for His followers, the path to glory. Because of His self-renunciation (in which the purpose of the Father found expression), "God highly exalted him and gave unto him the name which is above every name [in the Hellenistic world the names of deities were supposed to have magical power (Gen. 32^{29*})]; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2$^{9-11}$).

The closing words of the passage echo the final chord of the Pauline theology, "that God may be all in all" (1 Cor. 15^{28}). Such, for the Apostle, is the goal of the universe.

Literature.—In addition to works on NTT (esp. Stevens and Holtzmann[2]), Histories of the Apostolic Age (esp. J. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*), Dictionaries (esp. Findlay, *Paul* in HDB), Lives of Paul (esp. Weinel, Bacon), the following: Pfleiderer, *Paulinism;* Stevens, *The Pauline Theology;* Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity;* Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul;* Wrede, *Paul;* Titius, *Der Paulinismus unter d. Gesichtspunkt d. Seligkeit;* Garvie, *Studies of Paul and his Gospel;* Moffatt, *Paul and Paulinism;* Wernle, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, and his criticism of Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (April 1915, pp. 1–90); P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul;* Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters;* R. H. Strachan, *The Individuality of S. Paul;* Morgan, *The Religion and Theology of Paul.* On special topics: Kaftan, *Jesus und Paulus;* Jülicher, *Paulus und Jesus;* A. Meyer, *Jesus or Paul;* J. Weiss, *Paul and Jesus;* H. W. Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man*, pp. 104–136; Dickson, *St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit;* Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ;* Olschewski, *Die Wurzeln der Paulinischen Christologie;* Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes;* Everling, *Die paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie;* Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus;* Kabisch, *Die Eschatologie des Paulus;* H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things;* Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterien-religionen;* H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions;* Denney, *The Theology of the Epistle to the Romans* (*Exp.*, 6th Series, vols. iii. and iv.).

THE PAULINE EPISTLES

By THE EDITOR

The present article is concerned with a general statement as to the criticism of the Pauline Epistles. For a discussion of the New Testament Epistles in general and the Pauline Epistles in particular the reader should consult the article on "The Development of New Testament Literature." The first point that calls for examination is the alleged spuriousness of all the letters attributed to Paul. This is asserted by very few scholars, and it is commonly regarded as a mere eccentricity. It is in truth nothing better, but since the issue has been raised it is desirable to meet it. Moreover, the ordinary reader is in no position to explain why, if doubt rests on part of the literature, it may not equally be extended to the whole. Obviously the matter is in itself very important, but its importance is greatly enhanced by its bearing on the question as to the historical existence of Jesus. Here again denial is the mere craziness of historical scepticism, but this also, for similar reasons, it is unwise to treat with the contempt which it nevertheless deserves.

It must not be forgotten, in all questions of this kind, that the burden of proof lies on the assailant of the authenticity. A piece of literature which comes to us from antiquity, bearing the name of a definite author and claiming to be his work, is assumed to be genuine unless some cogent reason to the contrary can be offered. Even if positive evidence could not be offered, the failure of the counter-argument would leave the authorship incontestably where the document itself placed it. In the case of the Pauline Literature, however, not only has the attack broken down, but there are numerous positive arguments on the other side. For a fuller statement than can here be given, reference may be made to *The Bible: its Origin, its Significance, and its Abiding Worth*, pp. 198–202. In the next place, the responsibility lies on the opponents to supplement their destructive by constructive criticism. In other words, they must not content themselves with cavilling at the received opinions, they must substitute a view of their own and give some reasonable account of the origin of the documents. The fundamental ground for the negative view is that the epistles carry back into the middle of the first century A.D. an attitude to Judaism which could not have emerged before the second century. Christianity, it is urged, developed only very slowly out of Judaism, and the historical Paul could not have formulated so far-reaching a vindication of the Gospel's independence or elaborated his doctrine of the Law. It will be observed that this is sheer dogmatism. Paul cannot have written these epistles, it is asserted, because the new movement cannot have advanced with the rapidity this would imply. The scientific historian, however, is not at liberty to impose his arbitrary preconceptions on the facts. Moreover, these critics vitally misread the actual situation. It is quite untrue that Christianity cannot have been disengaged from Judaism so early. On the contrary the forces which worked for its rapid detachment were implicit in the situation. In the first place, Jesus was Himself, according to our earliest sources, engaged in controversies with the representatives of contemporary Judaism, and these touched the central problem as to the true nature of righteousness and the means of attaining it. Even more decisive is the fact that the mode of His death brought upon Him the curse of the Law. It needed only an intellect sufficiently powerful and courageous to think out what was involved in this, to cut the Gospel loose from the Law. If it be urged that this assumes the historicity of the controversies and the fact of the crucifixion, the answer is easy. As a rule, indeed, the ultra-radical critics admit the historical existence of Jesus and His crucifixion. Since, however, there are some who deny these, it may be pointed out in a few words why such a denial lands us in historical absurdities. No movement arising out of Judaism, and led by Jews, could have invented the story that its alleged Founder had been crucified. This would have been to create, quite gratuitously, insuperable difficulties. A crucified Messiah came under the curse of the Law (Dt. 21_{23}, Gal. 3_{13}). The fact of the crucifixion, of course, involves the historicity of the person crucified. But it does more than this: it makes it probable that the Jewish authorities were hostile to Jesus, and their hostility is most naturally explained by such controversies as are related in the gospels and the antagonism He aroused among the Sadducees. The attitude to the Law in the Pauline Epistles was therefore, to some extent, anticipated by the Founder, while the mode of His death raised in an acute form the issue, "In what relation does the new religion stand to the Law which pronounces its Founder accursed?" Paulinism, therefore, was a position likely to be reached very early rather than late.

Not only does the fundamental argument break down, but there are convincing positive reasons for the authenticity of some epistles at least. These may be summarised as follows: (*a*) Marcion (*c.* A.D. 145) was an ultra-Paulinist who was regarded by the great majority of Christians as a most dangerous heretic. He formed a Canon which contained ten Pauline Epistles and a mutilated Gospel of Luke. This attests not only their existence but a fairly long previous history. They cannot have originated with Marcion, otherwise the Church would have repudiated them. Moreover, he was conscious that the copies of the epistles which were in circulation were out of harmony with his own theory of what genuine Paulinism was; accordingly he revised them in accordance with his views. Had he manufactured them, this situation could not have arisen. (*b*) The literature of the time

when the epistles are alleged to have originated lends no support to the theory of their second-century origin. It is remarkably inferior in power to them, and an author capable of producing them must have played something more than a pseudonymous rôle in the Church. But we have no trace of such a person's existence. (*c*) The first Epistle of Clement was probably written before the close of the first century A.D. In it 1 Cor. is definitely mentioned as the work of Paul. (*d*) It is difficult to believe that the epistles, if spurious, could have been got into circulation and general acceptance in the Church in view of the fact that most of them were addressed to definite communities. These communities would know whether they had received these letters from Paul or not. (*e*) The numerous details, often in themselves trivial, are not likely to have been invented or, if invented, to have successfully defied detection. There was no need for such invention since no purpose was to be served by it, and unless it was done with incredible skill the writer was almost certain to betray himself. So intricate a situation as that which lies behind 2 Cor. was certainly no fiction. (*f*) We have a good deal of spurious literature which differs in the most striking way from the Canonical Epistles. Moreover, these spurious epistles were never, so far as we know, accepted in the churches to which they profess to be addressed. (*g*) The problems in the second century were not those which are most prominent in the Pauline Epistles.

F. C. Baur, the founder of the Tübingen School, and his followers recognised that at least four epistles, Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Rom. (apart from 15f.) were authentic. To these Hilgenfeld added Rom. 15f., 1 Th., Phil., and Phm. This modification has been amply justified by later criticism. But the prevalent attitude is more favourable to some of the other epistles. Probably few would now reject Col., rather more 2 Th., still more Eph., while there is a large consensus of critical opinion that the Pastoral Epistles are not in their present form authentic. Heb., which does not claim to be by Paul, is denied to him by common consent. A few words may be added with reference to these epistles; for a more detailed statement the commentaries on them must be consulted. 2 Th. has been rejected partly on the ground of inconsistency with 1 Th. In the one case the Second Coming is represented as imminent and sudden. In 2 Th. there is to be a considerable development, which is depicted especially in the eschatological section (2$_{1-12}$). This section was itself regarded as pointing to a later historical situation. Neither objection is now urged with the same confidence. The ideas in 2$_{1-12}$ are probably much older than Paul's lifetime, and, even when an event has been long expected, it often happens suddenly at the last. Difficulty is now felt on account of the similarity to 1 Th. rather than the unlikeness. But in view of the similarity of conditions, the similarity of treatment and language is not so surprising, especially as the second letter was written with reference to what had been said in the first, and no reasonable explanation has been given why a spurious epistle should have been written. 2 Th. is, therefore, probably genuine.

It was formerly supposed that the false teaching attacked in Col. was a form of second-century Gnosticism, and therefore that the epistle belongs to the second century. This was confirmed by the style, which was heavier and moved much less rapidly than that in the four chief epistles; by the vocabulary, which contained a number of unusual words; by the theology, especially the doctrine of the Person of Christ; and, finally, by its relation to Eph. Probably the heresy is purely Jewish in character, without traces of Gnosticism, and can be fully explained from the circumstances of Paul's own time. The Christology is fundamentally Pauline, is not higher than that of Phil., and, where it shows advance, is a simple development of what was implicit in the Christology of the undoubted epistles. The style is really different, but the difference of circumstances fully accounts for this. It was one thing to dictate letters in the rush of a busy life to churches in rebellion or in danger of losing the faith, quite another to write to a loyal church in the enforced leisure of a prison. The relation to Eph. presents a unique phenomenon, but it tells rather against Eph. than Col., since Col. is generally recognised as the more original. And, even if Eph. were an imitation by another writer, it is surely improbable that he would imitate an epistle that was not genuine.

This brings us to Eph., and here it must be frankly owned that a large number of scholars remain convinced of its spuriousness. The grounds on which this opinion is held are as follows: First, there is the suspicious relation to Col. Secondly, its style, which even Godet confesses often to have excited doubts in his mind. Thirdly, there is its doctrine of the Church, which is supposed by many to be too advanced for Paul's time. Its doctrine of redemption is regarded as un-Pauline, in that "reconciliation" is here used in the sense of the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile. Further, Paul is hardly likely to have spoken of "the holy apostles," or to have associated the other apostles with himself in the revelation of the calling of the Gentiles. These arguments are of varying value. Several rest on assumptions as to what Paul is, or is not, likely to have written, which ignore the versatility of his genius, and make the generally-recognised epistles a type to which everything must be made to conform in order to be recognised as his. There is no more Gnosticism in this epistle than in Col. Why Paul should not have grasped the idea of the universal Church one can hardly see. Why, with his sense of the greatness of redemption, he should not have insisted that the Cross reconciled Jew and Gentile, as well as man to God, is incomprehensible. The term "the holy apostles" is strange, but it carries different associations to us from what it would have conveyed to Paul's readers, and the adjective might very well be a later addition. And, while the association of the other apostles with him may seem a little strange, it is a fact that he asserted the identity of his general gospel with theirs.

The arguments alleged against the Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Tim., Tit.) are of unequal value. The false teaching attacked may well have existed in Paul's day. The objection that they belong to a period in Paul's lifetime unknown to us, depends for its validity on the answer we give to the question whether the imprisonment, recorded in Acts, was terminated by release or death. The latter alternative seems, on the whole, the more probable. Setting aside difficulties of this kind, there remains the unique style of the letters—the stress laid on ecclesiastical organisation, the moralistic rather than evangelical tone, the strangeness of Paul's assurance to his companion Timothy that he was a preacher, apostle, and teacher of the Gentiles; and, above all, the absence of the Pauline ring. On the other hand, they are well attested, and contain numerous personal details (see especially 2 Tim.) which are too trivial to have been invented. The view which finds favour now with

many scholars, and is probably correct, is that these epistles are not forgeries, but also are not, in their present form, Paul's. This type of letter, dealing largely with Church organisation, lent itself readily to expansion, and probably some of Paul's notes to his fellow-workers were expanded by later writers into the Church manuals we now possess.

One point of detail may be mentioned, the interchange of the first person singular and the first person plural. It is sometimes thought that the plural is to be taken strictly, and that Paul speaks in his own name only where the singular is used. Paul associates others with himself in the salutation of some of his epistles, and it is not improbable in 1 and 2 Th. that the plural has this significance. But elsewhere Paul seems to speak for himself alone. The interchange of the singular and plural where one person alone is intended is quite common in the epistolary literature of the time. And, while no rigid rule can be laid down, Paul seems frequently to have conformed to this usage.

Literature.—Godet, *Introduction to the NT, The Pauline Epistles;* Shaw, *The Pauline Epistles;* Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles* and *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ;* Findlay, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle;* R. Scott, *The Pauline Epistles;* Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul;* Hayes, *Paul and his Epistles.* Also discussions in Dictionaries of the Bible, Introductions to the New Testament, Histories of the Apostolic Age, and Lives of Paul.

ROMANS

By Professor G. G. FINDLAY

§ 1. The situation of the writer is readily determined by comparison of 1518–29 with Ac. 19 21f. and 20 1–6, also with 1 Cor. 16 1–6 and 2 Cor. 8 1–6, 9 1–5. Paul has spent the winter concluding his third missionary tour at Corinth and is about to journey, in early spring, to Jerusalem, conveying a contribution gathered from the Gentile churches for the Christian poor of that city. The voyage took place, probably, in A.D. 57 (but *cf.* p. 655). Paul has long desired to see Rome, the centre of the world-field of his apostleship; his thoughts rest fondly on the "beloved of God" there, whose faith is everywhere reported (1 5–10). His plans to visit them have been much hindered (1 13); now the way is open, his service to Jerusalem once discharged (15 22–29); he begs the readers' prayers for his safety and success upon this errand (15 30f.). By this time he has carried the Gospel to the Adriatic shore, and contemplates bearing it onwards into Spain (15 19,23f.,28f.). Rome will supply his starting-point for the western campaign. The letter is sent to announce his coming, to interest the Roman Christians in his work and impart to them his doctrine; and in doing this, to promote the Church's sanctity and peace (12–15). The apostle modestly hopes, in his brief visit, to be of spiritual service to the Roman brethren and to win souls for Christ amongst them (1 11–13, 15 29); he longs to proclaim in the Imperial City the Gospel he owes to all mankind, of which he is nowhere ashamed (1 14–16).

§ 2. Other, less obvious factors in the situation entered deeply into the shaping of this epistle. For years past Paul had been engaged in the Legalist Controversy, in which, along with his own doctrine and ministry, the whole Christian salvation was at stake. This struggle arose from the very natural attempt of Jewish Christians to enforce Mosaic law on converted heathen and to maintain Israelite privilege within the Church. A weighty decision was given on the chief questions raised, at the Jerusalem Conference of Ac. 15 (A.D. 49); but the conflict broke out afresh—two distinct phases of it are marked in Gal. 2. Paul's experience in conversion, his commanding powers and astonishing success in the Gentile mission, combined to make him the champion of the larger Gospel. The battle had been fought out within his own breast; in combating the legalistic movement, Paul the Christian confronts Saul the Pharisee. The controversy had recently culminated in a systematic campaign against Pauline Christianity, which was engineered from Jerusalem and affected churches so widely remote as those of Galatia and Corinth. 2 Cor. and Gal. exhibit the warfare at its height; we see Paul on defence as for his life, with high resentment and trenchant logic assailing the "false apostles" and confuting the "other gospel" foisted upon his children in the faith. The date and occasion of Gal. are much disputed: in the view of the present writer, Gal. and Rom., though differing in temper, were the offspring of one birth in Paul's mind and closely consecutive in time of origin (see Lightfoot, and CGT, on Gal., and for another view the general editor's note in § 4). Rom. is the calm after the storm; it gives a comprehensive, measured development to the principles argued in Gal. with polemic vehemence. Rom. 1–11 is Paul's great manifesto and doctrinal apologetic (see 1 16f.). Here he brings the crucial debate of his life to its conclusion; he gives the Church the outcome of the twenty years' reflection upon the relations of the Gospel to Judaism—results wrought out amid incessant missionary labour and continual discussion with Jewish opponents both outside and inside the Church. The epistle signalises the victory of Christianity over the Judaistic reaction.

§ 3. The character, as well as the position, of the primitive Church of Rome goes to account for Paul's sending his manifesto to this quarter. He regards the readers as within the province of his apostolate (1 5f.,13; 15 15–17); in 11 13–32 he addresses them as "you Gentiles," in distinction from "Israel." On the other hand the letter reads, in essential parts, as the appeal of a Jew to Jews; see particularly 2 17–38, 4, 7 1–6, 9–11. It is almost as full of the OT as Hebrews or the First Gospel; it combats the objections of Israelite disputers; its phraseology is that of the Jewish schools. But for the express compellation of its readers as *Gentiles*, one might imagine the epistle designed to win Jewish Christians to the Pauline standpoint, to overcome their prejudice and to wean them from dependence on legal righteousness. Here and there Paul writes as if with an eye to Jews of the Synagogue (2 17–29, 9 1–5); we catch echoes of his dialogues with unconverted fellow-countrymen (2 1–6, 3 1–8, 4 1–3, 6 15, 9 6f.). From these contrasted indications we gather that the constituency of the Roman Church was mainly of Gentile birth, but of Jewish prepossessions and leanings, due probably to the circumstances of its origin and the influence of leading Jewish minds. A large proportion of Gentile Christians, it should be remembered, had passed through the Synagogue into the Church. At least six out of the twenty-six persons saluted by name in 16 3–15 were Jews. Unless forearmed, a Church so composed might fall an easy prey to the Judaizers. But the Judaism of this community was far from being extreme, in the anti-Pauline sense: apart from 16 17–20*, the letter is wholly conciliatory and assumes a fundamental harmony between writer and readers (6 17). The Christianity of Rome was probably drawn from Palestinian sources, dating, it may be, even from the Day of Pentecost (Ac. 2 10; *cf.* Rom. 13 11, 16 7), and remained so far untouched by the bitter agitation against Gentile liberties; it was doubtless affected by the broader Hellenistic-Jewish ideas (see Lipsius in HC). Paul hopes to secure Rome for the world-gospel, forestalling the circumcisionist emissaries, and to bring this important Church, which was friendly toward himself and substantially sound in faith, to a full

understanding of the relations of the Gospel to the Israelite economy. While Paul claims no paternal authority over Roman Christians and half apologises for using language of admonition to them (11ff., 1514–16), his silence makes it fairly certain that this Church was founded neither by Peter nor any other apostolic man. His warrant for addressing the readers as he does, lies in the scope of his commission (15–16) and the singular "grace that had been given" him "from God." The seed of the Gospel here was wind-blown; no religious or social movement of any magnitude took place in those times without speedily reaching Rome. The passage from Suetonius, *Lives of the Cæsars* (§ 25), which relates, with obvious confusion, how the Emperor Claudius "expelled the Jews from Rome, who were making continual riots at the instigation of one *Chrestus*," indicates that the Christians in Rome were popularly identified with the Synagogue, and that their activity in the early fifties—especially, we may conjecture, in drawing over Gentile proselytes (*cf.* Ac. 1344f., 174f.)—had provoked assaults from the orthodox Jews so violent that they called for severe governmental repression. If 163–15 formed a part of the original letter (see § 4), then the presence of Aquila and his wife in Rome accounts for the apostle's conversance with Christian affairs in the city; but apart from the data of the salutations, we may presume that his wide acquaintanceship, and the constant resort of provincials to the metropolis, had secured for Paul friends there through whom he could inform himself. The Church is prepared to receive this letter, and may be counted on to welcome and aid the writer when he shall arrive (112, 1524,32).

§ 4. The connexion of ch. 16 with the rest of the letter raises serious difficulties. The confluence from the Provinces to Rome scarcely accounts for Paul's greeting such a host of personal friends in a place where he had never been (163–15). The epistle appears to have three distinct conclusions: the two Benedictions of 1533 and 1620 (24, AV, rests on defective textual support), and the Doxology of 1625–27. Between the three endings two name-lists intervene, of persons saluted (3–15) and persons saluting (21–23), with a hortatory postscript attached to the former catalogue (17–20). These paragraphs follow disconnectedly, in contrast with the orderly sequence of the epistle; the gap between the Church greetings and the personal greetings of 16, 21–23, is particularly noticeable. The denunciatory strain of 17–19* is heard nowhere in the body of the letter; in tone and phrase this homily is markedly akin to later epistles. In view of the peculiar features of 16, added significance attaches to the early currency of a recension lacking the *in Rome* of 17 and 115 (the evidence is slighter here), and to the appearance of the Doxology in many MSS at the end of ch. 14. At the same time, the material of the chapter is characteristically Pauline throughout. On the above phenomena, along with other considerations, was based the theory, advocated by Lightfoot (*Bibl. Essays*) and Renan (*Saint Paul*) in widely different forms, that Paul abridged or modified the epistle for use in other churches. [Lake holds that Rom. is an expanded version of an older encyclical epistle, written at the same time as Gal., which he regards as earlier than the Conference at Jerusalem. Some years later Paul re-edited it and sent it to Rome. Both views rest on the postulate that the affinities between Rom. and Gal. compel us to regard them as nearly contemporary. If we allow that Paul had thought out his principles long before he wrote Rom. and had defended them along the same lines, there is no need to insist that no long interval can have separated Rom. and Gal.—A. S. P.] He may well have taken measures to give wider circulation to a writing that was of catholic import and contained so much of his weightiest and most laboured thinking. Col. 416 points to something similar in another instance. If abridged copies of Rom. were sent out in this way, the conflation of the epistolary endings of several other issues with that of the original letter would account for the manifold endings. The Salutation-list, however, which Renan, in common with many scholars, supposed to have been designed for Ephesus, bears strong internal marks of Roman destination (163–16*): on this Gifford's suggestion is plausible, that 163–20 is an insertion taken *from some later communication of Paul's to Rome*, dating subsequently to his imprisonment there; 1533 may then indicate an earlier, and the occurrence of the Doxology at the close of ch. 14 a second abridgment of the epistle; while 161f., 21–27, formed the primary conclusion.

§ 5. **Plan.**—This is the most systematic and complete, as well as the weightiest, of Paul's extant writings. The strictly epistolary and personal matter is limited to 11–16 and 1514–1627. Within this setting we have (**A**) a major doctrinal, and (**B**) a minor hortatory deliverance. **A**, which covers 117–1136, treats of two themes, principal and subsidiary: (*a*) *the Revelation of God's Righteousness for Man's Salvation* (117–8); (*b*) *the Present Reprobation of the Jewish People* (9–11). **B** has a more general part (12f.) inculcating Christian ethics, mainly on their social side, followed by specific appeals on questions endangering the peace of the Roman Church (141–1513). The notes will supply details of analysis.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Gifford** (Sp. and separately), **Beet**, Moule (CB), Garvie (Cent.B); (*b*) **Sanday and Headlam** (ICC), Liddon, Denney (EGT), Parry (CGT), C. J. Vaughan, Morison (on chs. 3, 6, 9f., in three vols.), Lightfoot (*Notes on Epp.*); (*c*) * Godet, **Lipsius** (HC), Zahn (ZK), **Lietzmann** (HNT), B. Weiss (Mey.), Kühl, Hofmann, **Calvin**, Estius (Rom. Cath.); (*d*) Moule (Ex.B), Gore. *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries; Works on NTT; Du Bose, *Gospel according to Paul;* Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ;* Hort, *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians;* Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays.* The relevant articles in this Commentary should be consulted. For further literature see the bibliography on p. 816.

I. 1–7. The Address is elaborate, for Paul is introducing himself to a strange community; and stately, as befits Christ's ambassador approaching the imperial city.—**1f., 5f.** He is "an apostle by (God's) calling"—not by his own will (1 Cor. 916f.) or human choice (Gal. 11)—"set apart to be a messenger of God's good news," which had been the burden of "prophetic scriptures"; his apostleship aims at bringing "all the nations, amongst whom" the Romans are conspicuous (*cf.* 8), "unto obedience of faith."—**3f.** explains "the good news": it is "about Jesus Christ," who while He "came of David's seed in the physical order," was first of all "God's Son, marked out" as such "in accordance with His sinless character by the fact of His resurrection" (*cf.* Ac. 222,27).—**6f.** Jesus Christ "called" the readers to salvation, making them "God's beloved," and "saints" by the nature of their "calling."—"Grace and apostleship" (5) is not "the grace of apostleship": all the grace Paul "received" looked toward his apostleship (see Gal. 115f.).—A small but representative group of ancient witnesses vouches for the reading: "To all

that are in God's love called " to be " saints " (*cf.* Eph. 1 1, *mg.*)—a form of words differing from the TR but by a single Greek syllable beside " Rome." Zahn (ZK and INT) prefers the shorter reading (*cf.* WH Appendix, and see Introd. § 4).

I. 8–16. Paul's Intention to Visit Rome.—8–10. " Of the faith of the Romans the whole world hears ": the Apostle " thanks God " for this, and " names them constantly in his prayers." He invokes God as " witness," for this is much to say about strangers; his " service in the gospel " makes him deeply interested in the Church of Rome. He has " begged " of God " that he might have the good fortune to visit " them; " at last " the " hindrances " are disappearing (13; *cf.* 15 20–29).—**11–13.** He " longs to impart to them some grace of the Spirit," some " added strength"; or rather, he anticipates a " reciprocal encouragement." Here as " elsewhere amongst the Gentiles," he would fain " win fruit " to his ministry.—**14f.** " The debt he owes " on Christ's account " to men of every race and condition," makes him " eager to preach to you that are in Rome," *i.e.* " to you Roman people."—**16.** To shrink from this would mean to " be ashamed of the gospel," which he has proved to be " God's power " working " for salvation to every one that believes "—" to the Greek as well as the Jew." " First " is a doubtful reading (WH).

I. 17. " Not ashamed of the Gospel," for it is God's saving power, which operates by **the revelation of God's righteousness:** the efficacy of the message lies in the character of God who sends it. Paul's view of the Divine righteousness as identified with salvation, is based on Is. 45f. (*cf.* 2, also 32 1). Righteousness, in the sense of Deutero-Isaiah, is no hard legality, contrasted as in men's narrow thoughts with " goodness " (57); it embraces the whole perfectness of Jehovah's character manifested in His dealings with Israel. Jehovah's fidelity to covenant, His fatherly regard for His people (Is. 45 10f., 63 16, 64 8), are integral to this righteousness and make it, through the responsive trust they evoke, a " power for salvation." In such righteousness the Gospel reveals God to mankind. The revelation operates in the sphere of faith: its apprehension starts " from faith," and proceeds " unto faith." On man's part faith is the Alpha and Omega of salvation, as righteousness is upon God's. The saying of Hab. 2 4 illustrates the vital power of faith, which is man's hold upon the character of God. In the light of the doctrine of Justification unfolded later, many find here " a righteousness (in man) derived from God " (*cf.* Phil. 3 9). But " God's power," " righteousness," " anger," are interlinked in identical grammatical construction (16–18); to construe the central phrase differently is to dislocate the passage; in the third sentence the " ungodliness and unrighteousness of men " are emphatically contrasted with the " righteousness of God " (see Detached Note, ICC, p. 34).

The theme of **16f.** is unfolded in 1 18–8 39: 1 18–3 20 sets forth *the guilty and lost condition of mankind*—of the world at large, and the Jews in particular; 3 21–8 39, *the saving intervention of God's righteousness*, acting in Jesus Christ and realised universally through faith. The positive demonstration is supported by a negative proof, going to show that " the law could not do " (ch. 7) what the grace of Christ has triumphantly accomplished (ch. 8).

I. 18–32. Mankind is in a ruinous plight: **God's Anger,** which is His righteousness reacting against wrong, rests upon the race.

18*a*. " The Divine wrath is being revealed from heaven " in action " against all impiety and unrighteousness of men." The revelation is apparent in the moral outcome of irreligion described in 21–32—an apocalypse more appalling than earthquake or famine.—**18*b*–20.** Man is responsible for his perdition: " in " committing " unrighteousness men hold down the truth "; they ignore " the knowledge of God " lodged in conscience (*cf.* 2 14f.) and shining from the face of nature, so leaving themselves " without excuse " (**21–23,** *cf.* 28). " Ingratitude " lies at the root of this disregard of God; its fruit is mental impotence and confusion, evidenced by the monstrous follies of idolatry. The nemesis of religious apostasy delineated in **24–31** has two outstanding features: the horrible " uncleanness " notorious in the Græco-Roman world, much of it associated with idolatry (24–27); and the " malignity " and inhumanity in manifold forms pervading society (28–31).—**32.** The climax of depravity is seen in those who, while they sin themselves in defiance of judgment, applaud the sins of others. Thrice (24, 26, 28) the expression recurs, " *God gave them over* . . . to uncleanness," etc.: God's will operates in the inflexible laws by which sin breeds its punishment (Jas. 1 15); men deny their Maker, then degrade themselves. First (19–21) and last (28), the charge is that men " did not think God worth while keeping in mind."—This indictment is confirmed by contemporary literature; Corinth, from which Paul wrote—the metropolis of Greek vice—colours the lurid picture.

II. 1–16. Some one interjects: " I do not approve, I condemn the sins you describe." " Then you condemn yourself," Paul retorts, " for you *commit* them ! " **The Moralist under Condemnation,** with the flagitious sinner. Thrice Paul repeats, " Thou doest the same " (or " such-like ") things.

1–3; *cf.* 6, 9f., 13–15: not Jews specifically are addressed—" O man, everyone that judges ! "—**4f.** Whoso thinks to cloak unrighteous doings by his moral creed, is trifling with " God's forbearance and laying up a store of wrath."—**6–11.** Doom turns on " action," not opinion (*cf.* Jas. 2 14–26); " good work " alone stands either Jew or Greek in stead at the Judgment (1 Cor. 3 14); here lies the proof that one " seeks eternal life ": the joys and miseries of the future are latent in conduct. Paul's doctrine of judgment by works complements his doctrine of salvation by faith. Faith is the spring of good works; works, the issue and evidence of faith (Eph. 2 8–10, 1 Th. 1 3).—**12–16** places Jew and Gentile on equal terms before God's tribunal, judged by their doings; " the law " he acknowledges is the criterion for the former—the mere " hearing " of which counts for nothing; the latter has a " law inscribed in his heart," " his conscience along with " his action " attesting " the fact. Evidence from this secret forum will be forthcoming at the Day of Judgment.—**16** is continuous with the foregoing; the brackets enclosing 13–15 in AV are properly removed.—The words " according to my good news, through Christ Jesus " (16), intimate the perfect discrimination and sympathy which will mark the coming world-judgment; see in illustration Mt. 25 14–46, etc.

6f. The involved clauses are best construed thus: " Who will render to each according to his works—on the one hand, to the men of perseverance in good work glory and honour and incorruption, since they seek eternal life." The reward is reaffirmed in **10** in terms of " glory and honour "; and the soul's quest is " eternal life " (see 6 22, Mt. 19 16, etc.), not " glory."

II. 17–29. Now Paul accosts the Jew, reproving his

pride of law, made void by disloyalty.—17–20. His pretensions ("But if thou bearest the name of Jew," etc.), provoke the questions of 21–24: the commandments he inculcates on others, he so violates that "God" is "dishonoured," and "His name is blasphemed among the Gentiles." The "blasphemy" of Is. 525 was occasioned by the insolence of Gentile oppressors; this by the hypocrisy of Israel.—**25–29.** How worthless the outward possession of the Law, and the physical mark of circumcision, without the corresponding inner reality: law-keeping uncircumcision is virtually circumcision, and *vice versa*; heart-obedience, not external status, "wins God's praise." For Jew or Gentile, "doing" right, not lauding nor vaunting it, avails with God at the Judgment (1–16) and approves itself now (17–29).—The words of 22*b*, "Thou that loathest the idols," etc., probably allude to some recent notorious sacrilege. [*Cf.* the underlying insinuation in Ac. 1937.—A. J. G.].—12–16 and 25–29 exhibit Paul emancipated from Jewish prejudice; he penetrates through conventional forms to the moral realities. The first part of his indictment, bearing upon flagrant sin, terminated at 132; its second part, bearing upon sin disguised by moral professions, occupies ch. 2.

III. 1–8. Jewish Protests Silenced.—1. "What then," it is asked, "is the advantage of being a Jew, etc.?"—**2–4.** "Much," Paul replies, "in every way: to begin with, they were entrusted with the oracles of God" (this implies a faith-relationship)—"a trust not voided by the infidelity of some." "Some," for numbers do not count; the heritage of faith is transmitted through "the remnant" (see 96–8, etc.).—"Nay" (to use the language of the Pss.), "God will show Himself true, though every man prove false," etc.—**5.** A further protest: "But if our unrighteousness serves to commend God's righteousness" (as you maintain), "is God, who inflicts the wrath" you speak of, "unjust" like that—punishing those who have helped to glorify Him? Paul apologises for repeating the impudent question: "I say it as a man"—as men might and do say.—**6** is his reply: "Far be the thought; for in that case how will God judge the world?"—the world's sin would then go scot-free, for it also illustrates God's righteousness.—**7***l*. The objector persists: "But if" (as you implied) "my lie has redounded to God's glory, why am I too," after that, "judged like a" common "sinner"? To the Pharisee, the idea of his being classed with "sinners" was monstrous (see Lk. 736–39, 15f., etc.). The question is answered by its ironical continuation: "And why not . . . as some people affirm that we" (Christians) "say, Let us do evil," etc.? This defence is its own condemnation. The Jew makes no reply on the matters of fact alleged in ch. 2; in arrest of judgment he pleads hereditary privilege, and the tending of his misdoing to the greater glory of God.

III. 9–20. sums up **the impeachment of mankind.—9.** Paul has beaten down Jewish counter-pleas; he and his fellow-believers ("we") might be supposed to have some apology in reserve: "What then? do we make any defence?" (*mg.*). "Not in the least! for we have already charged Jews and Greeks alike with being all under the power of sin."

10–18. The universal accusation is restated by a string of OT sentences (p. 805) gathered, with the exception of 15–17 (Is. 59*f.*), from the Psalter, which poignantly depict the sinfulness of mankind. Two things are conspicuous in this sad catena: the world's "unrighteousness" is traced to a want of "understanding about God" (11, 18; *cf.* 118–23); here cruelty, the wrong of man toward man, predominates, as foulness, the wrong of man toward himself, did in ch. 1.—**19***f.* resumes the thread of 9: "We know, moreover, that in whatsoever things the law pronounces, it speaks to those within its scope, that every mouth may be stopped" (Jewish mouths particularly), "and all the world may find itself obnoxious to God's judgment; because by works of law," etc. (Ps. 1432). "For through law comes the fuller knowledge of sin": this concluding sentence awaits explanation in ch. 7 (*cf.* p. 823).

III. 21–31. A new chapter opens in human history—the achievement of Redemption in Christ Jesus.

21. In the desperation to which man's sin, brought home to him by the Law, has reduced him, "a manifestation has been made of God's righteousness (117*) for salvation outside of law," yet "attested by law and prophets" (see, *e.g.*, 43, 117). The Jew regarded Moses' law as a complete revelation of God's ways.—**22***a*. It is a "righteousness" realised "through faith in Jesus Christ," destined "for all that believe." The Divine righteousness displayed in the Gospel is communicative; sinners "become God's righteousness in Christ," even *as* He "became sin for us" (2 Cor. 521).—**22***b*, **23** sustains the "all" of 22*a*: Jew and Gentile are condemned "without distinction"; everywhere "the glory of God," which shone in man's proper nature, is eclipsed under sin's shame.—**24.** If sinners then are to be "justified," it must be "gratuitously" (*cf.* "the *gift* of righteousness," 517)—a justification effected "through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus."—"To justify" is "to count righteous", p. 811, whether (213, 34) the subject has been such in conduct or (as here) the opposite; the term is relative to *status*. The change of *character* ensues, as ch. 6 will show; God makes men righteous by treating them as such on Christ's account. Justification is forgiveness, and more; it implies reinstatement (see 814–17; *cf.* Lk. 1520–24).—By derivation "redemption" is "recovery by ransom": the Greek term, however, like the English, came to include "deliverance" broadly; the stricter connotation holds in this connexion—the thought of "price," the sense of the immense cost of man's salvation (*cf.* 1 Cor. 620*, 1 Tim. 26), attaches to the word; 25 speaks of "the blood" (Mk. 1045, 1 P. 118f.). *How* redeemed, 25*a* tells; *with what issue*, 25*b*, 26.—**25***a*. "God set Him forth" in the eyes of all the world—"a propitiation . . . in His blood." Propitiation (1 Jn. 22*) bears reference to "the anger of God" resounding from 118* onwards. The death of Jesus consummated the direful train of causation, at once natural and supernatural, under which "sin worketh out death"; on the Cross "the law of sin and death" took full effect—for the sheltering sinner, final effect (*cf.* 59). In heathen propitiations guilty men strove to appease the displeasure of their gods; here God both prescribes the means and is at the cost of expiation (832, 1 Jn. 410). The intervening clause "through faith" makes the saved man a party to God's redeeming action; the propitiation avails as he identifies himself with it.—**25***b*, **26.** The expiation covers, retrospectively, the time of "passing over of sins" (RV; *cf.* Ac. 1730, Heb. 101–4), when God acted "in forbearance" with wrong-doers. "The present epoch" witnesses the full "exhibition of God's righteousness"—that of One who is "Himself righteous and the justifier" (righteous-er, as Du Bose renders it) "of the man that is of faith in Jesus." The "and" is no "but": the justification vindicates God's own righteousness (117*), who in perfect rectitude reinstates, for Christ's sake, His disinherited children. "Of faith" is more than "through faith" (25): faith

originates the new order.—**27–31.** Three consequences emerge: Jewish pride is abased (27f.), the Divine Unity is safeguarded (29f.), and the Divine Law vindicated (31). The "excluded glorying" is that of 2$^{17-20}$, the boast asserted under the "law of works" (2$^{21-25}$, 4$^{4f.}$; *cf.* 10^{3})—quashed when "faith" is recognised as the "norm" of God's kingdom; "for" (*mg.*) "we account that justification comes to man" (*qua* man, not *qua* Israelite) "by faith apart from works of law": such a calculus annihilates boasting (*cf.* 4$^{1-3}$). Incidentally, this principle guards the unity of God: "God being one," there is only one way to set men right with Him; He "will justify the Circumcision out of faith, and the Uncircumcision through that faith"—in salvation, as in sin, they stand on an equal footing. Faith is, to Jews, *the source* of salvation, excluding "works"; for Gentiles, standing afar off, *the pathway* to salvation.—Finally, "we" (Christians) "establish law," instead of overthrowing it (*cf.* 6^{15}, 8^{4}), "by means of faith." Paul saw in faith a law (2^{7}) within and beyond "the law"; he found here the basal principle of God's dealings with mankind (4$^{3ff.}$; *cf.* Heb. 11). His conception of law has deepened along with his conception of righteousness.

IV. 1–11*a*. The Example of Abraham.—**1.** The Jewish objector once more: "What about Abraham then?" (*mg.*); if the circumcised Israelite is justified on no more favourable terms than the Gentile outsider, how was it with "our" great "forefather"? Abraham's case was the *instantia probans* for Jewish theology.—**2f.** "If Abraham had been justified by works," Paul replies, "he has ground of glorying; but" however great his glory amongst men, "he has none Godwards. Nay, Scripture says, But Abraham *believed God* and it was counted to him for righteousness" (*cf.* Gal. 3$^{6f.}$).—**4f.** Arguing on this text in the sense of 3$^{27f.}$, Paul contrasts "the worker" claiming "his pay of debt" with "the believer" to whom, "ungodly" as he doubtless had been, "righteousness is credited on terms of faith, by way of grace."—**6–8.** The patriarch's experience resembled that stated in Ps. 32, "the blessedness of the man to whom the Lord will no longer impute sin."—**9–11*a*.** Now, the sentence of justification was pronounced on Abraham *before* his circumcision. This ceremony was not the basis of a righteousness acquired by works, but the "seal set upon the righteousness conferred through faith." Faith antedates Circumcision, as it underlies the Law (*cf.* Gal. 3^{17}). Circumcision was properly a sacrament of faith.

IV. 11*b*–17*a*. Abraham's Relation to Mankind.—With Abraham's faith a great prospect opened for humanity.

11*b*, 12. According to Gen. 17 the patriarch "received" the Covenant-sign "to the end he might be father of all that believe while in uncircumcision" like himself, . . . "and father," to be sure, "of circumcision—in the case of those who do not rely upon the fleshly token (*cf.* 2$^{26-29}$), but who keep in the track of our father Abraham's pre-circumcision faith."—**13.** The antithesis of *Law and Grace* becomes that of *Law and Promise;* God's grace toward Abraham was charged with blessing for future ages. "The men of faith," circumcised or not, "are Abraham's sons" (11f.; *cf.* Gal. 3^{7}). Such filiation implies that "the world-embracing promise," whether considered as made "to Abraham or to his seed," was given simply on terms of the "faith-righteousness" common to Abraham with believing Gentiles.—**14f.** Had "law" conditioned the inheritance, it must have lapsed for want of qualified heirs, "faith being thus reduced to an empty word and the promise being nullified; for the law breeds transgression (see 5^{20}, 7$^{7-23}$), which entails God's anger" (1$^{18ff.}$, 2$^{8f.}$). The negative form of 15*b* suits Abraham's case, in which the fatal sequence of *commandment, transgression, wrath,* was obviated.—**16.** Two purposes are answered by conditioning the promise upon faith: it devolves "by way of grace," which is God's delight (*cf.* 5^{20}, Eph. 1^{6}, 2^{7}, etc.); and the fulfilment "is secured to all the seed"—to Gentiles along with Jews.—**17*a*** supports Abraham's title to ecumenical fatherhood, by quoting the oracle attached to the Covenant of Circumcision (p. 151).

IV. 17*b*–25. Faith in God the Life-Giver.—**17** associates with the *scope* the *quality* of Abraham's faith. The patriarch's world-fatherhood was his "in the sight of God whom he believed": God acknowledged and made good that paternity—"He who makes alive the dead and summons things non-existent as though in being!"—**18–23.** Abraham's trust in the power yoked to God's promise made his belief efficacious: "against hope, he believed in hope"; spiritual hope conquered natural despair. He accepted the assurance respecting Isaac's birth, though perfectly aware of its physical impossibility (19). His "unhesitating faith honoured God" (20), and "brought righteousness to himself" (22).—In Jas. 2$^{21-23}$ and Heb. 11$^{17-19}$, the climax of Abraham's faith is his consent to Isaac's death; here his anticipation of Isaac's birth.—**24.** In this phase of it the patriarch's faith specifically resembles that of Christian believers. Isaac was, in effect, "begotten out of the dead" (19, Heb. 11^{12}; *cf.* Col. 1^{18}); and the faith which now brings justification is trust in the life-giving power revealed on Easter Day.—**25*a*,** alluding to Is. 53$^{4f.}$, presents our Lord's death in its vicarious character manwards (*cf.* 83,32, 2 Cor. 5^{21}); 3$^{24f.}$, in its propitiatory character Godwards. Read prospectively, the "for (because of)" of **25*b*** signifies "to effect our (individual) justification"; retrospectively, "because our (collective) justification had been effected," potentially, in Christ's death (*cf.* 2 Cor. 5^{19}): the former construction is preferable as in keeping with 24, "to whom it is to be reckoned."

V. 1–5. The Fruits of Justifying Faith.—**1, 2*a*.** "Since then we have been justified," etc., recapitulates 3^{22}–4^{25}. The apodosis (according to the best-attested reading, RV) is hortatory: "Let us abide in peace with God," etc.; the Greek tense implies a continued state, as in Ac. 9^{31} (RV). The qualifying clause, "through whom indeed we have got our introduction," etc., warrants a steady peace with God: led by Christ's hand into the Father's grace, we should lay aside misgiving.—**2*b*–5.** The "hope of the glory of God" raises "peace" to "exultation." Christian joy is even enhanced by trouble: "endurance, proof, hope" form a chain linking "tribulation" to "the love of God" (*cf.* Phil. 4$^{11-13}$; also 1 P. 1$^{6f.}$, Jas. 1$^{2-4}$—apparently echoed here). "Our hope" of beholding the glory of God "does not shame us," like self-relying hopes; its fruition is guaranteed by "the love of God poured out within our hearts, through the Holy Spirit who was given us."—God's love, implied in His name of "Father" (1^{7}, etc.), is embraced in Paul's wide conception of "God's righteousness" (1^{17},* etc.); "poured out" speaks of its lavishness (*cf.* Eph. 2^{4,7}); "the heart," of its inward apprehension.—Ch. 8 is the expansion of 5*b*.

V. 6–11. Love and Reconciliation.—**6–8.** The helplessness and ill-desert of the objects, and the timeliness of the intervention, go to "commend God's love to us, shown in the death of Christ on our behalf"—a

sacrifice enhanced when one considers that " a righteous man " will " scarcely " find another to " die for him," though " it may happen " that a friend " ventures his life for the good man " (known and loved as such).—God's and Christ's love are identified (6, 8).—9*f.* In the next breath the apostle speaks of God's " anger " : seeming incompatibles meet at the Cross. The joyous hope of Christians amid life's troubles is explained : " justified at the price of Christ's blood " (*cf.* 832, 1 P. 118f.), " we need not fear future anger " ; we know that God is our friend. He who has justified sinners, will never condemn the justified (see 831–34). " To the former enemies, brought into peace with God through His Son's death, that Son's " risen " life " (*cf.* 64f., Rev. 117f., Heb. 725) " gives pledge of final salvation."—To be " reconciled to God " means not merely to change one's disposition toward Him, but to receive forgiveness, to exchange God's anger (9) for His smile. Reconciliation corresponds in point of sentiment to justification in point of status (see 2 Cor. 519 ; also Mt. 524, for the use of the passive verb).—**11.** The sense of " reconciliation " swells again into a rapturous " exultation in God " (*cf.* 2).

V. 12–21. The " therefore " of 12 covers 116–511 : the working of sin and grace are traced up to their fountain-heads in **Adam and Christ** (*cf.* 1 Cor. 1545–47).—Adam (Heb. *man*) stands for humanity racially. Two opposing currents run through man's life, each with its personal source (12–14, 18f.) ; but with this broad correspondence, there are signal contrasts (15–17) ; grace is the ultimate victor (20f.).

12 affirms the solidarity of mankind in sin and death. The clause " for that all sinned " repeats the cardinal declaration of 323, and needs no complementary " in him (Adam) " : wherever death enters, sin has opened the door.—**13f.** deals with the seeming exception of pre-Mosaic times : " all sinned," I say (12) ; " for there was sin in the world up to the time of law "—Moses' law did not create sin, but matured it (*cf.* 20, 7ff.,13). " Yet," some one says, " sin is not taken into account where no law exists " (see 415).—" For all that," replies Paul, " death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who did not, like Adam, transgress " an explicit command. The inference goes without saying : the intervening generations violated *some* law ; the sequence of sin and death is itself matter of primordial law (82). Death was universal from Adam downwards ; sin was universal ; *ipso facto*, law was universal. This Paul had shown in 214–16, in another way. Through all ages, amongst all races, sin genders death (Jas. 115) ; at the bottom " there is no difference " (322).—The complement of " just as " (12) is virtually contained in the last clause of 14, " who (Adam) is a type of the One to come." What Adam was to his kind in point of transgression, this Other is to be in the contrary sense.—**15f.** But Christ's " grace " in its potency is " far more " than a counterpoise to the race-sin. Paul pits " the grace of God and . . . the grace of the One Man " conjointly against " the trespass." 15 marks the contrast *in kind*, 16 *in degree* : " the sin of one man resulted in general condemnation," while " the justification-bringing act of grace " dealt with " many trespasses."—**17.** Finally, Christ's grace triumphantly reverses the effects of Adam's fall, turning " the slaves of death " into " lords of life."—To speak of " righteousness " as " a gift received " is another way of affirming Justification by Faith (*cf.* 324, 44f.).—**18f., 21.** Thus the two headships are vastly disparate : on the one side, *trespass, disobedience, sin*, bearing fruit in *condemnation, sinfulness* (" were constituted sinners," 19), *death* ; on the other, *rectification* (the " one justificatory act " or " sentence," 18), *obedience, grace*, resulting in *justification, righteousness, life eternal* (terms of status, character, destiny).—" The many " *versus* " the one " of 19 = " all " *versus* " one " of 18. In 14, 17, " death came to reign through sin " : in 21, " sin reigns in death " ; for mortality brings home to men sin's domination, as " life eternal " will display " the regnancy of grace."—**20** brings in " the law by the way," as " multiplying the (Adam's) trespass " —so as to further, however, " the superabounding of grace " (*cf.* 415, 77–13, and Gal. 319f.). — This paragraph extends the scope of Christ's redemption from the primeval fall on to the glories of eternal destiny.

VI. 1–11. Union with the Dying, Risen Christ.—**1.** The reference of 520 to " the law " gives the legalist critic his opportunity to challenge Paul's whole doctrine on its practical outcome ; in his view, it is rank Antinomianism : " Are we to persist in sin, that grace may abound ? " If to " multiply sin " multiplies grace—then sin away !—**2–4.** The suggestion revolts the Christian consciousness ; the mocking query is countered : " We who died to sin, how any longer shall we live in it ? or " (if you entertain such a thought) " know you not— ? " Paul's answer runs in terms of *baptism*, which is faith symbolised in its prescribed and familiar expression (Ac. 241, 812, etc.). This is no substituted or additional condition of salvation : to say " We so many as were baptized," etc., is to say in pictorial fashion, " We so many as believed in Christ " ; note the equivalence in Gal. 326f. The sinking, disappearance, and emergence of the believer from the baptismal wave, belonging to baptism in its full, dramatic form, image his identification with the death, burial, and resurrection of his Lord. The sacrament unfolds the implications of faith, and interprets it : faith means more than reliance *on* Christ (see 322,25), *on* God who raised Him from the dead (424) ; it is the planting of the man *in* Christ. He dies Christ's death, and rises into Christ's life ! " Burial," emphasizing the rupture with old conditions, is death made definitive, unmistakable.—**5, 6*a*.** " If we have become coalescent (of one growth) with Him by the likeness of His death "—by the faith-baptism experience which copies Christ's death—" we shall be equally so in respect of His resurrection, as we come to know " (what our faith imports) " that our old nature was crucified with Him," etc.—**6*b*** is the positive counterpart of 4 : " the body," as a body " of sin, done away with (*cf.* Col. 35) . . . we no longer bondmen to sin " = " walking in a new state, a state of life." —**7f.** " For he that died has become, by way of justification, quit of sin " : death pays all debts ! The pregnant phrase " justified *from* sin " implies *separation* attending justification. In other words, justification entails sanctification, as Christ's rising followed His dying. Christ carries the sinner, whose faith embraces Him on the Cross, through His grave into His resurrection-life (8), clean away from his sin.—" We shall also live with Him " (8*b*), looks on to eternal life (510,21).—**9–11.** " Death no longer lords it over Christ " : once " raised from the dead," He escaped finally from the realm of sin (*cf.* 2 Cor. 521), so that " His present life is " absolutely " a life unto God : so with yourselves—dead men sin-wards, living men Godwards ; reckon (account) it so," and it will be so ! Paul has said, " God counts your faith for righteousness " ; now, " You must count it for holiness."

VI. 12–23. The Christian's Severance from Sin.—**12f.** The conflict turns on the possession of *the body* :

sin and God both claim the use of your "limbs"; sin must not "reign in your mortal body," though that body is in death's domain (725, 810f.; *cf.* 521). With the new man "living to God in Christ Jesus" (11), his "limbs must be presented for weapons of righteousness," no longer to be plied against God (*cf.* 121; 1 Cor. 615,18).—**14f.** The plea for continuance in sin (1), "You are not under law but under grace," is a conclusive argument against it; for this very reason "sin shall not lord it over you." Law inflames, grace kills the love of sin (6, 82–6).—**16–18.** Remember what happened in your conversion, the bonds you then took upon you. Now "obedience" makes the "bondman," to this moral master or that (16). There is no doubt whose "slaves you were" aforetime (17, 19); but you "have passed," with full consent and intention, "from sin's service to that of righteousness" (18). The transference is complete and irrevocable.—**19***a*. Paul excuses the harsh reflection made on the past of men unknown to him: "I speak to human experience, in view of your weak (*cf.* 56) sinful nature."—**19***b*, **20.** "Iniquity" is "for iniquity"—has no other end; "the goal of righteousness" is "sanctification." Let the new service be as thorough as the old: "when bondmen of sin, you renounced the claims of righteousness"; there must be a complete reversal.—**21f.** Look at the wages paid by the two masters: sin's shameful service yields "the stipend" (as for soldiers cheated by fine promises) "of death"; God's service "bears fruit in sanctification, crowned by life eternal." Undeserved by us, this is "God's grace-gift in Christ Jesus" (*cf.* 515, etc.).—"What fruit therefore had you then, of the deeds that now cause you shame?" No *fruit* at all, unless shame be such!

VII. 1–6. Espousal to Christ.—Paul returns to his paradox about Law and Grace (614f.) and illustrates it by marriage, *Christ* now standing for *Grace*.

1–3. Wedlock binds "while the husband lives"; on his death the wife is free for another union.—**4***a*. "You" are the wife in this case; "the law" the first husband, the risen "Christ" the second; the new marriage presupposes a discharge from the old (6). In the expression "that she should not be *an adulteress*," Paul tacitly repudiates the charge of apostasy brought against Jewish Christians (*cf.* Jas. 44 RV, Jer. 22, Hos. 2ff., etc.).—**4***b*–**6.** The difference in *the offspring* shows how much happier and better the second marriage is than the first: wedded to the law, "our carnal nature bore fruit for death"; now, "we bear fruit to God (*cf.* Gal. 522f.), with the result that we serve (*cf.* 618–22) in newness of spirit (*cf.* 64), not in the oldness of the letter." The old system worked by external rule; the new by internal principle. Paul takes liberties with his simile: in the figure, the husband dies; in the application, the wife—"you were put to death as regards the law through the (dying) body of Christ" (4); so again in 6, where the AV, mistakenly, removes the incongruity. For the Christian believer dies with his Redeemer, to share His heavenly life (62–11). The death of either partner dissolves the prior union (*cf.* Gal. 614).

VII. 7–23. Autobiography of the Man under Law.—What it means to be "in bondage to the old letter" (6), the apostle will show from his own experience. That the following description belongs to Paul's legal past appears from ch. 6, and from the contrastive "now" of 81. Failing to "reckon himself dead unto sin," the believer may, doubtless, relapse into the misery of 24.

7f. The legalist interjects: "What shall we say then? is the law sin?" Paul has, indeed, in a sense, identified it with sin (520, 614; *cf.* 1 Cor. 1556); he explains by expounding 320, "Through law comes *the knowledge* of sin." Take, for instance, the command, "Thou shalt not covet," the hearing of which "awakened slumbering desire."—**9–11.** At that moment "sin came to life," "and" the innocent child "I" was "died," slain by "the" very "law" which "pointed the way to life"—a result due to "the deceit of sin," which "got through the command" a fatal "leverage" upon me.—**12f.** In making this "deadly" use of a thing so "holy and good," sin unmasked itself.—**14.** The abuse was possible through the fault of my nature: "The law is spiritual; I am a creature of flesh" (*cf.* 87f.). In adding "sold under sin" the apostle recalls 512–14: the child of Adam is compromised by his heredity. "Sold," he needs "redemption" (324).—**15–20.** A struggle ensues between duty and desire: young Saul finds himself "doing what he would not," what "he loathes." In conviction "he agrees with the law, delights in it." "The will" to obey is there, "the operative power" is wanting; a hostile force lodged "in his flesh" determines his action.—**21–23.** "Another (the *de facto*) law rules in my members," which dictates "evil" for "good"; from this fortress "the law of sin wages war against the law of God, the law of my reason, making me its captive."—**24, 25***a*. As the prisoner cries for deliverance, "Jesus Christ comes to his rescue!"—**25***b*. The conclusion of the whole matter: "I by myself" (without Christ; contrast Gal. 220) "with my reason serve God's law, but with my flesh sin's law"; in theory the former is sovereign, in practice the latter.—"The body of this death" (24) is the actual body (*cf.* 18, 23; also 66,12), whose mortality (*cf.* 521) betokens the death of the whole man (*cf.* Eph. 21–5); when "sin came to life" (9), "this (conscious) death" began. *Cf.* 512*.

VIII. 1–13. The New Man in Christ Jesus.—1. "Therefore now"—sin's captive escapes! "No condemnation": 118–320, 714–24 was *all* condemnation! "Those in Christ Jesus"; see 63–11.—**2.** "The law of the Spirit" (*cf.* "law of faith," 327*) . . . "emancipated me (*cf.* 618) from the law of sin and death" (512–14*, 75,22,24).—**3f.** "Through the mission of Christ God has inflicted on sin the condemnation which the law, disabled by the flesh, endeavoured vainly," and did it "in that" very "flesh" which was sin's stronghold (66, 718, etc.).—"Likeness of sinful flesh" signifies a life incarnate but sinless; the elliptical "(sacrifice) for sin" (see Lev., *passim*) adds the Atonement to the Incarnation (see 425, 56–11; also Heb. 53, 106, where the phrase reappears): together they wrought God's judgment upon sin, in such a way "that the righteous demand of the law might be fulfilled in us," etc. God's holy law, after all, gets its own (*cf.* 331); while our sin is condemned, we pass through justification into a new life of righteousness under the Spirit's rule.—"The (Holy) Spirit" appeared incidentally in 55; Rom. 8 is the chapter of the Holy Ghost.—**5–8** contrasts "the spiritual" with "the carnal walk" in their respective "temper" (mind), and their issue, "death," in contrast with "life and peace" (*cf.* 623, 51). Death results from "the fleshly mind," because it "is enmity toward God, insubordination to His law," and consequent "incapacity to please Him" (7f.; Ps. 907–9, 929, etc.).—**9.** Those in whom "the Spirit of God dwells" (*cf.* 1 Cor. 316)—the vital element common to Head and members (*cf.* 9*b* with 1 Cor. 617, 1212f., Eph. 43–6)—have escaped this fatal condition.—In ch. 6 *faith*, here *the Spirit*, identifies men with Christ.—**10f.** "The

body" too will share in this redemption. For the present, the "living spirit" (*cf.* 6 10f.) inhabits a "moribund body; righteousness" characterises the one, while "sin" dooms the other. But the "resurrection of Jesus" promises, "the indwelling Spirit" guarantees, "life" even to "the mortal body" (*cf.* 23, 2 Cor. 1 22, Eph. 1 13f.).—Read, in 11, "because of His Spirit" (*mg.*).—**12f.**—On the above grounds, you recognise "no obligation to the flesh," but only "to the Spirit," by whose aid you "must put to death" those "doings of the body" (*cf.* 6 6, 7 18–24, Col. 3 5) the practice of which meant "death" for you (*cf.* 2 6, Eph. 2 1). See pp. 811f.

VIII. 14–17. So Christian men stand toward life and death (1–13); how *toward God?*

14. "Justified" (3–5) and "sanctified" (6), they are **Sons and Heirs of God**, while they "are led by God's Spirit."—**15f.** "Christ's spirit of sonship" replaces "the old spirit of servitude engendering fear" (*cf.* 2 8f., also Heb. 2 15, 10 28,31, and 1 Jn. 4 18). "Adoption" (sonship: with a different application in 9 4) is borrowed from Roman and Greek law, denoting affiliation from another family or status—"no longer a bondman but a son" (Gal. 4 5, Eph. 1 5). The cry of the adopted—"Abba" = *Father!* in the mother-speech of Jesus (Mk. 14 36), caught, like *Amen*, from the lips of Palestinian believers—sounds as the voice of Another within us (*cf.* 9, 26f.). "The Spirit Himself" sustains the testimony of consciousness (*cf.* 2 15, 9 1) "to the effect that we are children of God." The witness of "our spirit" lies in the knowledge of our spiritual transformation (see 1–9, also 5 1–11, and 6).—*Sons* in rank and dignity, *children* in affinity and endearment (*cf.* 1 Jn. 3 1f.).—**17.** "And consequently heirs, sharing the inheritance of Christ," the Son of God—"provided that we share His sufferings" (see Gal. 4 5–7, Eph. 1 14; also Jn. 15 18–21, 1 P. 4 12f.). *Cf.* p. 811.

VIII. 18–27. The Birth-Pangs of Immortality.—18. These "present sufferings" are "light beyond comparison, in view of the glory awaiting us at the coming revelation." "The destined glory" is hidden under a fleshly veil (see 10, Phil. 3 21, Col. 3 3f.; also 1 Jn. 3 2). —**19, 22.** With this mystery "all creation is pregnant, in strained expectancy awaiting the revelation of the sons of God, sighing and groaning in travail-pains."—**23.** Though "sons of God," having "the Spirit as a first-fruit" of our estate, we "await a" further "adoption," viz. "the redemption of our body" (*cf.* 2 Cor. 1 22, Eph. 1 14, 4 30).—**20f.** "From no will of its own, the creation has been blighted and baulked—with hope, however, that it will be delivered from its bondage to decay," to share "the liberty" and shine in "the glory of God's children." This apocalypse brings the world of Nature, as 5 12–21 brought the world of History, into the scope of Christ's redemption. —**24f.** "We are far from seeing" this "emancipation" (*cf.* Heb. 2 8); but "hope" forecasts "the not-seen" and sustains endurance.—**26f.** Meanwhile "our weakness" is helped through "prayer" prompted by "the" indwelling "Spirit."—"In like fashion moreover": for "the Spirit's speechless sighings" are in concert with the sighings of our hearts and of creation around us (22f.). Paul and his readers discern a Mind beneath their own consciousness (*cf.* 16), prompting inexpressible heavenward longings. God interprets "the Spirit's pleadings on the saints' behalf," for He is their source. True prayer is the mystic utterance, Divinely prompted, of the soul of man and nature.

VIII. 28–39. The Christian Assurance.—28. One thing "we do know, that all goes well for those that love God"—including their worst sufferings (18; *cf.* 5 3–5).—**29f.** This assurance rests on God's manifest purpose toward them—a "purpose" disclosed in five successive steps: "foreknowledge, pre-ordination, call, justification, glorification." The foreknowledge covers everything about the persons concerned; God never acts by guess (*cf.* 3 3, 11 29). The predestination aimed at "the conforming" of the chosen "to the image of God's Son, so that the Firstborn may be surrounded with many brothers"; God designed that all those marked out for salvation should share His Son's likeness and be of His family. With this object "He called them" into His Son's fellowship (1 Cor. 1 9); on their obeying that call, "He cleared them of past sin, and shed His glory on them." "Glorified" is past in tense (future in 18): despite humiliation, it is glorious to be sons of God (see 14–17; *cf.* 2 Cor. 3 18, Jn. 17 22, etc.): the father's kiss was *justification* for the Prodigal Son, the robe and ring were *glorification*. —**31–34.** The believer's justification, the corner-stone of his security, supports the challenge of these verses. All goes to show that "God is for us"—it matters nothing "who is against us"; *cf.* Ps. 118 6. That God is *for* us He showed by the sacrifice of "His own Son"—having given Him, "He can withhold nothing!" (*cf.* 1 Cor. 3 21). "Who is going to impeach God's elect? when God justifies, will anyone dare to condemn?"—If any should, there stands "Christ Jesus to speak for us, He that died—but, more than that, was raised from the dead and is now at God's right hand."—**35–37.** From his present security the Christian looks on to the eternal future: the Love that bled for him on the Cross, and pleads for him on the throne, is his in deathless union (35, 39; *cf.* 5 5,8; also Gal. 2 20, Jn. 10 28f.).—"Affliction, distress," etc., resembling the cruel martyrdom of OT saints, tend to "separate" Christians now (*cf.* 18) "from Christ's love," suggesting doubts of His sympathy or power to aid. "Nay, but in all these things we gain a surpassing victory," etc.; God's assured love silences the contradictions of life.—**38f.** Paul defies all conceivable separators: "death" and "life," "things present" and "future," "height" and "depth," represent the opposites of condition, time, and space. "Angels" are supernatural potencies, "principalities" the highest angels, "powers" being elsewhere coupled with these (Eph. 1 21, Col. 1 16*)—so here in AV; the exacter order of RV associates "powers" with time and place; *cf.* 1 Cor. 2 8, Eph. 6 12.—The passage has the lilt of Hebrew poetry; it was penned in a rapture, like 11 33–36.

IX. 1–5. Sorrow over the Reprobation of the Jews. Paul's rapture passes into anguish at the exclusion of his kinsmen from this blessedness. So the second theme of the epistle comes into view; see Introd. § 5.

1f. The apostle was denounced as a renegade (Ac. 21 28, etc.); hence his solemn protest (*cf.* 1 9, 2 Cor. 1 23, 1 Th. 2 5).—**3.** His deeply-wounded love prompts the "wish"—almost a prayer—"that I were myself anathema," that I were "cut off from Christ for the sake of my brothers, my natural kinsfolk."—The Greek *anathema* (*cf.* 1 Cor. 12 3, Gal. 1 8) renders the Hebrew term for *put-under-the-ban*, as with Achan and his plunder (Jos. 7; *cf.* Jos. 6 17f., Lev. 27 28f.).—**4f.** This recital shows how far Paul is from disparaging his people's distinctions (*cf.* 2 1, 3 2, 15 8), and how tragic is their reprobation. "Israelites"—the title of religious nobility (Gen. 32 28, Ps. 73 1, Jn. 1 47, etc.). "The (national) adoption" (see 8 15*): "Israel is My son, My firstborn" (Ex. 4 22, etc.). "The glory"—the Shekinah of Ex. 16 10, etc., which attended the desert march and rested on the sacred Ark. "The

Covenants"—with Abraham, Moses, David; finally, that of Jer. 31³¹–³⁷. "Of whom," not *whose* as in former clauses—a case of origin, not possession—"is the Christ," etc.: the consummate honour of the Israelite race.—**5***b* is sometimes punctuated as a detached doxology: "God, who is over all, be blessed for ever!" A rendering grammatical indeed, but forced and improbable. "Who is over all, God blessed for ever," supplies the antithesis to "after the flesh"; *cf.* 1³*f.*, Gal. 4⁴. Christ is not called "God over all": "over all" affirms His Lordship (1 Cor. 8⁶, Phil. 2⁹–¹¹, etc.); "God," His oneness of being with the Father (Col. 2⁹, Tit. 2¹³; Jn. 10³⁰–³⁸).

After all this, Israel's reprobation looks like God's defeat. But "God's word has not failed"; for God is acting, as always, in the sovereignty of His elective grace (6–29), while Israel rejects His way of righteousness (9³⁰–10²¹); in the end Israel will be saved (11).

IX. 6–18. God's Free Election.—**6–9.** We must distinguish: "to be of Israel, is not to be Israel." Mere physical heredity counts for nothing: "Isaac" was the proper "seed" of Abraham, designated as "the child of promise" (Gen. 21¹², etc.). Here Isaac's case illustrates the sovereignty of God; in 4¹⁸–²¹, the efficacy of faith.—**10–13.** The case of Esau and Jacob is equally significant. Twin offspring of the same parents, the unborn babes had done nothing to achieve merit or display worth, when God said, "The elder shall serve the younger," an election governing the history of the descendant peoples (Mal. 1²*f.**).—**14.** No Jew would deem "God unjust" in such preferences; the question of 14 answers itself. The application to contemporary Judaism is patent.—**15***f.* The election of Jacob recalls words used to Moses: "I will show mercy to whomsoever I will show mercy," etc.—not that God is arbitrary in His compassions, but He is untrammeled; even Moses may not prescribe to Him. Hence the inference: "it is not of him that wills, nor of him that runs" (as Moses was doing then, Paul now, for Israel's salvation), "but of God," etc. (*cf.* 1 Cor. 3⁶*f.*). Dictation, like prerogative, is out of court.—**17***f.* This holds in respect of "hardening" too. Witness the Pharaoh of the Exodus: God "raised" this evil-hearted man to greatness, "on purpose to demonstrate His power" as the Judge of the earth. As the story shows, the monarch's defiant temper was the nemesis of unbelief; *cf.* 12⁴,²⁸. In every decision God judges for Himself, despite human pleas of privilege and pride of power: "Whom He will He compassionates, whom He will He hardens."

IX. 19–29. The Divine Sovereignty in Judgment.—**19***f.* The hard saying just enunciated provokes the question, "Why does He blame," if the hardening is His doing and "none may resist His will"? Paul forgoes the obvious retort, that God's "hardening" is a judgment on hardness of heart (*cf.* 2⁵, etc.), that Pharaoh (and Israel now) *did* resist God (*cf.* Ac. 7⁵¹, etc.); he assails the spirit of contradiction: "Nay, surely, O man, who art thou who repliest against God—the thing formed saying to its fashioner, Why didst thou make me so?" (see Is. 45⁹). Such questions cast on God the responsibility for our miscarriages: whoever is to blame, *He* is not.—The "forming" of 20 is the shaping, not the creation, of the instrument.—**21.** "The potter has a right over the clay, to make a vessel for honourable or ignoble use, from any part of the lump" he chooses. He has his reasons, but those reasons are for himself. "What right," says the Jew, "has God to cast away sons of Abraham?" The right, answers Paul, of the potter, from which there is no appeal.—**22** recalls 1⁷: "Supposing God, resolved to make an example of His punitive wrath, has borne long" with evil-doers, rendering their doom in the end more terrible, who will gainsay Him—in Pharaoh's case, or (to read between the lines) in Israel's?—**23***f.* "And" supposing He did this "of purpose to make known His glorious wealth of mercy . . . in us," for example, "whom He has called from amongst both Jews and Gentiles?" The suggestion is that God's punitive judgments have mercy, somewhere, somehow, for their aim (11³⁰*ff.*). The "vessels of anger" were chosen suitably, as well as sovereignly: God's displeasure found, not made, them "fitted for destruction." The antithetic clause, "which He prepared beforehand for glory" (*cf.* 8³⁰, Eph. 2¹⁰), associates God with all that leads to the happier choice, without denying man's co-operation (*cf.* Phil. 2¹²*f.*). — Throughout Paul asserts the challenged right of God to deal judicially with Israel; he is not denying man's freedom in order to safeguard God's sovereignty, but maintaining God's freedom against Jewish presumption.—The sayings drawn from Hosea and Isaiah in **25–29** reveal the disregard of previous status with which God "calls" into favour "the once rejected" and selects "a remnant" while rejecting the mass. Is. 10²²*f.* and 1⁹ remind Israel how summary God's ancient judgments had been—yet "leaving a seed" to revive out of the waste.

IX. 30–X. 4. Paul has discussed the Jewish situation as from God's side; he proceeds to point out, from man's side, **the Cause of Israel's Stumbling.** This chs. 3–5 have prepared us to understand.

30–32*a*. The paradox is that "Gentiles, who were out of the way of righteousness, have obtained it; while Israel, intent upon a law of righteousness, missed the mark, because it rejected the way of faith (which Gentiles took), preferring that of works." In other words (10³), Israel wanted "to set up its own righteousness" (*cf.* Phil. 3⁶,⁹) and "did not recognise" nor "submit to God's righteousness."—**32***b*, **33.** "They stumbled at the" old "stumbling-block" marked in Is. 8¹⁴ and 28¹⁶—the demand for "trust" in God as the basis of salvation.—**X. 1***f.* So Paul's "good-will and prayers" (*cf.* 9¹⁶), and Israel's unquestioned "zeal for God," are unavailing. Their zeal "lacks knowledge"—though the Jew prides himself on this (2¹⁸*f.*)!—**3.** This ignorance is bound up with self-conceit and insubordination (*cf.* 2⁴; also Jn. 8¹⁹,⁵⁵, etc.).—On "the righteousness of God," see 1¹⁷*, 3²²,²⁶*.—**4.** The Jews deem the Mosaic system eternal; they fail to discern "the end of the law (*cf.* 2 Cor. 3¹³–¹⁶, Heb. 7¹⁸*f.*, etc.) in Christ," who, revealing God's righteousness, imparts "righteousness to every believer."—**end:** *i.e.* terminus and goal; see Gal. 2¹⁹, 3²⁴, Mt. 5¹⁷, Lk. 16¹⁶.

X. 5–15. The New Way of Righteousness.—**5.** The legal plan was "Do, and thou shalt live" (Lev. 18⁵).—**6–10.** But there is a deeper secret: behind the deed *the heart*, voiced by *the mouth*; and "with the heart man believes, with the mouth confesses" (10). To "believe unto righteousness" is to believe so as to gain righteousness (4²*f.*). In the oracle of Dt. 30¹²*f.*, "the righteousness that comes of faith" spoke from the inmost of man (6, 8). "The heaven" it pointed to is that "from which Christ came down"; "the abyss," the region of "the dead whence He was brought up" (7). "The word" then so "nigh" has become "the word of faith which we proclaim," running to this effect: "If thou confessest with thy mouth that Jesus is Lord (*cf.* 1 Cor. 8⁶, 12³, etc.), and believest in thy heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou wilt be saved" (8*f.*). The mouth-confession,

regularly made in baptism, declared and sealed the heart-faith (63*). His resurrection established Christ's Lordship (14, Ac. 236, etc.).—Paul quotes Dt. as disclosing heart-religion beneath the legal economy, in language appropriate to Christian faith.—**11–13.** Once more it appears, as the prophets teach us, that "there is no distinction of Jew and Greek"—in point of salvation as of transgression (see 322, etc.); "that the same Lord is Lord of all (*cf.* 329f.), since He is rich in bounty to all that call upon Him"—the *all* is borne out by Joel's oracle, which Peter cited at Pentecost inviting all the world "to call on the name of the Lord" (Ac. 221).—**14f.** Such "invocation" presumes "faith"; faith, "hearing"; hearing, "preaching"; and preaching, "a" Divine "commission." Through the apostolate Christ linked the nations to Himself (Ac. 18, etc.). How welcome the bearers of such a message! (15*b*).

X. 16–21. The Rejectors of God's Message.—16–18. "Hearing the glad tidings" is the opportunity of salvation: "can it be that they did not hear? Nay, surely, the sound has reached every land." Not hearing, but *obedience* was to seek.—**19–21.** "Or" should we put it that "Israel did not know"?—the double "I say" (18f.) marks the repetition of the same question in another form: "to know" is "to hear" understandingly (see 2; *cf.* Mt. 1314f.). *Israel* should have known (*cf.* Lk. 2444, Jn. 11of., etc.). Yet Law and Prophets both foretold that despised, senseless heathen would win God's favour, to Israel's provocation; "Isaiah daringly speaks of" God as "found by men who had not sought Him," after "stretching out His hands all day to a disobedient, contradictious people"; *cf.* Ac. 751, 1346f., etc. The words borrowed from Is. 65, like those drawn from Hosea in 925f., referred to apostate *Israelites;* in principle, they apply equally to Gentiles.

XI. 1–12. The Elect Remnant.—Paul comes to the third part of his proof that "God's word" to Israel "has not fallen through," despite the national rejection of Jesus Christ.

1, 2*a*. That "God has not cast away His people" (*cf.* 1 S. 1222, Ps. 9414, etc.), the "Israelite" Paul is a living proof—God's people, that is, "whom He foreknew" (*cf.* 829*, 1 P. 12).—**2*b*–4.** One remembers how "Elijah" mourned over "prophets slain and altars overthrown" and cried, "I alone am left," though "7000" Israelites "bent no knee to Baal!"—**5f.** "Even so to-day there is a remnant" in whom Israel lives on (*cf.* 929, etc.)—those chosen in God's "grace, on no ground of works" and merit. "Grace is grace no longer" when "works" make their claim (*cf.* 44f.).—**7.** Thus finally the matter stands: "Israel has missed the righteousness it sought" (931f., 102f.); only "the election obtained it, and the rest were hardened."—This "hardening" is not that of 918—imperviousness to fear of judgment; but that of 2 Cor. 314, Eph. 418, Mk. 322–30, the imperviousness to conviction described in the OT sayings quoted in 8–10. "The spirit of deep slumber, eyes unseeing and ears unhearing," mark a people sunk in spiritual lethargy: this condition "God gave them" (*cf.* 118,24, etc.)—a penal consequence of habitual sin; and it is "chronic" (*cf.* 2 Cor. 315, 1 Th. 215, Ac. 75f., Mt. 23 31–36).—The imprecation cited from Ps. 69 (*cf.* Jn. 19 28f., Ac. 120, quoting the same context) implies treachery, as well as stupidity, in anti-Christian Jews.—**11f.** Sad as it is, Israel's error is "a stumble," not a final "fall," "a trespass" overruled for "salvation to the Gentiles," whose gain will in turn "stir Israel's jealousy" (*cf.* 1019). "Now if their trespass is a world-enrichment, how much more their replenishment!" The calamity which distresses lovers of Israel, God turns into blessing for mankind; and in the world's blessedness Israel is bound to participate.

XI. 13–24. The Ingrafting of the Gentiles.—From 91 onwards, Paul has written as a Jew to Jews; here he turns to the other half of the Church (see Introd. § 3). **13.** "But to you Gentiles I say." Paul's labour in their evangelisation has an ulterior object; he would fain "somehow stir to jealousy his own flesh and blood," etc. (*cf.* 1019; also 1 Cor. 920–22). "I glorify my ministry," make it renowned (*cf.* 1515–21, 1 Cor. 15 10, etc.).—**15** states more definitely the expectation raised in 12: "if their casting away meant a world-wide reconciliation" to God (see 2 Cor. 519), "what will their reception be but life from the dead!" *cf.* the climax of 510.—"Reception" (as in 141,3, 157, etc.). is the taking to one's home and heart.—"Life from the dead" means nothing short of the final resurrection: Paul asks (he does not *assert*) whether Israel's salvation, completing the salvation of the world, will not conclude the mission of the Gospel and usher in the Lord's return, which ends the reign of death (521; *cf.* 1 Cor. 1523–26, 1 Th. 413–17); the *spiritual* resurrection is presupposed in "reconciliation" (*cf.* 64–11). Sayings of Jesus like Mt. 2339 prompted Paul's hope.—**16.** The "holy" beginning of Israel's history (4, 94f.) prognosticates the ending: "the" completed "kneading" will match "the first-fruit" of the dough (the handful taken for the ritual offering, Nu. 15 17–21); "the branches" belong to "the root."—**17f.** The metaphor just used suggests a warning to Gentile Christians, some of whom were repeating the Jewish mistake in imagining themselves God's favourites. "Certain of the" native "branches have been broken out" of the old tree; "and thou, a wild-olive slip, wast grafted in," etc.—"You boast over" this? remember, "The root carries you, not you the root!" You owe everything to the primitive people of God.—**19f.** "Faith secures you a standing" in the good tree; "unbelief caused their breaking off: they were not broken off for the purpose of grafting you in! Be humble, and fearful" of a like fate.—**21.** "God will not spare you either," if you relapse.—**22–24.** The Gentiles who now experience "His kindness," may forfeit it; the Jews, now tasting "God's severity, unless they persist in unbelief, will be re-engrafted. God is able" to do this; and their restoration is "more natural" than your implantation. The "nature" intended is the common strain of tree and branches; *cf.* 16.—Paul was no expert in arboriculture; he states the moral probabilities of the case under the figure adopted, without too great concern about botanical accuracy. [See Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies*, pp. 219–250; also Deissmann, *St. Paul*, ch. ii., where it is shown that the world of the apostle was that of the olive tree.—A. S. P. and A. J. G.]

XI. 25–36. The Mystery of Israel's Future.—25, 26*a*. It may save Gentile believers from a dangerous "self-conceit" (*cf.* 1216) to learn "the secret that the hardening" (see 7) which "has partially befallen Israel" (the remnant is exempt; 5, 7), will last only "until the full complement of the nations enters" into God's kingdom; "then all Israel will be saved." A *mystery* is a secret truth concerning God's kingdom made known by express revelation; *cf.* 1625, Eph. 19*, 33ff., Mt. 1311, etc.—**26*b*, 27.** The event is described in words blended from two passages of Isaiah, signifying chiefly two things: Israel's Saviour comes of Israel (*cf.* 95); and His salvation lies in the removal of Israel's sin (*cf.* 47f., Mt. 121, Heb. 1015–18).—**28f.** The

mass of the Jews are, in God's eyes, at once "enemies" and "beloved": enemies, since they oppose the giving of "the gospel" to Gentiles (1 Th. 2$^{14-16}$, etc.); beloved "for their fathers' sake," in whom God "chose" the nation. That election stands good; acting in sure foresight (*cf.* 8^{29}*), "God never regrets His grace-gifts," etc.—**30–32** marks out the line of vindication. "You" and "they" have both "proved disobedient to God" (for the former, see 1$^{20-23}$; for the latter, 10^{21}, etc.). He has used each set of rebels to overcome the others: "just as you were aforetime disobedient, and now by reason of their disobedience have become objects of mercy" (*cf.* 12,15), "so they now have fallen into disobedience by reason of the mercy shown to you, that finally mercy may be shown to them too." Universal disobedience ends in universal mercy! "Shut up unto disobedience" (*cf.* Gal. 3^{22}) means the precluding of every other issue; "all" (not "every man") signifies Jews and Gentiles as a whole: Paul is dealing with broad historical issues.—The difficulty of 1^{24}, 5^{20}, 9^{18} recurs, viz. that God should take measures to aggravate sin. But downright, unmistakable disobedience clears the moral atmosphere; brought to a crisis, the fever is curable.—**33.** The apostle's sorrow (9^{1}) is turned to rapture as he contemplates the unfolding of God's world-plan: "O the depth of the riches and the wisdom and the knowledge of God!" (*mg.*). His *wealth* is the infinitude of His resources; His *wisdom* lies in the skill of His methods; His *knowledge*, in the mastery of all the facts and conditions! The beholder is lost in these depths and mazes! (*cf.* 838f.). The sayings of **34f.** (drawn from Isaiah, Job, and Jeremiah) impressively reflect upon the mystery of God's dealings with human life, in which He needs no creaturely counsel or aid.—**36.** Alike transcendent and immanent, God is "the source" (see 1 Cor. 8^{6}), "the operative Agent" (1 Cor. 12^{6}), "the final issue" of the being of mankind.

XII. 1f. Practical Holiness.—On his doctrine Paul grounds a moral homily.—**1.** "Therefore" covers the entire previous teaching. "The compassions of God" link this paragraph to the last: the tenderness of the Divine mercy prompts to *consecration*. "Present your bodies" recalls 6$^{12f.}$*; the demand for physical consecration arose from the prevalence of bodily sin (*cf.* 6^{6,19}, etc.). The body is made "a living sacrifice" in the activities of daily duty. "Rational service" (worship)—contrasted with the outward and mechanical (*cf.* 1^{9}, Phil. 3^{3})—implies intelligent practical devotion, the religion which makes work worship.—**2.** The "sacrifice" is defined by its opposite: "No longer comply with the fashions of this age (*cf.* 1$^{18-32}$, etc.); but let there be a transformation in you, effected by the renovation of your mind."—"Fashion" is guise or habit of life; "form," the intrinsic mode of being (*cf.* Phil. 2$^{6f.}$*).—"The mind" to be renewed is the reason (as in 1^{28}, 7^{25})—mind in its essential powers. Such renovation qualifies one "to discriminate what God wills" (*cf.* Eph. 5^{17}): His will is identified with "the good and acceptable and perfect" (*mg.*), with that which approves itself to a true conscience; *cf.* Phil. 4^{8}, etc.

On the above basis, first social (3–21), then civil (13$^{1-7}$) duties are enjoined, all being summed up under the law of love (13$^{8-10}$) and enforced by the urgency of the situation (13$^{11-14}$).

XII. 3–21. In the Christian Temper, *modesty* is the first desideratum.—**3.** "I tell everyone that is among you not to be high-minded above a right mind, but to be of a mind to be sober-minded" (Sp.). This is the "mind" as *temper, disposition* (so in 8$^{5-7}$), not as *intellect* (2). A modest temper comes from appreciating other men's gifts. "Measure of faith," as the sequel shows, means faith in the variety of its apportioned manifestations.—**4f.** For Christians form "in Christ a single body with many members, of widely diverse functions" (pp. 646, 812); 1 Cor. 12$^{12-31}$* expounds this passage.—**6a.** These functions are so many "grace-gifts" (*charisms*, the word of 1^{11}, 5^{15}, etc., *cf. Charismata* in ERE), "differing according to the grace that was given us"—including the writer (3).—**6b–8.** The chief charisms (*cf.* 1 Cor. 12 4–11) are prophecy, ministry, etc.—an unsystematic enumeration, indicating no formal organisation. "The proportion of faith" in "prophesying" relates not to symmetry of doctrine, but to heart-faith as regulating utterance (*cf.* 10^{10})—conviction controlling inspiration. "Ministry," which in contrast with "prophecy," etc., signifies service in deed (*cf.* 13^{4}, 2 Cor. 8^{4}, Ac. 12 25), and "teaching, exhortation," demand concentration on the business in hand. "The distributor," the man with a surplus for the needy (*cf.* Eph. 4^{28}, 1 Tim. 6^{17}), must think only of the recipient's benefit (contrast Mt. 6^{2}). "He who takes the lead" ("that ruleth") imports here leadership in beneficence (*cf.* Tit. 3^{8}, 14). "Cheerfulness" in "the dispenser of mercy" doubles the kindness (*cf.* 2 Cor. 9^{7}).—**9.** The last-named offices spring from "love," which is to be "without simulation" (*cf.* 2 Cor. 6^{6}), as cherished by men "loathing evil," etc.—**10–12.** Love's fine flower is "love to (Christian) brethren," marked by "tender (family) affection" and the wish of each to see "the other honoured rather than himself"; *cf.* Phil. 2^{3}, Mt. 20$^{25-28}$.—"In your diligence" (as in 8) "not faltering"—be rather "boiling in spirit, since you serve the Lord" (*cf.* Col. 3$^{22-24}$). "In your hope rejoicing, in your affliction enduring"—an echo of 5$^{3-5}$; "in prayer stedfastly persevering" (*cf.* Col. 4^{2}, Eph. 6^{18}, Ac. 1^{14})—the soul's resort in trouble.—**13** resumes the topic of 8: "imparting to the needs of the saints (*cf.* 15^{25}), making an occupation of hospitality" (*cf.* Heb. 13^{2}, 1 P. 4^{9}, 3 Jn. 5)—a grace much in requisition at Rome.—**14:** almost in the words of Jesus (Lk. 6$^{27f.}$); the "sympathy" of **15** requires a selflessness sometimes wanting in the consciously forgiving.—**16.** "Harmonious in your relations toward one another" (ICC)—the Greek phrase of 15^{5}, Phil. 2^{2}, 4^{2}. Harmony of mind precludes "minding high things" (*cf.* 3^{10}, 11^{21}); pride and ambition destroy fraternity, which "consents with (*mg.*; same verb in Gal. 2^{13}, 2 P. 3^{17}) the lowly," *i.e.* falls in with their ways.—The above faults centre in "self-conceit," censured once more (*cf.* 3), in words drawn from Pr. 3^{7}.—**17–21.** A group of rules bearing on Retaliation, provoked in Christians by frequent wrongs; *cf.* 1 Th. 5^{15}, etc. "Taking forethought for what is honourable" comes from Pr. 3^{4} (LXX), advising prudent avoidance of offence, in accordance with the next injunction: "If possible, so far as lies in you, keeping peace with all"; give no cause of quarrel on *your* side.—"Yield place to the anger" of God; if "avenging" must be, leave it to Him, for Scripture declares this "His prerogative." Follow the advice of Pr. 25$^{21f.}$ and "heap coals of fire on the enemy," by kindling in him shame and self-reproach. In short, "conquer evil by good" (21).

XIII. 1–7. Order and Loyalty.—On the turbulence of Roman Jews, see Introd. § 3.—**1f.** "Let every soul be subordinate to superior authorities," a general maxim, with two reasons given: that "authority is of Divine institution" (*cf.* Jn. 19^{11}, Ps. 82^{6}, etc.), and that "the existing authorities" (of the Empire)

" are ordained by God, so that he who is insubordinate resists the ordinance of God and resisters will incur judgment." There is a play on the idea of *order*.—In later and worse times Paul maintained the same attitude toward civil government; see 1 Tim. 2ff., Tit. 3, also 1 P. 2–17 (*cf.* pp. 774f.).—**3f.** " The state-rulers " are " ministers of God's avenging anger " (*cf.* 12–19, 1–8). —**5.** The Christian, " moreover, is subject . . . for conscience' sake."—**6f.** " On the same account taxes, direct or indirect, must be paid " (*cf.* Mt. 22–21), and along with them " fear and honour wherever due." The state-servants " are sacred-ministers (same word as in 15–16,27) of God " for the maintenance of civil society. Paul's urgency points to symptoms of Anarchism, as well as Antinomianism (*cf.* 6).

XIII. 8–10. The All-comprising Law.—8. Taxes are debts, and the Christian must " owe nothing to anybody "—except the infinite " debt of love ! " " Whoso loves his neighbour, has fulfilled law " (*mg.*), meeting the supreme and comprehensive obligation; see Mt. 22 39f.—**9f.** proves this in detail: " every command is summed up in " the well-known law of Jesus. " Love is law's fulfilment ": the stress lies on *fulfilment;* nothing is so dutiful as love.

XIII. 11–14. Watching for the Day.—11, 12*a*. " And this (do) "—the punctual payment of love's debts—as men " aware of the crisis. . . . It is the hour of waking: the night has far advanced," etc. Between these sentences intervenes 11*b*: " now is our salvation nearer than when we believed." The older Roman Christians (see *e.g.* 16–7), like Paul, had long watched for Christ's great day (1 Cor. 1–8, 1 Th. 5–2, etc.). " Salvation " (*cf.* 5–10), beginning with justification, extends to the redemption of the body (see 3–24, 8–23; *cf.* Eph. 1–7,14, etc.).—**12*b*–14** sounds the reveillé. " The works of darkness " are the night-raiment to be exchanged for " the weapons of light " (*cf.* Eph. 5–8–11)—the armour for the day's battle (see 1 Th. 5–8, Eph. 6–13ff.) The thought of a final struggle attending the Messiah's advent pervaded contemporary Apocalyptic: see Dan. 11, Enoch 90–16, etc.; *cf.* 2 Th. 2–5–12, Rev. 16–13–16. The warrior must have no part in the foulness and quarrelsomeness of night-revellers (13; *cf.* Rev. 19–14). " Putting on " his Captain's character (*cf.* 8–29, Gal. 3–27), he " forgoes all planning for sensual gratification."

XIV. 1–12. A Lesson in Toleration.—A special homily for Rome (14–15–13) follows the comprehensive exhortation of chs. 12f. Some ascetic circle in the Roman Church (p. 650), led perhaps by Jews of Essenic tenets (see Lightfoot's *Colossians*, on the Essenes), practised vegetarianism; others made much of sacred days. On such matters Christians should not judge or quarrel with each other.

1–4. " The man who eats herbs only," has a feeble apprehension of the Gospel, imagining his salvation affected by his diet; see 17; *cf.* Mk. 7–14–23 Still he *has* faith and " must be received " as a brother, " for God has received him; but not received so as to raise questions of doubtful debate." The atmosphere of controversy is injurious to the Christian society. The man free from scruples " despises " the stickler, who retorts by " judging " the libertarian. Both are " servants of " God's " household," who " stand or fall to their own Master—yes, and will stand," though they try to pull each other down, for " mighty is the Lord, the upholder."—**5.** So in regard to sabbath and festa observance: conscientious conviction is the essential thing (p. 647).—**6.** " He who minds the day " (*cf.* 8–5–7, 12–16, for the verb), " minds it " with a view " to " serve " the Lord "; " and he who eats flesh, eats it to the Lord, for he gives God thanks " (*cf.* 1 Tim. 4–4f.), while the vegetarian does the same over his spare diet—they are agreed in the vital point (see 1 Cor. 10–30f.).—**7–11** lifts the reader into the realm of " Christ's lordship, won by His death and resurrection," which covers " life and death alike "; in both estates, the fact that " we are the Lord's " determines everything. Now, " to judge " or " to despise your brother," with whom you " must stand side by side at God's tribunal "—a certainty expressed in solemn words of Scripture (11)—is an encroachment on Christ's sovereignty. Paul puts the " dead " before the " living " (9), the former being nearer to Christ (see 2 Cor. 5–8, Phil. 1–23, 1 Th. 4–14–16).—**12.** Instead of meddling with other men's responsibilities, let each see to himself in view of the final account.

XIV. 13–23. Considerateness instead of Censoriousness.—13. " Let us stop judging one another (*cf.* Mt. 7 1–5); but come rather to this judgment, not to lay a stumbling-block in a brother's way," etc.—**14.** For himself, Paul stands firmly on the side of liberty: " I know, and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus "—as one obedient to Christ's authority and convinced by His teaching (see Mk. 7–14–23; *cf.* Ac. 10–9–16)—" that religious distinctions in food have no intrinsic ground." —**15f.** enforces the appeal of 13: the selfish indulgence of the man without food-scruples may not only " pain " his stricter " brother," by overbearing his conscience (see 23) it may " destroy him for whom Christ died " and thus " destroy the work of God " (20). The Cross tests everything in Christianity (*cf.* 1 Cor. 8–10f.).—The liberty you claim is *good* (see 1 Cor. 8–9, 10–29): be it so; " then let not your good be blasphemed " (*cf.* 2–24, 3–8)—bringing the reproach on religion occasioned by self-enjoyment to the damage of others (*cf.* 1 Cor. 10 23–30).—**17.** The fundamental motive for abstinence lies in the nature of " the kingdom of God," whose citizenship consists in " righteousness, etc., not in eating and drinking ! " *Righteousness* has been expounded in chs. 1–6; Christian *peace* and *joy* were set forth in 5–1–11, 8–28–39. " Peace " looks man-ward here (19); " joy " contrasts with the " grief " deprecated in 15.—**18** concludes the case for avoiding offence toward the weak: " For he that in this " self-restraint " serves Christ (*cf.* Gal. 6–2, Jn. 15–12, etc.) is well-pleasing to God, and approved in the eyes of men "; see 1 Cor. 10 32ff. for the latter consideration, indicated negatively in 16.—**19** (*mg.*). " Accordingly then "—for all these reasons—" we pursue the things of peace," etc.; *cf.* 1 Cor. 10–23–26.—**20f.** reiterates the main appeal: " Don't for the sake of food be destroying the work of God," wrought in saving individuals (15) and in building the Church (1 Cor. 3–9–17). " All things are pure," etc.: the ethical taint lies not in the tabooed food, but in the mind of the partaker; any food is " bad to the man who eats with a hurt conscience." " Eating flesh " and " drinking wine " were classed together by the rigorists of the time. These considerations apply to " anything over which one's brother stumbles."—**22f.** Finally, Paul challenges the libertarian and the ascetic in turn: " You have faith "—faith permitting you to eat whatever suits you (2)—" keep it as your own in the sight of God," without thrusting it injuriously upon others (*cf.* 1 Cor. 14–28); " he is blessed " who has no misgivings about the liberty he takes, nor the charity with which he exercises it. " But the man of divided (wavering) judgment " (*cf.* Jas. 1–6), " if he eats, is condemned, because he does it not out of faith "—not assured of his right to do so. As " faith is reckoned for righteousness " (4), so " whatever is not of faith is sin " (23*b*).

XV. 1–6. Harmony through Self-renouncement.—**1f.** "Strength carries with it the duty of bearing others' weaknesses, not of pleasing oneself" (*cf.* 1 Cor. 10$_{33}$). "The strong" are men of robust faith, in contrast with "the weak" of 14$_1$. The Christian is to "please his neighbour" not by humouring his failings, but by "aiming at his good, with a view to building him up" in faith and character (*cf.* 14$_{19}$).—**3.** So "the Christ" bore Himself, according to Ps. 69 (quoted above in 11$_9$; *cf.* Mt 27$_{27}$ff., etc.). The Psalmist in suffering reproach for God imaged our Lord's self-negation.—**4** reflects, in view of the above reference, on the value of Scripture, which trains us to "patience" and "hope." Like the story of Abraham's faith (4$_{23}$), that of the Psalmist's grief "was written for our instruction."—**5f.** "May the God who thus gives endurance and encouragement, grant to you a harmonious mind (an echo of 12$_{16}$) according with that of Christ Jesus" (*cf.* 3, Phil. 2$_{2-5}$). Your harmony will yield "a concert of praise to God, uttered as if with one mouth."

XV. 7–13. The Gentiles Heirs of Israel's Hope.—The differences discussed ran up into the great cleavage *between Jew and Gentile*, on which Paul has a final word to say.

7. "Wherefore"—in order to glorify God together—"receive one another, as the Christ has received you (*cf.* 14$_{1,3}$; also Lk. 15$_2$, Jn. 6$_{37}$) unto the glory of God"—a glory to be realised in the united worship of mankind (8–12).—**8f.** With this aim "Christ has become," in the first place, "minister of circumcision"—not "minister to the Circumcision" (omit "the"), but Servant of the covenant bearing this seal (4$_{11}$; *cf.* Gal. 4$_{4f.}$): the parallel is Mt. 5$_{17}$, rather than 15$_{24}$. "The truth of God," which Christ thus asserted, lay in "the promises made to the fathers" concerning mankind (4$_{11-18}$, Ac. 3$_{24f.}$), expressing the grand purpose "that the nations should glorify God for mercy" shown to them.—That the Israelite fathers cherished this large anticipation, is proved by the chain of citations drawn from Scripture in 9*b*–12. The catena of 3$_{10-18}$ attested the universality of sin; this, the universality of redemption.—**13.** The closing citation gives the key-note to the Benediction; "Now the God of the (*i.e.* Israel's) hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing (*cf.* 14$_{17}$, 15$_{1f.}$, etc.), by the Holy Spirit's power." Such faith will "make you overflow with hope"—for yourselves (5$_{2-5}$), for the race (11$_{30-32}$), for the universe (8$_{18-25}$).

XV. 14–21. The Present Juncture in Paul's Ministry.—Paul resumes the thread dropped at 15.—**14–16.** He does not think the Roman Christians in need of correction; he "has written, however," and "in part" of the epistle (in 6$_{12-21}$, and much of 12, 14) "somewhat boldly, by way of further reminder" of familiar truths (*cf.* 6$_{17}$)—a liberty warranted by "the special grace" he had received (*cf.* 1$_{2-6}$, 12$_3$). That grace had constituted him "a sacred-minister (*cf.* 13$_6$) of Christ Jesus for the nations, sacrificially ministering the gospel of God, to the end that the offering up of the nations," etc. (*cf.* Is. 66$_{19f.}$). By anticipation Paul presents, like a priest at the altar, the sanctified nations to God; all his labours tend toward this world-offering.—**17–19.** The earnest of the consummation is already realised; so that the apostle "has his glorying therein"—a boast not overstepping the limits nor exaggerating the successes of his ministry (*cf.* 2 Cor. 10$_{13-16}$, 12$_{11f.}$).—"In a circle" (EV, "round about"): Paul's labours extended on both sides of the line of march defined (*cf.* Mk. 3$_{34}$, 6$_6$). In Jerusalem Paul had preached long ago (see Ac. 9$_{26-29}$); to Illyria he had probably made an excursion during his recent sojourn in Macedonia.—**20f.** Over this immense area Paul "has fulfilled" the Lord's command—as stated, *e.g.*, in Lk. 24 24–27—his "ambition being to tell the good news where Christ has not been named; he would not build on a foundation laid by another," but had pressed ever forward into unevangelised lands, making good the prophecy of Is. 52$_{15}$, which depicted the "astonishment" of "nations" at the tidings brought concerning Jehovah's Servant.

XV. 22–29. The Prospect of Coming to Rome.—**22–24.** This long task "repeatedly detained" the writer; "but now" that he has evangelised the Eastern Provinces, he may realise "the yearning" toward Rome he had cherished "for a good many years"—"as," he adds, "I may be taking my way to Spain." Being a pioneer missionary, Paul cannot make Rome, where Christ has long been named, his objective: "I hope to visit you as I travel through, and by you to be sent forward," etc. Calling by the way, he will not see all he desires of his Roman friends; the taste of their company will help him forward (*cf.* 1$_{11-13}$). Events turned out far otherwise (see Ac. 25–28, Eph. 6$_{20}$, Col. 4$_{11}$, Phil. 1$_{15}$ff.). [Whether he ever saw Spain is uncertain (p. 772).—A. J. G.].—**25–28.** A second *But now* introduces the voyage Paul "is on the point of making." "The poverty of the saints in Jerusalem" has touched the Christians of "Macedonia and Achaia" (*cf.* 1 Cor. 16$_{1-4}$, 2 Cor. 8$_9$, Ac. 24$_{17}$), who have made their contribution "in goodwill, owing communion in the things of the flesh" (*cf.* 1 Cor. 9$_{11}$, Gal. 6$_6$) to Israel, "in whose spiritual things they have participated" (10–12; *cf.* 11$_{17f.}$, Jn. 4$_{22}$, etc.). This help is a "sacred-ministry" (liturgy: same word in 16 and 13$_6$; also in Phil. 2$_{25,30}$), and a welcome "fruit" of Gentile faith (*cf.* Phil. 4$_{17f.}$).—"Accomplish" (or "consummate"; *cf.* 2 Cor. 7$_1$, Heb. 9$_6$, etc.) and "seal" (4$_{11}$, 2 Cor. 1$_{21f.}$) are terms implying a religious dedication.—This done, Paul "will set off" (28*b*: "go on," RV, is inexact), leaving his old beat, "by way of Rome, for Spain."—**29.** "But I know that Christ's full benediction will attend my coming."—"Of the gospel" (AV) is an ancient gloss.

XV. 30–33. The Danger Threatening at Jerusalem.—Whether or not Paul had already heard of the plot referred to in Ac. 20$_3$, he foresaw peril to his life "from the disobedient (*cf.* 2$_8$, 11$_{30f.}$) in Judæa"—forebodings sadly verified (see Ac. 20).

30f. He therefore "implores the intense prayers of his brothers, as men loyal to Christ and having His loving Spirit" (*cf.* Phil. 2$_1$, Gal. 5$_{22}$). They must pray for his safety, and that his "service may be favourably received" at Jerusalem.—**32.** After that, he will "joyfully, if God so will, find refreshment in their society." The latter prayer was quite fulfilled (Ac. 21); the former so far answered that Paul escaped with his life from Jerusalem, and ultimately reached Rome.—**33.** "The God of peace be with you all": with variations, Paul's habitual invocation, often marking the close of his letters (*cf.* 2 Cor. 13$_{11}$, Gal. 6$_{16}$; also 1 P. 5$_{14}$); see Introd. § 4.—The (well-attested) "Amen" strengthens the presumption of finality at this point.

XVI. 1f. Commendation of the Letter-bearer.—"The church in Kenchreæ" (the eastern haven of Corinth). Paul had established churches "in the whole of Achaia" (2 Cor. 1$_1$).—"Deacon(ess)": hardly yet an official title.—The Romans must "give" this sister "a reception" (*cf.* Phil. 2$_{29}$; Lk. 15$_2$, same word) such as Christians should have from Christians. She has difficult business in Rome, for the readers are asked to "stand by her in whatever matter she may have

need of them." "Succourer (lit. stander-by) of many, and of myself": the Greek word often signifies "patroness."—Phœbe was perhaps one of the "not many powerful," etc., alluded to in 1 Cor. 126.

XVI. 3–16. Personal Greetings.—Beside the two household groups of 10f., the catalogue contains twenty-six names, eight being those of women. Many of the names appearing were commonly borne by slaves. In language, seven are Latin, one is Hebrew, the remainder Greek: Rome at this date swarmed with Greeks, and the Roman Church remained of Greek speech till the third century. The distribution seems to indicate different centres of meeting in this immense city. 14 and 15 (all Gentile names) furnish distinct groups: the collocation suggests that the names of 5*b*–13 count amongst "the church in the house of Prisca and Aquila" (5*a*). If so, there were three house-churches (see ZK).—Most of the names enumerated are otherwise foreign to the NT. Some figure on the walls of the catacombs, where the early Roman Church laid its dead; and quite a number on sepulchral inscriptions of the period on the Appian Way, commemorating valued servants of the Emperor's household.

3–5*a*. "Prisca and Aquila" (both Latin names), originally of Rome, we know as Paul's close friends in Corinth, who accompanied him to Ephesus (Ac. 18i–3,18,26). They are now settled again in Rome; at the date indicated by 2 Tim. 419, they reappear in Ephesus. Aquila's trade of tent-making admitted of a roving life, and his movements may partly have been made in the interests of Paul's mission. Aquila was a Jew; his wife's name (*Priscilla* its diminutive) suggests her connexion with some noble Roman family. She is commemorated in Roman Christian tradition. In all the NT references Prisca accompanies her husband, preceding him in four out of the six—an irregularity due to her social rank, or uncommon influence, or both. This notable pair had recently (Paul's "thanksgiving" implies this) "laid down their own neck for him," probably during the Ephesian riot (Ac. 1923–41); this disturbance may have compelled their departure from Ephesus.—**5*b***. "Epænetus, the first-fruit of Asia" (the Roman Province so named, with Ephesus for centre; *cf.* 1 Cor. 1615)—probably the leader of the circle of Ac. 191–7; hence linked with Prisca and Aquila.—**6.** "Mary": the reading "Mariam" of some good MSS would make her certainly a Hebrew Christian. —Read "you" (RV), not "us" (AV).—**7.** "Andronicus and Junias" (RV; the feminine *Junia*, of AV, clashes with the description): formerly of the Palestinian Church, having been "of note in the Apostolic circle" and "earlier Christians than Paul." The term rendered "fellow-captives" suggests *military* imprisonment—used of Aristarchus in Col. 410 and Epaphras in Phm. 23, who appear to have been Paul's companions under military custody (Ac. 2816) *in Rome*. This accords with Gifford's conjecture as to the Salutations, referred to in Introd. § 4: Paul had, however, been "in prisons more abundantly" (2 Cor. 11 23).—**8–10*a***. Names legible on tombs of the Appian Way.—**10*b*, 11.** "Aristobulus": probably the deceased brother of Herod Agrippa I, long resident in Rome, whose establishment, though retaining the old name, had been annexed to the Emperor's; Paul's "fellow-countryman, Herodion" was, we may conjecture, of this set. "Narcissus" (11*b*), the powerful favourite of the Emperor Claudius, who fell at Nero's accession; his "household" was also appropriated by the Emperor. "Those of Cæsar's household" who send greetings in Phil. 422*, may be identified with these two groups; see note on "Cæsar's Household" in Lightfoot's *Philippians*.—**12.** "Tryphæna and Tryphosa" look like sisters; "Persis" is a feminine name. The four distinguished as "toiling in" the service of "the Lord" (*cf.* 6) are women.—**13.** "Rufus" recalls Mk. 1521 (that Gospel was connected with *Rome*); Rufus' mother had at some time *mothered* the infirm apostle.—**16.** The "holy kiss" at church-gatherings expressed the peculiar affectionateness of early Christianity (*cf.* the close of 1 and 2 Cor., 1 Th., 1 P. 514)—a custom still observed at the Eucharist by the Greek Church. "All the churches of Christ"—those with which Paul was in correspondence—wish to greet the Church of the metropolis; *cf.* 4 ("the churches of the Gentiles"), also 1 Cor. 1433, 2 Cor. 818.

XVI. 17–20. A Postscript of Admonition.—**17.** Supposing the paragraph in its right place (see Introd. § 4), it would seem that Paul, in glancing over his letter and thinking of the troubles of other churches (16), feels that he has not written strongly enough about "those that are causing divisions" and appends a warning postscript, somewhat in the fashion of Gal. 611–16.—**18, 19*a***. "Such as these are bondmen to their own belly," is paralleled in Phil. 318f.; the phrase "the Lord Christ" Paul uses elsewhere only in Col. 324; "deceiving through kind and flattering speech" looks uncommonly like the language of Col. 24. But the allusions of 17, 19*a*, to "the doctrine which you learnt" and to "your obedience," etc., and the apostle's "joy over you," are in the vein of 617, 18–12, 1532. We need not doubt that the admonition was meant for the Roman Church, whether at first conveyed in this epistle or a later.—**19*b*** echoes the words of Jesus in Mt. 1016, where (and in Phil. 215) the same rare Greek word appears for "innocent" (or "simple," RVm); *cf.* 129.—**20.** "The God of peace"—so in 1533 (*cf.* 2 Cor. 1311, Phil. 49, Heb. 1320)—is invoked against "divisions and offences"; that "He shall bruise Satan under your feet," was the primeval promise (Gen. 315).—The Benediction—in Paul's usual style (*cf.* 1 Cor. 1623)—supplies a second conclusion to the epistle, after 1533; see Introd. § 4.

XVI. 21–23. Greeting from Paul's Friends in Corinth. —**21.** "Timothy" was by Paul's side during this period (see Ac. 1922, 204, 2 Cor. 1i. Of the Jewish "Lucius, Jason, Sosipatros," the first may or may not have been Paul's old Antiochene colleague of Ac. 13i; Lucius was a familiar Latin name—certainly not identical with *Luke* (Lucas=Lucanus). The second (often a Greek *alias* for Jesus) was, not improbably, Jason of Thessalonica (Ac. 175–9); the third, almost certainly, the "Sopater of Bercea" found by Paul's side about this time (Ac. 204).—**22i.** "Tertius the scribe" makes his bow; "Quartus" one suspects to have been Tertius' "brother"—*third* and *fourth* of one family. "Gaius, my host," whose hospitality embraced "all his fellow-believers" in Corinth, was surely the conspicuous Gaius of 1 Cor. 114, to be distinguished from NT Gaiuses resident elsewhere. "Erastus (*Beloved*, a fairly common Greek name), the city-treasurer"—a leading civic functionary of Corinth—was hardly the Erastus who "waited on" Paul (Ac. 1922); which was meant in 2 Tim. 420 is uncertain. There were several people of wealth and rank connected with the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. 126); *cf.* "Phœbe," 1f.*—**24** (a third Benediction) is omitted in RV, on decisive textual evidence.

XVI. 25–27. The Closing Doxology.—As to the *place* of this passage, see Introd. § 4. At first sight, it looks like a paragraph strayed from Ephesians, Colossians, or the Pastorals (see the Revised parallel references); close examination shows it relevant enough to this

epistle.—**25f.** Paul renders praise "to him that is able" (*cf.* Eph. 3₂₀) "to establish you"—his own earnest longing (1₁₁; *cf.* 14₄)—"according to my gospel (as in 2₁₆; *cf.* 2 Tim. 2₈) and the proclamation of Jesus Christ" (in the style of 1 Cor. 1₂₁–₂₄, 15₁₄). "For obedience of faith made known unto all the nations" carries us back to 15,₁₃–₁₅, while the expression "through prophetic scriptures" almost repeats that of 1₂, having no other parallel in Paul; the epistle teems with references to the OT prophets.—"The mystery held in silence in times eternal (2 Tim. 1₉f., Tit. 1₂f.), but now made manifest," is God's purpose to impart to the Gentiles the Messianic salvation (*cf.* 15,₁₆, 10₁₂, 15₇–₁₃)—the secret of the Cross (see 1 Cor. 2₆–₉); Eph. 2₁₄–₂₂, 3₄–₆, unfolds the further, consequent mystery of their incorporation in the universal Church (p. 812). The parallel expressions, "according to my gospel and the preaching," etc., and "according to the revelation," etc., point to the human and Divine activities co-operating to "establish" Roman believers: "we preach Christ"—God "reveals the mystery" of His eternal grace (*cf.* Mt. 16₁₇, Eph. 1₁₇ff.). "Manifested now (the Greek order) and through prophetic scriptures" (remove the comma of EV); the mystery revealed in the Gospel was foreshadowed by the old Economy (*cf.* 3₂₁). "The mandate of the eternal God" (*cf.* 1 Tim. 1₁, Tit. 1₃) directed alike the present unveiling and the earlier hidden preparations for the bringing about of "faith-obedience"; for this end God's great secret "has been made known unto all the nations."—**27.** "To whom" is probably an early textual blunder, due to Gal. 1₅ and 2 Tim. 4₁₈, or introduced through liturgical usage. With the deletion (*mg.*) of the relative pronoun (a single Greek letter), which throws grammatical confusion into this noble passage, the Doxology concludes by resuming and completing its overture: "To the only, the wise God (*cf.* 1 Tim. 1₁₇, 6₁₅f.) through Jesus Christ be glory for ever!" *Only* and *wise* are distinct attributes: He is the one God (3₂₉f.), whose sovereign counsel wisely disposes the successive epochs of revelation and dispenses its manifold gifts; see 11₃₃–₃₆.

The epistle ends in the sublime and stately fashion of its beginning.

I. CORINTHIANS

By THE EDITOR

Corinth, which had been destroyed by the Roman consul Mummius in 146 B.C., was refounded as a Roman colony a hundred years later by Julius Cæsar. Its situation on the isthmus which connected the Greek mainland with the Peloponnese gave it such advantages that it quickly recovered its prosperity, and became in political and commercial importance the foremost city of Greece. Lying on the direct route between East and West, with the eastern port, Cenchreæ, and a western port, Lechæum, much traffic passed through it, smaller vessels being actually dragged across the isthmus from port to port. Its population was very mixed, Romans, Greeks, and representatives of many other races, including numerous Jews, composing it. The city was proverbial for its wealth and luxury, and a byword for its profligacy. It owed its knowledge of the gospel to Paul, who founded the church there. His work was very successful, and he left behind him a flourishing community. But the heathen antecedents of the majority and the vicious environment in which it lived, affected very gravely the spiritual and moral development of the church. Party spirit; a preference for showy gifts rather than solid commonplace morality; an intellectualism which was alike shallow and conceited, priding itself on its "advanced" character and spurious liberalism; an astonishing complacency towards the vilest sexual depravity—were all too prevalent.

The letter was occasioned partly by a series of questions put to Paul in a letter from the church, partly by information as to abuses which he had received from private sources. The church was split into factions; there was an exceptionally bad case of incest; Christians were suing each other in heathen law-courts; the church asked his opinion on marriage problems, on meats offered to idols, on the veiling of women, on the Lord's Supper, on spiritual gifts, on the resurrection of the dead, on the collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. These conditions and problems will come before us in detail in our study of the epistle.

The genuineness of the epistle is attested by its very early quotation in Clement of Rome, probably about A.D. 95, and by the fact that the church in Corinth must have known whether it had received the letter or not. It could not have passed into general acceptance if the church, which had a continuous history, had been in a position to say such a letter is not in our archives, nor have we ever heard of it before. It is also sufficiently attested by its own internal evidence. It was not the first letter sent to the church by Paul (see 59), but this earlier letter no longer survives except possibly in a fragment (2 Cor. 6 14–7 1). Our epistle was written from Ephesus; the precise chronology is uncertain, perhaps it was in the spring of A.D. 55.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Evans (Sp.), **Parry** (CB), Farrar (PC), Beet, Drummond (IH), Goudge (West.C), Massie (Cent.B), Mackintosh (WNT). (*b*) Edwards, Ellicott, **Findlay** (EGT), Lightfoot (*Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*), Robertson and Plummer (ICC), Parry (CGT). (*c*) *Godet, Schmiedel (HC), Heinrici, **J. Weiss** (Mey.), Bachmann (ZK), Bousset (SNT), Lietzmann (HNT). (*d*) F. W. Robertson (*Expository Lectures*), Dods (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries, Discussions in Histories of the Apostolic Age, Lives of Paul, Introductions to New Testament or the Pauline Epistles. Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church;* Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, vol. i.

I.–IV. The Parties in the Corinthian Church.

I. 1–9. The epistle is sent in the joint names of Paul and Sosthenes, who may have been the ruler of the synagogue mentioned in Ac. 18 17, but the name was common. He seems to have had no share in the composition of the letter. The salutation sets before the readers the holiness of their vocation and the brotherhood of the saints, both of which their conduct repudiated. In the thanksgiving which follows, the omission of qualities which ought to characterise a church is as significant as the inclusion of those mentioned. They were stronger in gifts than in graces, and even the gifts had their weak side, the church had in Bruce's phrase, "run to tongue," and plumed itself on its "knowledge." Yet Paul recognises that the Christian hope burns in them, and is confident that by Christ's help they will stand without impeachment (the term refers to status, not character) at the Judgment. This certainty that Christ will so establish them rests on the faithfulness of God, who in the call pledged Himself to the salvation of those who accepted it.

I. 10–17. The Party Spirit in the Church.—Apparently Paul had only just heard of the parties, they were, therefore, a new development and not of long standing. He deals with them first, not as the gravest abuse, but because they were uppermost in his mind. The passage raises problems of great difficulty which cannot be solved with any certainty. In Greek cities party spirit often ran high alike in politics and in sport. Probably this lay at the root of the parties in the church, rather than any doctrinal difference; though a line of cleavage which was primarily personal might naturally bring with it an accentuation of doctrinal divergence which would have its effect in the grouping of the parties. The party of Paul held loyally by the founder of the community. The party of Apollos (Ac. 18 24–28) had been captivated by the eloquence and perhaps the philosophic gift of the brilliant Alexandrian. Since both had worked in Corinth it has been argued that Peter also must have visited that city. In face of Paul's silence this is improbable. If his adherents had come into personal contact with him it would presumably have been in Palestine or

on one of his mission journeys. They would pit him against Paul and Apollos as senior to both, the venerated leader of the apostolic band, the foremost representative of the mother church. They would insist on his claims as far outweighing those of Paul, who had never known Jesus and had been a bitter persecutor of the church.

The most difficult problem is that created by the reference to the Christ party. The Tübingen criticism took its rise in 1831 with F. C. Baur's famous article on "The Christ Party in Corinth." He virtually reduced the four parties to two, the Judaising called by the names of Peter and Christ, the anti-Judaising calling themselves after Paul or Apollos. Such a reduction contradicts the plain meaning of the text. Moreover, Baur's general scheme of early Church History has been universally abandoned. The proof that the Christ party was to be identified with Paul's Judaistic opponents rested mainly on 2 Cor. 10^{7}; but this is too general to justify the inference, and Paul's opponents in 2 Cor. made higher claims than are implied in our passage. If a Judaistic faction had already been at work in the church, Paul must have fought it; his experience of the havoc such a faction would work was too bitter for him to neglect it. Yet we get no polemic against the Peter or Christ party on the score of any legalist propaganda. It has been held by some scholars (Schenkel, Godet, W. F. Slater, and Lütgert) that the Christ party made a distinction between Christ and Jesus similar to that made by Cerinthus (p. 916). Christ was the heavenly being who descended upon the man Jesus but left Him before His crucifixion. This view gains some support from the question, "Is Christ divided?" and the cry "Jesus Anathema," which may have been uttered in the Christian assemblies but which Paul says can be uttered by no one who speaks in the Spirit (12^{3}*). There is no need to find this sense in either phrase. Such a tendency Paul would have attacked explicitly, for it cut at the root of his teaching. Whatever the Christ party was, its significance lay in the fact that it was an expression of party spirit: had it involved repudiation of the Crucified, Paul must have regarded it as displaying a much darker and more dangerous temper. None of the parties seems consciously to have renounced the Gospel. The view that there was no Christ party at all has been held in various forms. The only form which deserves attention is that which regards the words, "but I of Christ" as a gloss, written on the margin by some reader who wished to affirm the true Christian attitude. The difficulties, however, do not warrant recourse to so drastic a measure as the deletion of the words. Possibly the party consisted of those who had known Jesus during His earthly life, though we should perhaps have expected, "I of Jesus" rather than "I of Christ." Possibly their watchword expressed their dislike of the position accorded to human leaders, and disowned every leader but Christ. Since, however, this intrinsically sound attitude apparently falls under the same blame as the rest, they must have asserted their freedom from partisanship in a partisan way.

Paul appeals to them by the sacred name of their common Lord to cultivate unity and heal their divisions, that they may be harmonious in temper and opinion. He says this because he has learnt from Chloe's people that they are wrangling with each other, all boasting that they belong to this leader or that, Paul, Apollos, Cephas, Christ. Is Christ, who should be all, made one part out of four? Can Paul be treated as if he were the crucified Redeemer, into whose allegiance they had been baptized? Factious enthusiasm might have betrayed them into so profane an estimate of him who had baptized them. Well may he thank God that he has given them so little occasion! Crispus and Gaius were the only cases. Oh yes, he corrects himself, he baptized the household of Stephanas also, but he cannot recall any others. For it was not his mission to baptize (Apollos as a former disciple of John the Baptist may have laid stress on its administration by the teacher), that could be left to a subordinate for it needed no gift; Paul's apostolic function found its fit and congenial expression in preaching the Gospel. Brilliant preaching, however, probably called forth the special admiration felt for Apollos. Paul accordingly explains that the effective power of the Gospel does not lie in its eloquence or its philosophical presentation. These tend to empty it of its meaning since they distract attention from the central fact, the Cross of Christ. Indeed the Cross is just the contradiction of the world's wisdom.

11. Paul had not learnt of the factions from the deputation sent by the Church (16^{17}*f.*) but from another source. Chloe was presumably a business woman (not necessarily herself a Christian), probably settled in Ephesus, who had sent slaves to Corinth; these were Christians, and on their return brought back the unpleasant news. If they had belonged to Corinth, Paul would hardly have exposed them to reprisals by this disclosure.—**13. Is Christ divided?** a question not an exclamation (*mg.*), but the verb does not here mean "dismembered," torn asunder by the factions, each securing a part, but made a part instead of the whole, degraded to the level of Paul, Apollos, and Cephas.—The last clause implies that baptism was into the name of Jesus, the earliest form.—**16.** The oversight in 14, corrected in 16, negatives any idea of mechanical inspiration. It would be profane to suppose that the Holy Spirit could inadvertently make a misstatement in one sentence and correct it in the next. Stephanas was with Paul (16^{17}) and may have noticed the omission as Paul dictated. Had Paul been writing, he would have made the necessary insertion in 14.

18–II. 5. The Cross, Folly to the World, is the Power and Wisdom of God.—Paul now explains and justifies 17*b*, which to Greek readers must have sounded strange, almost a defiant paradox. The story of the Cross is folly to those who are in the way of ruin, but it attests itself in our experience to us, who are in the way of salvation, as the power of God. And this is in harmony with Scripture. For God's wise purpose ordained that the world's wisdom should be unable to know Him. There is an effective contrast between Divine and human wisdom. The world seeks through its wisdom to know God, but God's wisdom checkmates the world's wisdom and thwarts its aspirations, since He has planned that man shall know Him through the Gospel, which seems arrant folly to human wisdom. It is here precisely as with the quest for righteousness. God shut up all unto disobedience that through the Cross He might have mercy on all (Rom. 11^{32}). He shut up all to ignorance that through the Cross He might illuminate all. "The intellectual was as signal as the moral defeat," "God's sovereign grace rescues man's bankrupt wisdom" (Findlay). For it is a characteristic of Jews to seek after signs, of Greeks to seek after wisdom. Our preaching of Christ crucified, Paul says, is to Jews a stumbling-block for the Law pronounces a curse on him who is hanged (Dt. 21^{23}), and thus the mode of death negatives for the Jew the claim of Jesus to Messiahship, while to Greeks it is just mad.

But we know them to be wrong, we who are called of God; for our experience proves that this message embodies both the power and the wisdom of God. Folly and weakness, yes; but that folly of God which is wiser, that weakness of His which is stronger than men. Among the called are his readers, who form an excellent illustration, an illustration all the more welcome to Paul that it serves to abate their unwholesome conceit. They number very few wise according to the world's estimate, or people with civic standing, or high birth. The folly of the Gospel is clear from this that God proclaimed it to fools, people of no account, belonging to the lower orders, such as most of themselves. He deliberately chose the foolish, the weak, the base, the contemptible, the things that count for nothing, to bring to nought the world's substantial realities, so that no flesh should boast before Him. But from Him they derive their being in Christ, who became in His Incarnation Divine Wisdom for us, manifesting itself as righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, so that He alone deserves the glory. And when he came to Corinth Paul acted on the same principle. It was with no eloquence or philosophy that he unfolded the mystery of redemption. He had decided not to know anything beyond Jesus Christ, and Him as crucified. And corresponding to the folly of the matter was the weakness of the manner, ineffective, timid, anxious, without persuasive power or philosophical presentation. Yet his preaching was endowed with convincing force, because God imparted His Divine Spirit and energy to it, with the intent that their faith should repose not on human wisdom but on the power of God.

I. 19. The quotation is from Is. 2914, where the politicians who are planning an Egyptian alliance are denounced; "reject" is substituted for "conceal" under the influence of Ps. 3210.—**20.** From Is. 3318 and perhaps 1912.—**23.** Probably no doctrine of a suffering Messiah had been developed in Judaism so early as Paul's day; the doctrine of a crucified Messiah could not possibly have been. That such a doctrine was formulated, and such a fact as the crucifixion asserted, is a decisive proof of the historical existence and crucifixion of Jesus (p. 814.).—**30.** Read *mg.*—**II. 1. mystery:** *i.e.* God's eternal counsel of redemption, long concealed but now revealed. Many prefer *mg.* "testimony," which is better attested, especially as "mystery" may have been suggested by 7. It is, however, neither clear nor very satisfactory in sense, and may have been suggested by 16.

II. 6–16. Yet there Is a Christian Wisdom Revealed by God's Spirit.—Yet there is a true wisdom of which the Christian teachers speak to those who are mature; not a wisdom of this world or of the angels who are its rulers and are coming to nought, but God's wisdom in a mystery now disclosed, a hidden wisdom predestined before time to secure our perfection; not known to the world-rulers, who otherwise would not have crucified the Lord of Glory. By "rulers of the world" Paul means angels, the principalities and powers, the "elements of the world" (Gal. 43,9, Col. 28). The identification with the Roman governor and the Jewish high priest, still held by some scholars, does not suit the words "who are coming to nought," nor the present tense "knoweth," nor the immediate context. Paul is speaking here of a wisdom which he proclaims only to the fully initiated, a hidden wisdom preordained before time. How should Pilate and Caiaphas be acquainted with this? Angels have superhuman knowledge, therefore their ignorance cannot be taken for granted; it is natural that Paul should explicitly affirm it, and it is implied in Eph. 310, 1 P. 112. It is a mistake to think of these angels as evil, nor are they necessarily hostile, they act in ignorance rather than from malice. The old order, especially the Law (Ac. 7, Gal. 3, Heb. 2, and Col. generally), was under their control; and the death which Christ bore as the Law's penalty was naturally inflicted by the angels who gave and administered the Law. An angel has no meaning apart from his function; the angels of the Law cannot transcend the legal point of view. The wisdom of which Paul is speaking is that set forth in 9, the secrets of the future, especially the glory foreordained for Christians. Had these angels known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of that glory. Paul can hardly mean the mystery of redemption, for he is speaking of teaching reserved for those who are sufficiently developed to receive it. Our knowledge of it has been communicated through the Holy Spirit (10). Paul may have specially in mind the ecstatic conditions in which he was borne away into the third heaven (2 Cor. 122–4). While he heard there unutterable things, he would also probably suppose himself to have gained an insight into heavenly mysteries such as could be revealed to those ripe enough to receive it. Ezekiel describes his trance condition by saying that he was in the spirit (Ezek. 371), and similarly John in Rev. 110, 42. It is true that the revelations given by the prophets in the Christian assemblies were considered to come from the Spirit. Yet Paul can hardly be thinking of these, for they were uttered indiscriminately in the congregation; whereas Paul is speaking of a wisdom communicated only to initiates. Even if the phraseology is borrowed from the mysteries, we must not suppose that there was an esoteric Christianity disclosed only to those who were actually initiated into Christian mysteries. Paul means that he fits his teaching to the capacity of his hearers. If they quarrel with the simplicity of his preaching, it is simple because they cannot assimilate anything more advanced. When they become more mature, he can impart a more advanced doctrine. Thus Paul humiliates the conceit of the church, which prided itself on its knowledge. He proceeds (10*b*) to explain how it is that the Spirit can reveal. He thoroughly explores all things, fathoms even the depths of God's being and purpose. And He alone can reveal the mind of God, since He alone can know it. Just as the spirit of each man is alone able to know the thoughts and emotions within him, so only the Spirit of God can know God's innermost experiences. It is this all-searching Spirit, Paul continues, that we have received. True, the fact of inspiration does not determine its quality; an evil spirit might invade the personality, the spiritual gifts include the discrimination of spirits, and possibly such utterances as "Jesus Anathema!" might be heard in the Christian assemblies (123*). But such an evil spirit is not the source of our knowledge as to the glories prepared by God for us. And this Spirit-given knowledge is not merely possessed, it is uttered in Spirit-given words, the speaker combining spiritual truth with spiritual expression. But spiritual things can be imparted only to those who are fit to receive them. Man, as he is by nature, cannot accept them; he looks on them as folly, nor has he the capacity to apprehend them because they respond only to spiritual tests which he is unable to apply. But the spiritual man tests everything, for the spiritual is the highest realm and commands those beneath; whereas the natural man has no competence to estimate the spiritual, he lives on a lower plane. No one, Scripture

says (Is. 40¹³), has apprehended the mind of the Lord, so as to instruct Him. And since by union with Him we have His mind, we are equally beyond human judgment.

9. The source of the quotation is very uncertain. If from the OT (as the formula of citation suggests), it is from Is. 64⁴ combined with 65¹⁷. The points of contact are so slight that no confidence can be felt in this derivation. If the source is not the OT, Paul has quoted another work under a misapprehension. Origen attributes it to the Secrets of Elijah the Prophet, but the relation is more probably to be reversed.—**13.** The last clause is difficult. RV gives no relevant sense. "Interpreting spiritual things to spiritual *men*" (*mg.*) is philologically questionable. The most probable view is that adopted above. Bousset thinks the reference is to speaking with tongues, the heavenly truth being uttered in the heavenly language. But speech in a tongue was unintelligible apart from an interpreter, whereas Paul implies that the language will be understood and the truth accepted by any who are spiritual, few of whom might have the gift of interpretation. Besides, the words would be intelligible even to the natural man, the reason why he does not welcome them is not their unintelligibility but their foolishness.—**14. natural** (*psuchikos*); we have no strict equivalent in English; "natural" perhaps gives the right suggestion as well as anything.

III. 1–17. Renewed Condemnation of Party Spirit.—Paul has now reached a point where he can effect an easy return to the divisions at Corinth. He has been speaking of the spiritual man who is capable of receiving spiritual things as the "natural man" is not. But such teaching he has not been able to give the Corinthians. For they are not spiritual, as is demonstrated by their party spirit. Here again he humbles the church in the very matter of which it was most proud. Its spirituality was its peculiar boast. It was richly endowed with spiritual gifts, and the excesses into which it had plunged were complacently paraded as evidence of enlightenment and illustration of the truth that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

1–9. When Paul was with them he had to treat them not as spiritual but as fleshen, to feed them like infants on milk, for meat they were not able to bear (Heb. 5¹²). And not even yet are they able, for where jealousy and wrangling exist are they not carnal, living and acting on a purely human plane? They are mere men, as if no higher power had lifted them to the superhuman level, since they boast of this human teacher and that. Paul and Apollos are just mere servants, the channels through which their faith was evoked. All they did was achieved through the gift of God. Paul planted, Apollos watered the seed, God's blessing alone made their work fruitful. They are nothing, God is all. Both toil for a common cause, each shall receive a reward proportioned to his labour. They are God's partners in work, the Corinthians are God's tillage, God's erection.

1. carnal: two cognate adjectives (*sarkinos* here, *sarkikos* in 3) are translated by the same word. The former means simply "consisting of flesh" and may or may not be used in an ethical sense, whereas the latter has usually an ethical meaning. Yet the former might be even more ethically severe than the latter, for, if used with the ethical sense of "flesh" attaching to it, it might mean composed entirely of flesh, carnal through and through. So probably in Rom. 7¹⁴. Here the leading idea is that suggested by what follows, a baby at the breast is just a lump of animated flesh, in which the mind has scarcely begun to dawn. Still the contrast with spiritual and the presence in the context of "carnal" imparts an ethical tinge to the word.—**4.** Observe that only two parties are mentioned and the others ignored. Possibly the latter constituted an insignificant section, possibly Paul selects himself and Apollos because he is going to speak of their work at Corinth. This would make it still more unlikely that Peter had visited Corinth.—**9. God's fellow-workers:** probably "sharers with God in His work"; but possibly "colleagues who belong to God."

10–15. The tone changes. It becomes cautionary, almost threatening. It is, therefore, unlikely that "another" (10) is Apollos, towards whom in 5–9 Paul's language has been cordial. It may be the leader of the Apollos section, perhaps the leader of the Cephas party. But "each man" suggests that "another" is equivalent to "others." Paul claims that at Corinth he had laid a foundation like an expert master-builder, but all his skill in founding churches was due to God's grace. Others were building on it, for no other foundation than his, *i.e.* Jesus Christ, was possible. But on the same foundation structures of very different materials may be built, costly and durable, or cheap and flimsy. The quality of each man's work will be tested by the Day of the Lord, for that is a fiery manifestation. If the work survives the test by fire, the builder will be rewarded; if it perish, he will lose his material and labour. Yet, since his error is one of judgment rather than intention he shall himself be saved, though he must pass to safety through the scorching flames. We may compare the Persian belief that at the judgment everyone must pass with his work through the stream of molten metal, which to the righteous seems like warm milk, to the wicked as what it actually is. There is no reference to purgatory in 15.

16f. The metaphor of the building suggests that of the sanctuary. But the subject of 16f. differs from that of the preceding section. There Paul dealt with injudicious builders, here with wreckers of the sanctuary. In the one case the man will be saved, though scarred and suffering loss, in the other he will be destroyed by God. As God dwelt in the Holy of Holies, so the Christian community is now the shrine which He inhabits. His holiness is therefore communicated to it, to desecrate it by faction violates the holiness of God which will react fatally against the offender.

III. 18–23. It is a False Wisdom that Pits one Leader against Another: All are Yours.—Paul warns against the self-deception which causes a man to overrate his own judgment. Better renounce his worldly wisdom, which God counts foolishness that he may become really wise. As Scripture says, God grips fast the wise in their cleverness (Job 5¹³), and He knows the emptiness of their thoughts (Ps. 94¹¹, Paul substitutes "the wise" for "men"). So let none boast that he takes any man for his leader, pluming himself on his discernment. Indeed it is to rate one's own dignity too low. For all things belong to the Christian. Christians do not belong to one leader, but all leaders belong to them. The world, too, is theirs, this physical universe with all its throng of sentient beings, life and death, the present, the future. But they are Christ's, and possess all things through His possession of them; and He too belongs to God and we are His. The Stoics had similar sayings—"All things belong to the wise" (Zeno), "All

things are mine" (Seneca). Some of the more philosophical type at Corinth may have made this a kind of watchword. Paul endorses it, but redeems it by the reminder that while all things belong to the Christian, he is not the lord of the universe but himself belongs in his turn to Christ. It is characteristic of Paul to soar away from these petty squabbles to those ultimate principles where his mind was most at home. That he does not mention Christ along with the three human teachers is no argument for the non-existence of a Christ-party. He does not place Christ on a level with them. He would not say to his readers that Christ belonged to them, the great thing they needed to remember was that they belonged to Christ. Christ *is* mentioned—in His right place.

19b. This and the quotation in Rom. 11_{35}, the only quotations from Job in NT, differ considerably from the LXX; Paul probably had Job not in the LXX but another version.

IV. 1–13. Paul will Accept no Judgment but Christ's. The Fortunate Lot of the Corinthians Contrasted with the Miserable Condition of the Apostles.—This section is concerned with the attitude of the Corinthians to Paul. Some were critical, there may have been a suggestion to put him on his trial before the church. He first states the criterion that ought to be applied in judging him and his colleagues. They are mere subordinates (a different Gr. word from that in 3_5), entrusted with a stewardship. The main qualification for such a position is not brilliant gift but incorruptible fidelity. However, what judgment they or any men pass upon him is a matter of indifference; he does not, though he knows himself so much more intimately than they can, venture to pass judgment even on himself. True, his conscience is clear, yet God alone is competent to pronounce him righteous. So they should not anticipate the Divine verdict by any premature judgment. He has used himself and Apollos (since they were friends, not rivals) as illustrations, to avoid introducing other names. (He does not mean that there were no parties of Paul and Apollos, the real parties being disguised under their names.) He has done this for their sakes that by this example he may teach them not to go beyond what is written (?) and boast in one leader against another. What exceptional qualification for such judgment does any of them possess? and whatever they have it is God's gift, and so no warrant for conceit. With bitter irony he punctures their self-esteem. They have already attained; how different from their sleek complacency is the actual lot of their teachers! If apostles are in such evil case is it likely that the fancied attainments of such novices are real? They are already filled to repletion, rolling in wealth, reigning in the Kingdom, without Paul's company to be sure! Would that their lordship over the world were a reality; he to whom they owe the Gospel, would not be left out, as he is. It would seem that he and the other apostles also have been shown by God to bring up the rear, gladiators who must fight on till they are killed, while the whole world, both (*mg.*) angels and men, throngs the amphitheatre to watch the thrilling spectacle in the arena. What a contrast! for Christ's sake they are counted mad, they are weak and dishonoured; the Corinthians are shrewd, that is what union with Christ does for them, strong, of high repute. Privation in food and raiment, ill-treatment by the mob, homelessness, exhausting manual toil, such is the lot of the apostles. They meet insult with blessing, persecution with patient endurance, slander with friendly reply. They are like men offered as human sacrifices, wretched people who were chosen as sin-offerings, since the sacrificial death must be voluntarily accepted, inasmuch as they, whether on account of physical deformity, or poverty or sorrow, or as criminals, preferred death to life.

6b. Very difficult. Gr. is elliptical and the meaning obscure. Apparently the point is, "that you might learn not to transgress the injunction of Scripture." The text is probably corrupt.—**7a.** Possibly the point is, "you owe your boasted faculty of discrimination to the teachers whom you despise."—**9. apostles:** primarily himself, but the plural is not equivalent to the singular. He may mean "those who evangelised them"—himself, Silas, and Timothy. —**13. intreat:** the precise meaning is uncertain.—**filth, offscouring:** used technically for the sacrificial victims described above.

IV. 14–21. Fatherly Admonition, Entreaty, and Warning.—The tone of mingled severity, irony, and pathos disappears; yet the affection is combined with sternness, and he warns them not to presume on his mildness. He has no desire to shame them, but only to give them his paternal admonition. For he is their only begetter in Christ, though tutors in Christ they may have by the myriad. Let them take after him as good children should; he is sending Timothy, another of his dear children, but a loyal one, who will revive by his conduct their fading memories of their father's real character and behaviour. Some have been inflated by the news that Timothy is coming, as if Paul would not face the church himself. But he means to come, and try the issue with the boasters, not in word but in power, for power not utterance is the note of the Kingdom. It is for the church to decide whether he comes to chastise or in gentleness.

15. tutors: we have no word to represent the Gr. which is the original of our "pedagogue." But the *paidagogos* was not a teacher, he was a slave entrusted with the supervision of the child's conduct. The office was temporary (till the child was sixteen), menial, and, of course, unpopular with its victims. Paul uses it to illustrate the temporary, servile, irksome, and disciplinary character of the Law in Gal. 3_{24}f. — **17.** Timothy had apparently already started for Corinth, but was taking the land route through Macedonia, while the letter would be sent across the sea and arrive before him.

V. The Case of Incest.—Paul now passes from the parties to a case of immorality exceptionally hideous and, so far as his knowledge goes, unprecedented even among the heathen. It is everywhere reported (he probably means, though the wording is loose, that the scandal has spread far beyond Corinth) that a member of the church has taken his father's wife as his wife (or concubine). The father was probably dead: to have taken her while he was still alive would have so gravely aggravated the offence that Paul could scarcely have failed to mention it explicitly. We cannot urge that Paul speaks of him in 2 Cor. 7_{12} as still alive, for the language here and in 2 Cor. 2_5–$_{11}$* does not suit the case of incest. Here Paul is concerned with the offence not simply in itself but with the scandal of its toleration by the church and its self-complacency with regard to it. Nor does 2 Cor. 7_{12} agree with Paul's solicitude in 1 Cor. 5_5 for the offender's ultimate salvation. Nor in a case so grave could he have accepted the modification of his sentence suggested in 2 Cor. 2_5 and permitted him to be reinstated. And obviously he could not have treated the church's attitude to a sin so monstrous as a mere test of loyalty (2 Cor. 2_9). Moreover, the wronged

party of 2 Cor. felt the offence as a wrong (7¹²); had the case been one of immorality, he could have taken summary proceedings against a son who ventured on so open a defiance of his father's authority and rights. Presumably, then, the father was dead. No sentence is passed on the woman; probably she was a heathen. In spite of this rude shock their inflated self-esteem is not abated, whereas they ought to have been in deep distress, which should have led them to expel the offender. His own attitude is diametrically opposed to theirs. His decision is already taken, he did not need to be on the spot to form his judgment of conduct so flagrant. The matter must be dealt with in solemn assembly. The church is to be gathered together, not left to its own laxity in the handling of the offence. Convoked in the name of Jesus, it will be armed with His authority. The apostle will himself be present, though not physically. Then the church must formally deliver to Satan a man guilty of conduct so heinous, in order that the sinful principle may be extirpated, and his spirit saved at the Second Coming. The passage is difficult. For the importance of the name of Jesus as imparting efficacy to the act, see Gen. 32²⁴⁻³⁰*. Paul will be present in spirit. Bodily absence will not mean real absence (Col. 2⁵). He will be actually present at the meeting. We must not weaken his words to mean what we mean, when we say, "I cannot be there, but I shall be with you in spirit." Nor can we put it in a modern way, as if there was any thought of telepathy. We are moving here among ideas which have grown strange to us. The sentence is probably one of excommunication, not of death (p. 649).

Their boasting, Paul proceeds, is unseemly. For, though one member alone is guilty, his corruption contaminates them all, as the bit of leaven permeates all the dough. Let them purge out this active centre of infection. The Jews before the Passover searched their houses very rigorously to remove every particle of leaven from it. And it is fitting that Christians should do the same, that they may be actually what they are ideally, without leaven of sin, for they have a Passover, the Paschal victim being Christ. Then a different turn is given to the figure, the church, represented in 7 as a lump of dough, in 8 is thought of as keeping the feast not with the leaven of wickedness but the unleavened bread of sincerity. Somewhat abruptly Paul recalls the injunctions of a former letter (perhaps partially preserved in 2 Cor. 6¹⁴–7¹), forbidding association with those guilty of impurity. Apparently the church had misunderstood him, a little wilfully perhaps, to forbid intercourse with all such people, and declared his demand to be impracticable. Paul assents; they would have to leave the world altogether if they were to avoid contact with them entirely. He explains (11 read *mg.*) that, of course, he meant members of the church, adding those guilty of several other vices as men to be boycotted. They ought not to have misunderstood him, he implies, since obviously he had no qualification for judging non-Christians; their own practice is to judge Christians and leave outsiders to the judgment of God. That is their practice, but in this case it has fallen into abeyance; let them do their duty and excommunicate the offender (Dt. 17*b*).

7b. This designation of Christ as the Paschal Lamb corroborates the Johannine date for the crucifixion (p. 743), the death occurring when the lambs were being killed for the Passover.—**11. idolater:** apparently some tried to combine Christianity with their old religion.

VI. 1–11. The Scandal of Christians Suing each other before Heathen Tribunals.—Paul has prepared for his next rebuke by his reference to the function of the church to judge its own members. But alas, Christians are to be found who will go so far as shamelessly to carry their disputes with each other before a tribunal of the unrighteous (what a paradox to appeal for justice to the unjust!) instead of submitting them to their fellow-Christians. They cannot be so ill-instructed as to be unaware that Christians are to judge the world; if so, they cannot be unfit to settle such trumpery squabbles. Yes, if even the angels, the world's loftiest order, are to stand at their bar, how much more are they competent to judge matters of everyday need! When they have such cases, they actually set heathens to decide them, who as such are of no account in the estimation of the church. The statement of the fact should shame them. Is their case so desperate that there is not one among them wise enough to arbitrate? so that Christian sues Christian, and that before heathens! Indeed, they are to blame not merely for having recourse to heathen judges, but for going to law with each other at all. Better far to be wronged and defrauded. But they practise these things rather than suffer them, and that on their brothers. Then they are unrighteous, and as such disqualified for inheriting the Kingdom of God. Let them beware of deluding themselves with vain hopes; the unchaste, idolaters, thieves, the grasping, the drunkards, the revilers, the extortioners (*cf.* 5¹¹) will not inherit the Kingdom. Such some of them had been, but they had had themselves baptized, had been made holy, been declared righteous in virtue of Christ's name and the efficacious working of God's Spirit.

1. any of you: the singular does not imply that Paul knows only of one case. 7f. shows there are more. —**2.** The formula, "know ye not," has occurred before (3¹⁶, 5⁶), but in this chapter it occurs no fewer than six times (2, 3, 9, 15, 16, 19). With all their boasted knowledge, are they ignorant of such truths as these? (Jn. 3¹⁰); one could not have credited such ignorance but for their conduct. That the saints will judge the earth is an article of Jewish belief (Dan. 7²², Wisd. 3⁸, Ecclus. 4¹⁵); in Mt. 19²⁸ the apostles are to judge the twelve tribes; Rev. 2⁰⁴ supplies a close parallel to our passage.—**3.** Angels are included in "the world" (4⁹); the reference is not exclusively or perhaps even primarily to evil angels. There are several passages in the NT which negative the popular doctrine of angelic sinlessness, and in this the writers agree with the contemporary Jewish belief.—**4. Difficult.** We may take the sentence as interrogative with RV and understand "those who are of no account in the church" as heathen; do you set heathen, whom as such you hold in no esteem, to judge? Or we may take it as a statement of what actually happens, explaining "those of no account" either as heathen judges (so above) or the most insignificant members of the church. Or we may take it as imperative (so *mg.*), the language being sarcastic, the least weighty of your members can deal with such trifles as these.— **11.** Here again Paul humbles the conceit of the church by recalling the moral degradation from which some of its members had been rescued.

VI. 12–20. Impurity is no True Expression of Christian Freedom, but Incompatible with the Believer's Union with Christ.—The special case of incest and the warnings against impurity in the last section (9f.) have prepared the way for this explicit and reasoned denunciation. Impurity was defended on the prin-

ciple that all things were lawful, possibly a maxim in which Paul had expressed his own doctrine of Christian freedom. If so, here, as elsewhere, illegitimate inferences were drawn from his antinomianism, here to defend licence, elsewhere to discredit his doctrine of freedom by exhibiting its moral dangers. More probably the maxim was coined by those who defended licentiousness; Paul opposes to it the counter-maxim, "All things are not expedient," *i.e.* there are things which involve moral and spiritual loss. "All are lawful," he repeats, retorting: "Yes, but if they are at my disposal, they shall not dispose of me; no habit shall make me its slave; slavery is what your boasted 'freedom' really means." Next he quotes an analogy by which impurity was defended, the organs involved are, in fact, fulfilling their natural function, just as properly as the belly in receiving food. He replies that the belly is but a temporary organ fitted to this sphere of existence not to the Kingdom of God (15^{50}); it will disappear as completely as the meats it consumes and digests (Col. 2^{21}f.). The retort might be made that the sexual organs belonged similarly just to this lower order (Mk. 12^{25}), their gratification therefore was as legitimate as the gratification of the appetite for food. Paul does not state this, nor as yet explicitly meet it. He proceeds to speak of the body; the relationship of the body to the Lord is as completely reciprocal as that of meats for the belly. But in the one case the end is destruction, in the other permanence. The perishable has no such moral significance as the abiding; the immortality of the Lord (Rom. 6^{9}) involves the immortality of the body. The body, therefore, as belonging to Christ and destined for immortality, must be used in harmony with its lofty destiny; impurity and Christ are utterly incompatible, the body cannot be dedicated to both. Speaking more concretely he now refers (15–17) to the partner of the sin rather than to the sin itself. The primal law of marriage (Gen. 2^{24}) affirms that husband and wife are "one flesh." And this is true of illicit unions, the man and his paramour become in the act one flesh, his members become hers. But in the case of Christians their bodies are the Lord's members; what impious desecration to make them members of a harlot! He who is joined to the Lord in mystical union (in this context and in this sentence the union must obviously be mystical not merely ethical), coalesces into a single spirit with Him. Paul now touches the principle which justified him in speaking of the body rather than the specific organs in reply to the analogy from the belly. Fornication involves the body itself in a sense in which no other sin does, not even if it be a physical sin like gluttony or drunkenness. It is sacrilege against the temple of the Holy Ghost, and implies a claim to dispose of himself which no Christian can make. He does not belong to himself, he has been bought with a price. We have Pagan inscriptions from Delphi in which the manumission of a slave is represented as his purchase by the god with a view to his freedom (Gal. 5^{1}). The price here is no doubt the death of Christ (1 P. 1^{18}f.), but the metaphor of ransom must not be pressed, else the question arises, as in patristic theology, "To whom was the ransom paid?" It is most unlikely that Paul thought of the answer, for many centuries so popular, that since the devil was man's master the price must have been paid to him. The stress lies on the fact that they have been set free from the old bondage. But Christian freedom is bondage to Christ, whose slave Paul delights to call himself.

VII. Problems as to Marriage, Celibacy, and Divorce.—At this point Paul takes up a letter sent by the Corinthian church inviting his judgment on various questions, apparently indicating their own views with some self-satisfaction. The reply probably follows the order of the letter, not only as to the subjects in general, but the different branches of them. This explains the somewhat haphazard development of the subject in this chapter. (On the questions discussed, see p. 650.) The view put forward in the letter was that celibacy should be practised in the church. Such a view was not unnatural in a city so foul as Corinth.

1–7. Paul begins by asserting his own personal preference for absolute continence. But he recognises that this is a counsel of perfection. Accordingly he recommends marriage so that unchastity may be prevented, and marriage, of course, in the form of monogamy (2). And this must be a real marriage, in which the physical obligations of each to the other are duly observed, for in this matter both belong not to themselves but to each other. So neither may withhold from the other the marriage due unless by mutual agreement if they feel that they will thus be more undistracted for prayer (*cf. Testament of Naphtali*, 8^{8}, "And a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer"); but such periods of abstinence should not be prolonged or Satan will tempt them to seek satisfaction elsewhere. He says this, however, by way of concession, not injunction. It is unfortunately not clear to what "this" refers. The term "concession" suggests that it is concession to weakness, and this is supported by 7. The point might then be, I should prefer that your abstinence should be permanent not temporary. This is very improbable; Paul regarded the danger of incontinence as too serious to run the risk such advice would imply. Besides, the language had been that of definite injunction. It is more probable that he is referring to his general advice on the subject. On the whole, however, it seems best to take it as referring to the abstinence; the concession is to the view urged in the church letter. He does not, in the interests of the religious life, ordain that such seasons should be observed, but he is willing to make the exception to the rule, provided it can be done without moral risk. He would, of course, prefer, he continues, that all men had his own gift of continence. But there is diversity of gifts, and that by God's appointment, so that regulations must be governed not by personal preferences but by the hard facts of the situation.

8–24. He now passes on to special classes. First, those who are unmarried or have lost their partners. It would be best for them to follow Paul's example and remain as they are. But if they have not the gift of continence, it would be better to marry than to be inflamed with illicit desire. The married must abide in the married state, as Jesus Himself commands. If the wife should leave her husband, she must refrain from contracting a new union, or, if she feels she must have a man to live with, she must make it up with her husband. Similarly, the husband must not desert the wife. So much for the case where both are Christians. But for the cases where one is a heathen, no command of Jesus can be quoted. If the heathen is willing to continue the relationship, the Christian is not to dissolve it. It was natural for a Christian to feel that the continuance of the relation involved defilement and made the member of Christ unclean. Paul replies that the relation works in the opposite way. The unbeliever does not defile the Christian, the Christian consecrates the unbeliever. Were this not the case, were heathen uncleanness more potent

than Christian holiness, the offspring of the marriage must be unclean, springing from parents both unclean, one intrinsically, the other by contamination. But the children, so Paul asserts without argument, are holy, and this involves the holiness of the parents. The conception of "holiness" here is not ethical, ultimately it is primitive (p. 196). The unbeliever, apart from any co-operation on his part and simply in virtue of the marriage with a believer, is sanctified, even if he remains an unbeliever; he is not placed by it in a state of salvation, this remains very problematical (16). To primitive thought holiness and uncleanness are alike infectious. The circle of ideas is strange to us, and should not be modernised. The unbeliever may, however, abandon the Christian. In that case, the latter is to hold the tie no longer binding nor seek to maintain a relationship in which peace cannot be preserved, all the more that the sacrifice may not lead to the other's salvation. The general rule which Paul lays down in all his churches applies here, let each continue in his Divinely-appointed position. If he has become a Christian while circumcised, let him not seek to obliterate the marks and adopt the Gentile mode of life; if uncircumcised let him not accept the obligations of circumcision. For circumcision and uncircumcision have no intrinsic worth, what matters is to keep God's commandments. The rule "stay where you are" applies to the slave, he must not trouble about his position; though if he can become free he should use the opportunity of freedom (p. 650). He should not make a trouble of his slavery, for the slave who becomes a Christian is thereby made Christ's slave. All alike have been bought with a price, as the purchase of God let them not make men their masters. It is quite uncertain to what Paul is alluding in 23*b*; after 21*a* it sounds strange. Presumably the meaning is that the Christian should, as one who calls Christ his master, refuse to become enslaved to merely human standards. The Jew who had the operation for effacing the marks of circumcision (18*a*), that he might escape Gentile mockery, the Gentile who submitted to circumcision (18*b*) to conciliate Jewish prejudice, are equally in his mind with the slave whom he has just been addressing. Bondage to Christ emancipates a man from bondage to human opinion; servile conformity is unworthy of the independence He confers.

8. widows: perhaps we should read "widowers" (so H. Bois), since "unmarried" seems to be strictly masculine, and not to include women, and Paul has a special section on "virgins" in 25–40.—**10a.** *Cf.* Mt. 532, 199, Mk. 109, Lk. 1618.—**15. is not under bondage:** is not bound by Christ's regulation to oppose the separation. Paul need not mean that the deserted Christian is free to marry again, desertion annulling the marriage. Still he may mean this.—**16.** Some think Paul means that the Christian should stay with the heathen in hope of securing the latter's salvation; in this case, we should render "thou shalt not save." But this should have followed 13; in its present position it means that the Christian should not in the very problematic hope of winning the heathen for Christ, persist in maintaining a situation leading not to peace, the Christian's vocation, but to mutual exasperation.—**19.** *Cf.* Gal. 56, 615, Col. 311.

25–40. Paul now passes to the case of virgins, on which the church had invited his judgment. The section is one of peculiar difficulty. It is generally thought that Paul is dealing with the relations of a father (or guardian) to the marriage of his daughter (or ward). The decision whether the maiden should be married, and if so to whom, rested with the father. In that case his general principle holds good that in view of the impending distress it is better for no new ties to be created. But if any father (or guardian) thinks that he is acting in an unseemly way towards his daughter (or ward), she being of an age to marry and her nature imperiously demanding it, he is at liberty to carry out his desire, he does not sin in doing so, let the maiden and her suitor marry. But if there be no such compulsion in the case, and he has made up his mind not to give her in marriage, his decision is to be commended. He does well if he gives her in marriage, but better if he does not. But this interpretation is exposed to serious objections. (*a*) Paul is dealing with the case of virgins; but he begins by saying what is good for a man (26–28*a*), and reverts to this in 32f. (*b*) It is curious that he should twice assert that the marriage is not sinful (28, 36); since marriage was not regarded as sinful in itself, the case in question seems to have had exceptional features which made the view that sin was involved plausible. But on the usual interpretation the marriage was quite normal. (*c*) If Paul had in mind the relationship of a father to his daughter, it is strange that he does not speak of father and daughter. This difficulty is mitigated but not removed by the reply that his language is indefinite because he wishes to include the relationship of guardian and ward. Since the father was the usual guardian, it would have been proper to speak simply of that relationship, leaving the other case to be understood. (*d*) The phrase "act unseemly," while possible, is not a natural one to use of the father's conduct. (*e*) If Paul has been speaking of father and daughter, "let them marry" is harsh, since the antecedent has to be supplied. (*f*) "Daughter" is not expressed in the Gr., which is literally "his virgin" in 36, "his own virgin" in 37 and 38. The former is a remarkable, the latter an amazing, expression for "his unmarried daughter." These difficulties disappear if Paul is dealing with a spiritual marriage in which a man and woman united in taking a vow of continence. This practice is known as far back as the second century, and at a later period gave rise to serious scandal, since the man and woman often lived in the same house. Paul favours the fulfilment of the vow, but advises marriage in case the man's weakness in self-control is likely to precipitate moral disaster. This gives a coherent interpretation of the passage. It is exposed to two difficulties. One is that it requires the rendering "marry" instead of "give in marriage" in 38. Achelis accepts the usual rendering, but supposes Paul to advise that the man in the condition described in 36 should determine the situation by giving the virgin in marriage to someone else. This is wholly unnatural; the obvious and proper advice would be that the man and his virgin should marry, which is indeed suggested by 36. If the usual rendering is necessary, we must either set aside altogether the reference to a spiritual marriage, or suppose that 38 is a later insertion, for which we have no warrant. But it is not improbable that the rendering "marry" is legitimate. The other objection is of a more general character. We have no evidence that the custom originated so early, and, if it had, would Paul have sanctioned a relationship so fraught with possibilities of moral peril? Our ignorance as to the origin of many things should make us chary of pressing the former point. As to the latter, we must beware of viewing the institution through the scandals which later discredited it. With Paul's strong preference for celibacy, pledges to observe it might seem praise-

worthy, and that a man and woman should combine for mutual encouragement in such a pledge would seem perhaps not unfitting. The moral peril would be met by the possibility of marriage in case the strain on continence became too severe. And we must not underrate the elemental force of primitive enthusiasm, or too hastily apply to the church of the first century our own standards of what is fitting.

Paul has no word of Jesus to settle the matter, but gives his opinion as one endowed through Christ's mercy with a judgment worthy of trust. The impending trouble, "the woes of the Messiah" which are to usher in the new era, makes any change of state undesirable. Let the married and the single remain as they are. It is accordingly best that the intention to continue in the relationship in question should be carried out. Still, if the man marries, he has not sinned, nor yet the virgin. They will suffer in the troubles that are coming, and he would guard them from this. The interval that will elapse before the Second Coming is cut short, so that all human ties and relationships should be held with indifference—marriage, mourning, merriment, purchase; the world must be used, but not to the full, for it is a fleeting show. In such a situation they should be free from distractions. In the unmarried state interest can be concentrated on the Lord's affairs, but the married man is preoccupied with secular matters and consideration for his wife and is distracted. The unmarried woman and the virgin are preoccupied with the things of the Lord, to maintain body and spirit holy alike; the wife is preoccupied with secular affairs and the pleasing of her husband. Paul says this for their advantage, not to put constraint (*mg.*) upon them, but to secure what is seemly, and undistracted concentration on service for the Lord. However, if in any instance the man feels that he may be guilty of an offence against the virgin's chastity, if he is troubled with excess of virility and his nature demands marriage, he may carry out the desire without sin, let them get married (36). But if he is firm in purpose and driven by no such necessity, and is gifted with self-control and resolved to keep his virgin partner intact, he will do well (37). If he marries her he will do well, if he refrains from marriage he will do better still (38). Finally, a word as to widows. A woman cannot marry a second husband till her present husband is dead; then she may marry any man she likes, provided that he is a Christian. His judgment, however, as one who possesses the Spirit (as much as those who lay claim to it) is that she would do better to remain as she is.

33f. The text is very uncertain. Probably we should accept the second *mg.*; "divided" means distracted between the two claims. The unmarried woman is distinguished from the virgin, the latter meaning one dedicated to the celibate life.

VIII.–XI. 1. Meats Offered to Idols.—This also seems to have been one of the inquiries addressed to Paul, with the views of the church expounded to him in a self-complacent spirit. For a discussion of the whole question, see pp. 650f.

VIII. Let Those who Have Knowledge Control its Exercise by Love, lest they Ruin their Brother for whom Christ Died.—Paul begins with a quotation from the church letter. They claim that all have knowledge. Yes, but knowledge makes men conceited, love develops and consolidates them. They who fancy that they know have no right knowledge; he who loves God is known by God, a better knowledge than any of his own. However, all are aware that no idol has any real existence and that there is only one God. For, allowing that there are so-called gods, as in truth there are many gods and lords (*i.e.* the demons), yet Christians recognise one God, the Father, source of all things and their own goal, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, the efficient agent in creation and in their own redemption. Yet those who are without such knowledge, when they eat the idol sacrifice, are dominated by the old point of view, and their conscience, readily troubled by morbid scruples, is stained. Food will not influence God's decision at the Judgment. But freedom from such scruples may lead to disregard of the weak, who, when he sees the "intellectual" complacently reclining at the temple banquet, will become progressive enough to eat, against his own conscience, the idol food. Impatient lack of consideration ruins the weak brother and is a sin against Christ. Paul would never touch flesh again rather than gratify himself at such ruinous cost to others.

2. So Socrates recognised that he was wiser than others, in that while all alike knew nothing, he alone was aware of his ignorance.—**3.** Note the unexpected turn of thought. He does not say, By love we know God; God's knowledge of us is so much greater a certainty, so much firmer a ground of consolation and assurance.—**6b.** Here essentially the Christology of Colossians is implied.

IX. This chapter is not a digression, and is not primarily concerned with a vindication of Paul's apostolic status and rights. He enforces his plea that the enlightened should not ride roughshod over scruples they despised, by his own refusal to insist on his apostolic rights. He too was free, was an apostle, had received his commission from the risen Lord, his apostleship to the Corinthians was indubitably attested by his work among them. He (? and his colleagues) may accept maintenance, travel with a Christian wife like other apostles and the Lord's brethren. Must he and Barnabas alone be compelled to work for their living? That would be against human precedent, against the Law also, for by its prohibition of muzzling the ox as he treads out the corn on the threshing-floor, God meant that the preachers of the Gospel should be supported in return for their work. If the Corinthians profited by the apostolic sowing, it is no extravagant claim that the apostles shall reap some material advantage from them. They have a prior right. But they make no use of it, that their alleged self-seeking may not hinder the progress of the Gospel. Temple attendants get their living from the Temple, altar attendants their share from the sacrifices. The Lord laid it down (Mt. 10₁₀, Lk. 10₇) that preachers should be maintained by their preaching. But Paul has waived the principle, and does not mention it to insinuate a claim for support, he would rather die than make void his proud boast of independence. He does not boast of his preaching; that is not a vocation he has chosen, but one imposed on him by the will of God. If he had voluntarily adopted the calling he would have had a right to reward. But since God has forced it on him, he has a stewardship, and as God's slave has no right to payment. The pay which he claims is to renounce his title to support. Free from all control, he had yet become the slave of all to win the more. To Jews he became as a Jew, to those under the Law he became as they were, although he was free, to those without law as they were also, though under law to Christ, to the weak similarly: yes, everything to everybody, to gain converts by every method. He does all for the Gospel's sake that he may be a joint partaker with his converts in its

blessings. What effort is needed to achieve that result! In the races all the competitors run, but only one wins the prize. Let them run so as to win, exercising, like the athletes, self-control at every point, and for no corruptible crown like theirs. He himself runs the unswerving race; he boxes, landing every blow on the antagonist; he beats his body black and blue (Lk. 18 5 *mg.**) and leads it about as his slave, lest, having preached to others, he should miss the prize himself.

6. As we should infer also from Col. 4 10, 2 Tim. 4 11, Paul and Barnabas were not permanently estranged by their quarrel about Mark (Ac. 15 36–39).—**9f.** Paul seems to mean that the allegorical interpretation was that originally and exclusively intended.

X. 1–13. From this exposition of his own willingness to waive his rights for the sake of others, closing with the solemn warning that the goal might be missed after all, Paul returns to his main theme, the meats offered to idols. He does not handle it directly in 1–13 but it is clearly in his mind. He begins by recalling the case of the Hebrews in the wilderness (Heb. 3 7–4 13), pointing the warning he draws from it by the reminder that their own fathers (for the readers, though Gentile, belong to the true Israel, Gal. 6 16) possessed in a sense the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist; and yet the majority were destroyed, how grave a warning! They were *all* (five times in 1–4) under the cloud (Ps. 105 39, *cf.* Ex. 13 21) and passed through the Red Sea, and thus baptized themselves for Moses in the water of cloud and sea. They ate the same food and drank the same drink, both manna and the water from the rock being endowed with a spiritual quality. For the rock which followed them was a spiritual, not merely a material rock; it was the pre-existent Christ, with whom they were thus brought into a communion similar to that enjoyed by Christians in the Eucharist. Paul is here giving us a piece of rabbinism. We have a double narrative of the smiting of the rock (Ex. 17, Nu. 20 2–13). The localities being different and the identity of the rock being assumed, the legend of the water-bearing rock that followed them easily originated. It was confirmed by combining with this the Song of the Well (Nu. 21 16–18) and explaining that the well was bidden spring from the wilderness to Mattanah. Such a rock belonged to the supernatural order, and from the thought that it was animated by an angel, Paul easily advanced to the identification with Christ. Yet God was angered with most of them so that all, except Joshua and Caleb, strewed the sands of the desert. Let them profit by the example and not lust after the flesh of sacrifice as the Hebrews did after the flesh-pots of Egypt (Nu. 11); or be idolaters, as they went on from feasting to idolatrous dancing and revelry (Ex. 32 6); or guilty of impurity (so constantly associated with idolatry) which led to the death of 23,000 (Nu. 25 1–9, actually 24,000); or presume on God's forbearance as those who were destroyed by serpents (Nu. 21 4–6); or murmur as those smitten by the angelic destroyer (Nu. 16 41–50). The record is for their benefit who live where this age and the age to come meet (the terminal point of one is immediately followed by the initial point of the other, hence the plural "ends"). Let them beware of over-confidence in their stability. So far only human temptations have befallen them such as man can bear; how terrible the prospect were they to be plied with superhuman temptations; but God will protect them from this, giving with the temptation the issue, that they may hold out.

X. 14–22. Paul now deals directly with the problem of idol sacrifice. He appeals to the analogy of the Supper. The Eucharistic cup brings the worshipper into fellowship with Christ's blood, the loaf into fellowship with His body. Participating in the one loaf the many worshippers become one. So the eating of the Israelite sacrifices effects communion with the altar (so Philo, not OT). Let these analogies be applied. Neither the sacrifice nor the idol are real. But the sacrifices are offered to the demons not to God (Dt. 32 17), and thus bring the participants into fellowship with demons. This involves an intolerable incompatibility; they cannot combine the Lord's cup and table with those of the demons. What madness to rouse the Lord's jealousy by giving Him such a rival (Dt. 32 21)! are "the strong" stronger than He?

X. 23–XI. 1. From the meal in the idol's temple Paul passes to the question as it arose in daily life. He repeats that while all might be lawful all was not expedient (6 12) or tended to edify. Each must study his brother's interest rather than his own. What was exposed for sale in the meat market might be freely bought without question as to its antecedents, for it belonged to God. If they accepted a heathen's invitation (Paul does not encourage them to do so), they should similarly eat without question. But if anyone volunteers the information that certain food has been offered in sacrifice, they should abstain. Perhaps the weak brother is the informer, though he would not be likely to accept the invitation or be in a position to make this definite statement. It may quite well be a heathen, possibly the host who would best know the origin of the meat. If so, he saves his Christian guest from violating his principles. He assumes that he will have a conscientious objection to such food. The Christian may really have no such scruples, and could, therefore, take the meat freely. But the heathen would inevitably regard him as untrue to his convictions and playing fast and loose with religion. And this will prejudice him against Christianity, but it may also blunt his own conscience to see conscience thus apparently flouted. Another's conscience must not be made the measure of one's own, nor can one be censured for eating food over which thanks has been pronounced. All must be done to God's glory without placing a hindrance before the Jews, heathen, or Christians, just as Paul seeks the profit of others for their salvation, so they should make him their pattern, as he makes Christ his own.

XI. 2–16. Women must be Veiled in the Christian Assemblies.—It is not clear whether this subject was discussed in the church letter.

Paul begins, in a way that surprises us after his grave censures, with praise for their steadfast adherence to his teaching and traditions. But he must inform them that the head of every man (as distinguished from woman) is Christ, the head of the woman is man, the head of Christ, God. Woman, Man, Christ, God, form an ascending climax in which the second stands to the first, as the third to the second, and the fourth to the third. The precise meaning is not clear. Headship suggests lordship, but Christ is lord of woman as well as man. Perhaps the thought is rather that of archetype and origin. Christ is the image of God and derives His being from Him, so man is related to Christ, and woman to man. In each case there is, of course, a differentiating element. Man has a primary, woman a secondary, relation to Christ, man a secondary, woman a tertiary, relation to God. We are reminded of Milton's similar depreciation, "He for God only, she for God in him." 4f. con-

nects rather badly with 3 since we naturally interpret "dishonoureth his (her) head" to mean dishonours Christ (or the man). But what follows forbids this. The meaning must be that the man who veils his head for prayer or prophesying, dishonours it, and the woman who unveils it dishonours hers. The man dishonours it by suggesting that he is under authority, whereas he is supreme of created beings. The woman, because to dispense with a veil is no better than to cut off the hair altogether. The latter was the punishment of an adulteress; the absence of the veil would suggest that the woman was of easy virtue. Man's high dignity as the image and glory of God forbids his wearing it, woman's subordinate position as the glory of man requires her to do so. The use of "glory" is strange. It can hardly bear its ordinary sense in a context emphasizing woman's inferiority. Some such sense as "reflection" seems to be required. Man is original, woman derivative, she was created for him, not he for her. The next verse (10) is very difficult. Usually it is taken to mean that on account of her inferior position the woman should wear a veil on her head as the sign of the man's authority over her, on account of the angels. But "to have authority" must mean to possess authority not to wear a token of subjection. Ramsay (*Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 202–205; *Luke the Physician*, p. 175) points out that in the East the veil isolates a woman from the crowd and secures her from interference and even observation. It is her authority, without it she is defenceless. This gives the right sense to "authority," it is a woman's own authority, but it is not so clear how it links into the general argument and in particular how it is related to the last clause. This clause has been regarded as an interpolation by Baur and others. The sentence seems complete without it, and "for this cause" suggests that the reason is fully contained in what has gone before, whereas "because of the angels" seems to give a new reason which receives no development. The clause is nevertheless probably genuine. It does not mean, "lest the angels who are at the worship should be shocked." The general meaning is that the unveiled woman is in danger from the angels as the daughters of men from the sons of the Elohim (Gen. 6₁–₄*). That story played a large part in Jewish speculations; what the modern mind might regard as fanciful, was for Paul a grave moral peril. Just as participation in the idol sacrifice may involve ruinous fellowship with demons, so the unveiling of women implied danger from and to the angels.[1] The significance of the veil is not merely that concealment would prevent angelic lust from being aroused. As Dibelius points out, it is a widespread belief that the veil has magical power. Its function is therefore to ward off dangers. The danger is specially present when the woman prays or prophesies (*cf.* Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins*, ch. vii.). Apparently in the ecstatic condition, pressing into the spiritual realm, she is more exposed to the advances of the angels than in her normal condition. Hence she needs a means of protection. She needs it and man does not, just because she is inferior, further removed than he from the heavenly state; he is free to enter God's presence with head uncovered, she can safely do it only with a veil. Dr. Grieve suggests "talisman" as an equivalent to "authority." We must not set views aside because they are quite foreign to our world of thought, or because we are unwilling to attribute them to Paul, nor must we carry back to his time our popular angelology. Paul now guards what he has been saying. Man and woman are indispensable to each other, and if the woman was originally formed from the man, the man comes into the world through her, and both really, like all other things, have their source in God. He resumes with an appeal to their own sense of the fitness of things, which must show the unseemliness of a woman's praying to God unveiled. And nature teaches that woman needs a covering by giving long hair to a woman, but short hair to a man. He closes the discussion with the curt remark (*cf.* 1438) that if anyone intends to be disputatious about it, he is in opposition to the custom of Paul and his colleagues and the other churches. The principle is that local idiosyncrasies should be controlled by general Church custom.

XI. 17–34. The Desecration of the Lord's Supper.—Paul feels that in one respect he must restrict his praise. Their meetings damage rather than profit them. He cannot help believing part of what he hears about their divisions. To be sure they must have their factions, or their best men would get no chance of displaying their qualities! When they meet they have supper, it is true, but it is out of the question to eat the Lord's Supper. Possibly the poorer members could not come early being detained by their work. The wealthier members could therefore eat and drink all they had brought, so that the poor, who could bring little, and that perhaps coarse food, had insufficient for a meal and had to eat this under the critical stare of the well-to-do. So that some were hungry, and naturally discontented and envious, while others became intoxicated. What a religious atmosphere for the most sacred rite, the remembrance of their Master's selfless sacrifice! The communal element which made it a church feast had disappeared and given place to a number of cliques. The members shared their food with their own coterie, not with the church at large, and thus accentuated their mutual exclusiveness. What a love-feast! As if they had no houses where they could sate themselves in privacy! that they must put this affront on God's congregation, and, coarsely indifferent to the feelings of the sensitive, expose the poverty of those who have nothing! They cannot plead ignorance as to the true nature of the rite, for Paul had told it them, as it had come down to him from the Lord Himself through eyewitnesses of the scene. But he will tell them again. The account which follows (23–25) is very important as our earliest record, and should be compared with that in Mt., Mk. The comparison with Lk. is rendered more difficult by the uncertainty of the text. The reference to the betrayal is a very early piece of evidence corroborating the gospel account, and its incidental character suggests that Paul had related the Passion story in considerable detail. The Lord Jesus took bread, gave thanks, and broke the bread saying, "This is my body, which is for you: this do in remembrance of me." When supper was over He took the cup similarly, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink *it*, in remembrance of me." This means, Paul comments, that whenever the command of repetition is fulfilled, they set forth, as in a sacred drama, the Lord's death till He returns. Whoever, then, does

[1] Ramsay has recently (*Teaching of Paul*, p. 214) recognised that Paul regards women as in danger from the angels, "but through obedience to the social conventions they gained authority and immunity from the power of demons or angels. The veil was their strength and protection." But are we to assume that the veil would have the same significance for the angels as for human beings? And what on this interpretation is the point of the emphasis on the necessity of the veil when the woman is praying or prophesying?

either of the acts in an unworthy manner or temper, is guilty of a profane indignity to the Lord's body and blood. Let no one presume to participate save after self-examination. For, unless he recognises that it is Christ's body which is involved, and not the mere bread and wine, he partakes to his own condemnation. That is why sickness is so prevalent among them and not a few deaths have occurred. Self-examination would prevent such judgments. Yet let them not miss their merciful intention; it is the Lord's chastening of His people that they may not share in His condemnation of the world. So at the meeting for the common meal, let them wait for each other, and if necessary take the edge off their hunger before they come, so that they may no longer, by their disorderly and selfish conduct, draw down the Divine judgment. The regulation of other matters can stand over till Paul arrives.

19. The language may be ironical, or may mean that these factions are necessary to sift the good from the bad.—**23. betrayed:** "delivered up" (*i.e.* to death, Rom. 4$_{25}$) is a possible rendering, but this does not suit "in the night" so well.—**24. this do:** the words do not mean "offer this sacrifice."—**29. discern not the body:** possibly "the body" may mean the Church, "the Lord's body" (see Exp., Aug. 1915).—**30. sleep:** the use of the Christian term for death in a context which speaks of death as a judgment is very striking.

XII. Diversities of Gifts but the Same Spirit.—The question of spiritual gifts had apparently been raised in the church letter. The tendency at Corinth was to estimate gifts by their showy rather than their solid character. Paul reverses the scale of values, and argues that the true criterion is edification rather than display. He is also concerned to plead for differentiation of function as necessary for the body's health, and to protect from disparagement the lowliest member, the most commonplace function, as, equally with the highest, indispensable to the welfare of the whole. But in his crowning utterance he urges that all gifts are worthless apart from love.

1–3. He begins by distinguishing true gifts of the Spirit from their counterfeit. Unhappily 2 is far from clear, and the text is perhaps corrupt. Paul may appeal to their experience of ecstasy in their heathen condition. You will remember how completely you were under control of the demon, you were a mere voice through which he spoke. So it is with him who speaks in the Spirit. He has no volition, and we can thus argue from the utterance to the character of the control. If it is "Jesus Anathema," the Holy Spirit cannot be the source of inspiration, if "Jesus Lord" then He must be. Therefore the speaker does not deceive; he has no choice, but is at the mercy of his control. Two difficulties might be raised. The ecstasy might be simulated, or, if not, the demon control might use the true Christian formula. If these objections are not fatal (and Paul would perhaps have refused to admit their validity) the sense is excellent. Otherwise the point may be that since their pagan experience gives them no guidance (2), he lays down a principle (3) for them. The question could be raised only about those who professed to be Christians; pagans or Jews, who would naturally say "Jesus is Anathema," were obviously not speaking in the Holy Spirit, but if a member of the church said it, was he? That a Christian should pronounce a curse on Jesus would seem unthinkable. But certainly it was necessary quite early to test the spirits (14$_{29}$, 1 Jn. 4$_{1}$*). The point is not discussed how far one could argue from the character of the control, as disclosed in the utterance, to the genuineness of the man's Christianity; could a sincere Christian be subject to invasion by an evil spirit? It is to be observed that the confession "Jesus is Lord" is to be traced to the Holy Spirit with certainty only when spoken in ecstasy. In his normal condition a man might say it insincerely.

4–11. Having given a criterion for detecting the spurious, Paul proceeds to discuss the gifts. There are diversities in the manifestation but none in the source. The same Spirit is manifested in manifold gifts, the same Lord in manifold ministrations, the same God in manifold activities. Unity in the source is accompanied with rich diversity in the effects. The gift is imparted to each; none is passed by, but it is given not for self-gratification but for the benefit of the church. It is to one and the same Spirit that are due the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, power to work miracles, prophecy, discrimination of spirits, tongues, interpretation of tongues. All are operations of the same Spirit, who imparts to each of His own unshackled will. The collocation of Spirit, Lord, God should be observed; *cf.* 2 Cor. 13$_{14}$. 8–10 should be compared with 28, Rom. 12$_{6-8}$*, Eph. 4$_{11}$.

12–31. Paul now elaborates an illustration from the body and its members. Here we have organic unity with diversity of function and interdependence of the whole and its parts, interdependence also of the parts themselves. All are essential to the welfare of every other part and of the whole; none, however important or beautiful, can affect to despise the humbler or unseemlier; all sympathetically respond to the pain or honour of the other. The illustration does not call for detailed exposition. In 12 Christ is not regarded as the head of the body, but as the body itself of which Christians form part. The Spirit in whom all received baptism is not many but one, so its effect is to constitute them all one body, thus cancelling distinctions of race and social condition even in their extreme forms (Gal. 3$_{28}$, Col. 3$_{11}$). And this Spirit not simply enfolds them, it saturates and penetrates them. In the application the readers are called "body of Christ," *i.e.* such is their intrinsic quality; they are individually members, each in his sphere. God has appointed various members in the Church to exercise various functions (8–10, Rom. 12$_{6-8}$*, Eph. 4$_{11}$, *cf.* pp. 645f.), those of apostleship, prophecy, teaching, working of miracles, healing, helping, direction, and, as last of the list, speaking with tongues; the gift of interpreting tongues is added in 30. None of these functions is exercised by all, they are distributed among the members. They should desire the higher gifts. What he means is explained in 14. But before he pursues the theme, he points them to love as something better than all the gifts, in a panegyric which is the pearl of his writings. He had studied to some purpose the character and career of Jesus.

XIII. All Gifts and Sacrifices are Worthless without Love, which is Supreme and Incomparable.—The chapter falls into three divisions: (*a*) superlative gifts and costliest surrenders are valueless in the absence of love (1–3); (*b*) description of love's manifold excellences (4–7); (*c*) love is imperishable (8–13). It is linked to chs. 12 and 14 by the mention in 1f., 8f., of tongues and prophecy. But knowledge and faith, the surrender of property and of life, are also selected as examples of things most highly esteemed. The angels, it was assumed, used language in their intercourse with each other; but although there had been no parallel among them to the catastrophe of Babel, it was thought that

various orders of angels had their own dialects. Thus *The Testament of Job* represents Job's three daughters as each praising God in the dialect of a particular angelic order. If Paul can speak in all heavenly and earthly tongues but is devoid of love, he is like a noisy gong or clanging cymbal, mere sound not music, monotonous, inarticulate, conveying no intelligible thought and expressing no feeling. The faith that removes mountains is a reminiscence of Christ's teaching. In 3 "bestow" means to give away in morsels. There is much uncertainty as to the reading in the next clause. RVm, "that I may glory," is very strongly attested, and accepted by WH and Harnack. It is flatter, and the phrase "give my body" is too vague and indefinite by itself; we should be told to what the body is to be surrendered. It is questionable whether it gives a good sense. What is required is an act intrinsically excellent made morally void by lack of love. If the object of the surrender is that he may boast, the love of glory empties the act of much if not all of its moral excellence. The objection is mitigated if "glory" is the legitimate glorying at the bar of God. But RV seems intrinsically preferable. The burning is probably not martyrdom, but, as the phrase suggests, self-immolation. Shortly before, an Indian who accompanied the embassy sent by Porus to Augustus burnt himself alive at Athens, and Paul may have seen his tomb. An earlier famous example was that of an Indian gymnosophist who burnt himself alive in the time of Alexander the Great. The description of love (4–7) needs little comment. Love is patient under prolonged provocation, benevolent, free from envy and jealousy, is not given to display, is not conceited, exhibits no impropriety in behaviour, is not self-seeking, is not enraged and embittered, does not vindictively treasure up its wrongs, is not gratified by the triumph of injustice but by that of truth, keeps its own counsel (*cf. mg.*, "covereth"), believes and hopes the best, patiently endures all trials. Finally (8–13) Paul affirms the imperishableness of love. Love is never superseded, but prophecies, tongues, and knowledge are only partial, and will be superfluous when perfection is attained. They belong to the stage of childhood, to be left behind at maturity. All our apprehension of spiritual realities is at present indirect and indistinct, such as is gained from the reflection in a metal mirror; then it will be direct, immediate, clear, vision face to face (Nu. 12 8). Then partial knowledge and partial prophecy will give place to knowledge of God like God's knowledge of us. So faith, hope, love last on into the world to come, but love is the greatest of the triad.

XIV. Prophecy and Speaking with Tongues, their Relative Value and their Place in the Church Gathering.—Paul now comes to the direct comparison between the two types of ecstatic speech on which his judgment differed from that prevalent at Corinth. Both prophecy and speaking with tongues were genuine expressions of the Spirit's inspiration; Paul himself spoke with tongues more than all (18), and conceded a certain place to them in the assembly (27,39), but esteemed prophecy as one of the greater gifts to be earnestly desired. Prophecy was inspired preaching (pp. 647f.); on "speaking with tongues," see p. 648.

1–20. Love is to be pursued beyond all things, but spiritual gifts are to be eagerly desired, above all, prophecy. He who exercises the gift of tongues holds communion with God, and is unintelligible to his fellows, since he is speaking mysteries in the Spirit-inspired ecstasy. The prophet, on the other hand, builds up, strengthens, and consoles men. One edifies the speaker, not indeed by the communication of fresh knowledge, for normally he cannot himself understand what he says (13f., 19) but by the experience of inspiration and the fellowship of his spirit with God (2,28), though the understanding is dormant. The prophet edifies the church, since he speaks what all can understand. Hence, while Paul could wish that all had the gift of tongues, he would prefer that they should prophesy (Nu. 11 29); it is the greater of the two gifts, unless to that of tongues the gift of interpretation be added, so that the church may get benefit. Suppose he came to them speaking with tongues, what good would he do them unless he addressed them in intelligible language, imparting revelation, knowledge, prophesying or teaching? Even inanimate musical instruments, whether wind or stringed, must not keep on one note or no one will recognise any tune; while, if the clarion gives out an indistinct sound, none will realise that he is summoned to the battle. Similarly unless their tongues—here (9) in the literal sense—utter intelligible speech, how will what is said be known? It will be futile talking to the wind. There are so many languages in the world, and not one without significance, and those who are unacquainted with each other's language will, when they meet, be mutually unintelligible foreigners. Zealous as they are for spirits, they must let their zeal take the direction of abounding in such gifts as will benefit the church. He who has the gift of tongues should pray for that of interpretation. When he prays in a tongue his spirit prays, the understanding is barren, it can produce no fruit for others. Whether he prays or sings, understanding as well as spirit shall participate. Otherwise, when one gives thanks in the spirit, how will any non-member who is present be able to utter the "Amen" at the close, since he will not know whether he can endorse what has been said? True, such a thanksgiving is quite good in itself, but the other gains no profit. Paul is grateful to God that he has the gift of tongues in a fuller measure than all of them and so speaks of it with inside knowledge; yet when in church he would sooner speak five words intelligible to himself and helpful to others than ten thousand in a tongue.

6. It is not clear whether Paul means that the visit is unprofitable if he speaks with tongues alone and does not proceed to exercise some intelligible gift in addition, or if he fails to interpret the tongue speech, which, if interpreted, would prove to be also one of the gifts named.—**16.** Possibly "the unlearned" (Gr. *idiōtēs*) is the unbaptized. Some think a special place was reserved for the catechumens in the meeting-room. But it is questionable whether matters had reached this development. The same term is used in 23f., where he is classed with the unbelieving as likely to pronounce an unfavourable judgment on tongues. RVm is hardly satisfactory, for the judgment of 23 is that of an outsider, hardly of a Christian; presumably all members of the Church recognised Divine inspiration behind the gifts, whether themselves gifted or not. Yet the *idiōtēs* is so far in sympathy that he may be expected to add "Amen" at the end of a Christian prayer that he understands; he is more of a neutral with some leaning to Christianity, which may be stimulated or checked by what he hears in the church; the unbeliever is definitely hostile and prejudiced. Paul singles out the former here, though the majority of the church would share his incapacity to understand, since the Christian would take it for granted that the prayer was truly inspired, because he recognised the genuineness of the phenomenon and believed it to be

adequately safeguarded by the available tests (29, 1210).

20–25. Such over-valuing of tongues reveals an infantile intelligence (a sharp thrust for a church so rich in intellectuals); only in malice is it proper to be babes. Scripture announces that the Lord will speak by men of strange tongues to this people and yet they will not hear. Tongues then are a sign to unbelievers, not to believers; prophecy is for believers, not unbelievers. So if the church is assembled and all speak with tongues, and non-members or unbelievers come in, they will think the whole assembly has gone mad. But if a man belonging to one of these classes comes in and all prophesy, he is convicted and judged by all, the things he supposes to be known only to himself are dragged into the light, and thus he is brought to worship God and recognise His presence. The point of *22a* is not that tongues are a sign conducing to the salvation of unbelievers, and that the Corinthians defeat God's purpose by all speaking with tongues at once so that the sign misses its mark. We cannot indeed press the fact that the prophecy was one of judgment (Is. 2811f.*) since Paul's use of the OT was not controlled by its original sense. But the last clause proves that the sign was not intended favourably. And the interpretation, "all speak with tongues at once" is unjustifiable. For 24 obviously does not mean that all prophesy at once, since this would have been not much less of a Babel than the other, and not calculated to have the effect described in 24f. In both cases they speak successively not simultaneously. Tongues will establish unbelievers in their unbelief. As they hear speaker after speaker pour out unintelligible harangues, they will draw the inference that the members are all mad and that Christianity is an insane delusion.

26–40. Paul now lays down the rules. At present at their assemblies all are eager to speak in one way or another. But the edification of the Church is to be the governing principle. Two may speak in tongues, three at most and in succession; an interpretation must be given; if no one of them has this gift, the gift of tongues must be restricted to inward utterance, it must not be vocally exercised. Two or three prophets may speak, while the others practise the gift of discernment on his utterance. The communication of a revelation to another is a token that the speaker must close his address. There is no hardship in the restriction of numbers or the abrupt close of an address; there will be future opportunities. Nor is such silence impossible, for each prophet has his gift in his own control. This is clear from the very nature of God; He is a God of peace and order, and can be the source of no inspiration which issues in confusion. The injunction to women (34f.) cannot be satisfactorily reconciled with 115,13, where Paul recognises that a woman may legitimately pray or prophesy in the assembly provided she wears a veil. Its position in the MSS varies, and it is probably a later addition made on the margin and inserted by copyists at different points in the text. It was probably modelled on 1 Tim. 211f. In 36 Paul sarcastically asks the Corinthians, who assert their independence in so many questionable ways, whether their Church was the starting-point of the Gospel, or they the only people evangelised. Whoever supposes himself to have the gift of prophecy or any other, should make good his claim to spiritual insight by recognising that Paul's regulations express Christ's will and are prompted by Him. If he is ignorant there is nothing more to be said. The whole discussion is finally summed up in 39f.

XV. The Resurrection of the Dead.—This discussion seems not to have been elicited by the church letter, but by information which had reached Paul through another source. Some were denying the doctrine of the resurrection (12). On what grounds they denied it and what view they held of life after death is not said. Probably they held that current in Greek philosophy, that death was a release from the prison-house of the body, that the spirits of the good passed into a state of bliss while their bodies went to corruption. Paul insists that this doctrine cuts away the very basis on which their faith and salvation rest. But his own doctrine is far removed from the crass belief that the body would be simply reanimated. It would be entirely transformed. Neither the principle of continuity between old and new, nor the nature of the resurrection body are clearly explained (*cf.* 2 Cor. 51–4), but on the latter point especially much is said to define Paul's view, and it was one against which the difficulties urged at Corinth would be less acutely felt.

Although the resurrection of Christ was apparently not denied, Paul restates the evidence for it. He felt that the admission made the position that there was no resurrection of the dead (12) illogical. He is not content, however, with registering the admission and drawing the inference. For logic could be satisfied by denying both, as well as by admitting both, and the doubters might advance to the one as well as retreat to the other. It was therefore advisable to anticipate such a possibility by a summary of the evidence for the resurrection of Jesus. It is very fortunate that Paul gave this, for we thus have what is probably our earliest documentary statement, of unimpeachable authenticity and carrying back the belief to within a week of the crucifixion. The view that it is an interpolation is refuted by its manifest independence of the Gospel narratives; at any possible date for such an interpolation it would have been made in a harmonistic interest.

It is very important to remember that Paul is summarising information previously given in detail. It is not clear that he meant to give a complete account of the appearances. The omission of the women might be due to ignorance, and this, considering his opportunities for knowledge, would raise a serious question as to their historical character. On the other hand, it might be due simply to his wish to avoid evidence that would carry less weight, and this would harmonise very well with his general attitude to women. It is intrinsically improbable, whatever view be taken of the appearances, that there were no appearances to women. Paul's reference to "the third day" is entitled to the greatest weight from those who insist that his is our only credible account. It is, however, often regarded as an inference from prophecy. This is favoured by the reference to the Scriptures, and by the fact that Hos. 62 might naturally suggest this. It is a serious objection to this view that Hos. 62 is never referred to in this connexion either in the NT or in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho. It could hardly have failed to be quoted if the early Church had fixed the date of the resurrection by it. Moreover the actual terms of the passage do not very well suit the resurrection of Christ ("raise *us* up"). We have no right to deny that "the third day" was part of the tradition Paul had received, and if so it was probably an original element in the tradition. In that case the appearances must have taken place first in Jerusalem, not in Galilee. We may probably infer from this that the story of the empty grave is historical, since the apostles

can hardly have left this point without investigation if they were in Jerusalem at the time. It is true that Paul does not explicitly refer to the empty grave. But apparently he implies it. Otherwise he would not have emphasized the fact of burial, and perhaps he would have drawn no distinction between the resurrection and the appearances. And, since the very point at issue was the resurrection of the body, he cannot have supposed that Christ's body went to corruption in the grave. It is also important to observe how large an element of agreement Paul asserts between himself and the apostles. It is not simply with reference to matters of fact, the death, the burial, the resurrection, but the interpretation of the death as on account of sins, not the bare facts but what made the facts a Gospel.

1–11. Paul reminds them of the Gospel preached by him, accepted by them, the foundation on which they stand, through which they are achieving salvation, and the expression he gave it, if they are holding it fast, as they will be unless they received it with headlong haste. The Gospel consists of certain facts and their interpretation, received from others, handed on by him to them: Christ's death on account of sins as set forth in Scripture, the burial (explicitly mentioned, not merely to guarantee the fact of death, but to indicate that the next clause speaks of what happened to the body), the resurrection on the third day also in harmony with prophecy, the appearances mentioned as a fact distinct from the resurrection. These were made to Cephas (Lk. 24^{34}); to the twelve (strictly eleven, but the term is here technical); to more than 500, presumably in Galilee, where the number is not surprising; to James, probably the Lord's brother (Gal. 1^{19}, 2^{9}, Ac. 12^{17}, 15^{13}, 21^{18})—a legendary account of this is given in *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*; then to all the apostles, a larger body it would seem than the eleven but including them; finally (therefore all later appearances belong to a different category), to Paul himself, the untimely born, "the abortion," as his Corinthian critics apparently called him (RV blunts the point by omitting the definite article). If Paul coined the description, the point may be the abruptness of such a birth and the immaturity of the infant. If, as is more probable, his enemies so described him, they would mean that he was quite as unfit to be a fully recognised apostle as an abortion is fit to be regarded as a human being, the abusive term gaining an additional sting from the insignificance of his personal appearance (2 Cor. 10^{10}). Not wholly unjustly, Paul comments, do they say this of him, for he *is* the least of the band and not worthy, as a former persecutor, of membership in it. Yet by God's grace he is what he is, and how effectively that grace has wrought! He has laboured more abundantly than any one of them (he *may* mean than all of them put together, and would this really have been an exaggeration?); the credit is all due to God, so he need not shrink from saying this. Be that as it may, he and the apostles preached this Gospel and the Corinthians accepted it as true.

3b. Probably Paul has specially in mind Is. 52^{13}–53^{12}, though it is astonishing that the fourth Servant poem fills next to no place in his writings. It was early given a Christian interpretation (Ac. 8$^{32–35}$, and the still earlier identification of Jesus with the Servant of Yahweh, Ac. 3^{13,26}, 4^{27,30}).

12–19. How, in face of this preaching, can any Christian say there is no resurrection? If a resurrection of the dead is out of the question this involves a denial that Christ has been raised. This fact, however, stands fast for both parties. They have been convinced by the historical evidence, and on that conviction their Christianity rests. This exception disproves their universal negative. If Christ has not risen, the apostolic preaching, the readers' faith, are alike a delusion. Worse still, they are found out as having told falsehoods about God (Paul's only alternatives are truthfulness and conscious deception, he knows nothing of hallucinations) in saying that He had raised Christ, which He could not have done if there is no resurrection. What terrible consequences follow! their faith empty, their sins unforgiven, those who have died as Christians perished! If in this life they had only hope (*mg.*) in Christ and nothing more, they were more pitiable than any. He does not mean that they would be objects of pity as having surrendered the solid substance of worldly advantage to grasp the shadow of future blessedness. It was pitiable that their life should be based on a fundamental delusion. Moreover, the guarantee for justification and power for a holy life disappeared with the resurrection of Christ.

20–28. But why discuss this further? Christ *has* been raised, the firstfruits of the rest of the dead, thus, as one with them, pledging their resurrection. If man brought death, resurrection must equally come through man. The whole race died in Adam, the whole race will be raised from the dead in Christ. This universal resurrection will not be accomplished all at once but in stages according to the different classes concerned. In the first stage there is Christ Himself as firstfruits; in the second, at His return, Christians; in the third stage, the rest of mankind, when He delivers up His kingdom to the Father after He has abolished all hostile powers, for His reign must continue till this has been achieved. The last of them is death. This is foretold in Scripture (Ps. 8^{6}), which says that God has put all in subjection to Him. (The Psalmist says to "man," which Paul interprets as equivalent to the Son of Man; "son of man" is used in the Ps. in the sense of "man.") Obviously God, who puts all things under Christ's feet, is not included in the things made subject to Him. When this is accomplished, the Son will subject Himself to God, that He may be all in all, that is the indwelling power animating and controlling the whole universe.

22. There is no reference here to what is known as "universal restoration." But there is to universal resurrection. The "all" is as unlimited in one place as the other. The acts of Adam and Christ are racial acts, done in their capacity as natural and spiritual heads of the race, and affecting the whole race. Christ undoes, and more than undoes, what Adam has done, physical death is cancelled by physical resurrection. This would not have been the case if universal death had been met only by limited resurrection. "In Christ" has here no specific reference to those who are united to Christ by faith. This relation depends on the choice of the individual, but death and resurrection are quite independent of personal volition. The general structure of the Pauline theology would compel us to postulate his belief in universal resurrection; here he explicitly asserts it.—**24.** Usually the first clause is translated as in RV, and "the end" is the usual sense. It seems, for various reasons, better to accept Lietzmann's view that it means here "the final portion," "the remainder," *i.e.* the non-Christian portion of mankind. There is thus a double resurrection of the dead, the former of Christians, at the Parousia, the latter of non-Christians, presumably at the end of Christ's reign.

29–34. Very abruptly Paul descends from this soaring flight, one of his most daring pieces of speculation, to very practical arguments. What is the object of baptism for the dead? Apparently some received vicarious baptism, hoping that by being baptized in their place they would benefit friends who had died unbaptized. If there is no resurrection, they cannot be profited. Why do Paul and his colleagues run such daily risks of death? for this, he assures them by his Christian pride in them, is no exaggeration. If he had really, as men wished, fought with wild beasts at Ephesus, what would that extreme risk have profited him? The consequence of denying the resurrection is to practise the maxim, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die" (Is. 22^{13}). Let them not give ear to such maxims. The saying (quoted from Menander, the Athenian dramatist, 342–291 B.C.) is true, "Bad company corrupts good morals." Let them awake in a right spirit and not sin; a shameful ignorance of God is only too prevalent among them.

29. Many interpretations have been offered. The most probable remains that given above. A view which deserves mention is that Paul is referring to those who are baptized for the sake of Christian friends who had died. In order to satisfy the hope for reunion some who had been non-Christians submitted to baptism.—**32.** That Paul actually fought with wild beasts is highly improbable; it was illegal to expose Roman citizens to this; the Asiarchs (Ac. 19^{31}) were friendly to Paul; and no reference is made in 2 Cor. 11 to such a trial, from which indeed we should hardly expect that he would have emerged alive. A figurative interpretation is also very improbable. The best view seems to be that of J. Weiss, that it is hypothetical. He supposes that in a popular movement against Paul (probably the riot instigated by Demetrius, Ac. 19$^{23-41}$) he really was in the peril mentioned. This, he recognises, is exposed to the difficulty that Paul left Ephesus immediately after (Ac. 20^{1}), but our verse, he argues, can hardly have been written in Ephesus, since Paul looks back on his experience there as past. But 16^{8} was written in Ephesus. Accordingly, unless we are to suppose that 15 and 16^{8} belong to different epistles, it is better to infer that it was some earlier unrecorded peril.—**32b.** Paul is not necessarily stating his own inference, but that which will be commonly drawn.

35–49. Paul now meets the objection, "How are the dead raised? in what kind of a body do they come back from the tomb?" Only a fool (in the Hebrew rather than the Greek sense), he tartly says, would ask such an unbelieving question. The objector's own experience ("thou thyself" is very emphatic) shows him that the seed must die when sown or it will not be quickened. It is not identical with the body that is to be, it is a naked grain of wheat or whatever it may be, and God gives it a body corresponding to the particular species. It is not clear how far Paul would have pressed the metaphor to imply an organic connexion between the old and the new. The old body perishes and God provides a new one, and the new is very unlike the old. The universe shows the same principle of variety, the flesh of men, beasts, birds, and fish; heavenly and earthly bodies; sun, moon, and stars. So the resourcefulness of God is seen in the resurrection, where the new body differs so astonishingly from the old. The dead body is placed in the ground like the seed, and as the seed dies (36) the body decomposes; it is sown in corruption, it rises incorruptible. Dishonoured and powerless, it is raised in glory and strength; sown a natural body, it comes forth a spiritual body. The natural body is one fitted to be the organ of the personality in its natural earthly condition; the spiritual body is such a body as corresponds to man's future condition as spirit. That both types of body exist Paul proves by Scripture (Gen. 2^{7}). Only 45*a* is actually a quotation, but Paul possibly means to represent 45*b* as also from Scripture; much greater freedom is taken in the Targums. If so, he may argue, like Philo, from the double account of man's creation (Gen. 1^{26}f., 2^{7}) to two distinct creations, and in 46 be opposing the view that the spiritual preceded the natural in historical manifestation. The first man is of earthly origin and made of dust, the second man is from heaven. Many scholars find here the doctrine of a pre-existent Heavenly Man, with slender justification. Each class follows its prototype. We successively belong to both; in this life we bear the image of the earthy, in the resurrection life we shall bear that of the heavenly.

50–58. A new question is now introduced, What will happen to those who are alive when Christ returns? (*cf.* 1 Th. 4$^{13-17}$). The principle that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God finds with them as with the dead its illustration. They will not all die, but all alike will be transformed instantaneously when the last trump (1 Th. 4^{16}, Mt. 24^{31}, Rev. 11^{15}) sounds. The dead will be raised incorruptible, those still living (Paul thinks of himself and most of the readers as among the number) will be transformed. It lies in the very nature of things that the corruptible and mortal should put on over them as a garment incorruption and immortality, that they may be transmuted or absorbed by them (2 Cor. 5^{4}). Then the prophecy of Is. 25^{8} will be fulfilled. Triumphantly Paul quotes Hos. 13^{14}; death has lost its victory and its sting. Its sting is sin, sin's power is the Law. But thank God for the Christian's victory through Christ! The long theological argument, in noble rhetoric, fitly closes with a practical exhortation.

56. Some regard this verse as an interpolation, breaking with a prosaic bit of theology the lyrical movement of the passage. But though it may be a gloss intended to explain what death's sting is, yet it is so terse and original, and at the same time so characteristic of Paul's central doctrine, that the phrases are not likely to have been coined by anyone else, nor is their presence in this context at all surprising. Death received its power through sin, but sin itself would have been powerless apart from the Law. This had lent sin its power and provided its opportunity. For the Law stimulated into active rebellion the sin that, till it came, lay sleeping in the flesh (Rom. 7$^{7-11}$). The Christian died with Christ to the Law; hence sin lost that which conferred on it its strength, while with the paralysis of sin, death lost its power to sting. And the powerlessness of death came to light especially in its reversal in the resurrection.

XVI. Various Business and Personal Matters. Salutation.—First (1–4) he gives instructions as to the collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8f.*, Rom. 15$^{25-28}$, Ac. 24^{17}, p. 771). The Church had apparently consulted him on the matter. We have no information as to the injunctions given to the Galatian churches. Every Sunday something should be laid by at home for the purpose. This is the first indication we have of any special importance being attached to Sunday. The term "the Lord's day" (Rev. 1^{10}) had not apparently as yet come into use. The term "Day of the Sun," which is used by Justin Martyr in his *Apology*, is naturally avoided on account of its

heathen associations. The practice of systematic weekly giving would do away with the necessity of collections when Paul came, and the amount would be larger. Nothing more would then be necessary than for each to bring what he had saved. Paul may have wished to avoid any suspicion created by personal participation in the collection, or perhaps any appearance of pressure, or perhaps to devote the whole time to spiritual work. When he arrives he will send with the money to Jerusalem those whom the Corinthians approve by letters of commendation as their delegates. If the Church rises to the occasion and collects an offering worthy of it, he will himself go to Jerusalem and take the deputation with him. This leads to a statement as to his plans (5–9). Assuming that 5–7 and 8f. belong to the same letter, Paul is writing from Ephesus. He cannot leave Ephesus immediately because a great opportunity has opened before him which he can turn to effective account. When he leaves he will come to Corinth by the land route through Macedonia, not taking the short sea-route across the Ægean. It will accordingly be some time before he reaches Corinth, for he has work to do on the way. But he does not wish to pay them a flying visit under the present circumstances, so he will compensate by a longer stay for the delay in reaching them. Perhaps he will winter with them and then receive a send-off from the Church.

Next (10f.) he gives instructions with reference to Timothy, of whose mission he had spoken in 4 17*. He seems to have been of a timid disposition, and in view of this and the factious character of the Church, Paul makes a special appeal for a good reception when he arrives, good treatment while he is with them, and a peaceable send-off when he returns to Paul, who was longing to have him back.

The Corinthians had apparently asked that Apollos might come. In spite of Paul's earnest entreaties he had refused to come at the present juncture; he probably preferred to remain away since a party in Corinth was setting him up as Paul's rival. He hopes to come later when he has a good opportunity—perhaps an intentionally vague phrase (12).

A series of concise warnings follows in 13f. against special failings in the Church. The exhortation to watchfulness may be directed against lethargy or, more probably, against self-confidence; that to firmness in the faith against speculation radically incompatible with the Gospel; that to manliness and strength against their childish wranglings and moral weakness; while that to love reiterates the call to that spirit in presence of which all their evils will vanish of themselves.

Stephanas (15) is mentioned in 1 16. There had been other converts in the province of Achaia, namely those at Athens, but Paul may regard these as not sufficiently an omen of an abundant harvest to speak of them as firstfruits. They were individual cases. Here we have a whole household, and a household giving itself up to the work. The self-renouncing labours of such workers should be honoured by submission to their direction. There seems to have been no settled church organisation in Corinth at this time. Nothing is known of Fortunatus and Achaicus. They and Stephanas had, by their coming, compensated Paul for the absence of his Corinthian converts. The Corinthians themselves will share the refreshment of spirit which the arrival of these members of it has produced, though in what way is not said. Perhaps the Church found happiness in the thought that their representatives had cheered Paul.

Salutations follow in 19–24. Asia is the Roman province of Proconsular Asia embracing the western coast lands of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. Ephesus was its capital. Aquila and Prisca are mentioned also in Rom. 16 3*, 2 Tim. 4 19, Ac. 18 2,18,26. The form Priscilla is used only in Ac. In four of the instances where they are mentioned in the NT the wife's name is placed first. They had a house-church at Ephesus and also at Rome if Rom. 16 was really addressed to Rome (*cf.* p. 818).

Up to this point, Paul had dictated the letter. He adds the closing words in his own handwriting, thus authenticating it. He pronounces an anathema on anyone who, while professing to be a Christian, has not a personal affection for Christ; thus the curse said in 12 3 to be invoked on Jesus is here retorted on those who do not love Him. Maran atha has nothing to do with the preceding words. It is an Aramaic expression found also in the *Didaché* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. It is disputed how it should be divided. Maran atha means "our Lord is come." The reference to the coming of the Lord as already past is not, however, very probable, since the thought of the early Church was concentrated on His Second Coming. Accordingly, many scholars have tried to make the tense a prophetic perfect, "our Lord cometh"; this is grammatically questionable. We should probably read Marana tha "our Lord, come!" as in Rev. 22 20 (see EBi, HDB).

II. CORINTHIANS

By Professor C. ANDERSON SCOTT

This epistle was written by Paul when he had reached Macedonia after the termination of his long stay at Ephesus (Ac. 20¹). It probably followed what we know as 1 Cor. after an interval of nearly twelve months. Nothing is so important for the understanding of the epistle as to reconstruct as far as possible the history of Paul's relation with the church at Corinth during that interval. One thing is certain, viz. that the relation of natural confidence and affection reflected in 1 Cor. had been seriously disturbed. Probably the high standard in sexual relations demanded by the apostle, and the authoritative way in which he enforced it, had been resented by the Corinthian community. The irritation thus caused had been fanned into a flame by interested opponents. To deal with this situation Paul made a hasty visit to Corinth (not recorded in Ac. but referred to in 2 Cor. 2¹). Either then or subsequently, matters became much worse. The apostle, either in person or in his absence, was made the object of an outrageous attack (2⁵). His authority as an apostle was denied; he was charged with self-seeking, with arrogance; he was sneered at as incapable and a weak blunderer. And the congregation as a whole failed to resent the attack on him who was its founder. Stung by their want of loyalty and their ingratitude, Paul wrote a letter of indignant remonstrance, demanding that the ringleader should be repudiated, and threatening to take the severest measures if he had to come himself. This letter, written "with many tears" (2⁴), has not survived (at least not in separate or original form). It was either carried by Titus or immediately followed by him. Its effect, backed by the influence of Titus, was even beyond Paul's hopes, while it created his fears. The church as a whole (though there may have been a minority which remained obstinate), returned to its allegiance, inflicted punishment on the ringleader (2⁶), and sought earnestly to be reconciled to Paul. The news of this unlooked-for success had reached Paul through the lips of Titus, who came to meet him in Macedonia, and this epistle is the outcome of the exulting joy and thankfulness.

Dealing, as it does, mainly with this restored relationship, the grounds on which it had been attacked, and the ways in which it had been at the first established and could now be further promoted, the epistle is the most personal of all Paul's letters. It reveals his very heart. The difficulties which it presents are largely the result of the contradictory character of the charges and criticisms which had been levelled at him by his opponents. He was charged with being dictatorial and feeble, proud and insignificant, with claiming the authority of an apostle while he had not the courage to take an apostle's remuneration. In rebutting any charge of the one kind, it was inevitable that Paul should seem to give colour to some charge of the opposite kind. And to his consciousness of this fact, showing itself again and again, is due the frequent necessity to controvert in advance the dishonest use which might be made even of his defence.

There is a good deal to be said in favour of the attempt which has been made to simplify the exegesis of this epistle by recognising certain sections of it (6¹⁴–7¹, 10¹–13¹⁰) as belonging to other (? earlier) epistles (see the exposition of these passages and footnote on p. 856).

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Waite (Sp.), Farrar (PC), **Massie** (Cent.B), Drummond (IH), Mackintosh (WNT), M'Fadyen; (*b*) Ellicott, **Plummer** (CGT and ICC), Bernard (EGT), Menzies, Ramsay in Exp. (sixth series), i.–iii.; (*c*) Schmiedel (HC), Bousset (SNT), Lietzmann (HNT), Heinrici (Mey.), Bachmann (ZK); (*d*) Denney (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* as for 1 Cor., also Goudge, *The Mind of St. Paul;* Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians;* Rendall, *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians.*

I. 1–11. Salutation and Introduction.—1f. Timothy, whose approaching visit to Corinth had been announced in 1 Cor. 4¹⁷, 16¹¹, is now again in Paul's company, and joins with him in salutation to all "God's people in Greece" (*cf.* 9²).

3–11. Thanksgiving for Divine comfort, leading (8) to a fuller account of his sufferings. Paul does not hesitate to speak of the Father as the God of our Lord Jesus Christ (see Eph. 1³, 1 P. 1³), to whom as Son our Lord was subordinate (1 Cor. 15²⁶ff.*). Like every other benefit, Paul receives God's comfort as a trust, enabling him to minister comfort to others. He is so truly one with Christ that his sufferings are really an extension of the sufferings of Christ (see Col. 1²⁴); and he is so truly one with his converts that the comfort he receives flows out in comfort for them; so that, whichever form his experience takes, it confirms his assurance regarding them; his sufferings and his consolation in Christ alike issue in consolation (and salvation) for the Corinthians.

For they must know that he had passed through a period of terrible disaster and suffering in the province of Asia. Either the riot at Ephesus (Ac. 19²³) had involved Paul and his companions in greater danger and suffering than we should gather from Acts, or he had undergone some other persecution of which we have no record (11²³–²⁷). He had looked death in the face. His courage had all but given way. But he had learnt once more God's power to deliver, and knows that He will yet deliver (Ps. 9¹⁰). It is their part so to co-operate with him in prayer that the prayer of many may turn to the thanksgiving of many in view of yet further bestowal of Divine mercy.

I. 12–II. 17. Paul Seeks to Remove Misunderstandings between Himself and the Corinthians.—12–14. He has no hesitation in thus asking for their prayers, for he is conscience-clear in all his relations with the Corinthians. This is a proud claim he makes.

And he has been accused of overweening self-appreciation. But his claim rests on the witness of a good conscience. It was not by human diplomacy that he had been actuated in his conduct, but by utter straightforwardness in dependence on God's grace. This was true in general, but if possible more evident in his relations with Corinth. What they found in his letters was what he really meant. And if they had failed wholly to understand these, he hoped that further consideration would make them clear. For when misunderstanding was finally cleared away at the coming of Jesus Christ, they would perceive what he knew already, that they had reason to rejoice before God for the apostle, as he had to rejoice for them.

I. 15–22. But had he not laid himself open to a charge of fickleness? Had he not led them to expect that he would ere this have paid them another visit, returning through Corinth from Macedonia, and taking from Corinth his final departure to Judæa when he went to convey the money collected for the poor Christians at Jerusalem. It was not true that in abandoning that plan he had showed himself one whose word was not to be trusted. It was true that while the confidence he has just referred to was unshaken, he had made and announced this plan. And he had not laid his plans, as men too often do, so that their "Yea" is lightly turned to "Nay." God is to be relied on, and the message delivered by His messengers has always been direct and unambiguous. For there was no ambiguity about Christ, who had been the subject of the apostle's preaching. On the contrary, all the promises of God had received confirmation in Him. Whenever the Corinthians say "Amen" ("So it is") to any or all of these promises, they set their seal to the genuineness of the message, and so to the sincerity of the messenger. And they must remember that both parties, the apostle and the church, are absolutely made over to Christ, and that by God Himself. For it is God who has anointed them for service, and sealed them in baptism and given them in the Spirit the pledge of final and complete salvation. Between parties which were connected in a relationship like that there could be no question of bad faith.

I. 23–II. 4. Paul now states the real and sufficient reason for his apparent vacillation. He had already paid a visit to Corinth (*cf.* 13₂) which had been full of pain to himself as well as to others. It had become only too probable that another visit would lead to even sadder experiences. In fact, it was "to spare" them that he had not fulfilled his promise. Not that it was true, as some said, that he wished to "dictate" to them in matters of faith. Far from that, the object of himself and his fellow-workers was simply to co-operate with the church in cultivating their joy. In respect of their faith they were fully established.

Was it likely that the apostle would come a second time to cause pain, when the very people he would pain would be the people on whom he depended for joy? Instead of coming he had sent a letter (the "lost epistle"), in which he probably explained why he was not coming, as well as dealt faithfully with their want of loyalty to himself. By that letter he had hoped to bring them into such a frame of mind that he might exchange sorrow for joy, and once more that joy would not be for himself alone, but shared by them and him. That letter had been written in what was little less than an agony of pain and anxiety—a description which cannot be applied to our "First Epistle"—and yet its purpose was not to give pain but to prove the reality of Paul's affection.

II. 5–11. Someone in the congregation at Corinth who had done wrong is now to be forgiven. There are still some scholars who think that the person here referred to is the same as the wrong-doer of 1 Cor. 5₁–5, the man who had taken his father's widow (?) to wife. But Paul had solemnly adjured the Corinthian church to "deliver such a one to Satan" (1 Cor. 5*, p. 649), evidently expecting that his death would follow. And whether or not the church had carried out his command, it is hardly credible that he would refer to the same case as he does here, saying that the punishment has been sufficient, pleading for the offender's being pardoned, emphasizing the fact that he, the apostle, has already forgiven him. Everything points, on the other hand, to a different offender and a different kind of offence. In this case it was Paul himself who had suffered injury, probably in the form of an outrageous slander or insult. This may have taken place on the occasion of his second visit, or it may have occurred in his absence, possibly in the presence of Timothy: but what made it peculiarly galling was that the congregation had, at first at least, failed to resent the attack on Paul. It had sympathised rather with the offender. Now, however, in consequence of Paul's written remonstrance and Titus' visit, they had been brought to a better mind. They, or at least the majority of them, had passed severe censure on the offender. Probably they had excluded him from their fellowship. Paul now pleads for him. It is true the injury he did affected not only the apostle, but "in some degree" the congregation also. But Paul does not wish to "press" that. He urges them to forgive the offender, even by an official act to reinstate him in their fellowship, cancelling the excommunication (8). The purpose of his previous letter had been, in part at least, to test their loyalty to himself. And so far as he had suffered personal insult—if indeed that were worth thinking of—he was only too willing that his forgiveness should accompany theirs. A continuance of the unhappy situation would only expose God's work at Corinth to further attacks of the Evil One acting through Judaizing mischief-makers.

II. 12–17. This will complete the joyful reconciliation already accomplished. Paul had found himself at Troas, restless and uneasy till he heard the result of his letter to Corinth. Even the great opportunity for preaching which he had found there could neither satisfy nor detain him. He had crossed to Europe and was already in Macedonia when at last Titus arrived, bringing better news than he had dared to hope (see further, 7₅). At the recollection of that moment of unspeakable relief he breaks out into a rhapsody of thanksgiving. God is advancing like a mighty conqueror in his "Triumph." The apostles of Christ are swept along in the triumphal procession. And the incense belonging to such a procession is not wanting. It is found in that "knowledge of God" which rises from every place as a result of their labour. Then, by a changed application of the same figure, he represents God's messengers as bringing before God a sweet fragrance of Christ whether their message falls on heeding or on unheeding ears. For, he remembers, the message of the Gospel has judgment-power. To the one class God's messengers are a fatal odour, confirming the death which is their portion; to those who are being saved they come as a fragrance which has life for its source and life for its result. The offer of grace, when despised, turns to a curse. The contemplation of so terrible a responsibility brings to his lips the question: "Who is fit for such a task?" The answer has already been suggested in 1₄, and is

confirmed in 35. "We are"—not because of any innate fitness, but because God "leadeth us in triumph in Christ." That this is the answer is plain from what follows, in which Paul contrasts the conduct of himself and his fellow-missionaries with that of the mischief-makers who make merchandise of the Divine message, adulterating it to please their hearers. Their utterance by contrast is as crystal in its sincerity; for it has God for its source, God for its witness, and Christ as the medium through which it reaches men.

III. 1–VI. 10. The Splendour of the Apostolic Ministry in Spite of its Outward Lowliness.

III. 1–6. One of the charges laid against Paul had probably been that of overweening self-esteem, leading to a claim to greater authority than rightfully belonged to him. One of the means used by his enemies had been "letters of introduction" from high authorities, possibly apostles in Jerusalem. Was he not now displaying only too clearly the reasonableness of such a charge? Did he really need to justify himself, as by such letters others had done? Far from it. The church at Corinth was his sufficient testimonial. Its religious experience, recorded in the hearts of the converts there, was in fact Christ's own letter of commendation for Paul, the only one he required. His confidence, great as it is, is justified, for it lays hold on God through Christ as a channel. And even his confidence does not imply a claim to draw any conclusion, to form any judgment, on his own responsibility. His qualifications come wholly from God. It is He who has qualified him to be a minister of a new covenant. And the supreme distinction of this new covenant is that, being based not on written legislation but on the Spirit, it avoids the deadly consequences of the old covenant (Rom. 7 11), and substitutes for them the life which the Spirit alone can create (Gal. 3 21).

III. 7–16. This opens the way for a comparison between the ministry under the one covenant and the ministry under the other. The former, even though its issue was historically failure, condemnation, and death, and while its inferiority was shown by its being engraved on tables of stone (though it was destined to pass away), was nevertheless promulgated in circumstances of dazzling splendour—though even that was a splendour that was fading. How much greater must be the splendour belonging to the new covenant, and to its ministry, which has the Spirit in place of a written law, creates righteousness where the other wrought condemnation, and moreover is destined to abide. Even the real glory which attached to the former covenant is cancelled, at least to this extent, by the surpassing glory of the new one. For the glory of the new covenant neither passes away nor is it obscured by any veil, as the old one was. Its ministers have no need to put a veil over their message as Moses did over his face when he promulgated his Law (Ex. 34 33), in order, as Paul here suggests, to hide the fading of the glory. [This, of course, was not the actual intention as represented in the OT.—A. S. P.] In one phrase, "their minds were hardened," he sums up the fatal consequences, as he conceives them, of the covenant which had these disabilities. And a symbol of its inadequacy was still to be seen in any synagogue. For there the rolls of the Law were punctiliously wrapped in a "veil"; and a like veil was over the heart of Israel, still unremoved because it could be done away "in Christ" alone.

The phrase, "the old covenant" or "testament," referring to the Mosaic Law, occurs here for the first time, and is a significant testimony to Paul's consciousness that the new wine of the Gospel demanded new bottles. The words in 16 are a free paraphrase of Ex. 34 34, applied by Paul to Israel. [When Moses went in to Yahweh he removed the veil. Accordingly, if one now turns to the Lord (*i.e.* Christ), the veil is removed from the heart.—A. S. P.]

III. 17f. In 17 he explains the deep reasons why "turning to the Lord" is followed by the removal of the veil, and in so doing gives utterance to a statement of the greatest importance for his Christology, "the Lord is the Spirit." For here, as elsewhere with few exceptions, "the Lord" is Christ. It is the heavenly Christ whom he recognises as the Spirit. Their influence is the same. He who turns to the One turns to the Other. And where the Spirit is there is liberty (from the Law). The hindering veil is removed. And so, because Christians are men who have turned to Christ, there is no such veil upon their hearts or upon their revelation of God. They reflect the glory of the Lord Christ undimmed. Nay, more, in reflecting it they undergo a continuous change within themselves. The image they reflect forms itself in them, and they advance from one stage of glory to another, as might be looked for from the working of the Lord the Spirit. In the case of Moses, the glory diminished and faded; in the case of Christians it increases and brightens. And where the OT spoke of the glory of Yahweh, Paul speaks of the glory of Christ.

IV. 1–6. In this paragraph the apostle recurs to the thought of 3 12, 2 16, 1 12; a ministry of such surpassing splendour demanded in himself and his comrades unflinching courage, and a life that commended itself by uprightness and straightforwardness to the judgment of other men. There were those who were still blind to the truth. They were "blinded by the god of this world," *i.e.* by Satan. This striking phrase calls attention to the practical dualism of Paul's view of the world. It had fallen under the dominion, into the grasp (1 Jn. 5 19) of the Evil One. The present age (or world) was wholly evil. Men were waging a real struggle with spiritual forces of evil (Eph. 6 12), with "angels, potentates, and powers" (Rom. 8 38), who formed a veritable kingdom of darkness under the sovereignty of "the prince of the power of the air" (Eph. 2 2). It was part of Christ's great redeeming work that He had fought and worsted this whole host of evil forces (Col. 2 15*); and the issue of the great process of salvation is to be the complete and final subjugation of this temporary kingdom of evil (1 Cor. 15 24). Through this blindness men are deprived of that illumination which comes from the glorious gospel of Christ, which finds its parallel in the miracle of creation itself. For the coming of this light to the soul is like nothing else than the birth of light in the world; and it is reflected from the face of Christ (Heb. 1 3).

IV. 7–18. It is true that the splendid character of this ministry is for the present obscured by the earthly and physical conditions under which it is discharged. Paul is conscious that this disability is specially marked in his case. His opponents had probably good reason for saying "his bodily presence is weak" (10 10, 1 Cor. 1 58*). 2 Cor. 10f. refers frequently to "infirmities," and specially to the "thorn in the flesh" (12 7*) which was a sore trial to him. But Paul sees in it the working of God's will, that there might be no doubt as to the true source of the power he exercised; it came not from Paul but from God. And this Divine power works not only through him but within him, sustaining under experiences that would otherwise crush. Nay, there is a still deeper interpretation of his suffering. Like all his experience since he became a Christian, it is connected with his union with Christ. And if the

death of Christ, His pangs and helplessness, are re-enacted, it is only in order that the glorious risen life of Jesus also may be manifested in the apostle. But again—not for his benefit (16). He accepts cheerfully what is physically a living death for him, because its issue is spiritual life for those to whom he ministers.

But the contrast between the real glory of the apostolic ministry and the outward weakness of the minister is, after all, only temporary. The very confidence with which he speaks is a proof of his faith—here he recalls a like thought of the Psalmist (Ps. 11610)—and with faith goes the Spirit, at once the firstfruits and the guarantee of full salvation. In the power of this Spirit he sees what is going on concurrently with the wearing out and breaking up of the physical frame, viz. the daily growth of an inner personality, one which is spiritual and eternal. In view of this the affliction of the present is seen to be temporary and felt to be light, at least by those who fix their gaze on the unseen. At 15 the thought crosses his mind that he may seem to be losing himself in contemplation of his own experience and hopes; and very characteristically he interpolates the reminder of what is his profound conviction—that all this, even his most individual experience, is for their sakes in the first place, and ultimately for the greater glory of God.

V. 1–10. Paul proceeds to expand the thought of 416, modifying the idea of an inner personality into that of a house or home for the soul prepared by God in heaven. The earthly frame in which we dwell here has its counterpart in a spiritual frame, the resurrection-body, which awaits us in heaven (*cf.* 1 Cor. 1538*, "God giveth it a body"). In 1f. he speaks of this as a house which in contrast to the physical body is "eternal"; in the following verses under the figure of a robe. There has been much discussion as to the precise point at which Paul conceives of this enrobing with the spiritual body as taking place; whether immediately after death or only after the resurrection and judgment; also as to whether he conceives of the new spiritual body as taking the place of the old physical body, or as being super-indued over the physical body when it has been raised from the dead. It would be difficult to affirm, after comparing this passage with 1 Cor. 15, that Paul was entirely consistent in his answer to these questions—if we admit that they had presented themselves to his mind. The probability is that they had not, and that what looks like inconsistency is really due to the fact that he had not carried out any analysis of the stages of *post mortem* experience. A spirit or soul without a "body," that is, a form, was for him inconceivable. And the conviction on which he enlarges, in which he finds comfort here, is that there is prepared by God for every believer, and waiting for him in heaven, a form or frame, a house or home, which is the spiritual counterpart of the physical form, but eternal; and this precludes the probability that even for a moment any believer should be "naked," *i.e.* a disembodied spirit, after life and consciousness have been restored through resurrection. What is here laid down does not preclude that interval of "sleep" which Paul predicates elsewhere (see S. D. F. Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*[4], p. 450ff.).

The yearning, therefore, of those who are still dwelling in the tent of a physical body is not a yearning for escape, heavy though the burden is, but for that which follows escape. And of that the Christian has a double pledge. It is God who has been at work, bringing men to this disposition of "earnest expectation," and He will not deceive them; and moreover He has given them in the Holy Spirit a pledge of this as well as of all else that is involved in "salvation."

So much of this, however, lies still in the future, that the governing condition of our moral life is not the faculty of sight but that of faith, by which we perceive, lay hold of, the unseen (*cf.* 418, Heb. 111). And this faith inspires us with high courage even in the face of possible death, for death, we know, puts an end to that absence from the Lord which is involved in being still in the earthly tabernacle. If death comes, Paul will accept it (*cf.* Phil. 123). Meanwhile, whichever way he looks on his present condition, whether as being at home in the body or as absent from the Lord, he has but one ambition, to be well pleasing to Him. For (so far was Paul from the antinomianism with which he was charged) even the new standing of believers as "justified by faith" and the gift of the Spirit do not relieve Christians of the responsibility for their actions, which will be exposed for judgment before the judgment-seat of Christ.

V. 11–19. The emphasis is on the opening words of 11. Among the clouds of misrepresentation to which he was exposed was the sneering assertion that in some unworthy sense he "persuades" or "gets round" men (*cf.* Gal. 110). If it can be said of him with any truth at all, this, which he has just stated, is the reason. In any case both his motives and his methods are plain to God—and (he will never let go the hope) plain also to the inward judgment of the Corinthians. This does not mean that he is justifying another charge made against him, the charge of "commending himself." He is really inviting them to be proud of him, as they will be if they do him justice. So will they be able to face his opponents, who found their claim on outward things such as eloquence (1010), or on letters of commendation (31), or their Jewish blood (1122), or on their personal acquaintance with Jesus, rather than upon inward motive or disposition. In the case of Paul, all experience, all action even, has lost any merely personal reference. His periods of ecstasy are for the glory of God; his times of sober consciousness are for the benefit of others. For he is governed by Christ's love and by the form in which it had been manifested. Christ had died for all. It followed that "all" died with Him—died to the old life. Christ had risen again; it follows that those who live (with the new life) in Him, live not to themselves but to Him. And so real is this new life, so completely is it cut off from the old one, that all relationships on the plane of human life are transcended. Even a claim to have known the historical Jesus (such as was probably made by some of Paul's opponents) was irrelevant. Christ's true followers knew Him in another and a higher way, not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit. It is not possible to decide whether Paul waives the fact or only the supposition that he had known Jesus in the flesh. But since he was probably in Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion, the possibility of his having at least seen Him cannot be excluded. In fact, those who "live" because they are in Christ, are actually new beings. And all this comes from God. It is He who has reconciled men to Himself, He who has appointed Paul to a ministry of reconciliation. For all his magnifying of the glory and sacrifice of Christ, Paul never loses sight of God as the primal Author and Source of salvation (1 Cor. 323). And this is the burden of his message, that God in Christ has brought humanity into a relation of peace with Himself. In doing this God must have cancelled the record of human offences against Himself (Rom. 323),

and to give effect to it He had committed to the apostles and teachers the message of reconciliation.

[16. "to know Christ after the flesh" may mean "to hold the old Jewish Messianic ideas."—A. J. G.]

V. 20–VI. 10. Paul proceeds to expound and apply the relationship between himself and his converts based upon this ministry. He acts in Christ's stead when he beseeches men to allow themselves to be reconciled to God. And what Paul did for Christ, God did through Christ. Once more he points to the supreme illustration and proof of God's will to reconcile men. He had treated Christ, the "Son of His love," though He had no experimental knowledge of sin, as though He had sinned and deserved the punishment of death. And He had done this for man's sake, in order that he might participate in the Divine righteousness. The strange expression "made him to be sin" is probably due to Paul's shrinking from saying "made him a sinner," which would also have been open to misconception; for the same reason, in Gal. 3^{13} he says, "Christ was made a curse," when "cursed" would have been in accordance with the citation from Deuteronomy which follows.

It is the *grace*, the undeserved mercy, of God that is offered in this message of reconciliation, and while Christ's ambassadors, as fellow-workers with God and Christ, entreat the world to accept that grace, they entreat those who have already accepted it ("you") to ensure that their acceptance be fruitful. (In a parenthesis he illustrates by a quotation from Is. 49 the blessed character of the moment.) Accordingly the apostles so shape their conduct that they may approve themselves to men as nothing less than the agents and emissaries of God. The quality of endurance is exhibited in severe experiences arranged in three triplets, with which we should compare the list in 11$^{23-28}$; then follows the enumeration of many other qualities of the ministry. It is further distinguished by a message which springs from truthfulness, and by the use of "weapons of righteousness" alike for offence and defence. In the antitheses that follow (8f.) the injurious representations are to be understood as the opinion of Paul's opponents. It is they who regard him as "obscure," as "moribund," as "chastised" by God. In 10 both members of each antithesis probably represent the genuine experience of the apostle.

VI. 11–VII. 16. The Restored Relationship between Paul and the Corinthians must be Sealed by Proof of their Loyalty.

VI. 11–13. The openness of his speech is an indication of the largeness of his heart towards them. It is not true that they are "shut up in a corner" by him; any constraint that they feel is really due to the narrowness of their own affection. He therefore appeals to them to meet and reward his overflowing confidence and affection by a corresponding widening of their hearts towards him.

VI. 14–VII. 1. These verses appear plainly out of place. They break what is otherwise a close connexion between 6^{13} and 7^{2}: they introduce a new and very different subject, and they have a very different tone from what precedes and follows. They are best regarded as a scrap from another letter written by Paul to Corinth, possibly a fragment of the letter referred to in 1 Cor. 5^{9}, which has accidentally crept into the sheets on which our letter was preserved. They contain an urgent, even passionate, demand for complete separation from the heathen, especially in their idolatrous practices. In a series of sharp questions Paul flashes scorn on every attempt to serve two masters, Christ and "Belial," that is the devil (or, possibly, Antichrist, Pr. 6^{12}*). The last of these questions reminds him that Christians are meant to be God's temple; and he exposes the source and the significance of that conception by means of a series of quotations from OT, the first being freely reproduced from Ezek. 37^{27}, the rest combined from Is. 52^{11}, Ex. 20^{34}, and 2 K. 7^{14}. The description of God as "the Almighty" occurs in NT only here and in Rev. Men who rest in these promises seek to purify themselves (*cf.* 1 Jn. 3^{3}) in "flesh and spirit"—these words being used in the simple untechnical sense, as in 1 Cor. 7^{34} ("body and spirit").

VII 2–4. With 2 Paul returns to the thought of 6^{13}. "Make wide your hearts. . . . Make room in them for us." The sentences which follow are full of changing emotion, as he indignantly repudiates charges that have been made against him, stays the possible retort that he is condemning the Corinthians, asserts once more the undying fellowship between him and them, and concludes on a triumphant note of confidence and joy.

VII. 5–16. Agonising Anxiety has been Cancelled by Abundant Joy.—The cause of his anxiety had been in part the condition of affairs in the church at Corinth, but even more the measures he had taken to deal with it, followed by torturing doubt as to how these would be received by the Corinthians. Someone had behaved outrageously. Someone had been outraged. There can be no doubt that it was Paul who had suffered, though whether he was personally present or what was the nature of the outrage we cannot tell. What made it serious was that the Corinthians had not repudiated the insult to their friend. Stung by their fickleness, and moved by fear lest they should fall away altogether from himself and the gospel, Paul had written a letter so severe that from the moment he despatched it, probably by the hand of Titus, he was torn with anxiety lest it should have the very opposite effect to what he desired. When he had met Titus in Macedonia, it was to hear news so unexpectedly good that he was lost in thankfulness and joy. They had repented. They had "inflicted punishment" (2^{6}) on the offender. They had shown by their treatment of Titus both the genuineness of their repentance and their loyal affection for the apostle. All this Paul rehearses with almost breathless thankfulness, and explains (12) that the deepest consequences (and so, intention) had been their discovery "in the sight of God" of the reality of their attachment to Paul.

VIII., IX. The Collection for Poor Christians at Jerusalem.—Paul attached the highest importance to this collection, to which he seems to have invited all the Gentile churches to contribute. He valued it not merely for the relief it would bring to the deep poverty of the Christians at Jerusalem, but also as a means of eliciting generosity in the churches to which he appealed, and as a symbol of that binding unity in which all "the churches of God in Christ" were held together. He thinks of the liberality thus evoked as a "grace," a gift of God to man, and a gift of man to God, and also as a "fellowship," a common participation in common service which was a precious symbol of participation in common life.

VIII. 1–15. Of this liberality, significant of so much, the churches of Macedonia, such as Thessalonica, Philippi, Berœa, had already given an example all the more remarkable because of their notorious poverty, and also of the persecution they were enduring. And, best of all, this offering was really a self-offering, and had been made not, as well might have happened, to

the apostle, but first to Christ and then to Paul and the cause for which he pleaded.

Paul had already laid this subject of the collection before the Corinthians (1 Cor. 16ff.), and possibly Titus had taken the opportunity of a previous visit to set it on foot, and now Paul, encouraged by what has happened in Macedonia, has instructed him to bring it to a successful issue in Corinth. The readiness of the Macedonians is to be used as a test of the loyalty of the Corinthians. And they have a still higher example before their eyes. What else did they see in Jesus Christ Himself but a liberality which knew no limits? In view of this Paul contents himself with a suggestion, leaving it to the prompting of their own conscience to give effect to that resolve which already a year ago had been present behind the first steps of action. In 12 he lays down the same principle as that which underlies our Lord's appreciation of the liberality of the widow who "cast in all that she had" (Mk. 12$^{42-44}$).

[9. The reference is not to the fact that Jesus lived a life of poverty on earth. The contrast is between His pre-incarnate life in heaven and the state of humiliation on which He entered at the Incarnation. This is strongly suggested by the parallel in Phil. 2$^{6-8}$; and the poverty which was His earthly lot could hardly be said to be the cause that many became rich.—A. S. P.]

VIII. 16–24. Paul commends the three messengers who are going to Corinth on the business of the collection. One of these was Titus, and he looked on the matter in the same way as Paul. There were two others, whose names he probably wrote, though for some unknown reason they were afterwards erased. The first of these, who may possibly have been Luke, was already favourably known to all the churches through his work for Christ, and had been chosen "by the churches" to assist Paul in the responsible work of collecting and conveying the money—an arrangement which Paul cordially approves, inasmuch as it shut off the possibility of suspicion or scandal against himself in the handling of the contributions. The second, whose name has also been omitted (early commentators guessed Apollos) had been selected by the apostle himself, partly on the ground of his firm belief in the liberality of the Corinthians. The construction of 23 is confused, but the meaning is plain. For Titus and for his two companions Paul asks such a reception as will both prove the Corinthians' affection for himself and justify his pride in them—for Titus, on the ground that he is Paul's companion and fellow-worker, for the other two on the ground that they are his brethren, envoys of the churches, and reflect the glory of Christ (*cf.* 1 Cor. 11^{7}).

19. "*To shew* our readiness" is best taken with "appointed by the churches" in the sense of "according to our inclination" or "to the increase of readiness," Paul's readiness to have someone appointed being increased by the particular appointments which were made.

IX. 1–5. On the general subject, the obligation to provide assistance for God's people, there is no need for Paul to write to the Corinthians. They have already acknowledged that obligation, and Paul has proudly announced their willingness to the Macedonians, a willingness which included the churches of Greece to which Corinth stood as centre. What he is now concerned about, and taking steps to secure, is the fulfilment of their promises and a fulfilment in the spirit of bountifulness and not of grudging calculation.

IX. 6–15. This concern brings him, however, to a renewed consideration of the grace of liberality, and of the blessings attached to it. He touches in succession on the proper temper of such liberality (6f.), viz. generous self-determination to sacrifice, such as meets with the Divine approval (quotation from Pr. 22^{8}, LXX), the source both of the impulse and of the means for such liberality (8ff.), and the ultimate issue of it in widespread thanksgiving to God (12–15). God it is who is able to make every kind of grace, including this of liberality, to abound; and it is He also who provides the means for their display of liberality, making this indeed its consequence and reward, so that their "righteousness," *i.e.* beneficence (*cf.* Mt. 6^{1}) need know no end. Paul's thought here runs closely parallel to the teaching of Jesus on almsgiving. Liberality is the expression not only of love to the brethren, but of confidence in the liberality of God, a confidence which shall not be disappointed. This is the true ministry of "Divine service" (*cf.* Jas. 1^{27}), issuing not only in the relief of God's people but in exulting recognition of the power of the gospel as an inspiration to sacrifice and service. That it is hardly possible to exaggerate the significance which Paul attached to the collection, and the "grace" of liberality of which it was the symbol, appears from the closing verse. The "unspeakable gift" is either that grace of brotherly love and unity among communities so diverse from one another of which the collection is the expression, or it is the gift of Jesus Christ as leading to, and interpreting itself in, that unity, generosity, and gratitude.

X. 1–XIII. 10. At this point (10^{1}) Paul turns sharply upon certain opponents and proceeds to defend himself with energy against their attack and insinuations, to enlarge on his claim to obedience and affection, and then adds to stern remonstrance threats of what he will do at his coming if he does not find the situation changed.

The change of tone and attitude which here takes place is both obvious and startling. Up to this point, the letter has been the expression of almost exuberant relief, thankfulness, and confidence; due to the fact that, contrary to what he feared, Paul and the church at Corinth had been reconciled. From this point onward we have the expression of anxiety, alarm, anger. All that in the first part of the letter seems to have been accomplished, here waits for accomplishment. The people whom Paul here addresses are not yet reconciled to him. They are definitely hostile, and they are not an isolated group. They are linked at heart by sympathy with the congregation as a whole.

The explanation which has commonly been given is that in the earlier part of the letter Paul has been dealing with the section (? majority) of the congregation which had partly remained loyal to him, partly returned to their loyalty, and that he now turns to deal with the other section, an obstinate and embittered minority. But in that case there would surely be at the beginning of this section some indication that he was addressing a new class of people, and the earlier part of the letter must have betrayed some consciousness of the presence of this unreconciled section of the people. The difficulty of accounting for this change, sudden, unexplained, and maintained almost to the close of the epistle, is the ground of the opinion now widely held, that 10^{1}–13^{10} belongs not to this but to some other letter sent by Paul to Corinth. It has further been conjectured that we have here part of the intermediate, or "painful" letter. And though that cannot be proved, the contents of these chapters certainly agree very closely with what we can gather as to the

character of that letter, and would go far to explain the tense anxiety with which Paul waited to hear how it had been received (2^{4},^{13}, 7^{6}).

X. 1–6. A Warning to Those who Misunderstand and Misrepresent Paul.—The abruptness and emphasis of the opening words, as well as their want of connexion with what precedes, are best explained on the hypothesis that we have here a portion of another letter. The description of himself that follows, humble when he is at Corinth, overbearing when he is at a safe distance, is probably one of the several echoes (or quotations) in this chapter from the language used of Paul by his critics at Corinth. They have sneered at him as a very human person ("walking according to the flesh"). He prays that he may not have to prove on their persons (*cf.* 1 Cor. 5^{3}–^{5}) that both his courage and his power are from God. It is his business to destroy sophistries, the strongholds of disobedience, and to bring every operation of the mind into subjection to Christ. And this he is prepared to do, taking vengeance on every form of disobedience so soon as the congregation as a whole has completely manifested its submission.—[The military vocabulary of this section is well brought out in Moffatt's translation.—A. J. G.]

X. 7–18. Paul's Claim is Absolute, yet Limited in its Scope; for it Arises from and is Governed by his Dependence upon God.—This paragraph is full of allusion to the assertions, claims, and criticisms of his opponents. They claim superiority to Paul on the ground of some special relation to Christ, possibly that they had been actually His disciples (*cf.* 1 Cor. 1^{12}*). They asserted that Paul used his authority to humiliate the church (8), that he browbeat them in his letters, whereas his personal appearance was feeble (9f.), that he claimed what we should call a jurisdiction practically unlimited. On each point Paul replies vigorously, indignantly. Let them look facts in the face (7). He belongs to Christ as really as any other man (*cf.* 1 Cor. 1^{12}). If he does make a "proud claim" to authority, he will be able to show the ground for it. His confidence rests on very different grounds from theirs. He refuses to compare or rank himself with those who are their own trumpeters. Neither is it true (13) that he claims authority "without measure," boundless and unlimited. The province of his authority is both appointed and delimited by God, and beyond doubt it includes the Corinthian church. For to the Corinthians, whatever others might insinuate, he had introduced the gospel of Christ. Beyond this Divinely assigned province he makes no "proud claim" to authority, where other men have pioneered. What he does hope is that through their increasing faith, his claim may be justified, first within the province already occupied, and then in "the regions beyond," but always provided that it did not invade another's "province," or craftily appropriate the results of other men's labours.

Attentive examination of this passage, bearing in mind that by "glorying" or (AV) "boasting" Paul means making a (proud) claim, will provide striking evidence of his fine feeling and scrupulousness in respect of other men's work. With a terse summary of two verses in Jeremiah (9^{23}f.) he exposes the foundation of his own claim and confidence. It is to the Lord that he stands, from Him alone he derives his authority (*cf.* Rom. 14^{12}, 1 Cor. 4^{3}–^{5}).

XI. 1–15. A Tender Appeal to the Church as a Whole.—This appeal may sound like foolish sentiment. Let them bear with him. Indeed he is sure that they do. What has happened under Paul's guidance and inspiration is nothing less than the betrothal of the Corinthian church as a pure virgin to Christ, a new Eve for the new Adam. But as there was a serpent in the first Eden, so now the tempter is at work. They have been only too complaisant in hearkening to his voice, to those who have preached "another Jesus," laying all the emphasis on His earthly life and His observance of the Law. If these "Judaizing" teachers claimed for their doctrine the support of those who called themselves or were called "the superior apostles," such a claim was absurd. There was no superiority. Paul might be unequal to some of them in eloquence, but not in that knowledge of Divine truth, which he communicated in every particular whenever he had the opportunity. Was it possible, however, that he had made a mistake in taking no reward for his work? His service to the Corinthians had been gratuitous; the generous support of other churches, especially in Macedonia, had made that possible. But had it led the Christians at Corinth to think lightly of himself and his work? Still, even that shall not change his policy. Not because he had not for the Corinthians that love which takes as gladly as it gives (*cf.* 12^{13}); but in order that he might not give those who demanded support from the church (*cf.* 1 Cor. 9^{12}) any excuse to plead his example, but might rather compel them to adopt his policy. So will they be exposed in their real character as "false apostles," masquerading, even as Satan himself does, as agents of righteousness.

XI. 16–33. Comparison between Paul and his Opponents (*cf.* 6).—Under the pressure of intense feeling he will break through his inclination and self-imposed resolve of silence, to let his character and his sufferings in the cause of Christ speak for themselves. But in doing so, he makes it clear that he waives all authority of one who speaks "in the Lord." Speaking simply as a frail man, he pleads that he may receive at least such a hearing as the Corinthians have given to the other men who have tyrannised over them, exploited them, even buffeted them. If such high-handed arrogance as they have practised be what they mean by "strength," then he admits (ironically adding "to my disgrace") that he had been weak. The passage which follows (11^{22}–12^{10}) is not only inspired by strong personal feeling, it is full of details regarding Paul's personal experience of which we have no record elsewhere. After asserting his equality with his opponents on the point to which they attached most importance, he claims superiority to them in respect of the real criteria of a minister of Christ, viz. the sufferings undergone in His service (*cf.* Gal. 6^{17}). The reiterated allusion to his "foolishness," to speaking "as one beside himself," all point to the consciousness that he is departing from that steady reserve on the subject of his own service which was for him the way of common-sense. Now that the barrier is broken down, the record of personal experiences pours forth like a flood. From those which are external and physical he passes (28) to those which are internal and mental. Through all these trials and sufferings he has carried a heart which feels the needs not only of the churches but of the individual Christian everywhere. And if he has sympathised with the weak in one sense, it is not because he himself has been strong in another sense. On the contrary, he has all the time been the victim of physical weakness which has indefinitely increased the difficulty of his work. Nevertheless, it is precisely in this weakness that he finds his deepest reason for proud rejoicing. For in that weakness the power of Christ has been perfectly displayed (*cf.* 12^{9}).

An illustration of this fact occurs to him, possibly

because the story of his escape from Damascus (Ac. 9$^{23-25}$*) had been turned to his disadvantage. When he had felt utterly helpless against the determination of the governor to have him arrested (pp. 655, 768f.), the Divine strength had been manifested in his escape.

XII. 1–10. A Special Revelation and its Sequel.—By an account of a great spiritual experience which he had enjoyed, Paul explains the reason why he has been called on to suffer, and the Divine interpretation of the suffering, in the light of which he can ever rejoice in this weakness and in all similar experiences. An expression of his proud confidence is wrung from him, however he may doubt its expediency. He recalls memorable experiences of "visions and revelations of the Lord," and one in particular, fourteen years before, when, under conditions that he could not explain, he found himself in "the third heaven," in "Paradise." Here he employs language drawn from late Jewish speculation, imagining a series of "heavens" one above another, and means the highest heaven. A man who has had such experiences has a right to a proud self-confidence, and may express it without incurring a charge of folly. But still Paul shrinks from doing so, lest men should be overawed by the excessive glory of such privileges. His desire still, as always, is to be judged by what he says and what he does. In this shrinking from putting forward the marvellous as a ground on which to claim allegiance of others, we may find a striking parallel to an important element in the Synoptic portrait of Jesus.

7. The first clause should be connected with what precedes, and the whole may be paraphrased thus: "That no one may be led even by the vast number of revelations I have enjoyed to appraise my work otherwise than by what he has seen me do and heard me say." The "thorn in the flesh" was plainly some kind of torturing pain (? epilepsy, malaria) by which the apostle was frequently attacked (p. 769). Probably it produced temporary or permanent disfigurement of some kind, and so made him less acceptable as a preacher of the gospel, and gave his opponents an excuse for belittling his authority. Not once, but thrice, he had prayed to Christ for its removal. The answer had been heard in the assurance that Divine grace is directly proportioned to human need; the great weakness of the apostle is balanced by the manifestation of God's power on his behalf, so that we reach the paradox of Christian experience—"When I am weak, then am I strong."

XII. 11–21. Retrospect of the Boasting.—This paragraph is marked by rapid oscillation of feeling. Now that he has made and proved his claim, the same doubt seizes him as when he began (11^{1}, 11^{16}). Has he not been foolish? It was the duty of the Corinthians to testify to his legitimate authority. And they had quite sufficient ground for doing so in what they had seen (12; *cf.* 6), "the signs of an apostle" (*cf.* Ac. 2^{22}*), wrought by Paul. Corinth had enjoyed all the privileges conferred by him on any church—except the privilege of supporting him (*cf.* 11^{7}). Once more, he can make no alteration in that policy. He will act in the same way on his approaching third visit as he has done on the previous ones. He will set no limits to his self-sacrifice on their behalf. Once more (*cf.* 11^{6}), is it reasonable that he should receive less affection from those to whom he shows affection even in excess? In 16ff. he waives this criticism as disposed of, and deals with a subtler insinuation, viz. that in accordance with his native deceitfulness of character he has indeed abstained from drawing reward from the Corinthians, but has done it nevertheless indirectly through his agents. But where was the evidence? Had not Titus and the unnamed brother[1] shown the same spirit as their master?

Once more the old anxiety seizes him, lest in thus defending himself he should seem to be submitting himself to the Corinthians and to their judgment. So far from that, his fear is that when he comes he may find such a situation, such evidence of moral unfaithfulness, that he will be himself humiliated before God through the failure of his work and compelled in God's name to exercise severe discipline on the backsliders.

XIII. 1–10. Warnings in View of a Visit.—This closing chapter starts from a vivid realisation of that which is only too likely to be the situation when he arrives for the third time. With increased emphasis, and added detail, he reiterates his solemn warning, and with biting irony turns against his adversaries one of the sarcastic demands they level at him. They ask for proof that Christ speaks in him. They shall have it (*cf.* Is. 28^{9}ff.). Christ will show Himself not weak among them, as they have reckoned His apostle, but powerful for judgment. His experience, "dying to reign," will repeat itself in Paul, who has already put this interpretation on his own weakness, that in it he fills up "that which is lacking of the sufferings of Christ." Let them examine themselves whether they are truly Christians; let them get back the primal Christian experience, and ascertain whether Christ is really in them. The word translated "reprobate" means "such as have failed to pass the test"; and 6 implies that the Corinthians may find that they have not so failed, by discovering that Paul has met and stood every kind of test. Yet he prays that they may not have that fact brought home to them in an unwelcome way through any breach of loyalty either to Christ or to Paul; that on the contrary they may display a noble loyalty. If that be so, he is willing to let the proof of his own authority; and so of his own worthiness; remain in abeyance. He knows that he has the right and the power to exercise discipline of the extremest kind, but he will sacrifice everything, even the knowledge that it is so, if only he can persuade the Corinthians to give him no occasion to apply it.

XIII. 11–14. The closing verses betray no trace of the passionate anxiety, the mingled self-abasement and self-assertion, which have marked the preceding chapters. Their precepts appear to be addressed to a people among whom calm has been established, and so to belong more naturally to chs. 1–9, the last of Paul's letters to the Corinthians.[2]

[1] [For the theory that Luke and Titus were actual brothers see ET, 18^{285,335,380} against it, Exp., May 1917.—A. J. G.]

[2] 2^{3} seems to presuppose 13^{10}, 12^{3} looks back to 13^{2}, 2^{9} and 7^{15} reflect 10^{6}. Similarly 3^{1} is explained by 11^{18} and 12^{11}, and 12^{3}, 2^{1} show how and why he had decided against the visit promised in 12^{14}, 13^{2} (12^{20} and 13^{10} leave room for reasonable delay). On the other hand, it is only fair to say that Bernard in EGT gives a list of passages in chs. 10–13 which he thinks presuppose chs. 1–9. —A. J. G.]

GALATIANS

By Professor ROBERT MACKINTOSH

Place.—The epistle addresses a group of churches, founded in common by Paul, and now exposed to a common danger. Some scholars place them in North Galatia, some in South. Both regions cannot be included; if Paul founded churches in both they had different histories; his visit to the North, if it ever took place, was later than his work in the South (Ac. 16*6* contrasted with chs. 13f.). Strong arguments, and some that are not strong, are adduced for each conclusion (pp. 794, 770). The problem is not very important for the teaching of the epistle. Yet we may conclude, with feelings of interest, that the known churches of S. Galatia are addressed. For (*a*) it is unthinkable that Acts 18*23* should say nothing about churches of which Luke has told so fully in Ac. 13 (and 14), while concentrating on the obscure region further north. (*b*) In harmony with this view of Ac. 18 we adopt Ramsay's interpretation of Ac. 16*6a*, "the Phrygian portion of the new territory included in the Roman province of Galatia." (In Ac. 18*23* it will make for clearness if we may regard "and Phrygia" as a gloss. Ac. 16*6* will then assert that Paul went on from Derbe and Lystra to *Phrygian* neo-Galatia, and Ac. 18*23* more briefly that he traversed "consecutively" *all* neo-Galatia [Lycaonian *and* Phrygian].) (*c*) Paul's own usage is to think in Roman provinces—"Macedonia," "Achaia," etc. Also he speaks of "the churches of Asia" (1 Cor. 16*19*), "of Macedonia" (2 Cor. 8*1*), "of Judæa" (Gal. 1*22*, 1 Th. 2*14*). How could he, without explanation, address a (northern) district within the province by the name of the whole province? If the only Galatian churches were those of the S., there is no difficulty. [J. O. F. Murray thinks the address should be confined to Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra. The illness which led to his visit occurred after he was expelled from Antioch; but for this he might have struck westward.—A. S. P.]

Time.—This question too is unimportant for the teaching of the book. From his conversion onwards (see 1*16*) Paul might have written the doctrinal part of Galatians. Yet S. Galatianists may quite well agree with N. Galatianists on the point of time; and that seems best. For (*a*) we must identify the visit to Jerusalem of Gal. 2*1* with that of Ac. 15 (see notes). The epistle is therefore brought down at least to the Second Missionary Journey. (For another view, see pp. 654, 770.) (*b*) It must be later than the circumcision of Timothy (Ac. 16*3*). One may be sure Paul circumcised no doubtful cases after he had had to write this letter; and 2*3* and 5*11* both imply the circumcising of Timothy—a valuable guarantee of its historicity. (*c*) Probably the whole Galatian storm is later—hardly, decidedly *earlier?*—than the writing of 1 Cor. (*cf.* 16*8*) from Ephesus. (*d*) Rom., on the other hand, must be later than Gal., but not much later. It goes over the same ground more calmly. And Rom. is written (15*25*) when Paul is on tiptoe for his journey to Jerusalem. Lake's theory (p. 818), that an early letter (contemporary with his early date for Gal.) was re-edited for Rome, is ingenious but unconvincing. (*e*) Lake's scholarship, however, delivers us from an assumed objection to our date, based on 4*13*. *To proteron* ought to mean "on the former of just two visits." (Now we suppose three visits, Ac. 13 (and 14), 16*1*ff., 18*23*.) But in the Koinê (late popular Gr.) "it is more common in the [vaguer] sense" of "originally . . . and in the NT this is almost indisputably its meaning" uniformly. Say A.D. 55.

Genuineness.—External evidence is sufficient, and internal evidence overwhelming. It is a sorry paradox to treat Gal. as a late forgery (see p. 814).

Occasion.—Judaizing preachers had enjoyed a rapid success. Many Galatian converts were contemplating circumcision and the adoption of much at least (5*2*) of the Jewish Law; *cf.* Ac. 15*1*. Paul had also been disparaged as a mere underling. We may compare 2 Cor. 10–13; but his Corinthian slanderers attacked his character more directly.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **Adeney** (Cent.B), Williams (CB), Huxtable (PC), Howson (Sp.), Bacon, Stevens, Mackenzie (WNT), Drummond, Emmet; (*b*) **Lightfoot**, Ramsay, Williams (CGT), Rendall (EGT); (*c*) Schmiedel (HC), Sieffert (Mey.), **Zahn** (ZK), Bousset (SNT), Lietzmann (HNT); (*d*) Luther's *Commentary*, Findlay (Ex.B), J. M. Gibbon, Girdlestone (*Dev. Commentary*). *Other Literature:* see on 1 Cor. Also Moffatt (INT and elsewhere) for N. Galatian views; Ramsay, *passim*, for S.; Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul;* C. H. Watkins, *St. Paul's Fight for Galatia;* E. H. Askwith, *The Epistle to the Galatians;* Round, *The Date of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians;* W. M. Macgregor, *Christian Freedom;* J. O. F. Murray, *A Fragment of Spiritual Autobiography.*

I., II (roughly). Paul Vindicates his Independence.

I. 1–5. Paul's apostleship, denied by his enemies, is due neither to human initiative nor human mediation, but directly to God and Christ, the latter being viewed—in accordance with the fundamental doctrine of Christianity—as the risen One. Greetings are sent not from any church but from a group of friends; possibly Paul wrote while on a journey. The supreme greeting proceeds from God and Christ, but the latter is now viewed as the crucified One; behind externals, Paul feels that the Atonement itself is challenged by Judaizing. These introductory verses state the doctrine of atonement in vague outline; 2*20*, 3*13*, 4*4*, 5*24*, 6*14* do something towards defining it further.

I. 6–10. Most of Paul's letters open with thanks to God for the Christianity of the readers. Nothing of that kind is possible here! Quickly—not "soon" after their conversion; that were no wonder; but with indecent haste and levity, such as one laments in George Eliot's abandonment of faith—they are turning away from God who called them towards a

different gospel which is no gospel at all. (Some doubt whether this paraphrase is grammatically warranted, but reach a similar sense—"unto a different gospel which is nothing else than that some would trouble you," etc.) What he had said (on his second and third visits, probably; Ac. 16, 18) he now repeats; neither Paul nor "an angel" should be listened to if his words subvert the old teaching. It had carried its credentials with it. They must adhere to it not because it was Paul's, but because it was God's and they knew it as such. If his enemies say that he is a "persuasive fellow" and "pleases men," he protests that God and Christ are the lodestars governing his behaviour. (In a different sense he tells us elsewhere how Christlike it is to please others; Rom. 15 2f., 1 Cor. 10 33.) "Persuade" God is hardly what he means; he allows the word to stand because of the charge against him that he "persuades" men.

I. 11–17 begins a historical narrative proving Paul's independence of any human authority in his apostolic work. He learned by a revelation from heaven, not in any sense from "flesh and blood"; *cf.* Mt. 16 17. All natural human tendencies inclined him towards different beliefs. He was born and grew up in "Judaism" and was the best Jew of them all. But the God who predestinates had other thoughts for him. From his very birth onwards—the words partially echo Jer. 15, Is. 49 1—a Divine plan was shaping his life to undreamed-of issues. At last God spoke to him in that powerful "call" which dead souls hear, and "revealed His Son" within him—2 Cor. 4 6 is the best commentary on these words—in a blaze of heavenly glory. And he learned *at once*—this must be the meaning—that he, the Jew saved by that crucified Messiah whom he had been persecuting, was to preach the message of mercy among Gentiles furthest away from God and goodness. Did he as a preliminary consult Church authority? Far from it! Either he consulted God in solitude, or (according to another view of 17) without delay, and without human authorisation, he began preaching Christ to the Gentile population of "Arabia," *i.e.* the Nabatean Kingdom (p. 33). We note that Acts knows nothing of this. The two visits to Damascus implied by "returned" (Gal. 1 17) most probably appear as one (Ac. 9 19–25); our first proof of the strange but certain fact, that Luke had access to no collection of Paul's letters when writing Acts.

I. 18–24. Not till he had been three years a Christian and a Christian preacher did he come in contact with the earlier apostles; and then but slightly. He visited "Cephas" at Jerusalem, spending a fortnight with him (*cf.* 1 Cor. 15 3–7 ?); and he also met James, the brother of Christ (the Gr. may mean either "this one other apostle" or "this important non-apostolic personage"; no real difference to the argument). Evidently stories had been put about that Paul had been instructed by the apostolic college. There is no truth in them! After the one brief and limited contact, he pursued his own career in his native province of Cilicia and at Antioch (compare Ac. 9 30, 11 25ff.), favourably heard of in Judæan churches, but not known (23). The narrative of Acts again fails to tally at points with Paul's first-hand evidence. We may well accept the statement that Barnabas did much for Paul at Jerusalem and at Antioch; but one doubts whether Paul's preaching at Jerusalem (Ac. 9 29, 22 18) can be historical. It is far-fetched to hold, with some, that the church at *Jerusalem* may have known him but not provincial churches in "Judæa"! More likely "Judæa" includes Galilee (Lk. 4 44 *mg.**) than excludes the capital. Provincial Jewish churches have no independent importance in Paul's argument. (Yet possibly 1 Th. 2 15, "drave out us," implies *some* preaching to Jews at home; unless it is *Silas* who is here speaking.)

II. 1–10. A crucial negotiation on equal terms with the Jerusalem leaders, "fourteen" years later—possibly reckoned from Paul's conversion; more naturally from his first interview with Peter. (The point is important for chronology and history (p. 654), but not for the study of Paul's teaching.) The occasion is stated as twofold: a Divine admonition, and a fear of "running in vain." Verbally, the last words might mean that Paul needed reassurance as to the legitimacy of his teaching. But Gal. 1 1 forbids that sense, absolutely! What he feared was that his *future success* might be imperilled, or even his *past gains*. The whole situation corresponds to Ac. 15 1, and forbids attempts (p. 770) to identify Gal. 2 1ff. with Ac. 11 30* (12 25) or with a still earlier and otherwise unknown visit. Ac. 11 30 is either a different tradition about the visit of Ac. 15, or else is a blunder. It will not hold water to argue that persecution had driven apostles from Jerusalem, and that he only saw "presbyters" (Ac. 11 30): he is asserting his independence of *all human authority*. The scene is Antioch. The career of Paul is at stake. He is naturally reluctant to seem to subordinate himself to Jerusalem; but God encourages him to go. And for the work's sake he is willing to risk anything; so he falls in with the Antioch church's proposal (Ac. 15 2), taking along with himself and Barnabas, as a test case, the uncircumcised Christian Titus (whom Acts nowhere names). Things cannot have developed altogether smoothly. Paul's excitement rises high. His words are scarcely intelligible. Some have understood (see 4 *mg.*; there is also some Latin evidence for a reading in 5 which omits the negative) that Titus *was* circumcised at Jerusalem. That is incredible. Unlike the half-Jewish Timothy, Titus was "a Greek." Still, we gather that something untoward befell him. Possibly he was excluded from communion in the Jerusalem church. Possibly the leaders told Paul that, if he pressed Titus's claim, they could not answer for the results in the existing state of feeling. Such minor successes the "treacherous" emissaries, "treacherously" introduced (at Antioch), could secure, but nothing substantial or compromising. [J. O. F. Murray makes the interesting suggestion that the "false brethren" were not Jewish Christians. They were Jews at Jerusalem, who acted as informers for the authorities, and under pretence of conversion to Christianity, gained admission to the Church in order to report any tendency to disregard "the customs." The leaders of the Church, aware of the danger, pressed Paul to let Titus be circumcised, dreading a fresh outbreak of persecution if an uncircumcised man were admitted to communion.—A. S. P.]

Paul's negotiations took place "privately, with the leaders." Grammatically, his language leaves room for larger assemblies at other moments. Such must indeed have been held. But probably his point is that the Jerusalem church as a church certainly did not lay down the law for him. The story may already have been current, as Luke has incorporated it in Acts; and evidently it was false. Paul dealt with the Three. James (*cf.* 11 19) is first named; if not, as tradition calls him, bishop, yet he had become the local leader. But—Paul adds, in one of his most revolutionary sentences—even if "once" (*mg.*) the Three had been in personal association with Jesus, no importance attached to any outward position. The negotiations ended in recognition that God had called the Three to one task,

Paul to another; in peaceful separation; the sole bond of union to be a Gentile collection on behalf of the poor Christian Jews of Jerusalem (Ac. 24^{17}, Rom. 15^{25}ff., 1 Cor. 16^{1}ff., 2 Cor. 8f.). It is not easy to make room in Paul's narrative (note especially 6) for the "decree" of Ac. 15^{28}f.* (pp. 769f.) on any view of its meaning. Was this decree a later manifesto from Jerusalem (Ac. 21^{25}), misdated in Ac. 15?

II. 11–21. Excitement and consequent confusion rise higher still. In one sense, these verses record a climax; Paul is not merely Peter's equal—he had exposed him once when Peter was "plainly in the wrong." There is no ground for doubting that the order of time is followed. After the Jerusalem compact, Peter finds himself at Antioch (on a missionary tour? *cf.* 1 Cor. 9^{5}). If Titus *had* been an outsider at Jerusalem, the tables are now turned, and Peter is the outsider. Following the dictates of his generous and impulsive heart, he comes inside. (One could not share communion in an apostolic church without joining in a solid meal.) But a deputation from James arrived, and found such conduct questionable. *This* was not a separation of spheres! Peter went round again, carried off with him all Jewish Christians except Paul, "even Barnabas," and consequently put severe moral pressure on the Gentiles to conform to Judaism. Paul appealed to Peter's own principles. Jewish Christians, whatever their temptation to despise Gentile "sinners," had come to Christ for salvation as sinners themselves (not unlike the speech of Peter, Ac. 15$^{7-11}$).

16. save through faith: Greek idiom, with its laxer logic, does *not* imply that works do *something* towards saving; the Revisers might have remembered English idiom! Follow *mg.*

At some indefinite point Paul's language glides from recapitulating what he had said to Peter into arguing with possible critics in Galatia. He quotes (with modifications in language, repeated again Rom. 3^{20}) Ps. 143^{2}. An objector may say, "Then Christ encourages sin." Full-blown, the objection stands (Rom. 6^{1}): "It doesn't matter how we live henceforth"! The thought is here in the bud. Already Paul repudiates it with horror. No! if he were to go back to the *Law* he would be stamping himself as a sinner in the worse degree. (Law always condemns; and apart from law there is no full guilt; Rom. 5^{13}.) The Law had done its right work with him in driving him to despair (*cf.* Rom. 7). He had mystically shared Christ's crucifixion and Christ's risen life; he had recognised Christ's unspeakable love. How could he set aside such grace? You do that, if you seek to be saved by law! Were such salvation possible, Christ's death was "gratuitous."

How did things end at Antioch? If communion had been renewed, would not Paul say so? Probably Peter slipped away dejectedly. And, when Paul left once more on missionary work, he had lost for life the company of Barnabas (Ac. 15^{37}ff.; these verses doubtless state part of the truth as to the cause of the quarrel). Yet Paul, in after years, speaks well of Barnabas (1 Cor. 9^{6}) and of Mark (Col. 4^{10}, Phm. 24, 2 Tim. 4^{11}). We can see, too, that he believes Peter's principles were on his side. Perhaps the strongest evidence that he felt victorious is his circumcising Timothy. That is the behaviour of one who could afford to be generous. It must have been an unwelcome surprise to hear of Judaizers in Galatia, and—in spite of Lake, pp. 219ff.!—at Corinth.

III. 1–V. 12. Doctrinal Section. Paul Sets the Choice before them—Christ or the Law—and Argues for its Urgency.

III. 1–14. It was a strange folly which could lead them to forget the picture, so plainly shown them, of the suffering Saviour. (1) Their own experience had been of "the Spirit," as (*a*) the source of ecstatic prayer (4^{6}), in which the sacred scrap of Aramaic speech (Mk. 14^{36}) once used by Jesus was employed throughout the early Christian world (*cf.* Rom. 8^{15}); (*b*) the source of miracles (5), wrought by God Himself; (*c*) the source of the new moral life (5^{16}ff.). (2) The OT itself (6) preaches faith (Gen. 15^{6}) and (8) dwells on its blessings (Gen. 12^{3}*, 18^{18}; though the original meaning in Gen. was probably lower—Israel would *prosper* till good wishes in other lands came to run "May you be as happy as a Jew"; also (11) Hab. 2^{4} (*cf.* Rom. 1^{17}, Heb. 10^{38}). Here again the original meaning is different—"by his fidelity"). (3) The OT Law described itself (10) as a very different system; Dt. 27^{26} (Paul takes these words more rigorously than the OT did), and again (12) Lev. 18^{5}. The two different systems of religion came together in the Cross, when Jesus, dying a cursed death (Dt. 21^{23}), released Jewish believers from the curse which the Law announced, that Gentile believers might have a share in Abraham's blessing (*cf.* 8), and that "we"—Jewish and Gentile Christian alike—might receive what God promised so long ago, now fulfilled in the gift of the Holy Spirit. (The Atonement, as Paul here conceives it, had been offered on behalf of Jewish believers. There is no such limitation at 2 Cor. 5^{21}.)

III. 15–21. The "promise" having once been given, no subsequent enactment like the Law can interfere with it. (Similarly Heb. emphasizes the priority in time of Melchizedek to Aaron.) Even in human affairs, a "scrap of paper" which records an agreement is not torn up without tragic and memorable consequences. (It has been thought that a *will* is specially referred to, and in the Gr. rather than the Rom. form; *perhaps* confirming the view that the epistle went to S. Galatia.) Elsewhere (4^{24}) there are two covenants and (2 Cor. 3^{14}) one is "old" (*cf.* Jer. 31^{31}, and often in Hebrews). Here, *the* Covenant—OT "promise" or NT fulfilment—contrasts with the alien institution of Law. (2) The very language of Gen. 12^{3} (18^{18}) points to Christ; "seed" in the singular, not "seeds" (plural); a rabbi-like subtlety—the Heb. language never speaks of "seeds." For the figure 430 *cf.* (Gen. 15^{13}) Ex. 12^{40} (LXX, however, reads 215). (3) If the Law was the way of life, the promise falls to the ground; which is unthinkable. The true purpose of the Law is to increase human guilt [(*a*) by provoking more sins, Rom. 7^{7}ff., (*b*) by completing the conditions of accountableness]. For a Jewish mind this is the hardest of all Paul's hard sayings; it occurs also Rom. 5^{20}, 1 Cor. 15^{56}. (4) In a sense, the Law bears the mark of inferior agencies. According to later Jewish theology it came primarily from angels rather than from God (Dt. 33^{2} [Heb. text, not LXX], Ac. 7^{53}, Heb. 2^{2}); hence the need of a human mediator (Moses) to act for the crowd of angels as single representative of their joint endeavour; God, being one, would have no similar need of an intermediary. (This is Ritschl's explanation. Heb. and 1 Tim. from a different point of view call Jesus "mediator" of the new covenant *between* God and man.) [Ritschl's view, which had been put forward by others, is very attractive, since it is that naturally suggested by the words, and it may be correct. It is open to the objection that Moses is not regarded in the OT as mediator between the angels and Israel. But this is perhaps not insuperable (*cf.* Ac. 7^{38}). Lightfoot takes the first clause to mean that the very idea of mediation implies two parties

for whom the mediator acts. The Law is a contract between two parties, valid only while both fulfil its terms. It is accordingly contingent, not absolute. The second clause asserts that God, the giver of the promise, is one; there are not two parties, it depends on God alone. He is all, the recipients nothing. The promise is therefore absolute and unconditional. This gives a fairly good sense, but Paul would probably have expressed it more clearly and in a different way. The passage is extremely difficult. B. Jowett says it has received 430 interpretations (Meyer says "above 250"). No confidence can be felt in any interpretation. Lücke regarded the verse as a gloss, and this view has been revived by Bacon and Emmet.—A. S. P.] (5) Yet the Law, though temporary and imperfect, is part of God's plan. It is in no antagonism to the promise. The suggestion shocks Paul; his words have given it no warrant! If one held that law *saved*, one *would* be undermining the promise. No; law drives to despair—a *second* strange harmony between the rival religious systems.

III. 23–29. Inferior, temporary, co-operating—such is the distinctive nature of the Law. It had held Israel prisoner, till Christ should come. Or it resembled the slave who led a child to (Christ's) school (1 Cor. 4$_{15}$*). Now that Christ has appeared there is no room for a law-regime. Sonship, faith, a new humanity "put on" like a garment at baptism (27; *cf.* Rom. 13$_{14}$, and in a modified application, 1 Cor. 15$_{53}$f.), these are the privileges of Christians. Why be circumcised? Why Judaize? The new humanity is international—no room now for Jewish superiority! And, while there is a blessing in being Abraham's seed, the true descent is spiritual, and Christ gives the blessing according to the promise. Law give it? Never!—Evangelical Protestants must not ignore Paul's sacramental doctrine; still, they are entitled to urge that the keynote of all remains "faith." The apostle believes and teaches nothing which could make faith less than all-important. (1 Cor. 8ff. is peculiarly instructive as to his attitude towards quasi-magical sacramental doctrines. The idol taint is not physical.)

27. put on.—It is tempting to conjecture that the phrase is borrowed from the mystery religions; but authorities have failed to find confirmatory evidence.

IV. 1–7. An "heir" may be either one who is entering on his inheritance or one who is hereafter to enter on it. In a sense, the Christian inheritance is always future; heaven lies ahead. And the NT, with its strong eschatological background, felt the claims of the future more even than we do. Yet preceding verses speak of full sonship in Christ as largely implying *entrance* on the inheritance. The Spirit is earnest or first-fruits (Rom. 8$_{23}$, 2 Cor. 5$_5$, Eph. 1$_{14}$). Dealing with Israel under the Law, Paul explains that, while an heir, Israel had been a minor, and therefore temporarily no better than a slave. Slave to whom? To the angels or spirits of the elements (*mg.*; Peake, EGT, on Col. 2$_8$, after Spitta). From this bondage Israel was redeemed by the mission of the Son of God "born of a woman," *i.e.* [not necessarily virgin-born but] incarnate as human (*cf.* Job 14$_1$), and coming under the Law in order to abolish it and so introduce the epoch of freedom and sonship (*cf. supra* on 3$_{1-14}$).

IV. 8–11. The state of the Galatians, while heathen, was similar but worse. They had not been heirs in a state of temporary slavery, but frankly slaves to the mere element-spirits, those undivine gods they worshipped. If they now Judaize, they return to the same slavery. To make the imperfect OT Law an ultimate religious authority is to prefer nature-worship to Christ. Subordinate spirits, however over-ruled by God, instituted the Law. Here Paul comes nearer his great Gnostic follower Marcion than anywhere else; but, while Marcion hated the OT, Paul rejects only the Law, and rejects it only if it becomes a rival to the Gospel. His thought is delicately balanced on a knife-edge. In Rom., emphasis on the ceremonial (not *part* but *aspect* of the) Law disappears; it is viewed on its moral side as "the law of God." In a later epistle, Col., the ceremonial again predominates.

9. rather to be known of God: note the feeling of mystery, and *cf.* 1 Cor. 8$_{1}$ff.—**11. I am afraid:** he does not *despair* of winning back his readers.

IV. 12–20. An affectionate paragraph, reminding the Galatians how he had conformed in every legitimate way (*cf.* 1 Cor. 9$_{19}$ff.) to their customs, and begging them not to desert his faith. In the past, he and they had been good friends. His humiliating illness (epilepsy according to Lightfoot, malaria according to Ramsay, see p. 769. This attack is recorded nowhere else. His illness *may* be the stake in flesh of 2 Cor. 12$_7$*), which either drove him at the first into their country or at the least prolonged his (original) visit, had not proved offensive to them; they saw in him an angel (*cf.* 1$_8$), nay (observe the climax, *cf.* Mk. 13$_{32}$), Christ. Then they had thought themselves very happy to know Paul. If possible, they would have given him their own eyes (either because he had defective sight, *cf.* 6$_{11}$, or as the most precious thing they had, *cf.* Mt. 5$_{29}$). Now his frankness has angered them. Other teachers are, no doubt, more flattering—from sinister motives; if Judaizers carry their point, they will become an aristocracy and Gentile Christians their humble clients. The bond between evangelist and convert ought to hold even in absence. But it is a hard thing to win souls. It costs travail pangs. And the pains of spiritual labour may repeat themselves! What new thing can he say to them in this emergency?

IV. 21–V. 1. The new thing he tries is an allegorising spiritualising application of an OT story. Slave-born Ishmael mocked (Gen. 21$_{10}$*) free-born Isaac, and the son of the slave was righteously cast out. God means us to learn from this! Once more it is claimed that the OT supports Paul. A second quasi-allegory is intertwined with the first. According to later Jewish theology, the real Jerusalem, like all other sacred things, existed originally in heaven. And according to Paul the material or earthly Jerusalem, which rejects Jesus and clings to Law, is in hopeless bondage. Is. 54$_1$ must refer to the heavenly Jerusalem, partially manifested in the NT Church. Once more then, choose—between Christ and Law; Ishmael and Isaac; the true Jerusalem and the sham. Nay, they have chosen. Let them stand by their good choice! Let them not frustrate Christ's design (5$_1$ *mg.*).

[**25.** The meaning is apparently that the word "Hagar" is in Arabia used for Mt. Sinai. That this is philologically uncertain is no proof that Paul did not mean this. It gives an excellent sense, for it justifies the equation of Hagar with the Sinaitic covenant. Paul may say "in Arabia" rather than in the Arabian language, because he is referring to a local usage. If *mg.* gives the correct text, it is probably a gloss. An interesting suggestion has been made to the effect that the verb rendered "answereth to" means "has the same numerical value as." The Gr. words rendered "Hagar Sinai" = 1365, "the Jerusalem that now is" = 1364. But the Alpha in the former equation has to mean both 1 and 1000, there is a difference between the totals, and there is no indication

of this sense in the passage. The verb means "is in the same category with."—A. S. P.]

V. 2–12. Final emphatic statement of the dilemma, Christ or circumcision. Paul, speaking with all authority—in spite of false inferences drawn from his circumcising Timothy (11) and in spite of probable evasions on the part of the Judaizers—testifies that those circumcised on religious grounds must keep the whole Law. More important still, in accepting such a rite as necessary to salvation, one renounces Christ; to whom all Christians taught by the Spirit look in faith for the sentence of justification at the great day of judgment. Not that, as an external inherited rite, circumcision is a matter of any consequence. Neither it nor uncircumcision (*cf.* 615, 1 Cor. 719). Faith is all, and faith works through love. ("Working" (6) is theologically, and by analogy of Paul's language elsewhere, preferable to *mg.* "wrought."). They had known this and acted accordingly. Who—the word (as at 31) is singular—had arrested their progress? A "persuasive" influence *on the wrong side* (*cf.* 110), assuredly not from God. Is the small knot of errorists really to leaven the whole community? (Best taken as a question; so, but differently, 1 Cor. 56.) Paul at least is confident of a better issue, through Christ's grace; the leader—we have no light at all on his identity—will have a terrible punishment Divinely appointed him. Do any pretend that Timothy's circumciser is himself, when it suits his book, a preacher of circumcision? Facts prove the opposite; he is persecuted. Christian doctrine proves the opposite; all true Christians preach the Cross—an insuperable stumbling-block (*cf.* 1 Cor. 123) to the unregenerate Jewish mind. Pity that these fanatics for a surgical operation would not carry it further and castrate themselves (*mg.*) like some of the heathen of Asia Minor.

V. 13–VI. 10. Practical appendix to the epistle; in the form of "guarding" the doctrine of free grace against antinomian abuse.

V. 13–15. First safeguard. They are free indeed, and as Christians are done with Law; but love will save them from indulging lower impulses. Love (as Jesus taught, Mk. 1231 and parallels) includes everything (more fully Rom. 139f.). Paul fears cruel partisanships in Galatia—love will prove a remedy.

V. 16–24. Second safeguard—the Spirit; a source not only of trust in God, but of moral activity. Spirit and "flesh," the renewed nature and the lower nature of man, are flatly antagonistic; we "cannot" but be thwarted on one side or other. (In strict classical grammar, 17*d* means "in order that," etc., and ought to refer to a Divine appointment. If that be the meaning here, it is best to regard "for these . . . other" as a parenthesis, and to take the Divine purpose to be "We must not obey our *lower* promptings." But it is not certain that Paul's grammar is strictly classical.) If we are true to the promptings of the renewed nature, Law has no charge to bring against us.

19. the works of the flesh include much besides sensuality. From the very first (21) Paul must have warned inquirers and converts against bad lives. *Per contra* (22) **the fruit** (not, as often misquoted, "fruits") **of the Spirit** grows out of a renewed heart, and includes "love . . . fidelity . . . self-control."—**against such:** Paul knows of a law which says "Do this and live" (312); but he usually thinks of the Law as saying, "Thou shalt not" (Rom. 77), and as a gigantic enemy. The true Christian has no such enemy to fear. He has broken once for all with reigning sin.

V. 25f. Though RV marks a new paragraph, and different language is employed, these verses scarcely add anything to the thought. They name no fresh safeguard, but recapitulate 16–24 with strengthened emphasis (recalling 15) on the danger of quarrels.

VI. 1–5. Third safeguard. If things become bad and a Christian falls into open fault, loving Christian friends (acting as individuals rather than as a church? But, on any view, the verse is an important contribution towards a theory of church discipline) may restore him again. The only thing which could hinder this would be self-righteous pride, which thwarts all good. By thus bearing each other's burdens, we fulfil Christ's true "law"—if we are humble. If, however, we think ourselves too good to sympathise with our stumbling brothers, we are deluded. Let us look closer into our own hearts and lives! It is quite true that, in the end, every one is to answer for himself to God (*cf.* Rom. 1412) and to bear his own "load" (*mg.*; a different word from that rendered "burdens" in 2; not that anything is to be made of this except that Paul varies the word when he varies the idea). We may now help to make our neighbours better. But at the end God will judge us all one by one, each just as he is. May we throw back our thoughts to 510?

VI. 6. Paul thinks he has done with his moral safeguards, and turns to one special duty—that of paying Christian teachers. But presently he feels that something more must be said.

VI. 7–10. Last safeguard: the natural law of God's universe stands. Those who propose to make the gospel of grace an excuse for laxity think they can laugh in their sleeves at the Creator, but "You've got to git up airly Ef you want to take in God." No sowing without reaping, and no reaping without sowing—one kind or the other; to flesh or to spirit. Patience only is needed in continuing to "sow to the spirit" and to "do well." 10 returns in a broader way to the theme of 6. We must do good to others, especially to fellow Christians. But this linking of verses 7–10 with 6 does not disprove our view, that the statement of the final terrible safeguard is an afterthought.

VI. 11–16. Autograph postscript. "Large" letters need not be literally meant in late Greek; but what else can the word mean here? "How large a letter" (AV) is not a legitimate translation. Probably the reason is bad sight (*cf.* 415), possibly desire for emphasis; as we print in italics or capitals. A very unfavourable estimate of the moral character of the Judaizers is added. They are not really in earnest in their campaign. They are far from being strict Jews personally, but they pride themselves on making proselytes. The true Christian glories in no flattering successes—only in that cross of Christ which brings our old life to a close and separates us for ever from the world. Those thus crucified with Christ and new-created in His resurrection are God's true Israel (*cf.* Ps. 731) whether they be Jew or Gentile.

VI. 17. Final personal message. Let no one dare henceforth to trouble Christ's slave, branded (by persecutions; *cf.* 2 Cor. 1123ff.) as his master's property.

VI. 18. A brief benediction to those whom he still calls "brethren."

EPHESIANS, COLOSSIANS, AND PHILEMON

By the Rev. A. E. J. RAWLINSON

The Recipients.—The three epistles form a closely-related group. If Pauline, they may be ascribed to the period of the Roman imprisonment (Ac. 28₃₀, *cf.* Eph. 3₁, 4₁, Col. 4₁₀,₁₈, Phm. 1,23). The earlier imprisonment at Cæsarea (Ac. 24ff.) has been suggested, but is less probable. [A few scholars, including Deissmann, have suggested an imprisonment during Paul's long residence at Ephesus, but this is improbable.—A. S. P.] A messenger, Epaphras—apparently a leading teacher, perhaps even the founder of the Colossian church (Col. 1₇f., 4₁₂)—has arrived in Rome bringing despatches from Colossæ and possibly also from Hierapolis (Col. 4₁₃), Laodicea (Col. 4₁₃,₁₅f.), and other churches in the valley of the Lycus, a district of Phrygia. Paul himself seems not to have taught in this region, though he had friends in Colossæ (Col. 4₇ff.), whom he yet hopes to visit (Phm. 22). The gospel had probably been spread by Pauline missionaries from Ephesus, whose converts would be mainly Gentiles: Jews were fairly numerous in the district, but their Judaism is said to have been compromising and half-hearted: the population as a whole was Phrygian, with Greek admixture. The church at Colossæ was menaced by false teaching of a syncretistic type (Col. 2₈–₂₀)—apparently a semi-Christian theosophy which included elements of orientalised Judaism. It was the kind of religious amalgam which such an environment might be expected to produce. Lightfoot's assumption of a connexion with Essene Judaism is unnecessary and improbable.

"Ephesians."—On receipt of Epaphras' news Paul sent Tychicus with a batch of letters in reply—one to Colossæ, warning against any teaching which imperilled either the liberty of the gospel or the supreme lordship of Christ; a note to Philemon, an individual Christian at Colossæ, owner of a runaway slave whom Paul sends back to his master; probably also letters to other churches, including one (no longer extant) to Laodicea (Col. 4₁₆). Ephesians, if genuine, is best regarded as an answer to one of the letters brought by Epaphras from a church whose identity cannot now be recovered. The alternative view, that it is an encyclical addressed to the churches of Asia, though widely accepted, appears less probable. It cannot have been written in the first instance to Ephesus, because Paul was well known to the Ephesian church (Ac. 19; *cf.* 20₁₇ff.), and we should expect a letter from him to Ephesus to contain personal messages and greetings; whereas it is implied in Eph. 1₁₅, 3₂, 4₂₁f. that the writer is not personally known to his readers. There is, moreover, strong MS and patristic evidence for the omission of "in Ephesus" from Eph. 1₁, and we learn from Tertullian that Marcion in his collection of Pauline epistles (*c.* A.D. 160) described the epistle as written "to the Laodiceans"—a guess, no doubt, based upon Col. 4₁₆, but one which proves that Marcion did not read the words "in Ephesus" in his text. Presumably its original destination was lost as it circulated in the Church at large; and it became known in the West through copies emanating from Ephesus, the great Christian centre in Asia Minor. Those who hold to the "encyclical" hypothesis commonly assume that a blank was left in the text, to be filled in with the appropriate local name as the letter was read aloud in the churches.

Authenticity.—The authenticity of all three epistles has been questioned. They diverge widely in style and vocabulary from Paul's earlier writings, and in doctrine, as regards both Christology and the conception of the Church, they are thought to mark an advance upon Pauline ideas: moreover, the eschatological outlook characteristic of early Paulinism is here so transmuted as almost to have disappeared. The objection that Col. is an attack upon second-century Gnosticism may safely be disregarded; for the heresy combated in Col. 2₈–₂₀ does not tally with the developed Gnostic systems, and Gnostic *tendencies* must have been operative in the less authoritative centres of Christian teaching much earlier than was formerly supposed. The other difficulties are real but not conclusive: linguistic and stylistic arguments are precarious, and the developments in doctrine are not such as forbid our attributing them to the mature mind of Paul. It is, moreover, difficult to regard Phm. as an invention: and its authenticity would seem to carry with it that of Col., which in turn may authenticate Eph. The phenomena of mutual dependence exhibited by the two latter epistles are better explained by the supposition that they were written in close connexion with each other by the same person, than by the theory that one of them is genuine, and the other an imitation by a later writer. The hypothesis of Holtzmann—that an original Pauline nucleus lies behind Col. and served as a model to the writer of Eph., who subsequently expanded the original Col. to form Col. as we know it—is too complicated to be probable. At present there seems to be a tendency to regard Col. and Phm. as genuine, but to treat Eph. as "a catholicised version of Col.," a "set of variations played by a master hand upon one or two themes suggested by Col." (Moffatt). The question may fairly be regarded as still an open one, and the Pauline authorship even of Eph. is by no means put out of court. *Cf.* p. 815.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* I. *On Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon:* (*a*) Beet, Moule (CB), Cone (IH), **Martin** (Cent.B); (*b*) Ellicott; (*c*) P. Ewald (ZK), **Haupt** (Mey.), Oltramare, von Soden (HK), B. Weiss, Lueken (SNT), M. Dibelius (HNT). II. *On Ephesians and Colossians:* (*b*) **T. K. Abbott** (**ICC**). III. *On Colossians and Philemon:* (*b*) **Lightfoot**, Williams (CGT); (*d*) Maclaren (Ex.B). IV. *On Ephesians:* (*b*) Macpherson, Salmond (EGT), **Robinson**, Westcott, Lightfoot (*Notes on Epistles of St. Paul* on 1₁–₁₄).

J. O. F. Murray (CGT); (*c*) Klöpper; (*d*) Dale (*Lectures*), Findlay (Ex.B), Gore, Lidgett, *God in Christ Jesus*. V. *On Colossians:* (*a*) **Findlay** (PC); (*b*) **Peake** (EGT); (*c*) Klöpper; (*d*) Moule, *Colossian Studies*. VI. *On Philemon:* (*b*) **Oesterley** (EGT), Vincent (ICC). *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries, Discussions in Histories of the Apostolic Age, Lives of Paul, Introductions to the NT or to the Pauline Epp.; Hort, *Prolegomena to the Epp. to the Rom. and Eph.*; Thackeray, *Relation of S. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*; Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe*; W. L. Walker, *Christ the Creative Ideal*.

EPHESIANS

I. 1f. Opening Salutation.—The author (Paul?) writes to the consecrated and loyal people of God who are "in Christ" at some unknown place (see Introd.) in Asia Minor.

I. 3–14. A Paragraph of Praise.—God, who is also the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, is thanked for the blessings—embracing every form of spiritual riches—bestowed through their mystical relationship to Christ in the heavenly sphere upon the writer and upon his readers. The fact of their Christianity is evidence of their vocation to be holy and blameless before Him in love—a vocation which runs back into the eternal counsels (4): God has predetermined them to be His own adopted sons through Christ, the motive being simply "the good pleasure of His will" (5), and the purpose in view the glorious manifestation of His kindness and the eternal praise thereof (6). This kindness is bestowed upon them "in the Beloved," whose blood is the source of their forgiveness and of their emancipation from slavery to sin (7). The riches of God's free favour is further exhibited in the wealth of wisdom and knowledge which He has lavished upon them by letting them into the secret of His will (9), the whole process being part of the eternal purpose which He planned in Christ, working out when the fullness of appointed times arrived, viz. the summing up in Him of all things both on the earth and in the heavens (9f.). It is in Him that they, *i.e.* those who were foreordained according to the purpose of God, who worketh all things according to the purpose of His will (11), have been chosen to be the Divine inheritance; to the end that the writer, and those for whom he writes (*i.e.* those whose hope in Christ was of old standing), might redound to the praise of the Divine glory equally with those (*i.e.* new converts) to whom he writes; for these latter also, having heard the word of the truth, the glad tidings of their salvation, put their trust in Him and were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise who was Himself the earnest-money of a full inheritance hereafter, when the deliverance of God's purchased possession should be complete (12–14).

3. in the heavenly places: (*en tois epouraniois*), also 1$_{20}$, 2$_{6}$, 3$_{10}$, 6$_{12}$, but nowhere else in NT. The phrase suggests the late Jewish doctrine of seven heavens rising one above the other (*cf.* 2 Cor. 12$_{2}$), but the local sense should not here be pressed; it means "the heavenly sphere," "the unseen universe" of spiritual realities.—**4. even as he chose us:** the recurrent references in 4ff. to Divine choice and foreordination suggest but do not necessitate a Calvinistic interpretation. Calvinism, as a formal doctrine, is foreign to the NT, though here, as elsewhere, reflection upon the wonder of Christian vocation is expressed in terms which—when treated as formal theology—readily gave rise to Calvinism.—**6. in the Beloved:** it seems probable that "the Beloved" had come to be a recognised title of the Messiah (see J. A. Robinson, p. 229).—**7. redemption through his blood:** the phrase is explained by the sacrificial system of Judaism. "The blood is the life" (Lev. 17$_{11}$), and represents the dedication of all life to God. Man, unworthy *qua* sinful to offer his life to God, offers vicariously an unblemished animal life with which his own life is by sprinkling identified. The death of Christ, taken in connexion with His saying in Mk. 10$_{45}$, and His claim to inaugurate a New Covenant (Mk. 14$_{24}$), suggested the application of this circle of ideas to Him and to His work. It was the earliest Christian theology of Atonement. Stripped of metaphor it means that Christ's life of flawless obedience perfected in death is the means whereby all who come to share in it are made one with the life of God.—**9. the mystery of his will:** a keynote of the whole epistle. The "mystery" is the Divine world-plan, purposed before all ages, now at length disclosed in the Christian revelation. The word is to be taken not in its modern sense (=a *hidden* or *unintelligible* secret) but as signifying a *revealed* secret, a mystery *disclosed*. (An allusion by way of contrast to contemporary *Mystery Religions* is possible, though Robinson, pp. 234ff., strongly denies this.)—**10.** Read "for working out in the fulness of the times." The genitive is temporal, and the word *oikonomia*, originally signifying the management of a household, had come to be used of any orderly administration: here the working out of the Divine world-plan.—**to sum up:** the word *anakephalaiousthai* seems to be derived from *kephalaion* (=a sum) rather than from *kephalé* (=a head). "In the Divine counsels Christ is the sum of all things" (Robinson). In the Eagle Vision of Ezra (2 Esd. 12$_{25}$) the three heads of the Eagle (probably the Flavian Emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian) are said to "recapitulate" or "sum up" all the impieties of the Eagle (*i.e.* Rome, the hostile world-power). Probably there was a received tradition in apocalyptic writings that at the end of the world-history all the evil which is now diffused and isolated, as well as all the good, should be summed up in Antichrist and Christ respectively.—**11–13. in whom also we . . . in whom ye also:** the contrast seems to be between Christians of old standing and neophytes, rather than between Jewish and Gentile believers.—**13.** The reference to "sealing" may possibly suggest an eschatological sacrament; *cf.* Rev. 7$_{2}$f. Chase (*Confirmation in the Apostolic Age*, pp. 51ff.) thinks there may be a reference to an early form of "confirmation," possibly by anointing; this is doubtful. The "Holy Spirit of promise" means probably "the Holy Spirit who is Himself a promise" rather than "the promised Holy Spirit"; the gift of the Spirit being regarded as an *arrhabōn* or pledge (an instalment paid as proof of the *bona fides* of a bargain) which is a guarantee of completeness of blessing hereafter.

I. 15–23. A Paragraph of Prayer.—The writer, who has been informed (by letter?) of the Christian faith and love of his correspondents, reciprocates their thanksgiving and prayers (15f.); he beseeches God, the glorious Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, to bestow on them the Spirit, giver of wisdom, revealer in the knowledge of God (17); that the eyes of their hearts may be opened, so that they may know the hope implied in God's calling, the wealth of glory involved in God's inheritance in His people, and the overwhelming greatness of His power towards believers, as displayed in the working of His strong might wrought in Christ (18–20): whom God raised from the dead and made assessor of His own throne in the heavenly sphere,

supreme over every rule, authority, power, and lordship, and over every existent or nameable being, whether in the present or in the future age (20f.): all things God subjected beneath the feet of Christ, and gave Him as supreme Head to the Church which is His embodiment, the fulfilment of Him who in all things universally is being fulfilled (22f.).

15f. I also, having heard . . . cease not: the form of expression is such as would be used in replying to a letter: though this *may* be explained as a literary device.—**and which:** follow *mg.*—**16. making . . . prayers:** *cf.* 1 Th. 12, Rom. 19, Phm. 4. The evidence of papyri found in Egypt shows that some such phrase in beginning a letter was a recognised usage of the time.—**17.** Beware of taking "spirit" in the modern weakened sense as an attitude of mind: the text means a teaching Spirit, *not* (as we might say) a "teachable spirit" or a wise disposition. "Revelation" or "apocalypse" is the correlative of "mystery"; the Divine secret needs a Divine unveiling; *cf.* 33.—**21. rule . . . dominion:** *cf.* Col. 116. These were all terms for celestial hierarchies and different angelic orders derived from the language of Jewish apocalypse. *Cf.* Enoch 61, "And He will call on all the host of the heavens and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim" (*i.e.* wheels; *cf.* Ezek. 115), "and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One" (*i.e.* the Messiah) "and the other powers on the earth and over the water on that day."—**every name that is named:** a Hebraism. In Heb. idiom "being called anything implies being that thing." *Cf.* Is. 96 and Enoch 483, where we read (of the Son of Man), "Before the sun and the signs were created . . . his name was named before the Lord of Spirits" (*i.e.* he existed before the creation of the sun and stars). So here the meaning will be "every being that exists."—**this world . . . that which is to come:** the familiar eschatological antithesis. For "world" read "age" (*mg.*).—**22f. the church which is his body:** *cf.* 1 Cor. 12 12,27. The phrase emphasizes: (*a*) the organic unity of all Christians in Christ; (*b*) the thought of the Church as the organ whereby the life of the risen Christ now operates, the present embodiment of Christ on earth.—**the fulness . . . . filleth:** read, "the fulfilment of him that is being fulfilled." The word translated "that filleth" (*pleroumenou*) is really a *passive* participle: and the thought is apparently that Christ, as manifested in the Church, awaits His fulfilment in the completion of the Divine purpose.

II. 1–10. Christians are Raised and Exalted in the Risen and Exalted Christ by God's Free Grace and Gift.—The recipients of the letter, like other people, had been (spiritually) dead by reason of the sins and trespasses in which they formerly "walked" in accordance with the course of the existing world-order, as subjects of the ruler who has power over the air and over the spirit operating in disobedient hearts (1f.); the writer in like manner, and those for whom he speaks, had all lived formerly in the lusts of their flesh, following the impulses of the flesh and of the mind, and were in themselves as much the objects of Divine wrath as other people (3); the wealth, however, of the Divine mercy and the greatness of the Divine love had brought them to life with the bringing to life of Christ, dead though they were in sins ("and your salvation is of God's free grace"), had raised them with His resurrection, and had seated them with His session in the heavenly sphere in Him (4–6), a manifestation to all future ages of the extraordinary wealth of His kindness and goodness towards them (7). Salvation, it must be repeated, is wholly the outcome of God's free kindness; though requiring the response of human faith it is not of human initiation; the gift is from God; human merit does not enter into it; and therefore human boasting is excluded (8f.). Christians are the handiwork of God, products of a creative act in Christ Jesus; "good works" are indeed involved, but it is as the purposed end of this creative act, the prepared course marked out for Christians to walk in (10).

2. The ruler of the evil powers that dwell in the air is ruler also of the spirit that energizes in the wicked. It was the common belief of late Judaism that the air was full of evil spirits; and Christians living in the corrupt cities of Asia Minor (Rev. 2f.) were exposed to a veritable "atmosphere of evil," which such language aptly personifies.—**3. by nature:** *i.e.* in ourselves, in our natural condition, apart from the Divine grace.—**children of wrath:** objects of the Divine displeasure. The phrase is a Hebraism—*cf.* Zech. 414, "sons of oil" (="anointed personages"), and Eph. 22, "sons of disobedience" (="disobedient persons")—and has no direct bearing upon the dogma of "original sin."—**5f.** The processes of death, resurrection, and ascension, through which Christ passed, are in the Christian mystically reproduced as a death to sin, a resurrection to new life, and a participation in the heavenly life of Christ.—**8–10.** The summing up of former controversies about "faith" and "works." "The Divine purpose is not achieved apart from the 'good works' of men: only it does not begin from them, but leads to them" (Robinson).

II. 11–22. The Gentile is now One with the Jew in God's New Man, and an Integral Part of God's Temple.—Those who, like the readers, were once Gentiles, are especially bound to remember the condition from which they were rescued (11): at that time without Messiah, they were aliens in relation to the commonwealth of God's people, foreigners in relation to the covenants of promise, lacking in that hope of the future which the Jew had always possessed, and living in ignorance of God; such had been their condition in the world (12); but now that they are in Christ Jesus, the far-off peoples are become nigh in Messiah's blood (13); it is Messiah who is the peace both of Jew and of Gentile, He who made the two things one and broke down the enmity—the dividing barrier that separated them—in His own flesh by annulling the Law with its injunctions and decrees (14f.): so that He made peace (*a*) by a creative blending of the two (Jew and Gentile) in Himself into a single New Man; (*b*) by a reconciliation of both, in the one body thus formed, to God through the Cross whereby He slew "the enmity" (16). His coming was thus a preaching of peace both to Gentiles who were "far off" and to Jews who were "nigh" (17): for the access of both in one Spirit to the Father is through Him (18). Christian Gentiles have therefore ceased to be foreigners, alien residents in the Divine city; they are sharers in the citizenship of God's chosen people, members of the Divine household, stones built in on the apostolic and prophetic foundation in that building whose corner-stone is Christ Jesus (19f.); it is in Him that all building work upon that edifice, as it is progressively accomplished, is so mortiсed together as to grow into a holy shrine in the Lord (21); it is in Him that the readers also are built to form (part of) God's dwelling-place in the Spirit (22).

11. Gentiles in the flesh: physically Gentiles.—**called:** *i.e.* in current Jewish terminology; for those who hold (with the writer) that circumcision and uncircumcision are matters of the heart (Rom. 28f.),

having nothing to do with the physical rite, "uncircumcision" is no more necessarily the badge of the Gentile than "circumcision" of the Jew.—**12.** A comma should be inserted before "in the world," which stands in emphatic contrast to what follows.—**13.** *Cf.* Is. 57^{19}.—**14.** Christ is the author of peace between Jew and Gentile, for in reconciling them both to God He has reconciled them to one another and thus "made the two things one thing."—**the middle wall of partition:** in Herod's Temple at Jerusalem, a barrier marked the point beyond which a Gentile might not penetrate under penalty of death (Rev. 11^{2}*).—**15. in his flesh:** *i.e.* by His physical death.—**the enmity:** this expression is in apposition with "middle wall of partition," and should be connected with the words "and brake down," the phrase "law of commandments in ordinances" (*i.e.* the Law, which consisted of injunctions in the form of decrees) alone being governed by the participle "having abolished."—**that he might create:** the literal translation is "create in Himself the two *unto* one New Man."—**16. in one body:** *i.e.* the Church; the mystical, not the physical, body of Christ is meant.—**17.** Is. 57^{19} combined with Is. 52^{7} (LXX). The reference is either to Christ's preaching in His earthly ministry or to the gospel as proclaimed by the risen and exalted Lord. But the two need not here be distinguished; the mission of the Saviour as a whole constituted a proclamation of peace.—**20.** Probably "the foundation consisting of the apostles and prophets" rather than the foundation laid by them. The "prophets" are those of the Christian Church, not those of OT. The metaphor of the "corner-stone" is from Is. 28^{16}; *cf.* Ps. 118^{22}.—**21. each several building:** read, "all building-work that is done." The idea of a plurality of buildings does not suit the context either in thought or in language. The Temple at Jerusalem included a variety of buildings, but the word here translated "temple" properly means "shrine" and refers to the Holy of Holies.—**22.** The ancient shrine was not a "place of worship" but a dwelling-place of the Deity. Christians are to be "built into" a spiritual whole, in which the Divine Presence is to be enshrined here upon earth.

III. 1–13. A Digression. Paul the Prisoner and his Relation to the "Mystery."—A knowledge of Paul's story may be presumed among those who read this letter: they will have heard how he was entrusted with the mission of proclaiming to the Gentiles God's dispensation of grace towards them (1f.); it was by revelation, as aforesaid (*cf.* 1^{17}), that the glorious secret of God was made known to him—how fully they can judge for themselves by reading the passage (1^{3}–2^{3}) in which he has already summed it up (3f.). This secret, hidden from former generations, was now revealed in the Spirit to the apostles and prophets of Christ (5); it included the admission of the Gentiles to joint-heirship, joint-membership of the Body, joint-participation in the promise through the Good News in Christ Jesus (6). Paul, less than the least of all saints, had been made a minister of that gospel through the wondrous working of the Divine grace and power, and entrusted with the task of proclaiming among the Gentiles the inexplorable wealth contained in Christ (7f.). It was his task to enlighten all men by exhibiting the working out of that secret Divine purpose which, from before the beginning of time, had been hidden in God the creator of all things (8f.). The very powers and principalities in heaven had been kept in the dark, and were only now through the Church to learn how many-sided God's wisdom had been (10). The whole formed part of God's eternal purpose in Christ Jesus the Church's Lord, who was the source of that bold and fearless access to the Father which believers enjoyed through their confidence in Him (11f.). No need to lose heart when they heard of Paul's sufferings as a prisoner (1) on their behalf! Such sufferings were rather a ground of glory (13).

2. Translate, "for surely ye have heard" or (if there has been a letter to which this is a reply) "since, as ye say, ye have heard." The term "dispensation" (*oikonomia*) refers, as in 1^{10}, to the Divine "economy" of grace, not to the writer's stewardship of it.—**3. by revelation:** only so can the "secret of God" be made known (*cf.* 1^{17}).—**as I wrote afore:** according to some in another Pauline epistle—perhaps Col. Some even see in it "the self-betrayal of an imitator." So again "when ye read" has been taken to mean "when ye read the Scriptures" (*cf.* 1 Tim. 4^{13}), *i.e.* either the Pauline letters (supposed, on this hypothesis, to have already become canonical; in which case a late date is required for Eph.) or the OT (so Hort). All these views are needless; the passage means simply, "Read what I have written above and judge for yourselves as to my insight into the hidden things of God." The *mystery* is the whole world-plan of God revealed in Christ; it includes the unity of Jew and Gentile but is not to be limited to that.—**5.** Pre-Christian revelation is not denied, but it is as nothing in comparison with the disclosures now made in Christ.—**holy apostles:** the epithet describes the *status* of consecration to a particular work, rather than the possession of peculiarly "saintly" character: but the word may be a reverential gloss inserted by a scribe (perhaps from the parallel Col. 1^{26}).—**10.** Jewish thought did not regard the angelic hierarchies as being either omniscient or sinless (*cf.* 1 Cor. 2$^{6–8}$*, 6^{3}). The word translated *manifold* properly means "very varied," as of a many-coloured embroidery.—**11. eternal purpose:** lit. "purpose of the ages," a Hebraism (*cf.* "Rock of Ages," *i.e.* everlasting Rock).

III. 14–21. The Writer's Prayer for his Readers.—Kneeling, in a very ecstasy of prayer, before the Father who is the source and prototype of all fatherly relationship whether on earth or in heaven, the writer prays that, in a degree commensurate with the wealth of the Divine glory, his readers may be granted power and strength through the Spirit unto inner spiritual growth; that the indwelling of Christ in their hearts may through faith be realised; that Christian love may come to be the very root and foundation of their being; and that so they may be given strength to share with all God's holy people the comprehension of the length and breadth and height and depth (of God's glorious purpose) and the knowledge of that love of Christ which is beyond all knowledge, and be made spiritually full unto the measure of the fulness of God Himself (14–19). God can do that and more: His power—the power of that Divine energy of His which is at work in us—far exceeds all capacity of human prayer or imagination. Glory to Him in the Church and in Christ Jesus for ever! (20).

14. The writer prostrates himself; the ancients ordinarily prayed standing.—**15. every family:** *i.e.* angelic or human. The Greek involves a word-play (*pater-patria*) which suggests the translation "fatherhood." To the writer human fatherhood is a metaphor from Divine, not *vice versa*.—**16. the inward man:** the spiritual as opposed to the physical side of man's nature (*cf.* 2 Cor. 4^{16}).—**19.** All "fulness," *i.e.* all true reality, dwells in God: unto the complete attainment of reality and truth the working out of the Divine

purpose in Christ and Christians is to lead. "In Christ" and "through the Church" the restoration of a disordered universe to its true order is to be achieved. The word "fulness" (*pleroma*) became later on a catchword of Gnosticism, and the prominence both of the word and the idea in Eph. and Col. may point to its having already played a part in the theosophic speculations attacked in the latter epistle.

IV. 1–6. God's Calling Involves a Unity of Life.—The writer, appealing to his imprisonment, beseeches his readers to "walk" in a fashion worthy of their calling, *i.e.* in humility, gentleness, and forbearance, putting up with one another in love. They must be careful to observe steadfastly the oneness of the Spirit (who is at work in them, and who holds them together) in a common bond of peace. The Spirit is one even as the "Body" is one, even as their calling involves one common hope, even as there is one Lord, one loyalty, one baptism, and one God, the supreme and ever-present Father.

3. Literally, to "watch," to "keep your eyes on," the oneness of the Spirit.—**4.** The writer does not here, as in 1 Cor. 10^{17}, base the doctrine of the one Body on the "one Bread" of the Eucharist, but no special significance can be attached to the omission.—**6. in all:** so rightly RV. Some MSS read "in you all," but "you" is a gloss.

IV. 7–16. The Doctrine of "Gifts" in Relation to Unity.—Every Christian has his "gift" of grace: and the grace given to each is proportioned to the measure of Christ's giving (7). That is what Scripture means when it says, "He went up on high and took captive a captivity and gave gifts to men" (8). "He went up"—surely that means that He came down also to these lower regions, our earth. He that came down is the very same Person who went up, high above all the heavens, to fill all things (9f.); and it is He who has given "gifts" to His Church—apostles, prophets, evangelists, shepherds, teachers—for the fitting of God's people for the work of service, for the upbuilding of Christ's Body (11f.). We are to arrive at last—all of us together—at that oneness of loyalty and knowledge of God's Son which shall constitute us a full-grown man who has attained the measure of the stature of Christ's own fulness (13). So at last shall we cease to be a pack of children tossed like sailors at sea and carried hither and thither by every wind of teaching that cunning and craft and error's wiles can bring to bear on us (14); in truth and in love we shall grow up in all things unto Him who is the Head—Christ (15). From Him it is that the whole Body, through every joint of its equipment, is compacted and knit together by the due and effectual working of each several part, and so achieves its own increase, to its own upbuilding, in love (16).

8. Read, "it saith," the Scripture being personified as in Gal. 3^{8}. The quotation is from Ps. 68^{18}, which, however, has "Thou hast received gifts from men." Perhaps a Targum (*i.e.* a vernacular paraphrase for synagogue use) is here followed.—**9.** RV rightly omits "first," which looks like a gloss in the interest of the view that the "descent" referred to is either the incarnation or the descent into hell. The only tolerable interpretation in relation to the context is that which regards the "descent" as *subsequent* to the "ascent," *i.e.* the ascended and triumphant Lord comes down from heaven to bestow upon His Church the "gifts" of apostolate, prophecy, etc. (11).—**10. all the heavens:** *i.e.* the seven heavens of Jewish belief (13*, *cf.* Heb. 4^{14}).—**12.** Delete the comma after "saints."—**13. a full-grown man:** *cf.* Gal. 3^{28}, and contrast the plural "children" (14).—**15.** Read *mg.*—**16.** "Every joint of its supply (or equipment)"; *cf. mg.* The phrase echoes the technical language of Greek medical writers.

IV. 17–24. The Old Man and the New.—Those who are now members of the true Israel are no longer to walk as Gentiles, *i.e.* in the vanity of mind, the darkness, the alienation from the Divine life which springs from ignorance and obtuseness of heart, and issues in insensate abandonment to lascivious, impure, and greedy ways. Not such is the lesson of Christ! Those who have heard His voice and in Him been taught the truth—truth as it exists in Jesus—must renounce "the old man" of their former behaviour, the perishing man who is governed by deceitful lusts; they must be renewed in the spirit of their understanding; they must clothe themselves in "the new man," the man after the Divine pattern, God's new creation in righteousness and holiness of truth.

21. Truth as displayed in Jesus in His life upon earth. The name "Jesus" without the title "Christ" occurs here only in the epistle. [*Cf.* Exp., Feb. 1912. —A. J. G.]

IV. 25–V. 2. Precepts of the New Life.—Away then with lying, resentment, stealing, foul talk, bad temper, lust. Remember the common membership (25). Give the devil no scope (27). Do not grieve the Spirit (30). Be kind, tender-hearted, forgiving—remembering the Divine forgiveness (32). Be imitators of your heavenly Father and walk in love, remembering the love of Christ and His oblation of Himself for us.

25. *Cf.* Zech. 8^{16}.—**26.** *Cf.* Ps. 44 (LXX), Dt. 24^{13}, 15.—**29. corrupt:** literally "rotten," "decaying."—**for edifying . . . may be:** *i.e.* with a view to building up, as the matter may require.—**30.** *Cf.* 1^{13}, Rev. 7$^{2f.}$. —**V. 2.** Christ is here compared not with a sin offering but with a burnt offering ascending to heaven in savoury smoke (*cf.* Phil. 4^{18}).

V. 3–21. The Way of Light and the Way of Darkness.—There are other sins which among God's people, should be literally unmentionable—fornication, uncleanness, coveting, filthiness, foolish speech, improper jesting. (The true seemliness of speech is thanksgiving.) No one who practises any of the above can inherit the Kingdom. Let no sophistries deceive you; God's wrath befalls the disobedient—dissociate yourselves from such things. You have passed from darkness to light and must walk accordingly. Goodness, righteousness, truth—these are the fruits of Light. You must test things, and discover what is well-pleasing to the Lord. Nay, you must not only avoid participation in the unfruitful deeds of darkness; you must show them up—for things are being done in secret which it is shameful even to mention. Things are always made manifest when they are shown up by the light: for whatever is made manifest *ipso facto* becomes luminous. That is the meaning of "Sleeper, awake! Arise from the dead, and Christ shall *shine* upon thee!" Take careful heed, then, how you walk—wisely, and not unwisely. These are evil days—buy up every opportunity. Don't be foolish. Understand what the Lord's will is. And "don't be drunken with wine"—that is prodigality; if you are full let it be in the Spirit; if you sing to one another, let your music and hymns and songs be spiritual, the expression of the song and melody going up to the Lord in your hearts, with continual thanksgivings under all circumstances in the name of Christ to God the Father. Let there be mutual subordination in the fear of Christ.

4. which are not befitting: read, "in relation to unseemly things": the words limit the prohibition

of jesting.—**giving of thanks:** the word (*eucharistia*) is connected with *charis* (=grace), and in antithesis to the preceding clause may here suggest a double meaning.—**5.** Covetousness is really a worship of false gods and is tantamount to a return to heathenism.—**7.** Read "partakers *in* them," referring back to "these things" in 6.—**9. light:** the AV reading, "Spirit," appears in some MSS through the scribe's reminiscence of Gal. 5$_{22}$.—**10. proving:** read "testing."—**12. reprove:** here and in 13 read "expose them."—13*b*. The thought seems to be that darkness itself is transformed into light by the process of being made manifest.—**14.** Read, "Wherefore *it* saith"; *cf.* 4$_{8}$. The quotation is apparently a fragment of an early hymn.—**16.** Read *mg.*—**18.** *Cf.* Pr. 23$_{31}$ (LXX).—**19.** *Cf.* Col. 3$_{16}$. The songs of Christians are to be spiritual songs, not vinous catches. The reference may be to singing at the *Agapæ* or Love-feasts of the Church (*cf.* Jude 12).

V. 22.–VI. 9. Subordination in the Fear of Christ.—The principle is illustrated by the relation (*a*) of wives to husbands, (*b*) of children to parents, (*c*) of slaves to masters. The writer does not attack existing social institutions—slavery, the *patria potestas*, the dependent position of women. He accepts the relationships as they exist in the world he knows, and seeks to interpret them in the light of the gospel (p. 649). If he enforces upon wives, children, and slaves, the duty of subordination, he insists also upon the corresponding obligations of conjugal love and protection, parental nurture and admonition, kind treatment and forbearance towards slaves. All these relationships are now relationships "in the Lord." That of husband and wife in particular is grounded in Christ's relation to His Church.

V. 22–23. This principle of subordination (21) involves in the case of wives subordination to their own husbands. The husband is to the wife as Christ is to the Church—head and saviour of the body. As the Church obeys, so should the wife; but the husband's love, in turn, must be as the self-devotion of Christ, who to hallow the Church, gave Himself for her, purified her with washing of water and pronunciation of formula, and Himself presented her to Himself (as Bridegroom), glorious and free from all disfigurement or wrinkle to be His holy and unblemished (Bride). Husbands then should love their wives as their own bodies; in loving their wives they are loving a part of themselves, and a man does not hate his own flesh but nourishes it and keeps it warm. That is what Christ does to the Church; we are limbs of His Body (one with His bones and flesh). That is what I (Paul) take to be the meaning of Gen. 2$_{24}$. The truth of revelation in the passage is an important one, and for my own part I interpret it with reference to Christ and to the Church; but in any case, whatever your several views of it, each of you is to love his own wife as himself, and the wife to fear her husband.

26. Marriage in the Greek world was preceded by a "nuptial bath," and the ritual doubtless included also the repetition of a solemn "formula." The writer here intends his readers to think of the analogous ceremonial of Christian Baptism. Throughout this passage there is perhaps an implicit reference to the "sacred marriage" of certain of the Greek "Mysteries," in which the deity was wedded on behalf of the community of worshippers by a maiden priestess, or in which the nuptials of god and goddess were ceremonially represented by a human priestess and priest. A Hebrew antecedent of the main idea is to be found in the conception of Israel as the betrothed of Yahweh (Hos. 2$_{19}$).—**30.** There is good MS authority for the addition of the words, "of his flesh and of his bones," though the sense is easier without them.—**32. this mystery:** the hidden truth of which these words are a spiritual revelation.

VI. 1–4. Children must obey their parents as a matter of Christian duty—"Honour thy father and thy mother, etc.," is both a dictate of righteousness and an injunction of primary importance; and moreover it carries with it a promise. Fathers are to refrain from exasperating their children, and to bring them up in the discipline and admonition of the Lord.

[**4. the first commandment with promise:** the writer is thinking of other commandments (not in the Decalogue) to which promises are attached.—A. J. G.]

VI. 5–9. Slaves must render obedience to their earthly masters as unto Christ, in a spirit of fear and reverence, and with undivided allegiance; not trying merely to do such work as may pass muster before the eye of a human taskmaster (*cf.* Exp., July 1915), but doing heartily the will of God as the slaves of Christ; with cheerfulness fulfilling the slave's task, as to the Lord and not unto men; knowing that the slave, like the free man, shall receive the reward of his work at the Lord's hands. Masters are to exhibit a corresponding temper towards their slaves, avoiding threats; knowing that the common Master is in heaven, and that His judgment is independent of human disparities of status.

VI. 10–20. The Spiritual Warrior and the Armour of God.—For the rest, the Christian must be strong in the Lord, equipped with God's armour, in face of the devil's wiles. He wrestles, not against mere human foes, but against the dæmonic powers and principalities who are the rulers of this dark and wicked world; against the evil spiritual agencies in the heavenly sphere. Against such, if he is to stand in the day of evil, his armour must indeed be the armour of God—his girdle truth, his breastplate righteousness, his sandals the preparedness begotten of the peace the gospel brings; in all circumstances he must take trust in God as shield—so shall he be able to quench all the Evil One's flaming darts; he must take the helmet which consists of salvation, and the Spirit's sword, *i.e.* the utterance of God; with constancy, moreover, of ceaseless prayer and intercession in the Spirit at every moment, keeping vigil thereunto with perseverance. Let him pray for all God's people; and in particular, let him pray for the writer, that he may have utterance—free speech and fearless—to make known the revealed secret of that gospel, on whose behalf he is an ambassador—in chains!

11. whole armour: an unfortunate attempt to render literally the Gr. *panoplia* ("panoply"). Not the completeness of the armour but its Divine character is the writer's point.—**12.** *Cf.* 2$_{2}$, 1 Cor. 26*, 2 Cor. 4$_{4}$, Col. 2$_{15}$. The idea that the "powers" occupying the "heavens" are in some cases evil finds several parallels in Jewish apocalyptic literature; *cf.* also Rev. 12$_{7}$, 1 Cor. 6$_{3}$. [In his *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 392f., J. H. Moulton says, "A conflict in the upper air between the powers of light and darkness is a thoroughly Iranian notion. It may even have contributed to popular beliefs outside Iran, for when Paul uses it (Eph. 6$_{12}$) as an idea familiar to the people of the Lycus valley, it will probably be as a native folklore which he could apply, without doing harm, when the infinite transcendence of Christ was held fast. There is a further parallel in Rev. 12$_{9}$ supposed to be adapted from Jewish apocalyptic. Both passages may be fairly added to the tale of possible Iranian contacts with Judaism."—A. S. P.]—**14–17.** This is based on the

descriptions of the Divine Warrior in OT (*cf.* Is. 59¹⁷, 11⁴, Wisd. 5¹⁷ff.), rather than on the armour of the Roman legionary.—**15. preparation** (*hetoimasia*): the word possibly denotes "footgear," but more probably "preparedness"—either the readiness of the messenger who conveys the "good news of peace," or the preparedness which results from being at peace with God.—**16.** In ancient warfare arrows were sometimes tipped with inflammable material and set on fire before being discharged.—**17. word of God:** either the gospel as preached, or OT Scriptures.

VI. 21–24. Closing Words.—The bearer, Tychicus, will give full information as to the writer's present condition. Peace to the brethren and grace be with all who in incorruptibility love the Lord Jesus.

21. The emphasis of the wording in the original suggests that the writer is answering inquiries contained in a letter in which his correspondents had given similar information about themselves.

COLOSSIANS

I. 1f. Salutation.—Paul, Christ's apostle by the will of God, writes with Timothy to the consecrated people and loyal brethren in Christ who are at Colossæ.

I. 3–8. A Paragraph of Thanksgiving.—He always gives God thanks when he prays for them, for he has heard (from Epaphras) of their loyalty in Christ and the love which they exhibit towards all God's people: a love based upon that hope of a heavenly destiny which was included in the word of the truth—the Good News—as originally preached to them. They must remember that the Gospel which is in their midst is also in all the world; that it is bearing fruit and increasing, exactly as it did at Colossæ ever since they first heard it, and came to know God's grace as it truly is. Epaphras their teacher is a beloved sharer in Paul's own slavery to Christ, a loyal ministrant of Christ to them on Paul's behalf. It is he who has notified Paul of their love in the Spirit.

6–8. By emphasizing the *universal* character of the original gospel Paul hints at the falsehood of the new teaching which has become prevalent at Colossæ. It is a merely local fad. They should have listened to Epaphras, whose doctrine Paul approves, and who seems to have been their original evangelist.

I. 9–14. A Paragraph of Prayer.—Paul reciprocates their prayers for him. He constantly offers petition on their behalf since first he heard of them. He desires for them (*a*) fulness of knowledge to discern the Divine will, that so they may walk worthily of Christ and please Him, and by means of the knowledge of God may bear fruit and increase (*cf.* 6) in every good activity; and (*b*) strength proportioned to the power of the Divine glory, that so they may endure and be patient, and that with joy, giving thanks meanwhile to the Father, who has qualified them for a share in the inheritance of His holy people in (the realm of) Light: for God has rescued both Paul and his readers from the tyranny of Darkness, and transplanted them into the Kingdom of His dear Son, who is the source of their emancipation from slavery and of the forgiveness of their sins.

13. Son of his love: "the Son who is the object of His love," *i.e.* His beloved Son. For another view see Lightfoot.

I. 15–20. A Paragraph of Christology (in tacit Opposition to the False Teaching at Colossæ).—Christ is the derivative and visible manifestation of God who is unseen. He is the heir-in-chief of the created universe, for in Him is the principle of the creation of all things—things in the heavens as well as things on the earth, things seen and things unseen also, the angelic orders not excluded. He is in fact the source and goal of every created thing, Himself supreme over them all. It is in Him that all things have their basis of existence. So likewise in respect of the Church He stands in the relation of head to body, being, as He is, the Beginning, the firstborn from among the dead. His supremacy, therefore, is universal: it was the Divine pleasure in Him to cause the entire Fulness to dwell, and through Him—having made peace by the blood shed on the cross—to reconcile completely all things to Himself: so that He is the source of reconciliation not only for the things on the earth but for the things in the heavens as well.

15. image of the invisible God: *cf.* 2 Cor. 4⁴.—**firstborn of all creation:** Paul is not necessarily ranking Christ among created things: the thought is rather of the privileges of a firstborn son as heir and ruler, under his father, of a household: such, Paul would say, is Christ's relation, under God, to the created universe.—**16. in him . . . through him and unto him:** in Christ is the clue to the creation—through His agency it came into being, He is the goal to which it tends (*cf.* Eph. 1¹⁰). This doctrine of the cosmical significance of the Christ is peculiar to late Paulinism, and seems to have been developed in conscious opposition to syncretistic tendencies such as were exhibited in the Colossian "heresy." Probably there was growing up, side by side with the worship of God in Christ, a cultus of angelic powers (*cf.* 2¹⁸), and a tendency to ascribe to them a mediatorial rôle in the creation and redemption of the world, which to Paul's mind imperilled that supreme lordship of Christ which was his profoundest religious conviction. For the reference to celestial hierarchies *cf.* Eph. 1²¹.—**17. before all things:** an assertion of pre-existence. But the words may be taken rather as an assertion of supremacy, and translated "over all things."—**18. firstborn from the dead:** *cf.* 1 Cor. 15²³.—**19. it was the good pleasure:** the subject of the verb is suppressed in the Gr., but RV is probably right in supplying a reference to God the Father.—**all the fulness:** perhaps already a current catchword (Eph. 3¹⁹*); here either, as in 2⁹, the plenitude of Deity, or, as others suggest, "the whole treasure of Divine grace."—**20.** Angels were not in late Judaism regarded as necessarily sinless beings (1 Cor. 6*), but the Book of Enoch represents them as interceding on behalf of men (En. 15²), and it seems to have been taught at Colossæ that they shared in Christ's work of reconciliation. For Paul they are not the authors, but the subjects, of reconciliation with God. [*Cf.* Exp., May and June 1918.]

I. 21–23. Application of the Foregoing to the Colossians.—Of this reconciliation the Colossians too are beneficiaries. At one time estranged from God, their works had been evil and their spiritual attitude hostile; as things now are, Christ reconciled them, by a reconciliation wrought out in a body of flesh and blood and at the cost of death, with a view to their presentation before God flawless, blameless, holy. Everything depends, however, on their continuance in true Christian loyalty, like a building firmly based and stable; they must not be continually allowing themselves to be detached from the hope involved in the gospel as they heard it; it is the same gospel which is proclaimed in the presence of every creature under heaven, the same which is ministered by Paul himself.

22. holy . . . unreproveable: *cf.* Eph. 5²⁷; semi-technical language such as would be applied to an unblemished sacrificial victim (*cf.* Rom. 12¹).—**23.** 1⁶⁻⁸*.

I. 24–II. 3. Paul's own Relation to them and to the Gospel.—At this very time, in the midst of his sufferings, Paul is rejoicing for their sakes, and in return for their loyalty he fills up the cup of whatever tribulation he must still endure in his own person as Christ's servant on behalf of His body, *i.e.* the Church, whose servant he was constituted in virtue of the Divine stewardship which was given him toward the Gentile world. This is the duty of fulfilling God's word—that secret purpose long hidden from ages and generations, but now disclosed to His holy people, to whom God desired to make known how rich was the glory of this purpose amongst the Gentiles; to wit, Christ in them, the hope of glory. Christ is the subject of the preaching at least of Paul and of his associates: and their admonitions and teachings, moreover, are addressed to all men equally; there is no reserve of wisdom held back for a favoured few; their object is the presentation of all men equally as complete initiates in Christ. To that end Paul labours even to weariness, striving, like an athlete in the arena, up to the full measure of the mightily-working energy of Christ that is in him. He is anxious that they should realise how great is the stress which he is undergoing on behalf of Colossians and Laodiceans and others not personally known to him. May they be comforted, knit together in love, unto all wealth of fulness of understanding and knowledge of the Divine "mystery," viz. Christ, in whom are *all* God's treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden.

24. fill up on my part: the word means "fill up in return."—**afflictions of Christ:** probably "afflictions which befall me as a follower of Christ" (*cf.* 2 Cor. 1$_5$, 4$_{10}$, Phil. 3$_{10}$). Perhaps, however, Paul regards Christ's own personal sufferings as incomplete, and holds that the tale of them is made up through the sufferings of himself and others in the Body mystical.—**26.** *Cf.* Eph. 3$_9$.—**27*b*.** The indwelling Christ is both a present glory and a pledge of glory to come. The sense of "in you" should not be watered down to "amongst you" or "in your midst."—**28. we proclaim:** "we" is emphatic. A contrast is suggested between the teaching of the Pauline mission and that of the new Colossian pundits. The thrice-repeated "every man" has the same implication, and so also the phrase "*all* wisdom." The word "perfect" is such as would be used of complete initiation in a pagan "Mystery." Here this suggestion is combined with that of ethical "perfection" and spiritual maturity.—**II. 2.** Read *mg.* There is probably a controversial reference in what follows. The Divine secret or "mystery" and the treasures of "hidden" knowledge are to be found in Christ, and not in Gnostic speculations.

II. 4–23. An Urgent Warning against a Degrading Theosophy.—Let them not be led away by false reasonings, however persuasive. They must think of Paul, despite his bodily absence, as being with them in spirit (1 Cor. 5$_{3f.}$*), as a sharer of their joy, and a spectator of the ordered line and steadfast front of their loyalty to Christ. As, then, they received the Messiah, Jesus the Lord, so let them walk in Him, true to the instruction they received, rooted and built up in Him, strong in loyalty, overflowing in thanksgiving. Let them, even so, be on their guard against the very real danger that some person may make a prey of them by means of a philosophy which is mere empty deceit, based not upon Christ, but on human tradition and the doctrine of elemental spirits. The truth is that the entire "fulness" of the Godhead resides concretely embodied in Christ. To Him as head every "rule" and "authority" is subordinate, and it is in Him that they were circumcised—with a circumcision not wrought by hands—when they stripped off the body of fleshliness in the circumcision-rite of Christ, namely, their burial with Him in baptism; just as in Him and with Him they were also raised, through faith in God's working who raised Him from the dead. Them also, (spiritually) dead by reason of their trespasses and the "uncircumcision" of their fleshly state, God brought to life with the bringing to life of Christ, when He forgave us all our trespasses, cancelling the score against us arising from the decrees (of the broken Law). God has taken away the score from between us and Him, and nailed it to Christ's Cross. The "rulers" and "authorities" He thereby stripped (of their usurped dominion), openly stigmatising them and leading them vanquished in the triumph-train of Christ.

The Colossians must not, therefore, allow themselves to be criticised on the basis of religious rules about food and drink, festivals and Sabbaths—such things only had a value as foreshadowings of Christ; His is the substance to which they pointed. No one must be allowed to pronounce a condemnation against them, wishing . . . on the score of humility or a cultus of the angels, "taking his stand upon" what he has "beheld" (in some mystic initiation ?), being in fact puffed up without justification by a mind dominated by his own fleshly nature, and so failing to hold fast the Head, in dependence on whom the body as a whole, supplied and united through joints and ligaments, grows with the growth that is of God.

The death they died with Christ set them free from subjection to elemental spirits. Why, then, as if living still in the order of this present world, are they subjected to prohibitions—based on mere human teachings and commandments—as to what they may handle, touch, or taste, of things that perish in their very use (and therefore cannot, in the nature of the case, be of permanent spiritual significance)? Religious usages of this kind carry with them, no doubt, a reputation for wisdom, on the score of self-imposed devotions, humility, and bodily asceticism . . . not in any honour . . . with a view to the indulgence of the flesh.

5. order and **steadfastness** are apparently military metaphors.—**8.** The word translated "rudiments" (*stoicheia*) means (*a*) letters of the alphabet, (*b*) the physical "elements," (*c*) the "elements" of knowledge. Here and in Gal. 4$_3$* it is often taken as = "a mere ABC of religious knowledge." More probably Paul is attacking in both passages a belief in elemental spirits of the Cosmos. Heathen mythology regarded the stars as animated by astral spirits, and late Jewish belief knew of "Holy Ones above" and angelic "Powers" ruling "on the earth" and "over the water."—**9. all the fulness:** the completeness of the Divine Being—resides for Paul in Christ *bodily*, *i.e.* in concrete actuality, and the cultus of angelic powers is thereby excluded: He is in fact the "Head" of all such. [The Divine fulness is not split up and distributed among a number of angels, but exists indivisibly in Christ as an organic whole.—A. S. P.]—**11f. in whom . . . in baptism:** *cf.* Eph. 2$_{11}$. The Christian form of circumcision is for Paul an ethical and spiritual renewal—a "putting off of the body of the flesh," *i.e.* the abandonment of the fleshly life—which is mediated, not by a literal surgical mutilation, but by baptism, its Christian analogue (*cf.* Rom. 6$_{3f.}$).—**13.** *Cf.* Eph. 2$_{1,5}$.—**14. the bond:** the word means a written document; commonly it is here taken to mean the Jewish Law (*cf.* Eph. 2$_{15}$). But it seems

rather to denote the written record of our transgressions, an indictment *based upon* the "ordinances" of the broken Law of God, which "told heavily against us" until cancelled in virtue of the Cross. The commercial metaphor (cancelling of a debt) as applied to the Atonement thus seems to go back to Paul (*cf.* Mt. 18 23ff.).—**out of the way:** render "out of the midst."—**15. put off from himself:** translate, "He stripped" or "despoiled." The subject of the verbs throughout the passage is God, not Christ; and the "principalities and powers" are identical with the "rudiments of the world" in 8. They have no rightful title to human worship, and the "decisive battle" of Calvary meant the end of their dominion (*cf.* 1 Cor. 10 20f.). The writings of the Apologists (*e.g.* Justin Martyr) make it plain that the evident power of Christianity to deliver men from servitude to "demons" was one main source of the strength of its appeal in early times. *Cf.* Edghill, *The Revelation of the Son of God*, pp. 70ff.—**in it:** translate "in him."—**17. A** shadow is cast by a body and therefore implies that there *is* a body; "but the body belongs to Christ."—**the things to come:** *i.e.* the new Messianic régime, which was future from the point of view of Judaism, but is now present; the significance of "foreshadowings," *e.g.* the religious usages of Jewish and pagan asceticism, is, therefore, at an end.—**18. rob you of your prize:** the verb means *to decide against* a competitor in the games, and should here be translated "give judgment against you."—**voluntary humility:** the Greek is really untranslatable, and it is best to assume that there is a *lacuna* in the text, and that some word or words with the general meaning "to gain a reputation for spirituality" have dropped out after the word "wishing."—**dwelling in . . . seen:** see the paraphrase. There may be a reference to the secret spectacle of some sacred drama revealed to initiates in a quasi-pagan "Mystery." The word translated "taking his stand upon" (*mg.*) has been shown to be a technical word for "entering upon" the higher initiation in the Mysteries at Klaros in Phrygia. (See W. M. Ramsay, *The Teaching of S. Paul*, pp. 288ff.) But the text may be corrupt; various emendations have been proposed.—**19.** *Cf.* Eph. 2 21.—**23. but are not . . . flesh:** it is very doubtful whether this meaning can really be got out of the Greek, and it appears more reasonable to assume a corruption of the text. The general sense is perhaps a warning that ill-judged asceticism may lead to over-indulgence by way of reaction. For Paul himself as an ascetic, see 1 Cor. 9 27.

III. 1–17. What it Means to be Risen with Christ.—Those who are risen with Christ must aspire to the things above, in the region of Christ's heavenly session at God's right hand. Their minds must be set, not on terrestrial things, but on things high and heavenly. So far as their old life was concerned they died (*i.e.* in baptism); their life now is a hidden life in God. That is what it means to be united with Christ (3). It is Christ who is our life. Hidden though He be, He shall be manifested at His coming: and His manifestation will involve our manifestation also with Him in glory (4). Put to death then the members on the earth—fornication, uncleanness, passion, evil lust, covetousness. These things incur God's wrath. The Colossians had formerly practised them; but they must now, like other Christians, put them all away; and with them anger, wrath, malignity, slander, abusive speech, and lying.

The old man with his deeds must be put off and the new man put on—the man who is being renewed unto knowledge after the image of his Creator. In the sphere of the new manhood petty strife is unthinkable. The most radical differences are cancelled; distinctions of race, rank, status, civilisation, or religious privilege cease to have any relevance; there is only Christ everywhere and in all the relations of life (11). As men chosen of God, members of His holy people and objects of His love, the Colossians must put on a heart of compassion, a kindly disposition, a temper of humility, gentleness, and long-suffering: there must be mutual forbearance and, in cases of grievance, mutual forgiveness—they must forgive even as they have been freely forgiven. Above all, they must put on love, the bond which binds men together in Christian perfection, and let Christ's peace rule in their hearts, for to that end were they called, so as to be in one body. They must become thankful.

Christ's word should dwell in them richly, so that in outbursts of psalm and hymn and spiritual song they may teach and admonish one another, singing thankful songs of praise in their hearts to God. Everything that they undertake, whether in word or deed, is to be in Christ's name; it is to be the expression of their thankfulness to God the Father through Him.

3. *Cf.* Phil. 1 21, Gal. 2 20.—**5. your members . . . earth:** the members which are "of the earth, earthy"; the phrase is in loose apposition with the list of sins which follows.—**which is idolatry:** Eph. 5 5*, and *cf.* with the whole passage Eph. 5 3–5.—**9. the old man:** the old non-Christian self; *cf.* Eph. 4 22, Rom. 6 6.—**10. after . . . him:** *cf.* Gen. 1 26–28.—**11.** *Cf.* Gal. 3 28, Eph. 4 13.—**16. the word of Christ:** either "the gospel"—which Christ is regarded as proclaiming—or the voice of Christ speaking to them in their hearts.—16*b*. *Cf.* Eph. 5 19.

III. 18–IV. 1. Certain Duties Interpreted in Relation to Christ. *Cf.* Eph. 5 22–6 9*.—Col. omits the simile of Christ and the Church. A reason is given why fathers should not harass their children (21). Slaves who labour worthily shall have an inheritance in heaven (24).

IV. 2–6. A Request for Prayer: the Need of Wisdom.—The Colossians must persevere in prayer and be vigilant therein with thanksgiving; at the same time praying for Paul and His companions that God may open for them a "door" of opportunity for the preaching of the word and the proclamation of the "mystery" of Christ—the mystery for the sake of which Paul is in prison—that he may make manifest its hitherto hidden truth by preaching of the right kind. In relation to non-Christians, they are to walk wisely, buying up opportunities as they arise; their speech should be always courteous, and seasoned with the salt of a shrewdness which will know how to accommodate itself to individuals severally.

3. a door: *cf.* 1 Cor. 16 9, 2 Cor. 2 12.—**4.** The preaching of the gospel is the manifestation of a "mystery."—**5. redeeming the time:** Eph. 5 16*.

IV. 7–18. Commendations and Salutations.—7. Tychicus: *cf.* Ac. 20 4, Eph. 6 21, Tit. 3 12, 2 Tim. 4 12.—**9. Onesimus:** there is a touch of gentle humour in this reference to the returning runaway, both in what it says, and in what it omits.—**10. Aristarchus:** *cf.* Ac. 19 29, 20 4, 27 2, Phm. 24.—**Mark:** the John Mark of Ac. (13 5,13, 15 36–40), and the author of the second gospel. A reconciliation must have taken place between him and Paul (*cf.* 2 Tim. 4 11).—**11. Jesus:** otherwise unknown.—**who are of the circumcision:** Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus Justus are the only Jewish Christians who have worked with Paul in Rome.—**12. Epaphras:** *cf.* 1 7.—**14. Luke:** the author of the third gospel and Ac.—**Demas:** for his subsequent

defection see 2 Tim. 4¹⁰.—**15. Nymphas:** owner apparently of a house where the Christians met at Laodicea. The name may be either masculine or feminine; some MSS read, "the church that is in *her* house."—**17. Archippus:** *cf.* Phm. 2; nothing else is known of him. He seems to have been charged with some special ministerial work at Colossæ.—**18.** Paul adds his signature (*cf.* 2 Th. 3¹⁷, 1 Cor. 16²¹), the rest of the letter being written by a scribe.

PHILEMON

1–7. Introductory.—Paul writes from prison, sending greetings from himself and Timothy to Philemon—a dear friend with whom he had worked probably during his stay in Ephesus—Apphia (presumably Philemon's wife), and Archippus (Col. 4¹⁷, possibly his son) his spiritual comrade-in-arms, together with the brethren of their household. He is constantly hearing of the love and loyalty displayed by Philemon both towards the Lord Jesus and towards all the saints (5): the hearts of God's people have been greatly cheered by his kindness, and the thought of one who in so true a sense is a "brother" has been a great joy and comfort to Paul (7), so that it is with great thankfulness to God that he makes mention of Philemon in his prayers (4), praying that the readiness to share with others which his faith has prompted may prove (increasingly) effectual, as he comes to fuller knowledge of all the good that there is among the Colossians, unto (a deeper experience of) Christ.

2. our sister: *i.e.* in the faith (*cf. mg.*).

8–21. The Request on Behalf of Onesimus.—Paul might confidently presume to issue commands to Philemon—Paul an ambassador, and at the time of writing actually a prisoner, of Christ Jesus—but for love's sake he prefers to make entreaty. He entreats Philemon, therefore, on behalf of one who has become his son, the child of his imprisonment, Onesimus—an unprofitable servant, it is to be feared, to Philemon in the past, but now the reverse of unprofitable to him, yes, and to Paul too. Paul sends him back—this dear fellow whom he has come to love as his own heart—though sorely tempted to keep him to render service on Philemon's behalf to one who is a prisoner for the gospel's sake. He has been reluctant, however, to take any steps without Philemon's consent; he did not wish a benefit of this kind to wear the appearance of compulsion; it must be a matter of free-will. Moreover, it may have been God's plan to allow Onesimus to be separated temporarily from Philemon, that the latter might receive him back in an eternal relationship, no longer as a mere slave but as more than a slave, as a beloved brother (he is that most of all to Paul: and yet how much more must he be so to Philemon!) both in the outward relations of life and also in the Lord. *Cf.* p. 649.

Philemon, then, if he regards himself and Paul as having anything in common, must please receive Onesimus as he would Paul himself. If the former has wronged Philemon or owes him money, let that be put down to Paul's account; this is an autograph letter, and Paul personally and solemnly guarantees repayment—though Philemon owes Paul as much and more, his very existence, indeed, as a Christian; of that Paul prefers not to remind him. Well, then, as a brother in Christ let him grant Paul's request; it is asked as a personal favour in the Lord. He writes in the confidence that Philemon will obey, well knowing that he will do all, and more than all, that he asks.

9. The word *presbutes* ("aged") is here probably only an alternative spelling of *presbeutes* ("ambassador"); *cf.* Eph. 6²⁰.—**11. unprofitable . . . profitable:** there is a play upon the meaning of the name Onesimus (="serviceable").—**18.** Onesimus, before running away, had evidently robbed Philemon; Paul undertakes repayment, though he may not expect Philemon to exact it.—**21. even beyond what I say:** Paul hints at Onesimus' manumission, though he does not venture to suggest it in so many words.

22–25. Closing Words.—Meanwhile let Philemon get a room ready for Paul also; for he has good hope that their prayers will be answered by his release. Epaphras, who is sharing his imprisonment, sends greeting; and so do others who are working with him in Rome. The grace of Christ be with those at Colossæ.

22. It was a journey of some weeks from Rome to Colossæ, and Paul's words are not meant to be taken too literally, but he is evidently optimistic as to the result of his approaching trial, and means to pay a visit to Colossæ when he can.—**23. Epaphras:** *cf.* Col. 1⁷, 4¹².

The Colossian leader was apparently remaining in Rome for the present as a voluntary companion of Paul's imprisonment.

PHILIPPIANS

By Dr. W. F. ADENEY

The Philippians.—The city of Philippi was situated on a steep hill rising above a plain at the extreme E. of Macedonia, where it joins Thrace, and about 8 miles N. of the sea coast. Originally the district was known as Krenides, *i.e.* the fountains, on account of the springs of water abounding there; but in the days of Philip of Macedon, having received this powerful monarch's aid against Thracian raiders from over the border, it took his name, in a plural form, which implies that there were then several villages which afterwards coalesced in the flourishing city. The place rose into importance on account of its gold mines. We have in Ac. 16$^{11-40}$ a graphic account of the introduction of the Christian gospel to this city by Paul in response to his vision of the man of Macedonia at Troas. The Philippian Christians became his best friends, and their church his favourite church. None of the troubles that appeared in Galatia and Corinth disturbed the peace and prosperity of this happy community.

The Genuineness of the Letter.—This is now almost universally allowed. Scarcely any doubt it but those few extreme critics who do not admit any of the Pauline literature to be genuine (p. 815). Not only the more conservative scholars, but advanced critics such as Hilgenfeld and Pfleiderer, accept it as an original letter written by Paul. It was known and cited authoritatively early in the second century; it is stamped with its author's personality; and no sufficient motive can be assigned for the fabrication of it, as it does not exhibit any strong polemical tendency. We may be quite sure that we have here a true writing (perhaps originally two short letters; *cf.* 3$^{1-3}$*) of Paul. The epistle stands next to Gal., Rom., and 1 and 2 Cor. in certitude of authenticity.

Occasion of Writing.—It is evident that it was written from prison. This might be either at Cæsarea or at Rome. In 1^{13} Paul mentions the "prætorium" and in Ac. 23^{35} we are told that he was confined in Herod's "prætorium" at Cæsarea. This, therefore, would well suit that city. But he may be referring to the prætorian guard who had charge of him at Rome. His reference to "Cæsar's household" (4^{22}) is much more appropriate to Rome than to the Palestinian city; so is his description of the progress made by the gospel (1^{12}ff.). He would find more opportunity for missionary work when living in his own hired house at Rome, than would be the case during his close incarceration at Cæsarea. The locality helps to fix the date of the epistle. It belongs to the third group (Col. and Phm., Eph., Phil.). There is some question as to its place in the group. The resemblance of some of its ideas and phrases to Rom. has led to the suggestion that it came comparatively near to that epistle. But even if it were the first in its group it would be four years later than Rom. The absence of the philosophical ideas which appear in Col. is another reason assigned for an earlier date. But this may be due to the fact that the simple artisans and tradesmen at Philippi were not troubled with the speculations that were current in the Lycus valley where Colossæ was situated. On the other hand there are signs in Phil. that it was written when the apostle's term of imprisonment was drawing to a close. He contemplates the possibility of a fatal issue to his trial (1^{20}), although he anticipates acquittal (2^{5}). The whole epistle is pervaded with the glow of the martyr spirit as its writer approaches the crisis of his trial. Taking this to be the probable situation, Phil. is the last letter written by Paul to a church, if not the last of all his letters. This will give us A.D. 63 according to the older chronology, but some three or four years earlier in the scheme of dates now more generally accepted. The immediate occasion for the letter arose from the fact that Epaphroditus had come from Philippi with some money which had been collected there for the assistance of the apostle.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Gwynn (Sp.), **Jones** (West.C.), Moule (CB), Beet, Drummond (IH), Martin (Cent.B), Strahan (WNT); (*b*) Lightfoot, Moule (CGT), Vincent (ICC), **Kennedy** (EGT); (*c*) B. Weiss, Lipsius (HC), Klöpper, **Haupt** (Mey.), P. Ewald (ZK), Lueken (SNT), Dibelius (HNT); (*d*) Rainy (Ex.B).

I. 1f. Salutation.—Associating his assistant Timothy with him as fellow-slave in the service of Christ Jesus, Paul addresses his letter to all the members of the church at Philippi under the name of "saints," which means people consecrated to God, not necessarily persons of exceptional holiness, and is therefore applied in NT to all Christians. The apostle associates with the church members, for special mention, their bishops and deacons, two orders of the ministry and a plurality in each order, if we are to take the words officially, and in that case as the earliest NT reference to the titles. But perhaps we should translate these words more generally—as "those who have oversight" and "those who serve" (*cf.* p. 646).

I. 3–11. Thanksgiving and Intercession.—Paul usually begins his letters with congratulations and thanksgivings, even when he has to follow with complaints and rebukes. In writing to Philippi he has no fault to find with the church, so that his opening sentences are especially glad. At once he sounds a dominant note, the note of joy, which recurs again and again throughout the epistle. He is especially thankful for the fellowship of his readers, their affectionate association for the spread of the gospel; and he is always praying that this may continue, as it has been from the first—a period of ten years. This is a matter of confident prayer because he is sure that He who began the good work in them, that is, God, will go on perfecting it until "the day of Jesus Christ"—the day of the return or manifestation of Christ, the Parousia. This was eagerly expected by the early

Christians. The expectation is most keen in the first written of Paul's epistles. As it was not quickly realised it passed more into the background in course of time. But it was never abandoned. We meet with it five times in this last letter written to one of the apostle's churches. It is to be observed that he no longer expects to be alive at the time, as was the case when he wrote 1 Th. 3¹⁵ and perhaps 1 Cor. 15⁵¹ (*cf.* p. 847). He proceeds to justify his confident prayer on the ground of his affectionate connexion with the Philippians. Referring to his bonds as a prisoner, he thinks of their sympathy with him both in his defence of the gospel before his accusers and in his confirmation of it in the persons of the Roman converts, all due on both sides to the merciful helpfulness of God. He prays, too, that the love which the Philippians show so warmly may be combined with knowledge, and especially that they may have a gift of discernment so that they may "approve the things that are excellent," or rather, "prove the things that differ" (*mg.*). This seems preferable, because knowledge and a faculty of discernment are sought. It should be taken with regard to conduct, the higher Christian casuistry, ethical discrimination, not doctrinal, because it is to lead to sincerity and freedom from offence in "the day of Christ"—here mentioned a second time.

I. 12–18. The Apostle's Present Condition.—Turning from these thoughts about his correspondents Paul informs them of his own condition. His very imprisonment has helped his missionary work instead of hindering it, as might have been expected, because it has given him an opportunity of spreading the gospel among the soldiers of the prætorian guard who have charge of him. These constituted the imperial guard, a body of 10,000 men. "The rest" would be others with whom he came in contact and who also were being evangelised. It would seem that some of the Judaizers, who objected to his free gospel, were provoked by jealousy to a greater missionary activity. Even that delighted him, so keen was he for the one end of making Christ known.

I. 19–26. His Prospects.—The successful preaching of the gospel will turn to his own salvation. Otherwise he would be put to shame. His desire is that in his person, whether by life or by death, Christ may be glorified. For him life means Christ and death will be gain. 22 may be variously rendered. RV, repeating "if" before the second clause, leaves some confusion, for Paul would not be in doubt after his fate was settled. Therefore *mg.* seems preferable—"If to live in the flesh be my lot, this is the fruit of my work." His perplexity arises from the fact that, while he would choose death for himself as the issue of his approaching trial, his escape would be preferable for the Philippians, and this he confidently expects.

I. 27–30. Encouragements.—The Philippians also are enduring persecution. Whether he is able to come to them again or can only hear of them, Paul trusts that they will live worthily and be united in their faithful efforts, in nothing terrified by their opponents.

II. 1–4. Unity and Humility.—An exhortation based on the help that Christ gives, the word rendered "consolation" meaning help of various kinds, especially in the form of encouragement. This comes from Christ and so does compassion. The source of them is His love. That should lead to unity of mind, the absence of factiousness—always a danger in a Greek community (1 Cor. 1¹⁰⁻¹⁷*)—and the unselfish humility that gives a preference to the honour and interest of other people.

II. 5–11. The Kenosis and the Exaltation.—The word Kenosis has become a technical term in Christian theology for the self-emptying of Christ. Its origin in that relation is derived from the present important passage, where we read that He "emptied (Gr. *ekenōsen*) himself" (7). The previous verses leading up to this passage indicate its spirit; the example of Christ is to be cited in order to enforce the duty of humility and the opposite to self-assertion. Paul would have his friends cultivate the same mental disposition that was in Christ. In illustrating this he first speaks of our Lord's original condition previous to His life on earth as being "in the form of God." The word rendered "form" indicates essential characteristics, therefore real Divinity. Nevertheless He had no ambition, for He did not grasp at equality with God, for the original word (RV "prize") means literally "booty," such as a robber might seize. On the contrary, He emptied Himself of what He already possessed, came down to the essential characteristics of servitude—the same word for "form" being used again. This seems to mean that certain Divine qualities were abandoned and certain human limitations accepted when Christ was seen in the likeness of a man. This last expression does not mean that He was not a real man, that He only assumed a human appearance (a view known in theology as *docetic* (p. 916), for merely apparent, not real humanity). Although the words would bear that signification, the context, as well as Paul's plain teaching about Christ coming in the flesh (*e.g.* Rom. 1³; *cf.* "born of a woman," Gal. 4⁴), forbid it; for Paul has just said that He took on Him the essential form, *i.e.* the real characteristics of a servant. Moreover, the apostle goes on to speak of Christ's death as an actual fact. This he takes as a further stage of self-limitation, especially since it was the shameful death of crucifixion. Christ submitted to it in obedience to the will of God. Therein lay its value in God's sight. Then, in return for this self-emptying, culminating in the obedience that went as far as submission to crucifixion, God honoured Christ by giving Him the highest of names, viz. the name "Lord," in order that He might receive the homage of the whole universe.

The above line of interpretation differs from some other interpretations: viz. (*a*) Luther's view that the whole passage refers to the life of Christ after the Incarnation. Against this, note that the passage moves in the historical order of events. (*b*) The idea that the equality with God was a previous possession implied by the "form" of God. This gives a non-natural idea to the word rendered "prize," which means something to be seized, and not at present in hand. (*c*) The denial that the "form" of God was given up. This makes the Incarnation, as assuming the "form" of man, an addition to the previous state, not a self-emptying, and therefore runs counter to the drift of the passage.

II. 12–18. Work and Sacrifice.—In view of this wonderful example Paul exhorts his readers to be even more diligent in his absence than they had been when he was present with them. If this is all done without any complaining or quarrelling—such as Greek factiousness might produce—they would shine as lights in the dark pagan world. Then, even if Paul were martyred, his death would be an offering to God added to the sacrifice and service their faith was producing.

II. 19–30. Timothy and Epaphroditus.—Paul proposes to send Timothy in advance of his own expected visit, that he may obtain encouraging news about them. There is no one else to send, the others being too selfish

to undertake the errand. Paul has already sent back the Philippian messenger Epaphroditus, who was distressed at hearing how concerned his friends at Philippi were at his illness. It had been a serious illness, nearly ending in death. But God had mercifully restored him, that this additional sorrow might not come on Paul and his friends.

III. 1–3. A Warning.—Paul says "Finally" although he is only half-way through his epistle; he uses the word again at 4^8, though even then he adds fresh paragraphs. Some have tried to find a meaning not so suggestive of a conclusion, but the exhortation "rejoice" that follows is a form of the Greek valediction. So plainly the apostle was about to end when new ideas crowded into his mind and he proceeded to deal with them. It is not clear what he means by "the same things." He may be referring to some previous letter, since lost—Polycarp speaks of *Epistles* to the Philippians—or perhaps only to his encouragements of rejoicing. His after-thought takes another turn. Suddenly he thinks of an attack on the faith of his beloved friends made by the Jews, whom he designates with the horrible title, "dogs"—the very name they gave to Gentiles. Paul will not reckon them as within the pale of the true Israel. The Christians constitute his Israel because their claim is not external—mere bodily circumcision—but spiritual worship and glorying in Jesus Christ. The Jews claim to be God's people; but they are not, because they have neither His Spirit nor Christ. The "dogs" are not in the Philippian church; nor can they be the Judaizing Christians who gave trouble in Galatia; they are simply Jews antagonistic to Christianity.

III. 4–9. Privilege and Renunciation.—The contrast between Jew and Christian leads Paul to refer to himself in a striking autobiographical passage, which, though brief, may be compared for spirit and tone to Augustine's *Confessions*. He begins with his origin and early experience. A Jew punctually circumcised, of the royal tribe of Benjamin, a rigorous Pharisee and persecutor of the Church, he had better claims for boasting on these lines than the wretched denizens of the ghetto at Philippi. Yet he treated all these claims with contempt in exchange for the knowledge of Christ, content to be excommunicated from Judaism in order to gain Christ and the God-given righteousness obtained through faith, all instead of his own righteousness got through the Law.

III. 10–16. Aim and Aspiration.—In exchange for the proud Jewish privileges that he has renounced, Paul has a new pursuit. His aim is to know Christ and the power that comes from His resurrection, the energy of the glorified, risen Christ—not the power which raised Him from the dead—together with a sympathetic union with Christ in suffering by his own endurance of suffering like Christ's, so that he may hope also for a resurrection—a privilege only for Christ's people. Writing towards the end of his career, he seems himself still imperfect and he presses forward to a better future. Comparing himself to a runner in the games, he fixes his gaze on the goal, where he sees the prize, to win which he had been called to aspire. Though actually imperfect, in another sense Paul claims for himself and for his readers that they are perfect. Here he uses the word as it is employed in the Greek mysteries to designate the initiated—as we might say, fully fledged members. All such should live in accordance with the same high aspirations.

III. 17–21. A Contrast.—The Philippians are to follow Paul's example in this matter. It is needed because many live very differently. They are a great grief to him; indulging in gross living and even glorying in that for which they should be ashamed, their minds are set on earthly things. Paul and the Philippians claim a citizenship in heaven, corresponding to the claim of citizenship in Rome, which the people in Philippi may put forward, seeing that it is a Roman colony. He and they are looking for Christ to come from heaven (a fourth and most distinct allusion to the Parousia), when He will transform their very bodies (lit. "the body that belongs to our low estate") into the likeness of His glorified body.

IV. 1. Steadfastness.—Paul introduces his exhortation to steadfastness with the word "wherefore," so as to base it on what he has just said about the coming of Christ and its expected effects, and he enriches it with an affectionate reference to the relation of the Philippians to himself. In a peculiar way it is they, of all his converts, who give him joy, and whom he regards as like a festive garland or a victor's wreath, since they especially illustrate in their lives and characters the success of his ministry.

IV. 2f. Unity and Helpfulness.—In particular the apostle has exhortations for three people. Two women, Euodia and Syntyche, seem to be not quite friendly towards each other; he exhorts them to come together, by realising that they are both in Christ. Possibly the Greek word rendered "yoke-fellow" (3) is a proper name, Syzygus, although no such name has been found in Greek literature or inscriptions. If so, in addressing him as "true Syzygus" Paul's meaning is that the person is rightly named, for he is a genuine yoke-fellow. There is an inscription in which a gladiator is described as the yoke-fellow of another gladiator who has killed him. If the word is not a proper name we do not know who is referred to. Various persons have been suggested, viz. Paul's wife (!), the husband of one of the two women previously mentioned, Epaphroditus, and the bishop of the church—if the latter, to be compared with Archippus at Colossæ (Col. 4^{17}; Phm. 2). The true yoke-fellow is to help the women. They had laboured with Paul at Philippi along with Clement (who is not to be identified with the author of a letter from Rome written *c.* A.D. 95; the name was not uncommon), and others whose names are in the book of life. The expression "the book of life" occurs often in Rev. but nowhere else in NT except in this passage (*cf.* Lk. 10^{20}). It is based on the idea of a roll of citizens, and it means God's roll of those who have the gift of life. There is nothing to suggest a reference to departed saints.

IV. 4–7. Joy and Peace.—Once again Paul sounds his dominant note of joy. For the fifth and last time he refers to the return of Christ (*cf.* 1^{6,10}, 2^{16}, 3^{20}). He deprecates anxiety and commends his readers to prayer, a consequence of which will be that a peace given by God will guard their hearts and thoughts in Christ, secure from the invasion of anxiety. [The peace passes all human contrivance or ingenuity, not "all understanding."—A. J. G.]

IV. 8f. Subjects of Thought.—A second time Paul prepares to close, again using the word "Finally." His message now is to commend worthy topics of thought. Departing from the usual Biblical vocabulary, he selects words more often found in the classics to designate pagan excellences. This must be of set purpose, and it means that the readers are to practise the habit of recognising and considering all the good they see in the world outside the church.

IV. 10–18. Thanks for the Gifts.—The Philippians had sent assistance to Paul several times. They had begun when he was at Thessalonica, sending there

twice. Now Epaphroditus has been bringing a more recent contribution. Paul delights in this because it is a fruit of Christian grace in the good people who send it. He regards it as a fragrant sacrifice to God. As for himself, he has no anxiety about such matters because he has learnt how to have abundance and how to suffer want. He is independent in regard to both extremes, being able to endure everything that happens through the one who strengthens him, meaning either God or Christ (" Christ " is not in the best MSS).

IV. 19–23. Conclusion.—Paul's wants have been supplied, now he is assured that the wants of his friends will also be provided for; the ground of this hope is that God has given glorious riches in Christ. So the apostle utters a doxology to the Father. The letter being written to the whole church, he salutes every member of it—designated as " every saint " (1ɪ*). His companions join in his greetings, especially the Christians in " Cæsar's household." These would, for the most part, belong to the vast body of slaves and freedmen, but perhaps include some officers of rank, at the imperial palace. The final benediction, in accordance with Paul's usage, gracefully employs the Greek term of valediction, but with a deepened Christian meaning, so as to breathe a prayer for God's grace on the readers.

I. AND II. THESSALONIANS

By Professor H. T. ANDREWS

The City of Thessalonica (the modern Salonika) was situated at the end of the Thermaic Gulf on the famous Via Egnatia, the highway which connected Italy and the East. It was the most populous city in Macedonia, and therefore, both by reason of its size and its position, specially suitable as a base of operations when Paul commenced his task of evangelizing Greece (Ac. 17₁*). We know little about the intellectual or religious condition of the town. It was within sight of Olympus, and Cicero tells us that when he visited the district where Homer and the Greek poets had seen the home of the gods, he saw only snow and ice. From what we know of the general condition of religion at the time, we may be sure that Cicero's opinion was very largely shared by the natives of Thessalonica. There is one interesting fact known to us, which throws some light upon certain statements in the epistle, *i.e.* the existence of a religious sect in Thessalonica known as the Chabiri, which was patronised by the Roman Empire, and which seems to have regarded immorality as an important element in the cultus.

Paul's Work at Thessalonica.—Paul came to Thessalonica after his ill-treatment at Philippi (1 Th. 2₂). A brief account of his visit is given in Ac. 17₁₋₉.* He preached on three successive Sabbaths in the Jewish synagogues, and then apparently (though Ac. is silent on this point) began to work among the Gentiles. His converts were made up of three classes: (*a*) some Jews, (*b*) a great multitude of devout Greeks, (*c*) not a few of the chief women of the city. The epistles give us the impression that the Greek element predominated (1₉). Paul's work was interrupted by an attack by the Jews (Ac. 17₅) on political rather than religious grounds. The politarchs, jealous for the reputation of the city, compelled Jason to give a surety that the disturbance should not be repeated. This made it necessary for Paul to leave the town (p. 795).

Paul's Subsequent Movements.—Paul went first of all to Berœa, then to Athens, and finally to Corinth. There is reason to believe that his heart was set on returning to Thessalonica (1 Th. 2₁₇₋₂₀). He knew that his converts were being subjected to a severe persecution, and was afraid lest they would give way under the fiery trial. At last the suspense became too terrible to bear (1 Th. 3₁), and Paul despatched Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica to comfort the Christians and bring back word with regard to their condition.

The Occasion for the First Epistle.—Timothy returned and met Paul at Corinth with varied information. (1) In spite of the persecution, the Christians at Thessalonica were standing firm. (2) Some of them, however, had died in the interval, and the problem had been raised, "Would their death rob them of the glory of the promised Parousia?" (3) The opponents of the Church were doing their best to malign and blacken the character of Paul. (4) There was a tendency on the part of some Christians, in view of the Parousia, to neglect the ordinary duties of life.

It was as the result of this message brought by Timothy that the first epistle was written, and the four points of information contained in the message give us the key for understanding it. The substance of the letter ranges round the four points: (1) Paul congratulates the Thessalonians on their steadfastness in the face of persecutions; (2) assures them that death will not rob their friends of a share in the Parousia; (3) replies to the charges which had been brought against his own person and work; (4) exhorts the Thessalonians to "increase and abound," and "to study to be quiet."

Genuineness of the First Epistle.—The external evidence is quite satisfactory. The letter was recognised by Marcion and the Muratorian Canon, quoted by name by Irenæus, and used by Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian. There is no evidence that there was the slightest hesitation in ancient times about accepting it as a genuine Pauline work. Modern scholars who have questioned the Pauline authorship have done so on internal grounds, chiefly because it lacks some of the doctrinal marks of the later epistles. The absence of these characteristic marks may be explained partly by the circumstances which called for a letter of practical exhortation and not for theological discussion, partly by the fact that the epistle was written before the theological controversy had become acute. It would be much more difficult to explain the absence of these elements on the supposition that the epistle is a later forgery. It bears on its face traces of its early origin. No later writer would have credited Paul with the belief that the Parousia would happen in his own lifetime. The problem with regard to the relation of the dead to the Parousia could have arisen only at the very earliest stage. The organisation of the Church is in the most rudimentary condition. And, finally, there is no motive in the contents of the epistle which can explain its invention by a later writer.

The Occasion of the Second Epistle.—The second epistle seems to have been written soon after the first, though the interval between the two cannot be definitely fixed. Its object was to correct the misapprehension about the Parousia, which is alluded to in the first epistle, and which seems to have produced disastrous effects upon some sections of the Church. The real motive for the letter is the apocalyptic section in ch. 2. Paul is anxious to allay the disorder which the belief in the near approach of the Parousia had caused, and to show that it cannot take place till certain preliminary events had happened.

The Apocalyptic Section.—2 Th. 2 belongs to the region of Apocalyptic (see art. on Apocalyptic Literature, p. 431), and reminds us of the Book of Revelation. It is the most striking illustration of Apocalyptic in the

writings of Paul, though apocalyptic elements are to be found elsewhere in his epistles, notably in 1 Th. 4 and 1 Cor. 15. Its subject is the events that must precede the Parousia. Antichrist, or the Man of Sin as Paul calls him, must first appear, but this appearance is impossible at present, because of "the power that restrains." The time will come, however, when that power will be removed and the Man of Sin will manifest himself. After this, Christ will reappear and slay Antichrist "with the breath of his mouth." Reasons are given in the notes for supposing that "the restraining power" is to be identified with the Roman Empire and that the Man of Sin is likely to arise from the Jewish people.

The Genuineness of the Second Epistle.—The external evidence is, if anything, a little stronger than in the case of 1 Th., since in addition to the attestation in support of the first letter, the second appears to have been cited by Polycarp and Justin Martyr. The reasons which have led some modern scholars to reject it are derived from its contents. It is argued, for instance, that its conception of the Parousia differs from the statements of 1 Th., and that it postpones what 1 Th. regarded as imminent. This, however, is not really the case. 1 Th. does not state that the Parousia is to happen immediately. It lays the stress on its "suddenness," and there is nothing in 2 Th. which denies the "suddenness" of the Parousia. Besides, if there were a discrepancy, it would not be fatal to the Pauline authorship. Paul was always quick to grasp a situation, and it would not be beyond the bounds of possibility that the disorders which arose in Thessalonica might have led him to modify his teaching in some degree. Again it is argued that the presence of the apocalyptic section stamps the epistle as un-Pauline. As we have seen, however, other epistles contain at any rate germs of Apocalyptic, and it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that the apocalyptic side of Paul's theology should have come to full expression in this passage. Another reason which has led some scholars to reject 2 Th. is the dissimilarity of the tone of the two epistles. The first is warmer and more sympathetic than the second, and it is obviously written to a Gentile community, while the second seems to be addressed to Jewish readers. To meet these difficulties, Harnack has recently propounded a theory that the two epistles were written for different sections of the Church, the first for the Gentile element, and the second for the Jewish Christians. There is an interesting reading preserved in some MSS. in 2 Th. 2$_{13}$, "God chose you as a firstfruit." This expression does not seem applicable to the Church as a whole, because there is no reasonable sense of the term in which it can be described as a "firstfruit;" but it is very applicable to the Jewish section of the Church, because the first converts at Thessalonica were certainly Jews. There are two serious objections to the hypothesis: (*a*) 2 Th., like its predecessor, is addressed to "the Church of the Thessalonians," and there is nothing to indicate that the phrase was intended to cover only a section of the Church. (*b*) We have no reason to suppose that the Church at Thessalonica was divided into two well-defined communities, each with its own particular problems and needing special apostolic advice. Nor have we any other precedent for supposing that Paul was in the habit of writing to a particular group of Christians within a Church and not to the Church as a whole.

Another interesting theory which has been revived in recent times is that of Grotius, who argued that tradition has inverted the true order of the epistles, and that the second epistle ought to be regarded as the first, and *vice versa*.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Jowett, Mackintosh (WNT), Adeney (Cent.B), **Findlay** (CB), Drummond (IH), Plummer; (*b*) **Milligan**, Moffatt (EGT), Findlay (CGT), Frame (ICC), Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul;* (*c*) Bornemann (Mey., 1894), Schmiedel (HC), Wohlenberg (ZK), **von Döbschutz** (Mey., 1909); (*d*) Denney (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* As on 1 Cor. Also studies by Askwith, von Soden (1 Th.), Spitta (2 Th.), Harnack, (2 Th.), *Das Problem des Zweiten Thessalonicherbriefs* (Sitzungsberichte der könig. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin), Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul.*

I. THESSALONIANS

I. 1–10. Thanksgiving for the Past.—As in all his epistles except Gal., Paul commences with a paragraph of congratulation, singling out for special praise "the work of faith, the labour of love, and the patience of hope" exhibited by the Thessalonians, and describing them as a "model Church."

1. Silvanus: the Silas of Acts. He and Timothy were the constant companions of Paul during the second missionary journey.—**3. work of faith, etc.:** note the combination of the three great Pauline words—faith, hope, and love (*cf.* 1 Cor. 13$_{13}$). This sentence is a kind of hall-mark setting the stamp of genuineness upon the epistle. Note also the combination of works and faith in the phrase "work of faith" (*cf.* Gal. 5$_6$).—**labour of love:** toil of love.—**patience of hope:** the endurance or the constancy of hope; the hope that never fails or flags.—**6. having received . . . in affliction:** a reference to the persecution organised by "certain vile fellows of the rabble" (Ac. 17$_{5-9}$*).—**7. an ensample:** a model. The phrase "model Church" is applied only to Thessalonica.—**8. sounded forth:** reverberated. No details have been preserved with regard to this missionary activity.—**9. from idols:** this phrase indicates that the Church was mainly composed of Gentiles who had been converted from paganism.—**10.** The two principal items of their faith are: (*a*) to serve a living and true God, (*b*) to wait for the Parousia of Christ.—**the wrath to come:** the impending judgment which is to fall on the world at the Parousia.

II. 1–12. Paul's Defence of his Missionary Work.—Paul had been charged by his opponents with being a wandering sophist making money out of his followers. He rebuts the charge and incidentally gives us a picture of the ideal missionary.

2. at Philippi: the reference is to the scourging and imprisonment described in Ac. 16$_{22-40}$.—**3.** "Our preaching was not the result of mental delusion, nor of an impure character, nor was it with intent to deceive." Each phrase refers to a charge which had been brought against Paul.—**4. pleasing men:** Paul's object was not that of the professional sophist, to captivate his audience with a display of rhetoric.—**7. gentle:** the addition of a single letter to the Greek word meaning "gentle" makes it mean "babes" (cf. *mg.*). If "gentle" is right (and the context seems to support it) the verse gives us a beautiful picture of Paul as the gentle apostle caring for his converts "as a nursing mother cherisheth her children."—**9. working day and night:** Paul replies to the charge of covetousness by stating that he earned his livelihood (*cf.* Ac. 18$_3$*, 1 Cor. 4$_{12}$, Eph. 4$_{28}$, p. 768).—**11. father:** a variation of the metaphor used in 7, where Paul describes himself as a nursing mother.

II. 13–20. Paul and the Thessalonian Church.—The

next two paragraphs describe (*a*) the effect of Paul's preaching at Thessalonica, (*b*) his anxiety with regard to the fate of the Church under stress of persecution.

14. Judæa: *i.e.* Palestine. We have no details regarding the persecution of the Palestinian Churches apart from the account of the recurring attacks made upon the Church at Jerusalem.—**16. the wrath is come upon them:** this seems to have been a stock phrase, and was probably borrowed by Paul from "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" (Levi 6^{11}). We need not assume, as some scholars do, a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem.—**17. endeavoured,** etc.: Paul's heart was evidently set upon returning to Thessalonica, which he meant to make the base of his missionary campaign in Greece.—**18. Satan hindered us:** the particular kind of obstacle is uncertain. It may have been (*a*) illness or (*b*) the continued opposition of the civic authorities, but whatever it was Paul has no hesitation in ascribing it to Satan.

III. 1–13. The Mission of Timothy to Thessalonica.—Paul's distress and anxiety with regard to the fate of the Church led him to send Timothy upon a mission of inquiry. He describes the effect produced upon him by Timothy's reassuring report.

2. sent Timothy: in Ac. 17$^{14f.}$* and 18^{5}, Silas and Timothy left Paul at Berœa on the sea-coast and did not rejoin him till after his arrival at Corinth. It is possible, however, that Timothy followed him to Athens and was subsequently despatched to Thessalonica.—**to establish:** the object of Timothy's mission was: (*a*) to consolidate the Church, (*b*) to comfort the Christians in the face of persecution.—**3. we were appointed:** *i.e.* to tribulation (*cf.* Ac. 14^{22}).—**5. the tempter:** Satan.—**7. in all our distress** refers to the difficulties and disappointments connected with the European mission (*cf.* 1 Cor. 2^{3}).—**8. now we live:** the reassuring tidings brought new life to Paul. We learn from Ac. 18 and 1 Cor. 2^{3} that he had arrived at Corinth in a very depressed condition, but the return of Timothy restored his flagging courage and made him throw himself into his work with new zest.—**11–13.** Paul's prayer for the Thessalonians contains three petitions: (*a*) that the apostle may be enabled to return, (*b*) that the Thessalonians themselves may be "established in holiness," (*c*) that the Church may increase and abound.—**11.** Note the linking of the "Lord Jesus" with God in this verse (pp. 807f.).—**12. increase and abound:** Thessalonica is described as a "model Church" in 1^{7}, yet there are further possibilities before it, and Paul gives it, as a motto for the future, the injunction "increase and abound"; *cf.* also 4^{1} and 4^{10}.—**13. with all his saints:** at the Parousia Christ is to be accompanied by all His saints, *i.e.* those who have fallen asleep in Christ (*cf.* 4^{14}).

IV. 1–12. Practical Exhortations to Purity of Life and Brotherly Love.—The Church at Thessalonica has begun well and is encouraged to go forward.

1. abound: 3^{12}*.—**3. abstain,** etc.: the inculcation of such an elementary principle of conduct seems strange, but we need to remember that certain heathen cults regarded immorality as part of the ritual of worship, and religion and immorality were to them almost convertible terms. This consecration of vice in paganism made it absolutely necessary for Paul to insist upon moral purity.—**4. his own vessel:** either (*a*) his own wife, or (*b*) his own body. In view of the fact that in 1 P. 3^{7} the term "weaker vessel" is definitely applied to the wife and that there is no example of its application to the body, most commentators adopt the former interpretation. The verse enjoins fidelity to the marriage vow.—**6. no man trespass:** the words might be translated as in AV, "that no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter," but the context shows that RV is to be preferred. AV intrudes a new line of thought, *i.e.* fair dealing in business, which is irrelevant to the context.—**9. love of the brethren:** the affection of Christians for each other. The term "brother" in NT is used to describe the relationship between Christians (Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, i. 405f.).—**11. study to be quiet:** the word "study" in the original means, "to be ambitious." It is used also in Rom. 15^{20}, 2 Cor. 5^{9}, "Make it your ambition to pursue your ordinary avocations with a quiet mind."

IV. 13–18. The Condition of the Dead.—This paragraph is written to allay a misgiving which had arisen among the Thessalonian Christians that certain of their friends who had died would be deprived of their share in the glory of the promised Parousia. Paul dispels the doubt by asserting that the dead would be raised at the Parousia, and so would be at no disadvantage compared with the living. *Cf.* 1 Cor. 15*.

13. no hope: the hopelessness of the ancient world in the presence of death is indicated by the characteristic inscription on the graves in pagan cemeteries, "Farewell."—**asleep in Jesus:** the original reads, "through Jesus," and we must either translate "those who have been put to sleep by Jesus," or connect the phrase with the following clause: "Those who have been put to sleep will God through Jesus bring with him."—**15. by the word of the Lord:** either (*a*) some statement made by Jesus which was familiar to Paul but has now been lost; or (*b*) some inward and spiritual teaching, which Paul claims to have received from the Risen Christ.—**we that are alive:** Paul obviously at the time expected to live to see the Parousia. This expectation gradually diminished (*cf.* Phil. 1^{23}).—**in no wise precede:** will have no precedence or advantage over.—**17. with a shout:** *i.e.* of command. The word is often used of the order issued by a boatswain to his crew.—**archangel:** the word occurs in NT again only in Jude 9.—**trump:** trumpet (*cf.* Mt. 24^{31}, 1 Cor. 15^{52}). The object of the shout and the trumpet is to raise the dead.

The conception of the resurrection in this passage is coloured throughout by Paul's belief in the nearness of the Parousia. Death is followed by a sleep till the return of Christ. Paul afterwards outgrew this position, for in 2 Cor. 5^{8} he says that "to be absent from the body is to be present with the Lord." We must remember, therefore, that this passage contains Paul's earlier and cruder view, and must not regard it as the final statement of his position.

V. 1–11. Paul's Warning to the Christians to be Prepared for the Parousia.

2. as a thief in the night: *cf.* the words of Jesus (Mt. 24^{43}). Throughout this paragraph the suddenness of the Parousia is emphasized.—**5. sons of light:** a Hebraism, meaning those who have been enlightened. **8. breastplate:** *cf.* with this passage the fuller description of the Christian's armour in Eph. 6$^{13–20}$.—**10. wake or sleep:** *i.e.* whether we are alive or dead when the Parousia takes place.

V. 12–22. Sundry Counsels and Exhortations.—**12.** Christians are urged to respect their leaders. No officers and ministers are mentioned in this epistle, but this verse implies that the Church had leaders. The ministry at Thessalonica was a ministry of service. Those who laboured most were naturally regarded as being over the Church. They are entitled to esteem and love, not by reason of any official position but "for their work's sake."—**14. admonish the disorderly:**

an insistence upon the maintenance of discipline. The disorderly are probably those who had abandoned their regular business under the excitement of the expected Parousia.—**17. Rejoice always . . . give thanks.** These injunctions receive illumination when read in the light of the condition of the Thessalonian Church. There was persecution—they had lost their leader—death had been active in their ranks—yet they are told to rejoice and give thanks.—**19. Quench not:** the apostle is referring to those manifestations of the Spirit which were seen in preaching, speaking with tongues, healings, etc., in the early Church (1 Cor. 12$_{8-11}$*).—**20. prove all things:** *i.e.* discriminate between the true and the false. One of the difficulties of the early Church was to find some criterion to distinguish the genuine and spurious expressions of the spiritual life (1 Cor. 12$_3$*, 1 Jn. 4$_{1-6}$, Rev. 2$_2$; *cf. Didache*, xi.ff.).

V. 23-28. Conclusion.—23. The closing benediction commending the Thessalonian Christians to God.—**spirit and soul and body:** if we press the phrase, human nature is threefold, consisting of: (*a*) a body, the physical organism; (*b*) soul, the principle of life, the moral and intellectual side of man; (*c*) spirit, the organ of communion with God. But whether this tripartite theory represents Paul's permanent view is open to doubt, as elsewhere he speaks in terms of duality as "flesh and spirit."—**26. be read to all:** a phrase which shows that Paul intended his epistles not merely for the leaders of the Church, but for the whole community, including the humblest and poorest.

II. THESSALONIANS

I. 1-12. Introductory. Thanksgiving for the past and prayer for the future. Paul thanks God for the growing love of the Thessalonian Christians and their loyalty under persecution, and prays that they may be counted worthy of their high calling at the day of the Lord, when they will receive "rest" and their opponents "eternal destruction."

3. For the emphasis on faith and love, see 1 Th. 1$_3$*.—**4. persecutions:** *cf.* 1 Th. 2$_{14-16}$.—**5. which . . . judgement of God:** this phrase is obviously parenthetical. Some scholars would omit it altogether on the ground that it breaks the flow of the sentence, but we have no MS warrant for this. The antecedent to "which" has to be obtained from the previous sentence, and is probably found in the words "patience and faith." "Your heroic faith under persecution . . . affords a proof of what awaits you in the day of God's final judgment" (Milligan).—**7. at the revelation:** at the reappearance or Parousia of the Lord from heaven.—**8. in flaming fire:** it is better to connect these words with previous clause (RV) than with the following (AV). For the appearance of Christ in a flame of fire *cf.* the appearance of God in OT (Ex. 3$_2$, 13$_{21}$, 19$_{18}$, 24$_{17}$; Ps. 18$_{12}$; Is. 66$_{15}$).—**9. eternal destruction:** the word translated "eternal" means "age-long," and need not denote "everlasting" unless the context requires it. In this verse the context probably does require it.

II. 1-12. The Misconception of the Parousia.—This section forms the heart of the epistle. The previous chapter is merely an introduction, and the following chapter merely a conclusion, to this paragraph. The Thessalonians seem to have misinterpreted Paul's teaching about the Parousia, with disastrous effect. The belief that Christ was immediately to reappear thoroughly disorganised their lives. In this paragraph Paul tries to remove the misconception, and definitely affirms that the Parousia cannot take place till certain conditions have been fulfilled. First of all must come the apostasy and the revelation of the Man of Sin. At present, however, there is a restraining power at work which makes this revelation impossible. When the restraining power is removed, the lawless one will appear, and will be followed by Christ, who will slay him with the breath of His mouth.

The meaning of this section has been keenly and voluminously debated. The two points which have to be decided before the passage can be rightly interpreted are: (*a*) Who is the "Man of Sin"? (*b*) What is the "power that restrains"? Probably the most satisfactory answer to these questions is: (*a*) the "Man of Sin" represents Antichrist, who is expected by Paul to arise out of the Jewish nation. Hitherto, it must be remembered, opposition to Christianity had come almost entirely from the Jews, and it was quite natural for Paul to think that the intense hatred of Judaism would embody itself in the person of some Jewish antagonist. Just as the spirit of love had become incarnate in Jesus Christ, so the spirit of hate would embody itself in Antichrist. This view seems, on the whole, more satisfactory than the theory that the "Man of Sin" will emanate from the pagan world, though the phrase "he sitteth in the Temple of God, setting himself forth as God" would be very applicable to Caligula's attempt to profane the Temple, and the later cult of Cæsar worship which deified the Roman Emperor. (*b*) "The power that restrains" on this theory is the Roman Empire, which had always hitherto protected Christianity against lawless attacks from the Jews. *Cf.* pp. 616, 631, 774f.

In plain English the passage seems to mean: The Parousia will not come without signs and warnings. Antichrist must appear first, and Antichrist will embody the Jewish hostility to the Christian faith. At present the Roman Empire is holding this hostility in check. The time will come, however, when this restraint will be withdrawn. Then Antichrist will be let loose and Christ will reappear to challenge and destroy him.

[It is in favour of the view that the mystery of lawlessness, and self-deification of the man of sin, refers to the temper manifested in Caligula, that it is difficult, with all Paul's reason for exasperation with the Jews and lurid anticipations of their impending fate (1 Th. 2$_{14-16}$), to believe that he would expect such an outbreak of lawlessness and deification of a man to spring from a people so passionately monotheistic and devoted to the Law. It is accordingly at least plausible to interpret the passage in the following way:—The mystery of lawlessness has already manifested itself in Caligula. At present it is held in check by Claudius, the reigning emperor of Rome. When he is "taken out of the way," his successor will be the man of sin, carrying to a climax the impious tendencies already revealed by Caligula. The guarded character of the language is much easier to understand if Paul identified the man of sin with the next Roman emperor. There was no such need for cautious language if the Empire played a good part throughout.—A.S.P.]

2. by epistle as from us: forged letters, purporting to come from Paul, were apparently circulated by his opponents. The view that 1 Th. is meant does not seem likely.—**3. the man of Sin:** Antichrist.—**4.** The "Man of Sin" will, by his own deliberate action, usurp the dignity and prerogatives of God.—**6. that which restraineth:** the Roman Empire (see above). The term "mystery" is used in NT not in its modern sense, *i.e.* something that is unintelligible, but to signify "a secret which has been or is to be revealed" (Eph. 1$_9$*).

Paul's statement that the "mystery of lawlessness doth already work" puts out of court all theories which try to find Antichrist in some later historical figure, *e.g.* Napoleon.—**8. slay . . . breath of his mouth:** *cf.* Is. 11$_4$, Ps. 33$_6$.—**9. power . . . signs,** etc.: the three words used here are the NT words for "miracles."—**11. God sendeth them:** *cf.* Rom. 1$_{24, 26, 28}$. We should state this differently in modern phraseology. We should say "God has ordained that those who disobey Him and wilfully blind their eyes to the light shall fall into error. These people disobeyed Him and therefore fell under the scope of the law." Paul puts the matter more shortly, and makes God the direct agent in the individual case.

II. 13–17. Further Thanksgiving and Prayer.—In contrast to the men mentioned in 10–12, Paul thanks God for the Christians whom God chose for salvation. The paragraph concludes with a brief doxology.

15. traditions: here refers to the actual teaching given by the apostle, whether oral or written.

III. Final Counsels and Exhortations.—The apostle (*a*) asks for the prayers of the Thessalonian Christians on his own behalf (1–5); (*b*) warns them against disorderly conduct (6–15); (*c*) concludes with a benediction (16–18).

1–5. The request for prayer contains two points: (*a*) that the word of the Lord may make rapid progress; (*b*) that the apostle and his followers may be delivered from their opponents. The character of the opposition is not specified, but we may surmise that it emanated mainly from the Judaizing party.—**3. from the evil one:** the Greek word may be either masculine (RV, as in the Lord's Prayer) or neuter (AV).

6–15. The Rebuke to the Disorderly.—Under the influence of the Parousia Hope some Thessalonian Christians abandoned their ordinary occupations and claimed the right to be supported by the Church. Paul points to his own conduct at Thessalonica, and warns the Church to withdraw its support from those who will not work.—**9. in labour and travail:** see 1 Th. 2$_9$.—**11. work not at all,** etc.: there is a play on the words in the original Greek which it is difficult to reproduce in English. "Doing no business but being busybodies" is probably the nearest equivalent. —**13. in well-doing:** this is generally interpreted of acts of charity or Christian service, but there is no hint that such a limitation is intended. The phrase indicates every form of honourable action, in the ordinary secular callings of life as well as in the service of the Church.

16–18. Benediction and Farewell.—**17. The salutation:** the circulation of forged epistles (*cf.* 2$_2$) made it necessary for Paul to add at the end of his letters a signature in his own handwriting (1 Cor. 16$_{21}$, Gal. 6$_{11}$). The main body of the epistle was generally dictated to an amanuensis.

THE PASTORAL EPISTLES

By Professor H. BISSEKER

1. Among the Pauline letters, the apostolic authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is still the most keenly contested. The view of earlier critics—that these documents are solely the work of a later imitator of the apostle—must be frankly abandoned. A post-Pauline date is certainly not required by the errors assailed, for even if, as is unlikely (1 Tim. 13–11*), Gnostic tendencies are implied, these arose earlier, not later, than Paul's lifetime. Just as little is such a date involved in the ecclesiastical situation disclosed, since that, as we shall see, necessitates the directly opposite conclusion. Moreover, the letters contain statements highly improbable in an admiring imitator (*e.g.* 1 Tim. 1 15*b*, 2 Tim. 115), and embody a series of personal and historical allusions which are transparently authentic, being partly independent of any existing source of information and partly out of harmony with extant references to the persons and the places named (1 Tim. 1 3, 2 Tim. 410–15,20, Tit. 15, etc.). So cogent are the last considerations that, even among liberal critics, many of the sections concerned are now acknowledged to be Pauline, the remainder of the letters being assigned to a later writer who embedded these genuine fragments in his own compositions.

2. It is between this and the traditional view that we have to choose. And the choice is difficult. Against the apostolic origin of the entire letters it is urged that (1) much of their teaching, both in content and in method, is un-Pauline; (2) the vocabulary and style are unlike those of the apostle; (3) the epistles cannot be fitted into Paul's life as portrayed in Acts, and we lack proof of his release from his first Roman imprisonment; and (4) the letters themselves reveal broken sequences and self-contradictions (*e.g.* contrast 2 Tim. 411*a* and 421). Careful examination shows that in the case of (3) and (4), much of (1), and the first part of (2) the evidence is inconclusive. But the difficulty respecting the un-Pauline use of particles and connecting links is serious: it is just in such subtle points that a writer unconsciously reveals himself. A further difficulty must be allowed in Tit. 33: such a description seems scarcely applicable to Paul. The main strength of the critical theory, however, lies not in any single difficulty, but in the cumulative effect of a long series. Were the problem only that of language *or* style *or* teaching *or* historical situation *or* apparent contradictions in the text, it might more easily yield to opposing considerations. It is the fact that, on the traditional theory, *so many independent* points have to be "explained" that provokes doubt and hesitation.

3. On the other hand, the critical view itself is not without its perplexities. (1) The external evidence for the epistles is strong; (2) the schemes of partition suggested are over-intricate and unconvincing; (3) there is no satisfactory theory of a "tendency" which would account for the letters, that usually advanced being manifestly inadequate. A greater difficulty remains. The continued identity of "bishop" and "presbyter," the fact that the peculiar position of Timothy and Titus would be highly improbable at any later period (points appearing outside the "Pauline fragments"), and, possibly, the ground of Paul's imprisonment (2 Tim. 29*), require an apostolic date for these documents. But if they were issued by another writer before or shortly after Paul's death, how could they so easily have gained currency as the apostle's own composition? Finally, it is only just to point out that the chief individual difficulty in the traditional view is largely neutralised if we suppose (as the literary customs of the age unquestionably allow) that many of the stylistic traits of the letters are due to Paul's amanuensis.

4. There are thus strong arguments and serious difficulties on both sides, and the final solution of the problem is not yet. More light is required, and meanwhile the verdict must remain an open one. The Pauline authorship is assuredly not disproved: on the contrary, the evidence is more favourable to it to-day than for many years past, and it is reasonably certain that particular sections of the epistles come from the apostle's own hand. At the same time, the Pauline authorship of the letters as a whole has not been positively established—a statement which governs all allusions to "Paul" as their writer, throughout the present commentary.

5. The traditional authorship is usually held to necessitate Paul's release from his first Roman imprisonment (contrast Bartlet, Exp. VIII, v. 28). On this assumption, his subsequent movements may be conjectured as follows: (1) a visit to Macedonia and Asia (Phil. 224, Phm. 22); (2) evangelisation of Spain (Rom. 1524, 1 Clem. § 5); (3) a mission in Crete (Tit. 15); (4) a journey up the coast of Asia Minor (1 Tim. 13, 2 Tim. 413,20) towards Macedonia and Achaia (2 Tim. 420), with a view to wintering in Nicopolis (Tit. 312). During this last journey 1 Tim. and Tit. may well have been written about A.D. 66 from Macedonia. Shortly afterwards the apostle was rearrested and taken back to Rome, whence he despatched 2 Tim. The critical theory dates the letters between A.D. 90 and 115, and in the order 2 Tim., Tit., 1 Tim. See also pp. 772, 815f.

6. **Literature.**—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Humphreys (CB), Horton (Cent.B), Strachan (WNT), **Brown** (West.C); (*b*) Ellicott, Alford, **Bernard** (CGT), Liddon, White (EGT); (*c*) Von Soden (HC), **B. Weiss** (Mey.), Köhler (SNT), M. Dibelius (HNT), Wohlenberg (ZK); (*d*) Plummer (ExB). *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries. Discussions in Histories of Apostolic Age, Introductions to NT and to Pauline Epistles; Hort, *Christian Ecclesia* and *Judaistic Christianity*.

I. TIMOTHY

Grave perils beset the churches in Asia. False teachers threaten to subvert the Christian faith and corrupt Christian conduct. Confronted by this delicate situation, Timothy, Paul's delegate, seems to have revealed a certain lack of decision and a tendency to heed mere theoretical discussion concerning truth. Paul sends him solemn and fatherly counsel. The antidote to error consists partly in the true positive doctrine and partly in strong organisation, capable of safeguarding it. The letter contains detailed guidance on these points, accompanied by instruction and encouragement regarding Timothy's own conduct in the crisis.

I. Introductory.

(*a*) **I. 1f. Salutation.**—Paul greets Timothy, his true son in the faith. The character of his communication leads him to write, even to a personal friend, in his official capacity as an apostle by Divine commandment.

1. God our Saviour.—This title is not applied to God by Paul outside the Pastorals. It is, however, familiar in OT, and appears also in Lk. 1^{47} and Jude 25.—**Christ Jesus our hope:** *cf.* Col. 1^{27}. This union of Christ Jesus with God as the source of Paul's apostleship, like their association in 2 under the vinculum of a single preposition, carries important theological implications.—**2. mercy:** added to Paul's usual salutation only here and 2 Tim. 1^{2}, *cf.* 2 Jn. 3.

(*b*) **I. 3–20. Reminder of Paul's Verbal Charge.**

3–11. The False Teaching, and a Digression on the Law.—Some years before, Paul had foretold that error would assail the Church in Asia (Ac. 20^{29}f.). His fear had now been realised. On his recent visit to Macedonia (Intro. § 5) he had already given Timothy instruction concerning it, and this he here renews. The authority of the errorists to teach is not disputed. Perhaps all Christian men could engage in teaching; Zahn, INT, ii. 96: it is the content of their doctrine that is challenged. This seems to have taken the form of a speculative Judaism—its exponents posed as "teachers of the law"—dealing with legendary matter (*e.g.* the Haggadah) alien to the Gospel's purpose. Such doctrine is (*a*) *evil in tendency*, leading to "vain talking" and aimless discussions (including, perhaps, "the trivial casuistry which constituted no small part of the Halacha"—Hort) (*cf.* Tit. 1^{10}); (*b*) *irrelevant*, missing the true end of the Christian teaching—not useless controversy, but love (5)—and so constituting a "different doctrine" (3); (*c*) *ignorant*, its propounders understanding neither their own assertions nor their subject-matter (7). This disparaging reference to self-styled "teachers of the law," however—here follows a brief digression (8–11)—does not imply condemnation of the Law itself. It is only its misuse that Paul deprecates. The Law is good if a teacher builds on knowledge of its true design, the restraining of wrong-doers. Such a view of the Law, indeed, is that which harmonises with Paul's own Gospel of God's glory.

5. conscience and faith: viewed throughout the Pastorals as closely inter-related.—**6. swerved:** perhaps "failed" or "forgotten" (Exp. VII, vi. 373).—**8. good:** the Gr. word signifies beauty as well as goodness (*cf.* Rom. 7^{16}).—**9. law:** either the Mosaic Law or "law" in general, probably the former if the accompanying list of sins follows, as some hold, the order of the Decalogue. For supplementary view, see Rom. 5^{20}. Moffatt (INT, p. 410) needlessly sees in this paragraph proof of the writer's sub-Pauline environment.—**murderers:** more probably "smiters" (*mg.*).—**10. sound:** contrast 2 Tim. 2^{17}. This apt metaphor (*cf. mg.*), not found in Paul outside the Pastorals, was common in ancient Gr., and must have been familiar to him.—**doctrine:** the conception, found in the Pastorals, of a system of belief to be accepted and guarded, has erroneously been declared un-Pauline. Not only was it an inevitable development in the Church's thought, but it is revealed in Paul's earliest epistles (1 Th. 4^{1}, 2 Th. 2^{15}, 1 Cor. 15^{2}f., etc.).

12–17. Further Digression on God's Mercy.—The connexion is not obvious. P. Ewald has suggested that 12–17 has been displaced and should properly follow 1^{2}. It is, however, in keeping with Paul's style that the mention of the Gospel entrusted to him should lead to such an outburst of thanksgiving. He, the persecutor, forgiven because ignorant (*cf.* Lk. 23^{34}, and the close parallel in *Testament of Judah* 19^{3}), was counted trustworthy for God's service. To forgiveness was added salvation. For, accompanying Christ's grace to him, faith had supplanted his "unbelief," and love his former cruelty. In this mercy bestowed on himself he sees a special fitness. Since he, Paul, is chief of sinners (who but Paul could have written this?) it forms the supreme example of God's long-suffering with sinners generally.

13. injurious: *i.e.* one who commits violent outrage.—**15. faithful is the saying:** a formula, peculiar to the Pastorals, used to affirm that an assertion is reliable. It sometimes introduces, and sometimes follows, the declaration (either in an aphorism or in a formal statement of doctrine) of what is apparently an accepted belief. The saying here is plainly a familiar maxim, which implies Christ's pre-existence, confesses His Incarnation, but lays chief stress upon the work of salvation.—**worthy,** etc.: *cf.* Enoch, 94^{1}.—**chief:** as a man draws nearer to the light he gains a clearer vision of his own shadow.—**17. King eternal:** rather, "King of the ages," *i.e.* of the great periods into which Jewish thought divided time. There is no allusion to the Gnostic "æons."—**only God:** some authorities wrongly insert "wise" from Rom. 16^{27}.

18–20. The Charge Renewed.—Paul now returns to the charge committed to Timothy (1$^{3-5}$) from which he has been twice diverted. That charge, once given orally, has failed to achieve its end. He now recommits it to him in writing, reminding him of its consonance with the Divine promptings which pointed him out (*mg.*) for the ministry. Paul's purpose is that Timothy may fulfil his trust, rich in those possessions deliberate rejection of which results in shipwreck in the faith. Of this Hymenæus and Alexander are examples, whom Paul excommunicated, in the hope of their recovery.

18. This charge: the general "charge" of the letter (to deal with the situation in Asia), explained in detail in 2^{1}ff. This is clear from "therefore" in 2^{1}.—**prophecies:** these also accompanied Timothy's ordination (4^{14}).—**which:** *i.e.* good conscience.—**the faith:** 1^{10}*.—**20. Hymenæus:** for his error *cf.* 2 Tim. 2^{17}f.—**Alexander:** a common name. There is no proof of identity with any of the Alexanders of Ac. 19^{33}, Mk. 15^{21}, 2 Tim. 4^{14}.—**delivered,** etc.: probably excommunication, with infliction of bodily disease; *cf.* 1 Cor. 5^{5}*, p. 649. A remedial, not a vindictive, act: Deissmann (*Light from Ancient East*, p. 203) connects it with the ancient custom of execration.

II. 1–III. 16. The Charge Respecting Church Regulations.

(*a*) **II. 1–15. Public Worship. 1–7. Public Prayer.**—Paul requires, as of first importance, the offering of public prayer in a catholic spirit. Since the Christian's rejection of state-religion might appear treasonable, he especially names kings and high officials (*cf.* Rom. 13^{1}ff.).

Such prayer for all men is well-pleasing to God. For His will is all men's salvation and enlightenment, as is shown by (*a*) God's own Unity (if there is only one God, all men are equally His care); (*b*) the oneness of the Mediator (He, as Man, represented all mankind); and (*c*) the universal purpose of Christ's sacrifice—a truth to be attested in its proper season, Paul himself being constituted a witness.

1. intercessions: rather, "petitions."—**2. gravity:** "honesty" (AV) bears its old sense of "propriety."—**4f.** To interpret these verses as anti-Gnostic entirely destroys the sequence of thought.—**6. a ransom:** The Gr. word contains the preposition (found also in Mt. 20^{28}) denoting "instead of."—**7.** *Cf.* 2 Tim. 1^{11}. **I speak,** etc.: insists on Paul's apostolic authority, which the false teachers probably denied.

II. 8–15. The Behaviour of Women.—Public prayer, characterised by the right spirit, must be offered only by *men*. Women's part is to dress modestly, finding their chief adornment in good works. They may neither teach in public nor rule. Their's is the inferior position (*a*) because woman was created later than man; (*b*) because, while his first sin was deliberate, hers was due to the ease with which she was deceived—a proof of her unfitness to guide others. Nevertheless, exhibiting the Christian virtues in her natural sphere and functions, woman shall thereby work out her salvation. *Cf.* p. 650.

8. lifting, etc.: this attitude, pagan as well as Jewish and Christian, denoted expectation of blessing.—**9.** *Cf.* 1 P. 3^{3}ff.—**shamefastness:** the modesty of womanly reserve.—**11.** *Cf.* 1 Cor. 14^{34}f.—**12. to teach:** *i.e.* publicly; *cf.* Tit. 2^{3}.—**13.** *Cf.* 1 Cor. 11^{8}f.—**13f.** Such arguments belong to Paul's day rather than our own (*cf.* Deissmann, *Paul*, pp.103ff.).—**15. the childbearing:** *cf.* Gen. 3^{16}, and (for man's case) 3^{17}. The interpretation "through *the* Childbearing," *i.e.* the Messiah's birth, is less suited to the argument.

(*b*) **III. 1–13. Church Officials. 1–7. The Bishops.**—Not only public worship, but also the appointment of officials, must be regulated. He who exercises oversight—a good work, as is generally admitted—must possess moral qualifications which place him beyond reproach. He must be (*a*) of disciplined life: *e.g.* he must not marry a second time, or indulge in the drunken riots prevalent around him (*cf.* 1 Cor. 5^{11}, 11^{21}); (*b*) hospitable, since Christians, especially teachers, frequently travelled from church to church; (*c*) successful in giving instruction—a function usually assigned at this period to particular "teachers"; (*d*) untempted by money, thus reproving a dangerous error (*cf.* 6^{5}); (*e*) a proved ruler; (*f*) not too recent a convert, lest he suffer condemnation for pride, as did the devil; and, finally, (*g*) of honourable reputation among his heathen neighbours. (The writer is not enumerating the bishop's *functions*, but insisting that the man elected shall be of the right *moral quality*.) *Cf.* p. 646.

1. Faithful, etc.: 1^{15} *.—**bishop:** not in the sense of a "monarchical," much less in that of a modern "diocesan," bishop. The translation "bishop," indeed, is misleading. In NT the word indicates one who exercises oversight, and the alternative title "elder" (possibly a different function within the same office, *cf.* Tit. 1^{5}–7) is applied to the same person.—**2.** *Cf.* Tit. 1^{6}ff. — **husband,** etc.: sometimes wrongly interpreted as alluding to polygamy or adultery, or as forbidding celibacy.

8–13. Deacons and Deaconesses.—Certain moral qualities, likewise, are required in deacons. They must be serious, sincere in speech, free from love of wine and (since they administer church funds) from love of money, holding with a pure conscience the truth revealed in the faith. They, too, must be appointed only when, tested by their general conduct in the community, they are found without accusation. (Deaconesses must satisfy similar requirements.) The domestic conditions demanded for bishops apply to deacons also. These varied qualifications are needful because fidelity in their office wins them, among their fellows, both a position of honour and boldness in their faith.

9. mystery: *i.e.* truth which man could not find for himself, but which, once hidden, is now made known through revelation.—**10. blameless:** *i.e.* free from actual charge; "without reproach" (2) denotes freedom from any rightful *ground* for accusation.—**11. women:** *i.e.* deaconesses (*cf.* Phœbe, Rom. 16^{1}), not "their wives" (AV). 11 breaks the connexion between 10 and 12 so abruptly that it either may have been displaced or may represent a marginal gloss (Köhler).—**12. husbands,** etc.: 2*.—**13. standing:** less probable interpretations than that adopted above are "a step in ecclesiastical promotion" and "status before God."

(*c*) **III. 14–16. The Aim of the Instructions.**—The purpose of such directions, written lest Paul's visit be delayed, is to teach men proper behaviour in God's household (*cf.* Heb. 3^{6}), the Church, by which the truth is upheld and protected against error. And how great is that revealed truth with which our religion is entrusted! It is nothing less than Christ Himself (Jn. 14^{6}, Col. 1^{27}), who was manifested in the Incarnation and vindicated by His Resurrection (Rom. 1^{4}), who was made known to angels and men; and whose work received its consummation both on earth and in the heavens.

15. men: better than the Western reading "thou" (AV).—**16. mystery:** *cf.* 9*.—**He who:** the famous reading "God" (AV) is unquestionably mistaken. These rhythmical sentences are probably part of an early Christian hymn (or creed); *cf.* 1 Cor. 15^{42}, 2 Tim. 2^{12}. Ramsay, however, views them as examples of Paul's "lyrical expression . . . in moments of emotional and mystic enthusiasm" (Exp. VIII, iii. 359).—**manifested:** pre-existence is implied.—**angels:** by the Incarnation their knowledge of the Son's Person was intensified (*cf.* 1 P. 1^{12}).

IV. 1–VI. 2*a*. The Charge respecting Timothy's own Behaviour within the Church.

(*a*) **IV. 1–16. Timothy's Attitude to Error. 1–5. The False Asceticism.**—Despite the greatness of the revelation, however, even within the Church error will arise. Prophets, inspired by the Spirit, foretell an apostasy which will be brought about by men inspired by evil spirits (*cf.* 1 Jn. 4^{1}ff.) and bearing on their conscience the mark of their master, Satan (contrast Gal. 6^{17}). Already there flourished outside the Church—*e.g.* among the Essenes (p. 624) and the Therapeutæ, a false asceticism by which marriage and certain foods were regarded as impure. Such conceptions would—and, indeed, in respect to food (Col. 2^{16}), had begun to—invade the Church itself, despite the fact that everything created by God is good (*cf.* Mk. 7^{15}, Ac. 10^{15}), if it be consecrated by the scriptural grace pronounced over it by every Christian (*cf.* 1 Cor. 10^{30}, Rom. 14^{6}).

2. branded: other interpretations are: (*a*) with conscience made non-sensitive (AV), (*b*) with the penal branding of criminals.—**3. and commanding,** etc.: Hort suspects corruption of the text, and conjectures either "or to touch" or "and to take." Neither form of asceticism in this verse requires a late date for the epistle.

10–16. The Treatment Needed.—Timothy must meet the errors by (*a*) personal example (6–10) and (*b*) diligent teaching (11–16).

In combating error he must continually draw his strength from the doctrinal statements hitherto followed by him. The silly myths that are current (13–11*) he must reject. The fully-developed asceticism of 3 lies in the future, but in these fables its *principles* are already contained. Let him further counteract the evil by himself exhibiting the *true* self-discipline—that which aims at producing piety. For—a reliable truth—while mere bodily self-discipline has only a limited use, piety assures the highest life both now and hereafter. It is to secure this that Christ's preachers wage their contest (the metaphor here and in 7 is the same—that of the athletic encounters), their hope set on God, the universal Saviour, and theirs especially who by faith appropriate His salvation. To example let Timothy add appeal and instruction (11–16), and this with confidence. He was comparatively young for his post, probably less than forty. But no one must be allowed to despise his "youth" (a term applicable up to the age of thirty-five, and therefore in this context no mark of a forger). Rather, he must use not only his private example (in conduct and in character), but also his public ministry (the reading of Scripture in church and his sermons, whether of appeal or of instruction), to stem this evil. Years ago, when he was first set apart as a Christian missionary, he was equipped by the Holy Spirit with special grace for his task. That gift, mediated through prophecy and accompanied by ordination by the local elders, he must never neglect. Diligent attention to his example and teaching will issue in his own and his hearers' salvation.

13. reading: *i.e.* of the OT and probably of apostolic letters (see 1 Th. 527, Col. 416).—**14. the gift,** etc.: *cf.* 2 Tim. 16. The ordination was doubtless at Lystra, on Timothy's being separated for missionary service (Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 181ff.). Apparently both Paul's and the local elders' hands were laid on Timothy, the former mediating (2 Tim. 16), the latter accompanying (14) the gift. Here, where Timothy's authority in the Church is concerned, the elders only are mentioned; there, where Timothy's personal relationship with Paul is more prominent, only one apostle. It is important to observe that "the question is not one of the transference of an office . . . it is the exercise of teaching" (Weiss).

(*b*) **V. 1–VI. 2a. Timothy's Attitude to Particular Classes of Church Members.**

V. 1f. Old and Young.—Older members must be treated with reverence, younger as equals in the Christian family.

1. elder: rather, "an older man." For a second-century parallel see Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 313.

V. 3–16. Widows.—The space devoted to "widows" indicates the existence of a special difficulty in Asia. Paul gives Timothy definite instructions. (*a*) Deserving widows really left alone should be maintained from Church funds (3). (*b*) The funds, however, must not be burdened by widows with descendants or friends capable of assisting. Descendants must make it their first charge to fulfil the family obligation involved. Otherwise they disown the Christian way of life, and acknowledge a standard lower than that of unbelievers (4, 8, 16). (*c*) The mark of a true widow is that, avoiding dissipation, which is spiritual death (*cf.* Rev. 31), she has forsaken domestic ties (*cf.* 1 Cor. 733f.) for the wholehearted service of God (5f.; contrast 11f.). (*d*) None should be placed on the official roll who is not (i) sixty years old, (ii) of proved self-restraint, (iii) of established reputation for good works (9f.). (*e*) Young widows should not be included, because (i) they may wish to remarry, and so violate their troth to Christ; (ii) in their visiting they may become busybodies. Since, then, they cannot control their natural instincts, let them marry again and attend to household cares (so 1 Cor. 78f.). Actual experience shows this to be wise (11–15).

3–16 forms a single paragraph. It is usual to refer 3–8 to the *maintenance* of widows, and 9–16 to the selection of an "order" within the Church's official *ministry*. Though the maintained widows doubtless rendered some service, this sub-division is improbable, because (*a*) the subject of maintenance is still prominent in 16, (*b*) the same word "widow" would not bear two different meanings within a few verses, (*c*) a minimum age-limit of sixty is more natural in charity than in service.

3. honour: as context proves, embraces the idea of "maintain."—**4. grandchildren:** the old meaning of "nephews" (AV).—**7. these things:** the points made in 3–6. The "but" of 8 shows the descendants to be included in those to be "without reproach."—**9. wife,** etc., 32* (*mutatis mutandis*).—**10. children:** whether her own or adopted. Care of orphans ranked among the good works encouraged by Judaism (Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 138).—**14. adversary:** *i.e.* human opponents.

V. 17–25. Elders.—In 31* Paul discusses *qualifications* for eldership, here he gives Timothy rules for its *supervision*. (*a*) On the principle of Scripture (Dt. 254, *cf.* 1 Cor. 99) and of a well-known proverb, successful presidents (*cf.* 1 Th. 512) should receive special maintenance, particularly if to the strict functions of eldership they add that of teaching (17f.). (*b*) Against an elder only legally-attested charges (Dt. 1915) may be recognised (19). (*c*) Elders convicted of sinful practices should be reprimanded publicly, as a deterrent to others. In all this Timothy must exercise absolute impartiality (20f.). (*d*) He may guard against scandal by making full inquiry before ordaining an elder, thus avoiding a share in responsibility for defaulters' sins, from which he must ever keep himself unspotted (22). This will prevent (i) hasty acceptance of candidates (since, while some men's sins are so notorious as to proclaim the necessity of judgment, others' sins are discovered only long afterwards, 24); (ii) hasty rejection (since not all good works, also, are immediately evident, 25).

17. honour: 3*.—**18. scripture:** refers only to the first of the sayings that follow. Since Christ's words (Lk. 107) would not at this date be cited as "scripture," the second saying was probably a proverb familiar to both Lord and apostle.—**20. them,** etc.: in this context "those *elders* who."—**21. elect:** *i.e.* unfallen.—**22.** For the view that this verse concerns the restoration of penitents see EGT.—**23,** which deprecates Timothy's abstinence from wine, undertaken perhaps in protest against a prevalent danger (33, 8), breaks the connexion between 22 and 24, and is either an awkward parenthesis to safeguard "keep thyself pure," or an interpolation, possibly displaced from 43 (Holtzmann).

VI. 1–2a. Slaves.—Christianity freed slaves by evolution rather than revolution. A grave social peril would have arisen in the first century had slaves misinterpreted their liberty in Christ (pp. 649f.). Timothy must guard against this (*cf.* Col. 322, Eph. 65, 1 P. 218). The Gospel's honour demands loyalty

even to heathen masters (Tit. 2 9f.). If those who would benefit by the slaves' fuller service are fellow-believers, they should be served the *more* loyally.

VI. 2*b*–21. **Final Words.**

(*a*) **VI. 2*b*–10. The Errorists, and a Fundamental Error.**—Such, then, is Paul's charge. Those who teach otherwise are conceited and ignorant, morbidly busying themselves with wordy controversy. From these, among other evils, one crucial error proceeds—the theory that religion is a means of worldly profit (*cf.* Tit. 1 11). Now even in this life religion *is* of great profit—*i.e.* profit in terms of true happiness—if accompanied by entire independence of one's circumstances (the meaning of "contentment," *cf.* Phil. 4 11). For we can take out of the world no more material goods than we brought into it (Lk. 12 20), but, with food and clothing, should be satisfied. Rich is the man whose godliness has taught him this. But those who set their desire on material wealth are in great peril. As well-known examples prove, all evils may spring from love of money.

2*b*. these things: *i.e.* the whole charge of the letter. This sentence (contrast RV) belongs to the present paragraph.—**3. sound:** 1 10*.—**4. questionings:** 1 3–11*.—**10. a root,** etc.: better as AV.

(*b*) **VI. 11–16. Timothy's Call to Fidelity.**—In contrast with this quest for worldly profit (5, 9f.) Timothy must pursue the Christian virtues. Let him, in life's arena (for the metaphor *cf.* 2 Tim. 4 7, 1 Cor. 9 24, Phil. 3 12), continuously wage faith's fair contest, and so obtain the victor's garland, eternal life (Jas. 1 12, Rev. 2 10). It was to win this prize that he was summoned in his baptism, at which, entering upon the contest, he made the good confession before many fellow-Christians. Now, in the midst of the struggle, he is charged to loyalty by "a more tremendous Presence," "by an assurance that he is in the hands of One whose protective power is universal, and by the example of One who, as Man, put that protective power to a successful test" (EGT). The charge closes with a noble doxology (*cf.* 1 17).

13. witnessed, etc.; *cf.* Rev. 1 5.—**14. commandment:** the gospel as a rule of life.—**15. King,** etc.; *cf.* Rev. 17 14, Dt. 10 17.—**16. who only,** etc.: *i.e.* "as His *essential* property" (*cf.* Jn. 5 26).—**dwelling,** etc.: Ex. 33 17ff., Enoch 14 21f.—**whom,** etc.: *cf.* Jn. 1 18, 1 Jn. 4 12.

(*c*) **VI. 17–19. The True Conception of Riches.**—Though God gives good things for our enjoyment, wealth is too uncertain a foundation on which to rest our hope. By good works rich men should lay up a foundation for the future (Mt. 6 20, Lk. 16 9), secure on which they may gain that life which is more than mere existence (Lk. 12 15, 21).

(*d*) **VI. 20f. Final Charge.**—A forceful reiteration of the epistle's main message. Timothy must (*a*) guard the evangelical doctrine (*cf.* 2 Tim. 1 12, 14), the true antidote to error; (*b*) reject the unholy vain-talking (16, 2 Tim. 2 16) and "endless contrasts of decisions, founded on endless distinctions" (Hort), on which the errorists, falsely claiming to possess the true knowledge, prided themselves (13–11*).

20. oppositions: there is no allusion to Marcion's Book of "Oppositions"; see Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 138ff.

II. TIMOTHY

From his second Roman imprisonment (Introduction, § 5) Paul writes once more to strengthen Timothy's courage amid the difficulties still surrounding him (apparently) in Asia. In particular, he offers guidance as to errors, present and future, and regarding his proper attitude towards men of vicious life. In his own pathetic loneliness he summons Timothy to join him at Rome, and to bring Mark with him.

I. 1–5. Introductory—Salutation (1f.) and Thanksgiving (3–5).—For the official form of salutation *cf.* 1 Tim. 1 1f.*

Moved by affectionate remembrance, Paul, thanks God for some recent reminder of Timothy's faith, a faith witnessed earlier in his mother and grandmother.

2. mercy: 1 Tim. 1 2*.—**3.** The *ground* of thanksgiving is 5 (contrast AV and RV), and the true rendering: "I thank God . . . *since* my remembrance . . . is unceasing . . . *that* I have been reminded."—**4. tears** at their last separation.—**faith:** not Jewish (Zahn), but as the sequence of thought demands, Christian.—**Eunice:** Ac. 16 1.

I. 6–II. 13. Appeal to Timothy for Courage in Face of Difficulties.

(*a*) **I. 6–11. Direct Appeal, based on Timothy's Ordination Gift.**—The false teachers have created a situation demanding courageous treatment. Timothy has not failed (the Greek tense in 8 implies "do not *begin* to be ashamed"), but he plainly needs enheartening. Paul appeals for strong action on three grounds. The first is *the character implied in Timothy's ordination gift.* The spirit of power, love, and self-discipline therein conveyed should suffice (*a*) to save him from becoming ashamed of his testimony, and (*b*) to enable him to take his share in suffering hardships for the gospel's sake, with a strength of which *God's* power is the measure. This power, guaranteed to Timothy in his ordination, is no less than that which wrought for our salvation and high calling. It depends, moreover, not upon our own deeds but upon God's eternal purpose, and its magnitude is witnessed in the Incarnation and the Resurrection.

6. the gift, etc.: 1 Tim. 4 14*.—**9. who saved:** 1 Tim. 1 1*.—**not . . . works:** a characteristically Pauline passage (*cf.* Tit. 3 5).—**10. abolished:** rather, "brought to naught."

(*b*) **I. 12–14. An Appeal to Paul's own Example.**—The second ground of Paul's appeal is *his own example.* He too, being an apostle, suffers hardship. But he is not ashamed (*cf.* 8). For the safeguarding of the truth committed to him he relies on *God's* power. Timothy must do the same. He has in Paul's own words a pattern of sound teaching. Let him guard his trust, relying, like Paul, not on his own strength, but on the indwelling spirit.

12. that which, etc.: rather as *mg.*—*i.e.* the true doctrine (1 Tim. 1 10*), the antidote to error.—**13. sound:** 1 Tim. 1 10*.

(*c*) **I. 15–18. A Personal Appeal.**—*The apostle's earlier disappointments* form the third ground of appeal. All his Asian friends—perhaps by withholding help in his captivity—had proved disloyal. Timothy must not add further sorrow by failing him now. A parenthesis (16–18) recognises one honourable exception in Asia. Onesiphorus, according to tradition Paul's host at Iconium, had visited his Roman prison and repeated well-known earlier kindnesses. For his household now, and for Onesiphorus (who was perhaps dead) at the last, Paul craves God's mercy.

15. Phygelus, Hermogenes: of these men nothing certain is recorded.

(*d*) **II. 1–13. The Appeal Renewed.**—Thus enriched in his ordination, challenged by Paul's example, and warned by the Asian defection, Timothy, for all his work, must find continual strength in his *Divine* equip-

ment. He must (*a*) conserve the truth by depositing it with trustworthy teachers (2), and (*b*) face the hardships involved in his present administration (3). In every sphere success demands endurance and self-discipline. This is true in *secular* affairs: the successful soldier is restricted from pleasures, the successful athlete restricted by rules, the successful farmer restricted in his ease (4–6). The principle is equally valid in *religious* service. Let Timothy consider the supreme example, Jesus Christ: even for Him, the promised Messiah, the gateway into life was death. Let him also consider Paul, Christ's apostle: even now he lies bound as a malefactor—a ready sufferer, since the fetters which bind him cannot bind the message. In facing hardship, therefore, Timothy has no unique experience. In every sphere achievement is conditioned by self-sacrifice (7–10). Yet, as reliable words declare, the sacrifice will not remain unrecompensed. Death to self in baptism will yield us a share in Christ's resurrection-life, and present endurance a place in His heavenly kingdom. Nevertheless, there is need for care. For, should we deny Him, He will deny us, although want of faith, apart from actual denial, can never cancel His own faithfulness (11–13).

2. among: better, "through." Paul's teaching had reached Timothy both directly and indirectly.—**5. crowned:** with the victor's garland.—**6. laboureth** is the emphatic word.—**8.** *Cf.* Rom. 13.—**9. bonds:** an indignity for a Roman citizen.—**malefactor:** possibly a mark of early date. By Domitian's day the charge against Christians was that of practising an illegal religion (Ramsay).—**11. faithful,** etc.: 1 Tim. 115 *. The "saying" (11–13*a*) may form part of an early Christian hymn (1 Tim. 316*). With its four clauses *cf.* Rom. 68, Rom. 817, Mt. 1033, Rom. 33 respectively.

II. 14–26. Charge to Timothy concerning Present Error.

The false teaching considered in this epistle is partly present and partly future. Paul's first charge relates to the former type. For its *general character cf.* 1 Tim. 13–11*. Such *particular doctrines* as that of 18 were possibly confined to individual teachers. The charge expounds:

(*a*) **II. 14–18. Timothy's Immediate Duty.**—Mere debates are diverting and evil. Timothy must so handle the situation as to win God's approval. This involves (*a*) framing his own positive teaching after the right pattern, and (*b*) definite hostility to the errorists' discussions (*cf.* 1 Tim. 620). This is essential because the errorists will become increasingly dangerous, as Hymenæus (now probably excommunicated, 1 Tim. 120) and Philetus prove, with their theory (perverting the truth of Rom. 63ff.) that the only resurrection is the spiritual rising experienced in baptism.

15. handling, etc.: the image is that of a man cutting his doctrine to the pattern of the gospel.—**17. Hymenæus and Philetus:** otherwise unknown.—**18.** See above. Another early theory was that men rise again only in their children.

(*b*) **II. 19–21. The Right Spirit for Timothy's Task.** Nevertheless the situation does not call for panic. Timothy's spirit must be one of quiet confidence in God, since the Church rests on a firm foundation laid by God Himself and sealed (*cf.* Rev. 2114) by His knowledge (Nu. 165) and moral requirements. The most firmly-founded building, however, contains both worthy and unworthy vessels. The latter (*i.e.* the errorists) Timothy must remove from the Church, if he himself would remain fit for God's employment.

(*c*) **II. 22–26. The Influence of Personal Example.**—Meanwhile much depends on Timothy's own behaviour (*cf.* 1 Tim. 412). (*a*) His personal example must be irreproachable (22; "youthful" lusts, 1 Tim. 411–16*); (*b*) he must avoid controversy with the errorists, a Christian teacher's aim being not strife but gentle persuasion, based on instruction. Through these means opponents, captured by Satan, may return from his snare to a sober mind, to do the will of God (EV renders 26 unnaturally).

III. 1–IV. 8. Charge to Timothy concerning Future Error.

(*a*) **III. 1–9. Future Error and Its Present Germs.**—Timothy must consider future as well as present dangers. As the Second Advent (never believed by the apostles to be far distant) approaches, the Church will be threatened by men of outrageous life. These also Timothy must avoid. The germs of the evil, indeed, are already present (6), and the statement of its developed results (2–5) will help him to detect its first beginning. For to this type belong such teachers as privately mislead sinful women who, with fickle curiosity, merely play at seeking instruction. Their forerunners were the magicians who opposed Moses (Ex. 711ff.). But their further progress shall be arrested, like theirs, by open exposure of their folly.

2. *cf.* Rom. 129ff.—**money:** 1 Tim. 610, Tit. 111.—**5.** Tit. 116.—**8. Jannes, Jambres:** Origen believed that Paul obtained these names from an apocryphal book (*Iamnes et Mambres liber*) no longer extant. Alternatively, their source may have been unwritten tradition (see Bernard in CGT).

(*b*) **III. 10–17. Timothy's Safeguards.**—Grave as these dangers are, however, Timothy has a double safeguard. (*a*) His present difficult task does not take him by surprise. When, at Lystra (Ac. 163), he accepted the missionary commission, he understood clearly, through his intimate knowledge of Paul's experience, all that it involved—both the type of teaching, conduct, and character required, and the inevitable hardship entailed. (He knew, too, God's power of deliverance.) This suffering for Christ is an essential condition of discipleship (Mt. 1624, Ac. 1422), and therefore Timothy must himself have anticipated it (10–12). (*b*) He has the further safeguard of Divine instruction. While evil men grow worse, Timothy will gain strength from loyalty to past convictions. And these convictions rest on firm foundations: (*a*) the authoritative character of his Christian teachers, and (*b*) his lifelong knowledge of the OT, able, through faith in Christ, to bestow all wisdom necessary to salvation. For every inspired passage is of service to yield him instruction, reproof, correction, and discipline. Fortified by such experiences he will prove sufficient for every task imposed by his office (13–17).

11. These specific sufferings are named as being fresh in Timothy's mind when he undertook missionary responsibilities.—**13. impostors:** literally "wizards," a reminiscence of 8 rather than a proof that the errorists practised magic.—**14. whom:** plural (*mg.*). Some authorities read the singular, implying Paul alone.—**15. babe:** according to Jewish custom (Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life,* p. 117).—**the sacred writings:** best authorities omit "the." AV is inexact here.—**unto salvation:** the only inspiration Scripture itself claims is spiritual (*cf.* 16).—**16.** In each change RV is preferable to AV. The words assume inspiration: their aim is to indicate its uses.

(*c*) **IV. 1–8. Timothy's Duty in the Crisis.**—Threatened with such opposition (31–9) and strengthened by such safeguards (310–17), Timothy must persistently teach the *positive truth.* He should be ready to reprove

error and proclaim the gospel, whether the occasion seem propitious or not (2). For Church members as well as false teachers will cause trouble. Anxious for novelty and "piling up" congenial instructors, they will turn to the familiar myths of the errorists (1 Tim. 1$_3$–11*). Timothy, on the contrary, must act with moderation, accept the suffering involved, preach the positive gospel and accomplish all the functions (not as AV) of his ministry. All this Paul urges more earnestly because he himself can no longer act. The final sacrifice has begun (6*a*): his death is near. He has waged the good contest (1 Tim. 6$_{11}$–16*) to the end, and the victor's garland—the reward for righteousness—awaits him. For the truth committed to him has been kept inviolate.

1. and by: not as AV.—**5. evangelist:** in NT. (elsewhere only Ac. 21$_8$, Eph. 4$_{11}$) denotes a *function*. The separate order of "evangelists" is much later.—**6. being offered:** contrast Phil. 1$_{25}$. This altered outlook marks a later situation. AV mistranslates. For the metaphor of a drink-offering *cf.* Phil. 2$_{17}$.

IV. 9–22. Personal Requests and Personal News.

Timothy's summons to Rome seems inconsistent with the discharge of the duties just enforced. If the letter is a unity, its main instructions may concern his conduct after, as well as before, his visit to Rome and Paul's death (Ramsay). For the significance of the historical allusions that follow, see Introduction, at end of § 1. Others being absent on different missions, only Luke, of Paul's immediate circle, is now with him (21 names merely local acquaintances). Let Timothy bring Mark, reconciled to Paul since Ac. 15$_{38}$ (Col. 4$_{10}$), and able, in Tychicus' absence, to render needed personal service (contrast AV); and also Paul's travelling-cloak, with certain papyrus and vellum documents, left, perhaps at his sudden arrest, in Troas. The identity of Alexander (1 Tim. 1$_{20}$*) and the nature and occasion of his opposition are alike unknown. At the first hearing of Paul's case, the *prima actio*—the allusion is not to his first Roman *trial*—no fellow-Christian appeared in the court to support him. Luke and Tychicus were probably prevented, not being Roman citizens (Ramsay), but all local Christians failed him. Howbeit Christ supported him: hence, through his self-defence, since he who addresses Rome addresses the world, the gospel proclamation reached its consummation (not as AV). On this occasion, then, he secured a remand, though he only narrowly escaped death (17*b*); and, while he cannot expect to gain the final verdict (6ff.), of eternal deliverance he is assured. The circumstances underlying 20 are unknown. 21 mentions prominent Roman Christians.

10. Demas: would a forger invent the contrast with Phm. 24, Col. 4$_{14}$?—**Galatia:** might mean either Asiatic Galatia or Gaul.—**11. ministry:** for a different interpretation *cf.* Zahn, INT, ii. 430.—**12. Tychicus:** Ac. 20$_4$, Col. 4$_7$, Eph. 6$_{21}$.—**13. Troas:** clearly later than Ac. 20$_6$.—**14. will render:** AV is based on a mistaken text.—**16. took my part:** as above, not "as my advocate." Paul's language indicates not indifference on the part of strange pleaders, but the *desertion* of *friends*.—**21.** Irenæus (*c.* 190) says Linus became the first Bishop of Rome after the apostle's death.

TITUS

The purpose of this letter is parallel to that of 1 Timothy. Both in their organisation and in the life of their members the churches in Crete, founded perhaps by converts gained on the Day of Pentecost (Ac 2$_{11}$), are in urgent need of correction. Paul has recently left Titus on the island (Introduction, § 5), to establish them upon a firmer foundation and thus to safeguard them against the false teachers by whom they are assailed. He now writes to offer his delegate encouragement in his task, and directions concerning doctrine and Church order He also summons Titus to join him for the winter in Nicopolis.

I. 1–4. Salutation.—Paul sends to Titus, his true son in their common faith, his customary Christian greeting. Writing in his official capacity (1 Tim. 1$_{1}$f.*), he appropriately emphasizes the design of his office—a design based on the hope of life eternal. This is to foster in those who have responded to God's call faith and knowledge of the truth that is directed to godly living. Eternal life was promised by God before eternal ages, but the actual manifestation of His Word in its seasonable time was granted in the message with which he, Paul, was entrusted according to God's own command.

1. a servant (lit. "slave") **of God:** a unique phrase in Paul, but *cf.* Jas. 1$_1$.—**3. God our Saviour:** 1 Tim. 1$_1$*.

I. 5–9. The Appointment of Elders.—Paul renews in writing instructions delivered orally to Titus during his recent visit to Crete. As in Asia (1 Tim. 3$_{1}$ff.), the safeguard against error is a wisely constituted ministry, faithful in conserving the true doctrine. For the elders' qualifications *cf.* 1 Tim. 3$_{1}$–7*. The lists are essentially identical, the chief difference being the addition here of "just, holy," etc., and the omission of "not a novice."

6. blameless: 1 Tim. 3$_{10}$*.—**husband,** etc.: 1 Tim. 3$_2$*.—**children,** etc.: the reason is given in 1 Tim. 3$_4$f.—**7. bishop:** 1 Tim. 3$_1$*. Moffatt regards 7–9 as a gloss, breaking the connexion between 6 and 10. The sequence of 9 and 10, however is excellent. Equally needless is Clemen's and Hesse's view that 7–11 are interpolated.—**9. the teaching:** *i.e.* apostolic doctrines.—**sound doctrine:** 1 Tim. 1$_{10}$*.—**gainsayers:** *i.e.* the false teachers.

I. 10–16. Titus' Attitude to False Teachers.—Loyalty to sound doctrine is needful for silencing many deceitful teachers—not outside the Church (Hort), but self-constituted instructors within its borders, who reject its discipline ("unruly" = insubordinate). These men, exemplifying Epimenides' judgment (600 B.C.) of the Cretan character, teach error for monetary profit (*cf.* 1 Tim. 6$_5$). Chiefly, and therefore not wholly, of Jewish origin (10), they base their empty talking on Jewish legends (1 Tim. 1$_3$–11*) and mere human traditions which foster asceticism. Their asceticism is manifestly false, since pure men can make a pure use of everything (1 Tim. 4$_1$–5*), while those who are impure and unbelieving can use nothing purely, their whole mind being contaminated and their conduct denying their profession (14–16). All such errorists Titus must summarily refute.

11. lucre: Cretans were notorious lovers of money.—**12.** With this quotation *cf.* those from Aratus (Ac. 17$_{28}$) and Menander (1 Cor. 15$_{33}$). The view that Paul enjoyed a liberal education is probably true, but cannot be inferred solely from these citations.—**liars:** "to speak like a Cretan" was synonymous with "lying." For the allusion and its significance see Rendel Harris in Exp., Oct. 1906, April 1907, Oct. 1912, Jan. 1915.—**15.** Rather "for the pure" (*cf.* Rom. 14$_{20}$).—**16. profess:** better, "confess." Far too mild a term for the second-century Gnostic!

II. 1–15. Teaching on Christian Behaviour.

(*a*) **II. 1–10. Duty of Different Classes.**—In contrast with the errorists' irrelevances, Titus must continually

inculcate right conduct. This is defined for (*a*) old men, (*b*) old women, (*c*) young women, (*d*) younger men, (*e*) slaves. The strongest argument for truth is the moral life it produces, even in a slave (10; contrast 5 and 116). This fact Titus himself must remember (7*f.*).

3. reverent: better, "reverend" (*cf.* 1 Tim. 210).—**teachers:** *i.e.* in private (see 1 Tim. 212).—**4. love husbands, children:** inscriptions show these words to have been "current in this very combination" (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 255).—**5. workers at home:** the true reading *may* be "keepers at home" (*cf.* 1 Tim. 513*f.*).—**subjection:** Col. 318, Eph. 522.—**that,** etc.: Is. 525 (*cf.* Rom. 224, 1 Tim. 61).—**7. doctrine:** rather, "teaching"; so perhaps elsewhere in these epistles.—**8. he that,** etc.: the false teacher or the heathen, not Satan (Chrysostom).—**9.** 1. Tim. 6*f.**—**gainsaying:** includes, but transcends, "answering again" (AV).

(*b*) **II. 11–15. Its Doctrinal Basis.**—The transformed lives thus required from different groups are rendered possible by God's own grace, revealed in the Incarnation. This, for *all* men (1 Tim. 24), is a *saving* grace, bringing (*a*) ethical discipline (12), (*b*) the inspiration of the Second Advent hope (13), and (*c*) the Atonement on which so great redemption rests (14). All this (1–14) Titus must impress authoritatively. The association of the largest motive with the conduct inculcated is in the true Pauline manner (*cf.* 2 Cor. 89, Phil. 21–11).

12. denying: rather, "having once for all denied" (in baptism).—**13. of the glory:** not as AV.—**God and Saviour:** the rendering is uncertain, but the context probably shows RV (not AV) to be correct. In that case Christ is definitely called our God (*cf.* Rom. 95).—**14. redeem,** etc.: Ps. 1308, Mk. 1045.—**a people,** etc.: Ex. 195, 1 P. 29.

III. 1–7. Further Instruction on Christian Conduct.

(*a*) **III. 1f. Behaviour to those Outside.**—In his relation with unbelievers the Christian must show (i) towards those in authority, obedience (1 Tim. 21–7*); (ii) towards his neighbours generally, right-living and forbearance; (iii) towards all alike, meekness.

(*b*) **III. 3–8*a*. Its Doctrinal Basis.**—Any other spirit than that of meekness is ruled out (i) by the character of the believer's own pre-Christian life (Rom. 128ff., *cf.* 1 Tim. 112ff.), (ii) by the fact that his own salvation was of God's grace (see on 211–15). A difficulty follows. We have (i) a characteristically Pauline statement of evangelical doctrine (men are "justified" not by "works," but by "grace"); (ii) an allusion to baptism which, to many, appears un-Pauline. If 5*b* implies that *the rite of itself* effects the cleansing from sin, it is certainly different from Paul's usual doctrine of baptism—that of the believer's mystical union with Christ's death. The teaching, however, is not that the regeneration is through the physical washing—a view which would require the sentence to be rewritten—but that God uses baptism as the act with which He associates cleansing from sin. This sacramental doctrine is apostolic (Ac. 238, 2216, Gal. 327, Eph. 526, 1 P. 321), and must not be confused with the very different theory that the act itself possesses a quasi-magical power. The latter view would place baptism among those very "works" by which, the context affirms, we are *not* saved.

3. *cf.* Introduction, § 2.—**8*a*.** The "saying" covers 4–6; 1 Tim. 115*.

III. 8*b*–11. Final Charge to Titus.

(*a*) Maintain good works—a characteristic demand in the Pastorals; (*b*) avoid useless controversy (*cf.* 1 Tim. 13–11*); (*c*) shun the factious.

8*b*. these things: the preceding counsels.—**10. heretical:** rather, "factious," one whose presence has a divisive influence.—**refuse:** not "excommunicate," but "avoid."

III. 12–15. Closing Messages.

Paul will send Artemas or Tychicus to fill Titus' post when he leaves for Nicopolis (doubtless the Nicopolis in Epirus). For Tychicus see 2 Tim. 412*, which implies that he was not actually chosen for Crete. Of Artemas we know nothing. Zenas and Apollos may well have carried this letter to Titus. Zenas, like Artemas, is unknown: he would probably be a "lawyer" in the *Jewish* sense. Apollos appears in Ac. 1824, 191; 1 Cor. 112. For the significance of the historical allusions see Introduction, at end of § 1.

14. necessary uses: *e.g.* such hospitality as Zenas and Apollos required.

HEBREWS

By Professor E. F. SCOTT

This epistle is provided with no formal opening, from which we might learn the name of the writer and of the church addressed. Towards the end of the second century an opinion grew up, and at last became prevalent, that it was an anonymous epistle of Paul; but this opinion had probably its origin in the natural desire to ensure an undisputed place in the NT canon for a writing intrinsically so valuable. The more critical minds of antiquity already recognised that the style was altogether different from that of Paul; and the difference in theological teaching is even more decisive against the Pauline authorship. A tradition at least as early as Tertullian (*c.* 200) ascribes the epistle to Barnabas; Luther suggested that it may have been written by Apollos; modern scholars have tried to connect it with Luke, or Silvanus, or Priscilla and Aquila. But it has to be admitted that all attempts to fix the authorship are based on conjecture. From the epistle itself we can gather that its writer was an accomplished teacher, holding some place of authority in the Church which he addresses, and a friend of Paul's companion, Timothy. His name has been irrecoverably lost.

The *destination* of the epistle is almost as doubtful as its authorship. Some have assumed that it was written to Jerusalem, in view of the many allusions to Jewish worship and ritual; others suppose that the philosophical cast of the argument points rather to Alexandria. From several indications it is much more likely that it was written to Rome; and this conclusion is partly borne out by the fact that it was known at Rome before the end of the first century. But the readers whom it contemplates appear to have formed a homogeneous group, which can hardly have included the whole Roman Church. Perhaps they constituted one of the many congregations into which that great Church was divided.

The *date* of the epistle can be determined within certain broad limits. The writer speaks of his readers as belonging, like himself, to the second generation of Christians (2_3), and refers more than once to a considerable time that has elapsed since their conversion (5_{12}, 10_{32}, 13_7). Thus it seems impossible to assume a date earlier than the second half of the first century. On the other hand, the epistle is quoted by Clement of Rome in A.D. 95, and must have been in existence for at least some years before that date. It may have been written at any time between A.D. 65 and 85.

The *literary character* of the work forms a peculiar difficulty. That it was sent as a letter is evident from the concluding verses; but in its whole style and structure it suggests a spoken discourse rather than an epistle. Indeed, in several places the author appears to indicate, in so many words, that he is speaking (2_5, 9_5, 11_{32}). Some modern scholars are of opinion that the last chapter, or at any rate the last four verses, were added by a later editor to give an epistolary colour to the original discourse. More probably the author himself revised a spoken address and sent it as a letter, or purposely wrote his letter in the manner he would have employed in public speech (*cf.* Exp., Dec. 1916). As a literary composition it is the most elaborate work in the NT. It is written according to an ordered plan, in balanced and resonant sentences of remarkable precision, and rises at times to wonderful heights of eloquence.

The general *purpose* of the epistle is manifest on every page. Its readers are in danger of falling away from their early faith, partly under stress of persecution, partly through an indifference due to mere lapse of time. The writer wishes to inspire them with new courage and perseverance, and to this end he sets Christianity before them as the final religion, of which all else has been mere symbol and anticipation. But it has been commonly maintained that this larger purpose is combined with a more definite one. The finality of the gospel is established by means of a detailed contrast with the Jewish ordinances; and from this it has been inferred that the readers were Jews, who in the reaction from Christianity were drifting back into Judaism. This view of the underlying motive of the epistle seems to be implied in the title attached to it from a very early time: "to the Hebrews." Among modern scholars, however, the opinion is gaining ground that this explanation of the Jewish colouring of the epistle is unnecessary. To Christians of the first century the OT was the one acknowledged Bible, no less than to the Jews, and formed the natural basis of any attempt to present Christianity as the religion of the New Covenant.

[It should be remembered, however, that the acceptance of the OT by Jewish and Gentile Christians rested on quite different grounds. The former accepted it because they were Jews, the latter because they had become Christians. The whole method of proof implies that the authority of the OT is unquestioned by the readers. Since they were tempted to abandon Christianity, this proof would not have carried weight, unless the authority to which appeal was made was admitted independently of their Christianity. It is accordingly very difficult to suppose that the readers had been converted from Paganism to Christianity, for then the Divine origin of the OT would have stood on just the same ground as other Christian doctrines, it could have given them no independent support, and would have been abandoned with them. It is possible that the readers had been proselytes before their conversion, but it is much more natural to regard them as Jews.—A. S. P.]

The line of argument which the writer follows is probably to be explained from his own training and habits of thought, much more than from the nationality of his readers. He is strongly influenced by the

Alexandrian philosophy, from which he takes over not only his allegorical method of expounding Scripture but his cardinal conception of an ideal heavenly world, of which the visible world is only the copy or reflection. Christianity is the absolute religion because it is concerned with that higher world of ultimate realities. It brings us to our true rest by affording us access to God's immediate presence. The teaching of the epistle thus centres on the conception of Christ as the High Priest, who has accomplished in very deed what the ancient ordinances could only suggest in symbol. By offering the perfect sacrifice He has won entrance into the heavenly sanctuary, and has secured for us a real and enduring fellowship with God. The argument is worked out by means of ideas and imagery borrowed from ancient ritual; but it is not difficult to apprehend the essential thought which gives permanent religious value to this epistle.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **A. B. Davidson,** Farrar (CB), **Peake** (Cent.B.), Goodspeed, Wickham (West.C.); (*b*) **Westcott,** Vaughan, **Nairne** (CGT), Rendall, **Dods** (EGT); (*c*) **Bleek,** *Delitzsch, B. Weiss (Mey.), Von Soden (HC), **Riggenbach** (ZK), Hollmann (SNT), Windisch (HNT); (*d*) Edwards (Ex.B), Dale, *The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church*, Peake, *Heroes and Martyrs of Faith*. *Other literature:* Articles in Dictionaries, works on NTI, and NTT; Riehm, *Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes;* Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews;* G. Milligan, *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews;* Nairne, *The Epistle of Priesthood;* Ménégoz, *La Théologie de l'Épître aux Hébreux;* H. L. MacNeill, *The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Harnack in ZNTW, 1900, pp. 15–41.

I. 1–4. Introduction.—In a majestic opening sentence the writer declares the theme which he proposes to develop in the chapters that follow. Christianity is the final and all-sufficient religion, for Christ is no other than the Son, who accomplished once and for ever the saving purpose of God. To His people of old God had spoken by human messengers, who could only disclose fragments of His will, as it came to them by word or vision or symbol. To His later people, whose lot is cast in the transition period between the old age and the new, He has spoken by one who is His Son. The supreme dignity of the Son is set forth under two aspects: (*a*) He is not part of creation, but the very goal and principle of creation. From all eternity God had decreed that He should be "heir of all things," and had made the worlds—the whole universe of space and time—through Him. (*b*) He is Himself of Divine nature, for in Him the being of God is manifested as the sun is in its radiance, or the seal in the impression taken from it. He is God's assessor in the government of the world. For a time He sojourned on earth to effect His redeeming purpose, but now He has returned to His sovereign place in heaven. So the name which rightly belongs to Him is that of Son, and from this it is evident that He stands infinitely high above the angels.

Unlike the Fourth Evangelist (pp. 745f.), the writer does not expressly use the term "Logos" (the Word), but it is clear from his language that he conceives of Christ under this category. Alexandrian philosophy had given currency to the idea of a second Divine principle—God active as distinguished from God transcendent. From an early time Christianity had seized on this conception as alone adequate to the significance of Christ, but with the essential change that the abstract Logos of philosophy was now identified with a living Person. In the remaining part of the epistle the conception of Christ as Logos gives place to others, especially to that of the ideal High Priest; yet the argument as a whole has to be understood in the light of these opening verses. Jesus is qualified to be our mediator with God because He shares in the being of God, while partaking also in our human nature and experiences.

I. 5–II. 18. The Son is Superior to the Angels.—For this theme the way has been prepared in the closing words of 14. The section may possibly be directed against angel-worship, which in some churches, as we know from Colossians, was encroaching on the faith in Christ. More probably the writer's aim is simply to enforce the supremacy of Christ as compared with even the highest of created beings. In 5–18 he collects a number of Scripture texts which illustrate the relative worth of Christ and the angels. These texts are interpreted by the allegorical method—*i.e.* they are taken not in their historical meaning, but as symbolic utterances which have to be spiritually discerned. Two quotations (5), the former taken from Ps. 2$_7$, the latter from 2 S. 7$_{14}$, which declare Christ to be the Son are followed by another, apparently taken from the LXX version of the Song of Moses (*cf.* Ps. 97$_7$), in which the angels are commanded to worship Him. This command (6) is referred to some moment in eternity when God first revealed His Son to the assembled hosts of heaven. In the quotations given in 7–12, taken from Pss. 104$_4$, 45$_{6f.}$, 102$_{25–27}$, 110$_1$, a special aspect of the contrast with the angels is emphasized—viz. that the angels are subject to change, while the Son remains the same for ever. This idea is obtained by supposing Ps. 104$_4$ to mean "at will Thou changest the forms of the angels, making them now winds, now flames." Against this text, which tells how the angels assume the shapes of variable elements, are set others which describe the Son as always supreme and steadfast. The final quotation (13) has been used already in 3, and is taken from the passage (Ps. 110$_{1–4}$) which determines the whole thought of the epistle. Christ as the Son is throned at God's right hand, while the angels, as their name implies, are only servants, inferior in some sense to God's earthly saints, to whose welfare they minister.

II. 1–4. For the first time the writer discloses the practical aim which gives force and meaning to his theological argument. Christian men ought to realise the grandeur of their calling, and to hold fast to the message which was not delivered by angels like the Jewish Law (*cf.* Ac. 7$_{53}$, Gal. 3$_{19}$), but by the Son Himself. A suggestive image is spoiled by the insertion of "from them" in 1. By forgetting the directions given them the readers may drift away from their true course, and by so doing will expose themselves to dreadful danger. For if the Law, as the history of Israel shows us, avenged itself on those who disobeyed it, there will be even worse punishment for Christian men if they are faithless to that message of which the Law was only a shadow. It is true that the writer and those whom he addresses had heard this message only from the apostles, but those human teachers had received it from the Lord Himself, and their words had been Divinely attested by varied acts of miracle, wrought in the power of the Holy Spirit.

II. 5–18. Resuming his argument, the writer deals with the objection that Christ cannot be ranked above the angels in view of His earthly humiliation. This objection is answered by conclusions drawn from Ps. 8$_{4–6}$*. Christ was indeed made lower than the angels, but for the purpose that He should rise to the sovereign place. Only by His suffering and death could He be fitted for His supreme work as High Priest and Saviour.

The angels had no authority over that higher world of which the writer is to speak in this epistle. Scripture points rather to a " son of man " who will control all things ; and by " all things " is meant the future heavenly world as well as the present (5f.). But in this very assertion of the dignity of Christ (for He is the " man " whom the Ps. foretells) reference is made to a temporary humiliation. The words " for a little while lower than the angels " (*mg.*) are explained when we turn to the gospel history. For a little time Jesus was subjected to our human lot, but His suffering of death was only the prelude to His exaltation. It was evidence of the grace of God, who by this means made salvation possible for all men.—**9.** This verse is difficult, owing to the condensation within a single sentence of several ideas : (*a*) Christ's earthly life and sufferings were necessary to His exaltation ; (*b*) this exaltation was due to His adding the attribute of Saviour to His other attributes ; (*c*) His death, therefore, was at once a crowning honour bestowed on Himself and a proof of God's goodness to all men.

That Jesus had to suffer and die was fully in keeping with the wisdom of God ; for if He was to lead the way to salvation for the suffering race of mankind, He needed Himself to suffer, and thus to be fitted perfectly for His task (10). A parenthesis follows (11–13), in which it is shown by Scripture (Ps. 22_{22}, Is. 8$_{17}$f.) that in spite of their low estate men are the brethren of Christ, sons of the same Father. But God's human children are subject to limitations of flesh and blood, and in order to save them Christ had to make Himself one with them (14). He died their death that He might overcome the devil, who has power to inflict death on men as the penalty of their sins ; and thus He saved men not from death only, but from that overhanging dread of it which took all joy and freedom out of their lives (15). If Jesus had set Himself to be Redeemer of angels (" take hold of," *i.e.* in order to rescue), it would not have been necessary for Him so to humiliate Himself. But since His work was on behalf of His earthly brethren, the way He chose was the only possible one, and we are not to marvel at it. He had to submit Himself to the mortal lot of men that so He might represent them before God with a full sense of their needs and infirmities. Tried Himself by a life of suffering, He is able to succour those who are tried likewise (16ff.).

These verses prepare the way for the subject which is to occupy the central portion of the epistle. It is by acting as our High Priest that Christ achieves our salvation ; and His earthly life was meant to fit Him for this His characteristic work.

III. 1–IV. 13. As Christ is higher than the angels, so He is *greater than Moses*, through whom the first covenant was established. The comparison with Moses, however, occupies only a few verses, and merges in a warning to avoid the fate of those Israelites whom Moses led.

III. 1–6. The superiority of Christ to Moses is illustrated in two ways : (*a*) Moses belonged to the house as part of it (*i.e.* was himself one of the members of the chosen community) ; Christ was the builder of the house. (*b*) Moses was a servant in the house (Nu. 12_7), while Christ was over it as the Son. The readers are again reminded (1) of the obligations resting on them. They share in a calling which identifies them with a heavenly world ; for Christ their representative was an apostle, a messenger of God, in a far higher sense than Moses. It is true that Moses also was faithful to the task entrusted to him, but he was himself numbered with the community which he led. He was part of the house, while Christ was its builder, inasmuch as God, the ultimate builder of all things, had accomplished His creative work through Christ (4). Moses, moreover, had been only a servant in the house, although a faithful servant (Nu. 12_7), and the message which he brought was at best a foreshadowing of the greater message that was reserved for the future (5f.). The faithfulness of Christ was that of the Son to whom the house belonged, and who had therefore a far higher responsibility. " And we are that house," that community of which Christ is Lord, if only we can remain loyal to our splendid hope until it reaches fulfilment.

III. 7–IV. 13. With this warning the comparison between Christ and Moses changes into an exhortation, based on Ps. 95_7–$_{11}$. This psalm is concerned with the " house " or community of which Moses was the head, and its lessons are applied to the " house " of the new covenant. The ancient people of God missed their destiny because of unbelief, and Christians must be on their guard against a like danger. After making his quotation the writer proceeds to explain it by his customary method of allegory. First of all (12–19) he points to the solemn warning which is impressed on us by the apostasy of ancient Israel. The danger of unbelief is always present, and Christians must never weary of kindling one another to greater faith ; for unbelief is an insidious sin, and grows upon us before we know (12f.). The psalm speaks of an opportunity which is offered to us " to-day," and to the writer of the epistle this word has a special significance. It is meant to be prophetic of that interval of time which is still left before Christ returns in glory. The readers are exhorted to make good use of this interval, which is quickly passing. If they can preserve for this little time the faith with which they entered on the Christian life, they will be assured of their place among Christ's people (14f.). The psalm suggests the further reflection (16–19) that none can presume to reckon themselves quite secure from the danger of falling away from God. Those who rebelled in the wilderness were no other than the chosen people, who had experienced the great deliverance. They all fell into sin, and were doomed to wander in the wilderness for forty years, until their whole generation perished. God had purposed that they should enter into His rest, but in the end His purpose was frustrated. And it was they themselves who forfeited the promised rest by their disobedience.

It has been conjectured from the insistence on " forty years " (9, 16) that the writer connected this period in a special manner with his thought of " to-day." The interval that would elapse between Christ's death and His second coming was to correspond with that period of forty years which Israel had spent in the wilderness. There would thus be a peculiar urgency in his warning, since the interval of forty years must have been nearing its close before the earliest date that can be assigned to the epistle. But the conjecture, though a possible, is not a very probable one. If the writer had wished to impress on his readers that they could reckon the time of Christ's coming by the OT analogy, he would have taken some means to make his thought more definite.

IV. 1–13 continues the exposition of Ps. 95. The writer has already dealt with the warning contained therein ; now he shows that this very warning implies a promise. In declaring that His rest is withheld from those who had proved unworthy of it, God would have us know that it is still in store. The fulfilment of that promise which had been offered in vain to ancient Israel is reserved for the people of Christ.

1f. Transition from warning to promise. The warn-

ing of the psalm is one that directly concerns ourselves, for, since the Israelites under Moses were forbidden to enter into the promised rest, it is still waiting, and we Christians may possess it, if we do not fail as they did. The message which came to them has come also to us. They heard it, but missed the blessing which it proclaimed, for they were lacking in the faith which alone could assimilate it.

1. should seem is better translated "should be found."—**2. they were not united:** with this translation the meaning is that the great mass of the people did not share the faith of such believing souls as Joshua and Caleb. Another and simpler rendering is preferable: "it was not blended with faith in those who heard"—*i.e.* the words of the message did not meet with that responsive faith which alone could make them effectual.

3–10. In contrast with unbelieving Israel we have accepted the message, and are therefore the true heirs of the promised rest. For when God spoke in the psalm of a rest which He had prepared and which Israel had forfeited, He did not merely signify the rest in the promised land. He spoke of a rest which had existed ever since the creation of the world (3). The words of the psalm have to be taken in conjunction with those other words in Gen. which tell how God rested after His works were finished. This rest of His has continued ever since, and He desires that His people should share it with Him (4f.). His original purpose was, as we may gather from the psalm, that Israel should inherit His rest. It was waiting for them, and they had the opportunity to enter into it, but they missed it through their disobedience. He therefore issued a second call many centuries afterwards, for the psalm which proclaims it dates from a time long subsequent to the days of the wilderness. The rest is again offered in the psalm as something which is still open, waiting for men "to-day" if they will listen to God's voice (6f.). It is plain that this rest, offered a second time, when Israel was in full possession of the land of Canaan, cannot have been the mere earthly settlement which was secured under Joshua. It is a rest not yet attained and still open to God's people, the eternal Sabbath-rest of God (8f.). Indeed there is no other sense in which we can properly speak of entering into rest. A perfect rest implies that a man has completed his earthly labours, and shares with God in the rest of eternity (10). "Sabbath-rest" (9) sums up in one expressive word the idea which is developed in 10. God's work of creation was crowned and completed by the Sabbath on which He entered, and which will endure for eternity. He has purposed that our lives, too, should be consummated by fellowship with Him in His Sabbath-rest. Against the idea here presented may be placed that of Jn. 5 17: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

In a closing passage (11ff.) the writer again dwells on the danger that his readers, like Israel, may lose the future rest. God's word has promised it, but that same word is sharp to detect even the first hidden motions towards disobedience. It is like a sword that can pierce into the secret recesses of the heart and separate thoughts and desires that seem inextricably bound together. There can be no deceiving of God, in whose sight our inmost purposes are laid bare.

12. the word of God: God is represented in the OT as acting through His word (*cf.* Gen. 1, etc., Is. 55 11). Thus the word of God is here conceived as a living and almost personal power.—**soul and spirit,** etc.: *i.e.* the ultimate springs of life, where all issues seem to be confused together.—**13. laid open:** in Greek a peculiarly vivid word, which suggests the throwing back of the head of the victim, so as to expose the neck to the sacrificial knife.

IV. 14–16. A short passage which sums up the previous argument, and prepares the way for the ensuing discussion of the high-priestly work of Christ. The readers are exhorted to be steadfast in the faith they have professed, knowing that they have a High Priest who ascended through the lower heavens into the very presence of God. And though He is so exalted He is in full sympathy with men, for He has endured our life of temptation, while remaining sinless. He is near to God and at the same time our brother man; so we can confidently make our approach to God through Him, and seek His forgiveness and His grace to help our needs.—**14. through the heavens:** according to Jewish conceptions there were seven heavens, the highest of which was the dwelling-place of God Himself (*cf.* "the third heaven," 2 Cor. 12 2).

V. 1–10. The writer now approaches his main argument, that Christ is our all-sufficient High Priest. But before considering in detail the nature of Christ's priestly ministry, he shows that He possesses in a supreme degree the two fundamental attributes of a High Priest. Since the duty of a High Priest is to act as mediator between God and man, he must, in the first place, be *Divinely appointed* (1), not arrogating the office to himself, but selected by God as His representative. In the second place, he must be *taken from among men,* and so be capable of a fellow-feeling with erring human nature (2). This second qualification is recognised in the Levitical law which requires him to offer sacrifice for himself as well as for the people (3). The first one—that he should be appointed by God—finds expression in the law that he must be descended from the chosen stock of Aaron (4). It has been shown already that Christ, who shared our human weakness, possesses the one attribute of a High Priest; He also partakes of the other. For He was declared by God Himself to be His Son, so that all presumption on His own part is out of the question; and though not of the stock of Aaron, He belonged to a higher order of priesthood, the true significance of which is presently to be set forth (5f., the quotations are taken from Ps. 2 7, 110 4). How little His priesthood had to do with any arrogant claim of His own is evident from His earthly life, and especially from His agony in Gethsemane. In the light of that episode we can see how He was inspired solely by a spirit of absolute obedience. He prayed to God, who was able to deliver Him from death, and His prayer was heard; yet He submitted His will to God's will. Although Son of God, He endured the appointed suffering, and so disciplined Himself to full obedience, with the result that He became a perfect High Priest, the mediator of a perfect salvation. His calling was wholly of God, who made Him a unique High Priest, of the order of Melchizedek (7–10).

7. heard for his godly fear: another interpretation is possible, "He was heard so as to be delivered from His fear"—*i.e.* God so far granted His prayer as to free Him from the fear of death, though not from death itself. But the translation of the RV is more in keeping with the thought of the passage. He was heard because He put the will of God before His own. It seems to be suggested that an escape from death was offered Him in answer to His prayer, but that He refused it and chose the way of obedience.

With the words "a priest after the order of Melchizedek" the writer at last reaches his main theme; but he pauses before commencing it in order to make

room for a solemn admonition (5¹¹–6²⁰). He asks himself whether his readers will be able to understand the high spiritual doctrine which he proposes to impart to them. In spite of the long period that has elapsed since their conversion they are still backward, in need of instruction in the mere elements of religious truth (5¹²). Those who are still children in regard to things Divine can make nothing of the profounder Christian teaching. It makes its appeal to those whose higher perceptions have been fully awakened by diligent use (5¹⁴).

VI. 1–20. Though not without misgiving the writer has resolved to advance to " perfection "—*i.e.* to the exposition of Christian truth in its higher development, and to take for granted the knowledge of the bare elements. But he thinks it well at the outset to remind his readers of those elements, apart from which there can be no progress in religion. The subjects which he regards as primary are arranged in three pairs: (*a*) Repentance and faith; men must learn the meaning of these before they can even enter on the Christian life. (*b*) Baptisms and the laying on of hands; for by these rites the new spiritual gifts are imparted. The plural " baptisms " may refer to the double consecration by water and the Spirit, or it may suggest that Christians have to learn the difference between their own rite and heathen or Jewish " baptisms." (*c*) Resurrection and judgment: the two great facts which gave meaning to the Christian hope. The writer proposes, with the help of God's grace, to advance beyond these preliminary truths (3); if his readers have forgotten them, all his labour is thrown away. Conversion is an experience that cannot be repeated. Those who have once experienced the Divine gift of forgiveness, who have been renewed by the work of the Holy Spirit, who have realised the value of God's promise and shared in the higher activities of the Christian life, cannot be restored if they fall away. They have rejected Christ just as truly as the men who crucified Him, and have shamed Him before the world by their apostasy. It is with men as it is with waste land that has been reclaimed. The land that proves fruitful will become ever richer, while that which yields nothing but weeds, in spite of all the labour spent upon it, has to be given back again to the waste.

5. powers of the age to come: the reference is to those " spiritual gifts " (*cf.* 1 Cor. 12ff.) which were supposed to mark the Christians as the people of the new age. The whole passage is of great importance as the classical expression of a belief widely prevalent in the early Church. It was assumed that in the act of baptism the convert was absolved from all bygone sins, and entered definitely on a new life. The great change could not be experienced a second time, and the lapse into any grave sin after baptism admitted of no repentance, and was followed by exclusion from the Christian fellowship. This doctrine was the subject of a long controversy in the early Church, and the Catholic system of confession and penitence grew out of the attempt to mitigate it.

9–12. The writer is afraid that in pointing out the danger of apostasy he may have spoken too harshly. He assures his readers that, by their past fidelity and their kindness to brethren in need, they have proved the genuineness of their religion. Only they must persevere as they began, holding fast to their hope until it reaches fulfilment. It was by this constancy, maintained all their life long, that God's servants in the past won the reward that He had promised.

13–20. The mention of God's promise suggests the thought that it is absolutely sure, so that we may hold to it without misgiving. When God made His promise to Abraham He sealed it by an oath. Just as in human affairs men are bound to a decision when they have passed their oath, and so called on some higher power to witness (16), so God swore by Himself, since He was Himself the supreme power. His gracious will was thus confirmed by the twofold bond of His oath and His promise (17f.). The hope He holds out to us is our only refuge, and it is a refuge which cannot possibly fail us. It is like an anchor to which the soul can trust itself without reserve amidst all perils and changes; for it is fastened to " that which is within the veil "—*i.e.* it connects our earthly life with the world of eternal realities (19). And as the High Priest passed through the veil of the Tabernacle to represent the people before God in the holy of holies, so Jesus has entered on our behalf into that heavenly world. He is the true and eternal High Priest, for He belonged to no transient Levitical order, but to the higher order of Melchizedek.

19. anchor of the soul: in ancient literature the anchor is frequently employed as the emblem of hope. Our author adopts the current image, and applies it to the Christian hope of salvation.

By a skilful turn of thought the writer has come back from his long digression to his main subject—the unique character of the priesthood of Jesus. The argument itself proceeds along the lines of an allegorical exegesis, and to our minds appears artificial, and at some points hardly intelligible. But the mode of presentation does not affect the essential truth and grandeur of the thought. The writer feels that the one aim of all religion is to give men access to God, and that Christianity is the highest religion because it alone has adequately achieved this aim. Christ is the true High Priest, through whom we can draw near to God, and His priesthood is different in kind from that of mere ritual religions. It has nothing to do with descent from a given stock or performance of certain functions, but is inherent in His own personality. And as He is a priest of a new and higher order, so He exercises a ministry which effects in very truth what the ancient forms of worship could only suggest in symbol.

VII. 1–28. The Melchizedek Priesthood of Christ.—It is shown that Scripture itself makes reference to a type of priesthood which is quite distinct from the Levitical. The nature of this priesthood is set forth (1–10) in terms of the description given in Gen. 14 of the priest Melchizedek. That some peculiar significance attached to him may be inferred from his name, and the name of his city. Still more suggestive is the fact that nothing is said as to his parentage, or his descent, or his birth and death. He was not one of a family of priests, but stands solitary, a priest in his own right, who never assumed and never lost his office. In all his attributes he comes before us as an earthly type of the Son of God (1–3).

3. without father, etc.: nothing more is meant than that his father, etc., are not mentioned. It was a rule of allegorical exegesis that inferences might be drawn not only from what the Scripture said, but from what it omitted.

4–10. His priesthood was unique in dignity. Even the ordinary priests have a place given them by Mosaic law above their brethren, and in token of this they are authorised to exact tithes. But Melchizedek took rank above Abraham himself, receiving tithes from him and blessing him, as the greater blesses the less. Moreover, the honour which he claimed as his

right was not one that would presently pass from him, as in the case of a mortal priest; for his priesthood, according to the implicit testimony of Scripture, was not broken short by death. So much higher was he than the Levitical priests that this whole line of priests may be said to have bowed down before him in the person of Abraham its ancestor.

11–25. Transition is now made to Christ, whom Melchizedek was meant to prefigure. The exposition, therefore, departs from Gen. 14 and attaches itself to Ps. 110, in which the correspondence between Melchizedek and Christ is plainly intimated. First it is shown (11–14) that the Levitical priesthood was at best provisional. If it had achieved "perfection"—*i.e.* if it had fully realised the purpose of priesthood—the psalm would not have spoken of "another priest." Those words imply the abrogation, not merely of the Levitical priesthood, but of the whole legal system which is inseparably bound up with it. How completely the priesthood is changed is made evident by its being vested henceforth in another tribe; for Christ, who was the priest foretold in the psalm, came of the tribe of Judah, although the Law had ordained that the tribe of Levi alone should exercise the priesthood.

11. under it, etc.: rather, "in connexion with it." The meaning is that the high priesthood is like the keystone of the whole structure of the Mosaic Law; all the other regulations fell away of their own accord when the priesthood passed over to Christ. In this incidental way the writer disposes of the great problem of the Law which had so perplexed the earlier Church.

15–17. But the change of priesthood goes much further than the transference of the office to another tribe. The psalm speaks of "a priest for ever." It contemplates one who holds his priesthood not by the accidental operation of a law which attaches the dignity to a particular descent, but by the intrinsic right of a life that never ends.

16. carnal commandment: *i.e.* a rule which takes account only of outward and physical qualifications.—**power of an endless life:** an immortal energy resides in him as a Divine being, and in virtue of this he continues for ever to exercise his priesthood.

18f. The appointment of the Melchizedek priest, then, involved a change in the whole institution of priesthood; and this change has at once its negative and its positive sides. On the one hand, it meant the abolition of the old legal relation between God and man as altogether inadequate; for the Law, by its very nature, was provisional. On the other hand, it replaced the legal relation by another, grounded in a living hope, which made possible a true communion with God. The contrast before the writer's mind is that of a religion of external ordinances and an inward, spiritual religion, which alone can ensure true fellowship with God.

20–25. The superiority of the Melchizedek priest is apparent from two further facts. (*a*) Unlike the Levitical priests he is appointed with an oath. In this manner God affirmed the lasting validity of his priesthood; and the covenant for which it stands is one, therefore, that cannot be broken. (*b*) The Levitical priests, being only mortal men, held office for a brief time and then gave place to others. But he who is "a priest for ever" is not merely one in a long succession. The priesthood which he exercises is vested eternally in his own person, and for this reason he is able to secure for his people a complete salvation. Amidst all changes they can look to the same priest as their unfailing refuge.

26–28. Other points of contrast are indicated in a closing summary, which makes it abundantly clear that the priesthood of Christ is far superior to that of the old covenant. The Levitical priests were required to be free from all outward blemish; Jesus was altogether pure within. He was marked off from sinful men, not by dress and ceremonial circumstance, but by ascending out of this world of sin to a throne above the heavens. He did not need to maintain a routine of daily sacrifices, interceding for Himself as well as for the people; for the one great sacrifice, in which He was both priest and victim, availed for ever. In one word, the Law could only appoint weak men to the priestly office; while the solemn oath of God, recorded in that psalm which was later than the Law and therefore superseded it, ordained His own Son to be the ideal and ever-living Priest.

27. daily: strictly speaking the sacrifice of the High Priest was offered once a year, on the Day of Atonement, but the idea of this sacrifice is blended here with that of the sacrifice which was offered daily on his behalf by the ordinary priests (*cf.* Lev. 6f–16).

VIII. 1–X. 18. The greatness of the High Priest has now been sufficiently proved, and the writer proceeds to demonstrate the *greatness of His ministry.* This section constitutes the heart of the epistle, as we are expressly told in the opening verse. The point to which the whole discourse has been leading up (8f) is this, that Jesus, having taken His place at God's right hand, exercises His ministry in the heavenly sanctuary. He acts as High Priest in that eternal tabernacle of which the earthly one was only the shadow and symbol (2).

3–6. That Jesus fulfils His ministry in the heavenly sanctuary is a necessary inference from the fact of His priesthood. The one task of a High Priest is to offer sacrifice in a sanctuary, and Jesus, in virtue of His priesthood, was called to that office. What His sacrifice was will be considered later, but meanwhile it is enough to note that the presentation of an offering was His appointed work (3). The scene of His ministry, however, cannot be anywhere in this lower world. Since He was not of Levitical descent He was debarred from offering any gift in the earthly sanctuary, which is described, in the very passage of Scripture (Ex. 25f0) that commands the building of it, as only a copy, modelled on the reality which exists in heaven. It follows that His exclusion from an earthly ministry was no token of inferiority. We must infer, rather, that He was called to a priesthood far excelling that of the Levitical priests, just as the covenant for which it stands is far higher than the old covenant, and carries with it far nobler promises (4ff.).

6. enacted upon: *i.e.* these promises formed the basis of the covenant, and determined its character.

7–13. The promises associated with the old covenant are described in the classical passage of Jeremiah (Jer. 31f1–34), which is now quoted at length. But attention is first called to the fact that another covenant was found to be necessary. "A place was sought for it"—*i.e.* God so modified His design as to bring it in—because the original covenant had proved defective. In three points, as the quotation from Jer. shows, the new covenant was grander and more satisfying than that which it displaced. (*a*) It ensured that man's obedience to God should be a matter of inward choice, not merely of a law imposed from without. By their spontaneous obedience to God, men were to be recognised as indeed His children. (*b*) Their knowledge of God was to be immediate and personal, no longer dependent on what they had learned

from others. (c) They were to receive the assurance that all their sins were forgiven. The covenant that carries with it these great promises is described in the prophetic passage as a *new* one (13). This implies that even in Jeremiah's day the first covenant could be regarded as old. It may be assumed, therefore, that in the interval which had elapsed since then it had faded altogether into a thing of the past.

IX. 1–14. The two ministries are now contrasted, in order to show that the OT institutions were imperfect, and pointed beyond themselves to that real access to God which we have obtained through Christ.

1–5. The first covenant was associated with a system of worship ordained by God Himself, although its sanctuary was "of this world"—*i.e.* composed of visible and material elements. A Tabernacle was set up which consisted of two parts, divided by a curtain. In the fore-tent, or holy place, were the candlestick and table of shewbread (as described in Ex. 25$_{23-39}$); and then, behind an inner curtain, was the holy of holies, containing a golden censer and the Ark of the covenant, which was surmounted by the mercy-seat and overshadowed by figures of cherubim. It is hinted by the writer that these objects had all a symbolic significance on which he could enlarge; but his present concern is with the arrangements of the Tabernacle generally.

4. That the Ark contained the tables of the Law, and was covered by mercy-seat and cherubim, is stated in Ex. 25$_{16}$ff. In his enumeration of the other objects preserved in the Ark the writer relies on Jewish tradition. The word given as "censer" ought probably to be translated "altar of incense," in which case an object is assigned to the holy of holies which really belonged to the holy place.

6–10. Of the two divisions of the Tabernacle only the first was used for the regular service. The High Priest alone was permitted to enter the holy of holies, and that only once a year, on the Day of Atonement, when he bore into the presence of God the sacrificial blood, which covered his own sins as well as the sins of the people (6f.). The Scripture which lays down these rules was inspired by the Holy Spirit, and was meant to teach, in symbolic fashion, that a way was not yet opened into the immediate presence of God: this is implied in the very existence of a fore-tent, curtained off from the holy of holies (8). Indeed the whole worship of the Tabernacle had a symbolic reference to the period which began with the appearance of Christ. It provided for the offering of sacrifices which could not effect an inward purity in the worshippers, sacrifices which stood on the same level with the regulations about food and washing. They aimed only at an external cleansing, and were imposed provisionally, until a higher order should be established.

9f. which is a parable, etc.: this very complicated and difficult sentence can be explained in a variety of ways, according to the view that is taken of its grammatical construction. The general meaning, however, is sufficiently clear. The sacrifices offered in the Tabernacle, and subsequently in the Temple, were only meant to bring the worshippers into a condition of ceremonial purity. By means of them men were invested, so to speak, with a conventional garment, the want of which would debar them from approaching the Divine King. Another kind of sacrifice was required before they could obtain that inward cleansing which would fit them not merely for approaching God, but for holding true fellowship with Him.

11–14. What the old sacrifices could not effect has been secured through the sacrifice of Christ. Appearing as the High Priest of the new and better covenant which had been promised, He passed through the heavenly tabernacle, made by God Himself, and entered into its inner sanctuary. The blood which gave Him the right of entrance was not that of slaughtered beasts, but His own blood. He entered not for a brief hour that He might consecrate the people for a single year, but once for all, to redeem them for ever (12). According to Levitical law (*cf.* Lev. 16$_{14}$ff., Nu. 19$_{2,17}$f.) those who had defiled themselves by contact with a dead body were made ceremonially pure by being sprinkled with the blood of certain animals. If the blood of animals had this power, what of the blood of Christ, the spotless victim, whose sacrifice was His own free act and was offered by Himself as High Priest? This blood has power to cleanse not from the imaginary stain communicated by a dead body, but from the real and deadly stain of sin, so that we can render a living service to the living God.

14. through the, or rather, **through an eternal spirit:** this is one of the most difficult phrases of the epistle, and has been variously explained. Most probably it is meant to emphasize the idea that Christ is at once priest and victim. In the case of the OT sacrifices the victim died, and the priest then offered its blood before God in the sanctuary. But in the case of Christ's sacrifice, although the Victim died He yet survived death, in virtue of the "eternal spirit" which constituted His nature. Thus He was able to enter the heavenly sanctuary to present the offering to God.

IX. 15–21. It is shown, in a brief digression, that the death of Christ was necessary in order that the new covenant should come into force. An "eternal inheritance"—*i.e.* an enduring fellowship with God—was promised long ago to God's people; and they could not obtain it under the first covenant, which afforded no real deliverance from sin. Before it could be obtained a death had to take place, so that all the sins of the past might be removed and men might start afresh under a new covenant (15). Why a death was necessary is explained by the analogy of a will or testament. The Greek word *diatheke* can mean either a "covenant" or a "will," and the writer avails himself of this double meaning in order to bring out a particular aspect of the death of Christ. For a will to come into effect, the person who made it must die. This was recognised even in the case of the first covenant or "will," which was ratified by the blood of a slain victim, in the solemn manner described in various OT texts (Lev. 4$_4$; Num. 19$_{6,17}$f.; Ex. 12$_{12}$). Everything connected with that first covenant, the Tabernacle and all its furniture, was likewise sprinkled with blood. It may be regarded, indeed, as a fixed principle of the Law that every act which has for its aim the forgiveness of sins must be accompanied with the shedding of blood.

IX. 23–28. The surpassing worth of Christ's sacrifice, as compared with those of the first covenant, is again enforced. To cleanse the Tabernacle, which was the earthly type of the sanctuary in heaven, the sprinkling of blood was necessary; but the heavenly sanctuary itself had to be cleansed with blood more precious. It is conceived as incurring a certain defilement through contact with the sins that are absolved in it. A cleansing is therefore necessary, as in the case of the earthly sanctuary. Christ has entered into the sanctuary in heaven; His ministry was enacted in no merely symbolic temple, but in the temple above, where God dwells in very deed (24). Not only so,

but His one entrance into that temple sufficed for ever. The earthly High Priest must enter every year into the holy of holies with sacrificial blood, obtained from a slain animal. If Christ were thus required to repeat His offering, His death would not have been a solitary event, but one that had often to be re-enacted, so as to atone for the sin of each successive age. As it is, He died but once; when the world's history was on the point of closing He appeared on earth, and by the offering of Himself made full atonement for all the accumulated sins of mankind (25f.). This finality of Christ's death is illustrated (27f.) by what happens in the case of every human being. A man dies but once, and then awaits the judgment on his deeds. So by the death of Christ His redeeming work was definitely brought to an end. His next appearance on earth will have no reference to the work of atonement, but will have for its sole purpose the reception into eternal life of those whom He has redeemed.

X. 1–18. In this closing part of the theological discussion the writer dwells further on the finality of Christ's one sacrifice, and shows how it has brought to an end the annually repeated offerings under the old covenant.

1–4. The OT sacrifices cannot effect their purpose of removing sins. By its nature the Law could only reflect the higher realities, and did not present them in their actual substance; thus the priests who carry out the behests of the Law do not, by means of the annual sacrifices, bring the worshipping people into a real and enduring fellowship with God. "Continually" (1) is better taken with "make perfect." The writer wishes to show that the annual offering of the sacrifice implies its merely temporary value. A lasting relation to God cannot be effected by a sacrifice that needs to be constantly repeated. If the worshippers were conscious that their sins had been removed by the Levitical sacrifice, what need would there be for its repetition (2)? But, instead of giving this sense of deliverance from sin, it only serves to remind the people that they have sinned during the year past as they did before (3). Indeed the point does not require to be argued: any man can feel for himself that the blood of mere animals cannot take away sin (4).

5–10. Proof is adduced from Scripture that Christ's sacrifice alone is adequate to fulfil God's will, and has put an end to the old ineffectual sacrifices of the Law. A psalm (40$_{6-8}$*) is quoted which was regarded by the Church as Messianic, and in which Christ Himself was supposed to be speaking. As usual the writer quotes from the LXX, which reads "a body thou didst prepare for me," instead of "mine ears thou hast opened," as in the Hebrew. In this passage, therefore, Christ appears as declaring, before His entrance into the world, that the surrender of His body, not ritual sacrifice, was required by God as the condition of forgiveness. He was to come in accordance with prophecy ("in the roll of the book it is written of me") to give fulfilment to that will of God. Thus the passage may be held to teach (*a*) what God does not desire, viz. the sacrifices demanded by the Law; (*b*) what He does desire. Christ has "taken away the first"—*i.e.* He has abolished the sacrifices to which God attaches no value—in order to give effect to the genuine will of God (8f.). This will He accomplished by the offering of His body; and we have been "sanctified"—*i.e.* have been brought into the true condition for making our approach to God—by that offering which He made once for all.

11–14. With these words the thought returns to the subject of the finality of Christ's sacrifice; and this is illustrated by a striking contrast. The priests of the Law perform their ministry standing, for they remain in the sanctuary only for the moment; and in this posture they offer the same stated sacrifices year by year, with no enduring result (11). Christ, when He had offered His one supreme sacrifice, sat down at God's right hand. His work was all completed, and henceforth He is able to rest until in due time comes the great consummation (12ff.).

15–18. After his manner the writer concludes his argument for the finality of the sacrifice by an appeal to God's words in Scripture. In the passage concerning the new covenant (quoted in 8$_{8-12}$) the chief promise was that when God had brought men into the new relation to Himself all sins would be forgiven. But the very object of sacrifice was to make possible the forgiveness of sins. If, then, all sins are now forgiven by the establishment of the new covenant, there is no place left for a second sacrifice.

The theological discussion of the high priesthood of Christ has now come to an end. In order to understand the argument we must bear in mind that in the ritual of the Day of Atonement the sacrifice and the entrance into the sanctuary were two inseparable parts of one act. After offering sacrifice in expiation of the sins of the people, the High Priest bore the blood into the holy of holies to present it before God. The sacrifice itself was, in a sense, only the necessary preliminary to this priestly intercession. So in Hebrews the death of Christ is inseparably connected with His entrance into the heavenly sanctuary. He made the sacrifice of Himself on behalf of His people that He might enter into God's presence with His offering, and so bring them into the true relation to God. Inasmuch as He abides in the heavenly sanctuary this relation is one that can never henceforth be broken. It is difficult to say how far the writer conceives of the sanctuary as an actual place. The probability is that, in accordance with Jewish ideas, he believed in the existence of a temple or tabernacle in heaven, the eternal counterpart of God's house on earth. But in any case his thought can easily be detached from the framework of ancient ritual conceptions in which it is set. He seeks to impress upon us that Christ has entered into an everlasting fellowship with God, and that we also may enjoy that fellowship through Him.

Having completed his theological argument the writer proceeds to enforce the practical consequences which flow from it, and which have been in his mind throughout. In the ensuing section (10$_{19}$–12$_{29}$) he exhorts his readers to avail themselves of that access to God which Christ has wrought for them, and to resist all temptations to fall away.

X. 19–25. The exhortation opens with a few verses of general appeal, which sum up the results of the foregoing discussion. A free access to God's presence has been given us through the offering of Christ, who has inaugurated a way hitherto unknown, and depending not on mechanical ordinances but on His own living person. He inaugurated this way by breaking through the limitations of His earthly life as through a curtain. A new turn is here given to the analogy of the High Priest passing into the holy of holies. The earthly existence of Jesus is conceived as a curtain, which divided Him for a time from the perfect fellowship with God, and which was parted by His death. As we have a new way, so we have also a new and greater High Priest to represent us as the community of God

(21). Let us therefore have done with all doubt and misgiving, and make our approach to God with that inward purity of which our baptism has been the symbol (22). Let us hold fast to that hope which we have publicly confessed; for since God will maintain His promise we can maintain our faith (23). In order that we may stand more firmly let us watch one another with a view to mutual encouragement in love and Christian activity; and for this purpose let us value those stated meetings of the Church which many are so apt to neglect. All opportunities of confirming one another in our faith ought to be cherished, for there are clear signs that the day is near when Christ will return to judgment (24f.).

X. 26–31. The mention of the judgment suggests the dreadful consequences of falling away from faith. It is assumed, as in 64ff., that no second repentance is possible. If men persist in sinning after they have once accepted the Christian message, they cannot again expect forgiveness through Christ's sacrifice (26). They have nothing to look for now but that condemnation which the Scripture so often threatens when it speaks of the wrath of God that burns like fire (*cf.* Ps. 795; Is. 2611; Zeph. 118, 38; Ez. 365). The punishment of apostasy from the Mosaic Law, when duly proved by two or three witnesses, was death (*cf.* Dt. 176). Must we not believe that something worse than death is in store for those who show open contempt for the Son of God, who regard the blood which He shed to seal the new covenant and give us access to God as nothing more than ordinary blood, who wantonly insult the Spirit from whom proceed all higher gifts? Apostasy from the great Christian privileges enumerated in 64f. is held to be equivalent to declaring them worthless and mocking at them. God never threatens in vain, and He has stated that He will inflict punishment on evildoers, and will sift out His true servants from the false (30). We have to give account of ourselves to a living God, one who knows everything, and who can execute His will to the uttermost (31).

29. an unholy thing: lit. "a common thing," without any sacred significance (see Ex. 1222*).

X. 32–34. As in ch. 6, the writer turns from solemn warning to encouragement, based on the past record of his readers. He reminds them of the valour they had shown in the days immediately succeeding their conversion (32, "after ye were enlightened"). Like strong wrestlers they had stood up to persecution, content to be themselves the object of popular contempt and hatred, while they bravely assisted their fellow-sufferers (33). They had relieved their brethren who were thrown into prison, and had borne the confiscation of their wealth with joy, in the assurance that they had wealth of another kind which made them richer than those who robbed them (34). In our ignorance of the community to which the epistle is addressed, the nature and occasion of this persecution cannot be determined. It is noteworthy that there is no allusion to actual martyrdom; and this has been held by many to exclude Rome, which had suffered the terrible persecution under Nero in A.D. 64. But it is possible that the epistle is written to a new generation of Roman Christians which had grown up in the interval.

X. 35–39. With the past in mind they are to maintain their former constancy, knowing that it will not be in vain. Their great need, as the whole epistle is meant to teach them, is the power of endurance, enabling them to wait on for the fulfilment of the promise given them by God (35f.). And the time of waiting will not be long. The day foretold in Scripture (Hab. 23f.) is close at hand, when the Coming One will appear, and those who have been faithful will enter into life, while those who have fallen back will be condemned. Our part as Christians is to be men of faith, and so to win for ourselves the coming salvation.

37. he that cometh: in this OT phrase the writer sees a reference to the Messianic title "he that should come" (*cf.* Mt. 113).

XI. 1–40. The exhortation to faith is interrupted by this great chapter, in which the power of faith is illustrated from the history of ancient Israel. It is assumed throughout the epistle that the old community and the new are bound up with one another. The promises which had been given to Israel, and which had inspired its national life ever since the beginning, are at last reaching their fulfilment in Christianity. In this chapter, therefore, the writer does not merely aim at encouraging his readers by the example of noble lives in the past; he wishes them to feel that the OT heroes were the vanguard of their own army, and that the battle must be won, as it has been fought hitherto, by means of faith.

1f. The chapter opens with a definition of faith as the "assurance" whereby we lay hold of things still in the future, and the "proving"—*i.e.* the inward certainty which is stronger than any outward proof—of things which lie beyond the evidence of the senses. Thus faith enables us on the one hand to believe in a salvation yet to come; and on the other hand, to apprehend a higher world, of which this visible world of change is only the shadow. For Paul the object of faith is the Cross of Christ, with its supreme revelation of the gracious will of God. The writer to the Hebrews conceives of faith in a more comprehensive manner as the power by which we hold fast to the unseen, in spite of the illusions and temptations of this passing world. The "elders"—*i.e.* the men of the old covenant—could therefore exercise faith no less than the believers in Christ, and as a reward for their constancy in faith had their names enrolled with honour in the word of God (2).

3. Before proceeding to review those names in order, the writer touches on the record with which the Bible opens. God created all things by His word, so that the visible world is only the expression of the Divine energy and purpose that brought it into being. Religion is grounded in the knowledge that the ultimate reality is spiritual, and this knowledge is made possible to us by faith.—**not made out of things which do appear:** this does not mean "the world was made out of nothing," but rather "the visible was the outcome of the invisible" (Gen. 11*).

4–7. Examples of faith from the primitive history, as given in the early chapters of Genesis.—Abel, on account of his faith, was not only accepted by God in his lifetime (Gen. 44–8), but even after his death his blood made its appeal to God for vengeance on his murderer (Gen. 410*). Enoch passed into the other world without suffering death, and is commemorated in Scripture as the man who "walked with God" (5). Indeed there can be no religion apart from faith, for religion must begin with a twofold act of faith—that God is a living reality, and that He is a righteous God, who acknowledges those who serve Him (6). Noah, when warned of a calamity still in the future, took heed to the warning. By this faith of his he threw the unbelief of the world into darker shadow, and so condemned it, and won for himself the name of "righteous." As the first man in Scripture to whom

this name is applied (Gen. 69), he founded the long succession of God's servants.

7. moved with godly fear: rather, "being apprehensive," while the others paid no attention to the warning.

8–22. Passing now from the men of the primeval world, the writer comes to the patriarchs, and especially to Abraham, who stands out in the OT as the chief example of faith. Abraham showed his faith by his obedience to God's call, and by his refusal to make a permanent settlement in the land of Canaan, even though it had been promised to him. His heart was set on God's ultimate promise of an eternal rest in the heavenly city (10). His wife Sarah shared his faith and became a mother in her old age, so that Abraham, when his life seemed as good as ended, became the progenitor of a great people. And as the patriarchs lived in faith, so they died (13). They only saw the promises from afar, as the traveller sees the distant city which is his goal; and in their dying words they confessed that they were strangers on the earth (*cf.* Gen. 234, 2437, 284, 279). Such confessions implied that they were longing for their own country; and if it was merely their native country on earth that was in their minds, they could have returned to it whenever they pleased. As it was, the home they desired was in heaven, and in recognition of this faith God called them by His name, as the destined people of His heavenly city (16). The crowning instance of Abraham's faith was his offering up of Isaac. Although he was confident in the truth of God's promise, he was ready at God's command to sacrifice the son through whom alone the promise could have fulfilment (17f.). He believed that God would effect His purpose even though it should be necessary to bring Isaac back from the dead; and the restoration of Isaac was indeed a type of the resurrection (19). That faith is able to triumph over death is shown more clearly still by the examples of Isaac, Jacob, Joseph. Each of them, when on the point of dying, looked forward without misgiving to a fulfilment of God's promise in the future. To themselves it had been denied, but they believed that it would be realised through those who would come after them.

19. in a parable: this does not merely mean that Isaac was so nearly slain that he did, in a manner, come back from the dead. We have rather to translate "by way of a parable." The wonderful escape of Isaac was a kind of parable, illustrating the fact of the resurrection.

23–31. The survey now passes from the age of the patriarchs to that of Moses and the Judges. It was the faith of his parents that saved Moses in his infancy; and his life, when he grew to manhood, had faith as its one motive. He turned from the pleasures of this world and shared in the hardships of his countrymen, believing that they were the people of God, and that through their apparent weakness God was working towards that end which has now been realised in Christ. He forgot mere present advantage in the thought of the great ultimate reward (24ff.). His flight from Egypt, in defiance of the king's will, was the result of faith in the invisible King; and a like faith found expression in his keeping of the Passover, and his leading of the people through the Red Sea.

26. the reproach of Christ: something more is meant than that Moses, in his day, submitted to the world's scorn as Jesus was to do afterwards. It is indicated that Moses consciously looked forward to the coming of Christ. The Christian cause had its preliminary phase in the life of Israel, and the heroes of the past were already under Christ's banner.—**27. not fearing the wrath of the king:** this is not strictly correct, for it was fear of the king's wrath that impelled Moses to flee to Midian. The reference may be to the later story of the Exodus, but is due more probably to a confusion in the writer's mind between the later events and the earlier.

32–38. The rest of the history would take too long to survey in detail, and the writer contents himself with suggesting it by a few striking allusions. He mentions certain outstanding names, then refers in general terms to the many famous deeds that had been wrought by faith (*e.g.* the achievements of brave and just kings, of Daniel and his comrades, of prophets and patriots). Faith had manifested itself not only in great deeds, but in sufferings nobly borne (35ff.). In this account of memorable sufferings use is made not only of the OT history but of legends that had grown out of it—*e.g.* that Isaiah had been sawn asunder (p. 436), that other prophets had been murdered or persecuted. In 35 there seems to be a reference to a cherished incident of Jewish history which was later than the OT period—viz. the martyrdom of Eleazar and the seven brothers in the Maccabean war. With a declaration of faith in the resurrection on their lips these brave men had suffered the extremity of torture (*cf.* 2 Mac. 79ff., 4 Mac. 84–14).

37. were tempted: this mild generality is clearly out of place in the dreadful tale of martyrdom. The Greek word closely resembles another which means "they were burned," and this may well have been the original reading.

39f. In two closing verses the lesson of all this heroic past is summarised. By their faith the great men of Israel had received praise from God in His holy word; yet they did not obtain that promise, the hope of which had inspired them. The reason was that through the long past God had been leading up to the future, planning a fulfilment in this closing age in which our own lot has been cast. In our time the whole bygone history was to be rounded off and consummated, so that only through us could the faithful of the past attain their goal. The thought has to be understood in the light of the writer's conception that the history of God's people in all ages forms a single whole. "Some better thing"—*i.e.* the final realisation—was destined for the Christian period, and until this had come the brave endeavour of the past fell short of its aim.

XII. 1–29. The exhortation begun at 1019 is taken up again with all the weight that has been added to it by the recollections of the past. In the knowledge that so great a multitude have witnessed to the truth of God's promises, Christians are encouraged (1f.) to make for their goal, throwing aside all worldly interests and sinful desires, as runners in a race divest themselves of encumbering garments. Above all the other inspiring examples they are to keep before them that of Jesus, who points the way for faith in its earthly struggle, and by whom in the end it will be crowned with fulfilment. Looking forward to a joy that was still in the future, He had found strength to endure the Cross, with all the shame that attached to it, and so rose to His place at God's right hand.

1. witnesses: *i.e.* men who bore witness to God by faith. The idea of "spectators" is not contained in the Greek word.—**easily beset us:** lit. "easily entangling," an image from trailing garments.—**2. of our faith:** should simply be "of faith."—**author** is better translated "leader." The servants of God in all ages are regarded as a single host of which Jesus is

the captain. He is also the *perfecter* of faith, since the promises will at last be fulfilled through Him.—**for the joy:** the words might also bear the meaning "instead of the joy that was offered Him He endured the cross." In this case the thought would be similar to that of Paul in Phil. 2ᵇ⁻¹⁰: Jesus exchanged the joys of heaven for a life of earthly suffering, and so attained to a yet higher exaltation. But the meaning given above is more in accord with the ideas enforced in this section of the epistle (*cf.* 11²⁶).

3–13. With the example of Christ before them the readers are to show more constancy under their own sufferings. They are to think of Him whose life was so thwarted by wicked men, and thus nerve themselves to strength and patience (3). What is their struggle compared to that of Jesus? They have not yet been called on to venture their lives in the battle for righteousness, and under such sufferings as have been laid on them they have given way, forgetting that affliction is a chastisement which God imposes on His children with a loving purpose. Thus considered, it is a proof to us that we are really God's children, and if we are spared it, we may well doubt whether He acknowledges us (4–8). We did not rebel against our earthly fathers when they disciplined us; can we not believe that through the discipline we receive from our heavenly Father we shall rise to a truer life (9)? Our earthly fathers could train us only for the short period of youth, and sometimes their judgment was mistaken. God, on the other hand, unfailingly seeks our highest welfare, and disciplines us all our life long that we may grow into moral likeness to Himself (10). Suffering while it lasts is no doubt hard to bear, but the painful process has its outcome in that righteousness which alone brings peace. Let us march on, therefore, with new energy, and let those who are strong try so to direct their steps that the weaker may not be led astray and exhausted, but may be cheered on to a more vigorous advance.

3. against themselves: implies that in rejecting Christ they had defeated their own welfare; but the marginal reading, "against Himself," is simpler and better.—**13. for your feet:** better, "with your feet." Addressing the more capable and intelligent, the writer bids them think of themselves as pioneers, making a path for their halting comrades.

14–17. As the community is to bear up bravely under persecution, so it is to watch carefully over the purity of its own life. There must be no strife or dissension; above all, there must be moral consecration, for without this it is impossible to hold fellowship with Christ (14). The church must therefore keep anxious guard over its members, and make sure that each one of them lives up to his Christian profession. Even a single unworthy member may be like a poisonous weed, tainting the whole atmosphere round about (15). The Church must be specially watchful against men who indulge in sensual sins, or who live solely for worldly and material interests, careless, like Esau, of that higher destiny to which God has called them. Esau's later repentance did not avail him, and when he would fain have received the blessing he found that it was gone from him for ever. [Note that it was not the "place of repentance," but the "blessing," which Esau sought "diligently with tears" and failed to secure.—A. J. G.] It may be, however, that the writer is also reverting to the idea of 6ᵃff. For those who have fallen into grave sin after their conversion there can be no repentance, and they must be excluded from the Christian community.

18–29. The theme of the epistle has been the contrast of the old and the new covenants, and this contrast is now summed up in a splendid closing passage. The first covenant was established on a "mount that might be touched"—an earthly, material mountain [E. C. Selwyn, in JThS, xii. 134, suggests *pephepsalmenō*, "calcined."—A. J. G.]—which was encircled with terrible manifestations of fire and darkness and storm. The voice in which the Law was proclaimed struck terror into the people, and even Moses was so filled with awe at the nearness of the unapproachable God that he trembled (18–21). But in receiving the new covenant we have the vision before us of the heavenly Zion, the holy city above, of which Jerusalem with its Temple is nothing but the symbol. Drawing near to this holy city we are brought into fellowship with its inhabitants, who are myriad hosts of angels, and the whole company of the saints of former ages whose names were in the book of life. We enter into fellowship with God the universal Judge, and with His chosen servants, now released from their earthly bondage and fitted for their true life in His presence. More than all, in receiving the new covenant we are brought into fellowship with Jesus, who confirmed the covenant with His blood, which does not call to God for vengeance, like that of Abel, but for love and mercy.

22. Zion: the hill on which the Temple stood gave its name to the holy city. Christian thought took over, at least in a figurative sense, the Jewish belief that the earthly Jerusalem had its ideal counterpart in heaven (*cf.* Gal. 4²⁶, Rev. 21²).—**28. the first-born:** this may possibly mean the angels, regarded as the elder brothers of men. But the following words, "who are written in heaven," seem rather to point to those heroes of the past who are commemorated in ch. 11. They cannot be finally admitted into God's fellowship "without us" (11⁴⁰), but their names are written already in the roll of the citizens of heaven.

25–29. The grandeur of the new covenant, as compared with the old, entails far higher obligations on those who belong to it. In the ancient time God spoke to men from the earthly mountain; now He speaks from His true dwelling-place in heaven (25). A day has been foretold (Hag. 2⁶) when He will shake the whole universe as He shook the earth on the day of Sinai; and the words of the prophecy, "yet once more," imply that this will be the final shaking. For the last time, on this day of Christ's appearance which is now at hand, God will shake and test His world, so that all perishable things will fall to pieces, and only what is true and eternal will remain (26f.). We are the heirs of that eternal order which will survive the shaking, and this thought should inspire us with a solemn sense of responsibility. Let us seek God's help, so that we may serve Him as He desires; for He is the absolutely Holy One, withering as with fire all who are disobedient to His will.

XIII. Before bringing his epistle to a close the writer gives some practical admonitions, and takes occasion, in the course of them, to state once again his conception of Jesus as the one all-sufficient High Priest.

1–6. Emphasis is first laid on the duty of brotherly love—*i.e.* kindness towards fellow-Christians—which was all-important in a struggling community like the early Church. Three aspects of this duty are particularly mentioned—hospitality to travellers, care of prisoners, helpfulness towards those who are persecuted. The readers are to bear in mind that they also are "in the body"—*i.e.* sojourners in this world and liable to its troubles. They are warned against two forms of vice to which the heathen society of the day was especially prone—laxity in the marriage relation,

and covetousness. Christians may well resist this latter temptation, for they have God's own promise that He will remember His people and provide for them. A promise like this ought to free them from all anxieties, and not merely from the fear of poverty (5f.).

7–19. Admonitions concerning Church discipline. The brethren are to cherish the memory of their former leaders, who instructed them in the truth of God and exemplified it in their life and death. Jesus Christ, in whom those departed leaders found their strength, is the same still, and will be the same for ever (7f.). The mention of those revered teachers who have passed away suggests a warning against forgetfulness of the doctrines they had taught. Some peculiar form of error was threatening the Church; the nature of it cannot be precisely determined, but it seems to have laid stress on certain rules of eating and drinking, like the heresy at Colossæ (*cf.* Col. 2 16–23). The writer declares that external devices of this kind have never helped those who trusted in them, and all strength must come from the grace of God (9). That Christianity is not concerned with matters of food is clear from this, that it depends on a sacrifice of which the priests were expressly forbidden to eat. For the rule is laid down (Lev. 16 27) that the flesh of those animals which were offered on the Day of Atonement must not be divided among the priests, like that of other sacrificial victims, but must be carried outside the camp and burned (10f.). Jesus, as the previous argument has shown, was the ideal counterpart of the victim of the Day of Atonement, and the analogy is further borne out by this, that He was taken outside the city to die (12). The service He requires, therefore, does not consist in any kind of ritual meal. It consists rather in suffering the world's scorn and rejection along with Him. He is to be found "outside the camp," and we must be willing to be thrust out in order to join Him. We belong to the heavenly city, and can expect nothing else than to be treated as strangers by the world.

7. the issue of their life: *i.e.* their death—which was in full accordance with their life.

10–13 are exceedingly difficult, and have been interpreted in a variety of ways. Some have explained them with reference to the Lord's Supper; others have taken them as a warning against all participation in the rites of Judaism. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that given above. The writer wishes to bring out the thought that ritual practices have nothing to do with Christianity, which has for its true service the imitation of Christ. In enforcing this truth he takes occasion to recall his conception of Christ as the final sacrifice, although he now dwells on a new aspect of it.

Resuming his practical admonitions, he exhorts his readers to be earnest in praise to God, offering this personal devotion as their daily sacrifice. And along with this sacrifice of praise they are to render Him that of active well-doing and beneficence (15f.). They are to pay due reverence to the pastors set over them, who have made themselves responsible for their spiritual welfare. If all the members co-operate, the practical work will be done joyfully, and only when it is so done can it yield true results (17). In this connexion the writer, who is himself one of their pastors, makes request to his readers for their prayers; they are to pray especially that he may soon be restored to them after his enforced absence (18f.).

20f. A doxology which was probably intended to close the epistle. In this doxology we have the one reference in this epistle to Christ's resurrection; and it is closely connected with that idea of the heavenly High Priest which overshadows all others in the writer's mind. The readers are commended to the care of God, who has so amply proved His love to them by raising Jesus from the dead as their High Priest, who offers in God's presence the blood that has sealed the covenant.

20. with the blood: the idea seems to be that which has already been set forth at length in the epistle. Jesus ascended, bearing with Him into the heavenly sanctuary the blood of His sacrifice.

22–25. A postscript. The readers are asked to give patient attention to the foregoing epistle, which is described as a "word of exhortation," thus clearly indicating its practical aim. Their patience is all the more necessary as the argument is "in few words"—*i.e.* highly condensed, and difficult at times to follow. They are informed of Timothy's release from prison, and of the writer's intention to visit them in his company. Greetings are sent from the Italian Christians. This is the only definite clue which is afforded us of the destination of the epistle, and unfortunately it can lead in two directions. The writer may be sojourning with an Italian church, whose members offer their greetings to brethren elsewhere; or he may be addressing an Italian church, whose exiled members join with him in his salutations (*cf.* Exp., Jan. 1917). A second and briefer doxology brings the epistle to a close.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES

By Principal A. J. GRIEVE

The exact significance of the epithet "catholic" or "general," as applied to the seven writings which bear the names of Jas., 1 and 2 P., 1, 2, and 3 Jn., and Jude, has been a matter of considerable debate. It has been surmised that they are so entitled because they are the work of the apostles generally as distinguished from the compact body of Pauline letters; or because they contain catholic in the sense of orthodox teaching, or general rather than particular instruction; or again because they were generally accepted in contrast to other writings which bore apostolic names but failed to make good their claim. A more likely reason than any of these is that they were addressed to Christians in general or to groups of churches instead of to individual communities like Corinth and Rome, to which Paul usually wrote. We say "usually," because Galatians was written to a group of churches, and there is reason to think that Ephesians was meant as a circular letter. *Cf.* also Col. 4¹⁶. Of the seven "catholic" epistles, two (2 and 3 Jn.) hardly satisfy our test, for they were written to a particular, though unnamed, church and to an individual respectively. Their inclusion in the group is thus a mere matter of convenience; they would naturally come to be associated with 1 Jn. Jas. is addressed to "the twelve tribes of the Dispersion," 1 P. to Christians in Asia Minor, 2 P. and Jude broadly to the writer's fellow-believers; 1 Jn. has no address, and is more like a homily than a letter.

The earliest record of the name appears to be about A.D. 197, in the anti-Montanist writer Apollonius (see Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 18), who declares that the heretic Themiso wrote a "catholic" epistle in imitation of that of the apostle (? John). Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 200) refers to the letter of Ac. 15²³⁻²⁹ and to Jude as "catholic." Origen (*c.* 230) applies the epithet to the epistle of Barnabas, as to 1 Jn., 1 P., and Jude. Dionysius of Alexandria (*c.* 260) uses it of 1 Jn. in opposition to 2 and 3 Jn. Such usage, and that of Eusebius of Cæsarea (*c.* 310), who uses the adjective of the whole seven (*Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 23), is sufficient to disprove the opinion that "catholic" means "recognised by the whole church." As a matter of fact, most of the seven were hotly contested, and only gradually secured their place in the NT canon. 1 Jn., which was the first to be so styled, evidently won the epithet because of the encyclical nature of its appeal—it was an exhortation to the church at large rather than to a narrow circle, a single church, or even a group of churches, like the Pauline letters and 1 P., to say nothing of individual persons—and because its contents were official in a sense in which even Paul's epistles were not. Most akin in this respect were Jude and 2 P., and perhaps Jas., if the twelve tribes can be taken as representing the new Israel of Christendom. The recipients of 1 P., too, included well-nigh half the Christian world. 2 and 3 Jn. secured their footing because of their name. The little canon of Pauline letters was usually designated "the Apostle," and it would only be a question of time for the group of non-Pauline epistles to be entitled "catholic." When the name of the group became known in the Western Church, it was misinterpreted and taken in a dogmatic sense as equivalent to "canonic," *i.e.* apostolic or genuine. As "the canonic epistles" they became known in the West, and the original idea of contrast with the Pauline letters disappeared. Junilius Africanus (*c.* 550) understands "canonic" as "containing the rule of faith."

So late as Junilius' day, 1 Jn. and 1 P. stood apart for him, though he says that very many add the other five. This majority opinion was due to Jerome and Augustine. Chrysostom's *Synopsis* names only three (1 Jn., 1 P., Jas.), thus following Lucian and the school of Antioch, which also influenced the Peshitta or "Vulgate" Syriac. Eusebius puts 1 Jn. and 1 P. in the class of universally accepted books, while Jas., Jude, 2 P., 2 and 3 Jn., are a second class, "disputed," but making their way towards the first class (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 25). Cyprian of Carthage (*d.* 259) received only 1 Jn. and 1 P. The Muratorian Fragment (if we admit Zahn's very tempting emendation[1]) shows that at Rome, *c.* 180, these two books were received. 2 P. was not generally accepted for reading in church, while Jude and 2 and 3 Jn. formed a little group scarcely regarded as apostolic (for they are linked with the Wisdom of Solomon), yet "accepted in the Catholic Church." Jas. is not mentioned.

The influence of Augustine has been mentioned. In *De Fide et Operibus* (xiv. 21) he points out that Paul pressed his doctrine of justification by faith so far as to be in peril of being misunderstood. Paul lays the foundations, the Catholic Epistles raise the superstructure; he is careful for the genuineness of the root, they for the good fruit; he feels himself a minister of the Gospel, they speak in the name of the (nascent Catholic) Church.

It may be granted that there are certain points of relationship between the seven epistles, despite their varied authorship. They lack in general the personal note, and seek to meet more widespread need by general counsel. Jülicher ranks them as a class in which the epistle is merely a literary form whereby the unknown writer holds intercourse with an unknown public. The transition from the Pauline letters to the Catholic Epistles is by way of Ephesians, Hebrews, and the Pastorals (*cf.* p. 603). None of them is lengthy, none starts a far-reaching train of thought, or contributes much to pure theology. They are concerned mainly with practical advice and edifying exhortation. Their modest dimensions gave them an advantage over such longer works as the Epistles of

[1] Gwatkin, *Selections from Early Christian Writers*, p. 87.

Clement and Barnabas and the *Shepherd* of Hermas, in circulation, and therefore in recognition; apart from the fact that these works, favourites in the Early Church, bore no apostolic names.

The critical questions, often very perplexing, connected with the separate epistles are discussed in the commentaries that follow. We may note here that, apart from the titles (which are late), 1 Jn. is anonymous, 2 and 3 Jn. simply purport to be from "the elder," 1 and 2 P. definitely say they are by Peter the apostle; "James" and "Judas, the brother of James" are the slender descriptions given by the authors of the other two epistles. John, James, and Judas (or Jude) were all very common names, and give us no clue to the identity of the authors. As to date, 1 Jn. and 1 P. were in circulation early in the second century, and were attributed to the two apostles before its close. Jude and 2 Jn. were circulated and attributed by about 160. Jas. was also in circulation then, but no attribution of authorship was made for another half century. Clear traces of 3 Jn. and 2 P. appear a little before 200. Perhaps the earliest and the least uncertain as to authorship is 1 P., the latest 2 P. The seven epistles cover the sub-apostolic age from, say, A.D. 64 to 150, and are a valuable reflection of the life and thought of the church during that period. In 1 P. (nearest to Paul in time and in thought,[1] and to many minds one of the choicest books of NT) we see something of the peril that assailed a church from without; in 1, 2, and 3 Jn. we are shown the danger from within in matters of doctrine and problems of organisation. Jude is the effort of a teacher who is similarly alarmed by the growth of an antinomian gnosticism and the sins of unbelief, pride, and sensuality. 2 P. is an elaboration of Jude, and also reflects the disappointment felt at the delay of the Second Advent. Jas. is in a class by itself, and resolutely defies any agreed solution of its date and authorship. It sets forth Christianity as the new law.

The epistles, though modern scholarship cannot unhesitatingly accept their apostolic authorship, at least represent what the Early Church regarded as apostolic teaching, and subsequent generations have confirmed their practical value. Some may feel that because there is no certainty about their apostolic authorship they should not be included in the NT; but the Early Church was often guided by the intrinsic merits of a book, and accepted it as apostolic because of its worth. We have to remember, too, that the ancient conception of authorship was widely different from our own—a book would be called John's because its teaching agreed with that of John. A writer might go so far as to assume the name of a great teacher in order to gain a reading for his book; and if he succeeded in presenting what might fairly be regarded as the views of the man whose name he assumed, no one felt aggrieved. The practice was especially common in apocalyptic literature. We do not argue in this way now; and similar literary devices when they are practised are tolerated only because we know that they are devices, and generally know also the name of the real author.

The order in which we have the seven epistles has come to us from the fourth century, but there were many earlier variations. The position of the group in early MSS. and versions is also far from fixed. Most Gr. MSS. arrange thus: Gospels, Acts, Cath. Epp., Paul, Rev. The Syrian order is Gospels, Paul, Acts, Cath. Epp., Rev. In Egypt: Gospels, Paul, Cath. Epp., Acts, Rev. In the Muratorian Canon, representing the early West, we have apparently Gospels, Acts, Paul, Cath. Epp., Rev., which is the order followed in the Vulgate and in the English versions.

[1] This commonly received opinion is questioned by H. A. A. Kennedy in ET 27264 (March 1916).

JAMES

By Professor JAMES HOPE MOULTON

This short epistle belongs to a type of literature which we call "open letters." It is not private and unstudied correspondence, like Paul's letters, nor again a treatise destined for permanence. Its literary affinities are decidedly with the OT: it is prophecy speaking its last word, in the old manner, but with many characteristics of the Wisdom Books. The date, authorship, and purpose are alike much disputed; and in so brief an account it is only possible to present the interpretation favoured by the writer of the commentary, warning the reader that it is an individual view, which only pretends to be a consistent hypothesis, offering some explanation of admitted problems.

The book has been variously regarded as the earliest and one of the latest written of the NT Canon. Its author, if one of the "Jacobs" of the NT, was almost certainly "the Lord's brother" of Gal. 1^{19}, who is best regarded as a son of Joseph and Mary, eldest of the group of Mary's younger children named in Mk. 6^{3}. He was the leader of the early Jerusalem Church, as appears from his position in Ac. 15. Two most formidable difficulties stand in our way. (1) How could so conspicuous a Christian write a letter to fellow-believers and only name Jesus twice, even seeking in Job the supreme example of "endurance" (5^{11}), instead of recalling Him "who endured a cross, despising shame" (Heb. 12^{2})? (2) How did an authentic work of James remain among disputed books till the latest stage of the development of the Canon? To these difficulties the present writer ventured a new solution in Exp. for July 1907, to which he holds in spite of objections raised by Peake (INT) and Moffatt (INT), because alternative answers seem wholly insufficient. The epistle is addressed to *unconverted Jews*, by the one Christian leader for whom the Jews had a profound regard, as we know from Josephus and Hegesippus. He would not name Jesus (1^{1}*, 2^{1}*), since the name would immediately turn them from reading. But he brings in a multitude of His sayings, hoping that their intrinsic beauty and power would win their way, and prepare for better thoughts of the Speaker when His authorship became known. His main purpose is to shame them out of a blind unbelief based on "party spirit" (3^{14}, ^{16}). But the success of the appeal was ruined by the martyrdom of James as a Christian, and the fanatical hatred which consequently replaced veneration for a man pre-eminently holy according to the standards of the Law. Accordingly the little book was rejected by Jews as the work of a Christian martyr, and ignored by Christians generally because it had so little distinctively Christian teaching. Prized in a narrow circle, it came to its own at last through its association with the great name of James. The theory will be tested best by assuming it as a working basis for interpretation. It will be seen that if it is tenable the epistle becomes one of the earliest NT writings—the earlier the better, in view of the rapid widening of the gulf between Judaism and Christianity. In that case it is prior to 1 P., which has several points of contact with its language, and to Rom., which is either independent or written partly to correct some dangerous and mistaken inferences from its teaching.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Plumptre (CB), Bassett, **Knowling** (West.C), Bennett (Cent.B); (*b*) **J. B. Mayor** (which supersedes all others), **Hort** (a posthumous fragment), Carr (CGT), Oesterley (EGT), Ropes (ICC); (*c*) von Soden (HC), **Beyschlag** (Mey.), Hollmann (SNT), Windisch (HNT), B. Weiss; (*d*) R. W. Dale, C. Brown (*Dev. Comm.*), Plummer (Ex.B). *Other Literature:* Parry, *A Discussion of the General Epistle of James;* Mayor in HDB on "Brethren of the Lord," and Lightfoot in *Dissertations;* Spitta in *Gesch. u. Litt. des Urchristentums;* J. V. Bartlet and A. C. M'Giffert, each in *The Apostolic Age;* Hort in *Judaistic Christianity;* Relevant articles in Introductions to NT and Dictionaries. The RV with fuller references is assumed throughout.

I. 1. The greeting is in one of the ordinary forms with which public or private letters open (*cf.* Ac. 15^{23}). Like his brother Judas (Jude 1), James calls himself "servant of . . . Jesus Christ": he would no longer claim a brother's relation, except what all shared (Mk. 3^{35}). On our theory we might easily conjecture that James wrote simply "servant of God," the additional words being a very early adaptation to overtly Christian use. "The Twelve Tribes settled in foreign lands" retain their ideal completeness (Ac. 26^{7}, Mt. 19^{28}, Rev. 7^{4}ff., 21^{12}), though but few (*cf.* Lk. 2^{36}) could trace their descent to the "Lost Ten." God was "able of the stones to raise up children" to Israel.

I. 2–8. The paragraph, like its successors, has no special link with its context: it is the writer's habit to throw out a series of aphoristic comments on topics, with as much connexion as there is between the essays of Bacon or successive cantos of Tennyson's *In Memoriam.* It is the manner of "Wisdom" literature (*cf.* especially Ecclus.). The paradox with which the epistle opens is an expansion of the Beatitudes (Lk. 6^{20}–^{23}). The tense of the verb, "when you have fallen," gives the key. James has not forgotten the Lord's Prayer; but when a devout man *has* been "brought into trial," he recognises it as God's will, and therefore to be received with joy. He who has inflicted the "trial" will "deliver from the evil" which alone makes it distressing. "A man untried is rejected," was a saying attributed to Christ. The word "rejected" is the negative of the adjective here wrongly translated "proof": read (as in 1 P. 1^{7}) "the approved (genuine) part"—"what is sterling in your belief." "Faith," as elsewhere in Jas., means religious belief or creed. Truth which has been "inwardly digested," and not swallowed whole, can pro-

duce spiritual robustness. "Endurance" is a great note of Jas. (*cf.* 511). "Let it work thoroughly, and you will be thorough and complete, with nothing wanting." By a characteristic feature of style, the word "wanting" suggests the next thought. "Wisdom," practical knowledge that informs conduct, is to be had for the asking from the "only Wise." God gives to "all" (Mt. 545) "bountifully"—Gr. nearly as in Rom. 128—without reproaches for their failure to attain. *Cf.* especially 1 K. 39–12. Note the echo of Mt. 77. The condition of 6 is also from Christ's teaching (Mk. 1123, etc.). "He who hesitates is lost" when he prays. For the simile, *cf.* Is. 5720, Eph. 414. The "two-selfed" man—a trimmer or wobbler, or even one living a double life, a Dr. Jekyll alternating with Mr. Hyde—cannot expect to win the answer that only Faith's virile grasp can seize. The man "has no firm footing, whatever path he treads."

I. 9–11. The paradox of a "bragging" that comes of humility and faith is common to James and Paul: it starts from Jer. 923f. The "brotherhood" which levels all differences into a glorious "liberty, fraternity, and equality" is the community of God's faithful people. The rich man, as such, has only the common lot to expect: he needs to be lifted down, as the beggar is lifted up, to the place of eternal safety. James vividly expands the famous simile of Is. 406 from the conditions of Palestine: the easterly sirocco at sunrise (Mk. 46) blasted vegetation (*cf.* Ps. 10316). The "goings" are trade journeys (*cf.* 413)—he is cut off while still "on the move."

I. 12–18. The Beatitude on Endurance (*cf.* 511 and note). "Trial" is still neutral: it is affliction which tests and develops loyalty. But since human nature has a bias towards evil, a "trial" exerted upon man's evil "desire" (14) becomes a "temptation." As in Rom. 54, "endurance" produces "approvedness," which brings the reward. The word "crown" (as papyri show), can mean a royal diadem as well as a wreath of victory: the latter is better here. Peter's "unfading crown of glory" is the same idea, and both (as in Rev. 210) go back probably to an unrecorded saying of Jesus (*cf.* 2 Tim. 48, also Dt. 3020). The denial that God "tempts" is based on the self-evidenced fact that there is nothing in Him to supply the seed of evil. This comes from our "desire" when still unbent by submission to God's will. In itself "desire" is neutral; Jesus Himself had it (Lk. 2215). The allegory of Sin as mother of Death is magnificently worked out by Milton, *P.L.* ii. In contrast to this error, James declares that "Every gift that is good, every bounty that is flawless 'droppeth from heaven upon the place beneath'"—so we may render to suggest the effect of a metrical quotation probably recognisable in the original. For "the Father of the (heavenly) lights," *cf.* Job 387. Unlike the moving sun, the earth and moon with light and shadow succeeding, He knows "no mutability, nor overshadowing of change." We are His offspring by the act of His will through Truth's own fiat: not literally the "first-fruits" of His creation, Man becomes such in dignity by the fact that God is his Father, and not only his Creator.

I. 19–27. "Be sure of it" (*cf. mg.*), he goes on, and turns to ask what conduct right views of God should produce. Humility and self-control, firstly, then purity, gentleness, and teachableness, with unsparing honesty that turns every creed into a code of action. "Quick to hear" not only God's warning, but both sides of a human quarrel, "slow to speak" angry words, the peril of which James expounds in ch. 3, such conduct will be free from that "human wrath which can never help forward God's ideal of Right." "Filthiness" or "baseness"—the word was often used of counterfeit coin (but *cf.* also Rev. 2211)—is coupled with a "rank growth of malice," lit. "overflow"; there is an allusion to the Lord's reminder that speech is "the overflow of the heart." "The implanted word" (*cf.* Mt. 1321) can "save" the whole "self"; it is the phrase which in ordinary parlance means "to save lives."—The teaching on Hearers and Doers comes from the lips of Jesus (Mt. 724ff.): *cf.* also Rom. 213. The "natural face," the features of "birth," contrasted implicitly with the unchanging and eternal Ideal, may be "studied" (the word of Lk. 1224—it does not imply a mere glance) in the more or less polished metal mirror (1 Cor. 1312), but memory refuses to preserve the picture after the man goes away. To print the image of the Ideal on our souls we must "look right down into" it (Lk. 2412, Jn. 205,11, 1 P. 112) and "stay by" it, so as to transform the momentary hearing into permanent working. The Law that is Liberty (212) is called "perfect" or "mature" because it works by the complete coincidence of man's will with God's—"Our wills are ours, to make them Thine." Rom. 82 might be an intended comment. The passionate love of the pious Jew for the Law (*cf.* Pss. 197, 11997) colours this estimate of its ideal. A final foil is provided by the self-deceived "worshipper," punctilious in external religion, but cruel, foul, or frivolous of tongue (*cf.* 32,9; Mt. 1236f.). Such "worship" is "futile," for it never reaches the Throne. For God is Father, and He only receives the worship of love towards His needy children, and of purity from the world's selfishness (see 1 Jn. 420). "Visit" is a strong word (*cf.* Lk. 168, etc.). The depreciation of external religion as an end is very striking from the lips of one so noted for his love of it as a means of grace.

II. 1–13. This paragraph on Servility suits exhortation of Jews incomparably better than that of Christians, among whom "not many rich" were found for generations. The scene of 2 is the "synagogue," best taken in its literal sense; and acts of oppression towards "the congregation of God's poor" are familiar to readers of the OT. "Give up," he pleads, "trying to combine with acts of servility the belief in the Lord of Glory." On the theory sketched in the introduction, the name "Jesus Christ" was added in the margin by an early reader: as the various efforts of translators and commentators show, the words made the sentence almost impossible Gr. when taken into the text. The worshipper "in shabby clothes"—the adjective corresponds to the noun rendered "baseness" in 121—is contrasted with the "gold-ringed man in brilliant clothes" (shining white, it would seem): for him there is no room except on the floor. He who can thus judge men by externals comes under the condemnation of 16, for "doubt" there and "divided" here are the same word. Piety cannot recognise the guinea stamp—only the image and superscription of God: they are "judges of corrupt decisions" if on such lines they distinguish man and man.—5 comes directly from the first Beatitude, though Jewish readers might think of OT parallels like those in Pss. 724,12 and 7419,21. Mere paupers in the world's eyes, these are "heirs according to promise" of their Father's Kingdom. "Chose" is the word that gives the adjective rendered "elect"; *cf.* Eph. 14, Rom. 833, etc. The "promise," in the thought of James, was made in Lk. 2229f.: his Jewish readers might think of Dt. 79, 3020, etc. He goes on to show that they have little reason indeed for favouring the rich as such: they were

so quick to drag poor men into court, for debt especially (*cf.* Mt. 18$_{30}$, Lk. 12$_{58}$f.). These rich men need not be Christians, or even Jews: the point is that the pious suffered especially from the rich (*cf.* 5$_{1-6}$), which makes servility to the rich as such specially foolish. If the poor believers here are Jews, "the glorious name named upon you" will come from Am. 9$_{12}$—the text quoted by James in Ac. 15$_{17}$—and Dt. 28$_{10}$, etc.—In 8 we are reminded again how petty are little caste distinctions in the presence of a King. The Roman Emperor was called "King" in Gr. (*cf.* Ac. 17$_{7}$), which makes "Imperial" the best rendering of the adjective here. The Second Commandment (Lev. 19 18), "like unto" the First (Mt. 22$_{39}$), was detached even by the Jews; *cf.* Lk. 10$_{27}$ for the place which Jesus gave it: His work was to transform the conception of "neighbour." The illustration of the solidarity of the Law seems to us almost an anticlimax —surely murder is worse even than adultery! But 4$_{2}$ may show that human life was cheap in the (Jewish?) community addressed; and it would be very characteristic of Jews to lay great stress on their superiority to the Gentile world in the matter of purity. A Christian student of Mt. 5$_{22}$ would say that the germ of murder was even more easily planted than that of adultery. The "Law of Liberty," so far from involving antinomian license, pronounces judgement without mercy on those who show no mercy—it is the principle of Mt. 18$_{35}$. For the merciful man there is no condemnation (Mt. 5$_{7}$).

II. 14–26. The surface contradiction between James and Paul, which made Luther call this "an epistle of straw," and the Tübingen critics hail it as a Judaist's attack upon Paulinism, troubles no one now, simply because "faith" is seen to be used in entirely different senses. It is *creed* here, personal *trust* there. James, who is most probably prior in time, teaches that "orthodoxy"—defined in true Jewish fashion as acceptance of the *Shema* (19, Dt. 6$_{4}$)—can never save until it has its logical outcome in conduct. Paul makes "trust" vital, just because nothing else can produce conduct after the mind of God.—14 belongs naturally to the doctrine of Saying and Doing. To repeat a creed and not live up to it is as grotesquely futile as to feed the starving with unctuous good wishes. The creed, if it does not carry actions which flow logically from its presuppositions, is simply dead—like mediæval controversies about subjects no longer alive to-day. Read 18f. with RV *text*. The speaker is confronted by a superior person, proud of his orthodoxy: he may reply that *real* orthodoxy, a right relation to God, is only proved by conduct. "He can't be wrong whose life is in the right." The orthodox person pronounces his *Shema* with aggressive conviction; but if he goes no further, he has nothing better than the demons, whose orthodoxy only brings them terror (*cf.* Mk. 1$_{24}$, 5$_{7}$). "You empty head!" cries James, "can't you see that belief without conduct is simply idle?" The great example of belief, Abraham, who was so "orthodox" that he believed an impossibility because God promised it, was really "declared righteous" for what he *did*; the reality of that belief was at once tested and deepened by action resulting from belief. Gen. 15$_{2,8}$ showed even Abraham deficient in belief: the sacrifice of Isaac (Heb. 11$_{19}$) made it perfect. His title "Friend of God" (see refs.) is specially connected with God's taking him into confidence about His purpose: *cf.* Gen. 18$_{17}$ with Jn. 15$_{15}$. The proof is finally clinched by an opposite example, also used in Heb. 11$_{31}$* (*cf.* Mt. 15*): a degraded and heathen woman had such a practical belief in the supremacy of Israel's God that she helped the scouts of Joshua even against her own people. So we come to the summing up: "as a body that does not breathe is dead, so is belief which does not act."

III. 1–12. "Do not crowd into the ranks of the teachers, my brothers. You know that we teachers shall be judged more severely than other men; and there are many things in which all of us stumble." This leads to the discussion of the snare of speech, into which those who talk much are peculiarly liable to fall. The words rendered "now if" (3) should be taken as one word meaning "see," and the conjunction "for" inserted. "Now with horses, for example, it is in their mouths, look you, that we put the bit when we want them to obey us." In 4 the word "impulse" may be the "pressure" of the steersman's hand on the tiller. To the small bridle and the small rudder the tongue is compared as an insignificant part of man's equipment, but one that can "boast of great power." "See what a spark it takes to kindle what a mass of wood! And the tongue is fire: the world of wrong is represented among our members by the tongue, which defiles the whole body, kindles the wheel of life, and is itself kindled from Gehenna." In many primitive rituals a wooden wheel is rapidly rotated on a wooden axle to produce fire. The image here is that of a flame spreading from the centre down all the radiating spokes. It is the wheel—we should probably say "sphere"—"of birth" (*mg.*), like "the face of birth" in 1$_{23}$, the whole round of changing earthly circumstance. "To tame the tongue is beyond the power of man"—the word is emphatic: "it is a restless plague, it is charged with deadly poison." We use it for pious ejaculations (without which correct Jews would not name God) and for curses on God's image around us. But just as bitter water, like that of the Dead Sea, would spoil the sweetness of any water in which it mingled, so the curses embitter all blessing: to curse God would be more honest, and quite as acceptable to Him! For the first figure we should not have expected two different *good* fruits (contrast Mt. 7$_{16}$). James is, however, using a common proverb.

III. 13–18. "Who is enlightened among you, and a man of knowledge? Let him exhibit the fruits of it by a noble life, with the humility that true enlightenment brings." We must be careful to remember that "meekness" in popular use has lost its nobility: the Gr. word describes a strong man's self-discipline and a wise man's humility. One who is strong, and knows it, is not jealous of rivals, or frenzied with partisanship for a cause that God will prosper. Such a spirit means only scorning truth and heaping up lies. "Sensual," "natural," and "animal" are all imperfect representations of the adjective *psychic* from *psyché*, "soul" or "life." As contrasted with "spirit," it means the immaterial parts of man as untouched by the Divine: the climactic adjective following shows that what does not touch God is touched by hell. Note in 16 the stress on *unproductiveness* as the characteristic of sin. "Confusion" or "restlessness" (*cf.* 8) and "worthless deeds" follow; jealous partisans can never *get any good thing done*, and are condemned for this more than the mischief they actually achieve. The characterisation of "heavenly enlightenment" has close affinities with the Beatitudes; we may fit Mt. 5$_{8,9,5,7}$ respectively to "pure, peace-loving, gentle . . . full of compassion." For "gentle" (Matthew Arnold's "sweet reasonableness") compare especially 2 Cor. 10$_{1}$, also Phil. 4$_{5}$. It and the next adjective describe that freedom from pride and obstinacy which produces perfect openmindedness. "Without variance" has

the word of 16 and 24; we may render it "impartial" here. "A harvest of right is being sown in the field of peace for those who work for peace"; *cf.* Ps. 97^{11}, Gal. 6^{7}f., Heb. 12^{11}.

IV. 1–10. The climax of the last paragraph leads to a diagnosis of the disease that poisoned quarrelsome Jewish communities. Faction fights were the logical outcome of unbridled passions; they "campaign against man's self" (1 P. 2^{11}), and weaken his power of control.—2 is best rendered, "You covet, and miss what you want—then you murder. Aye, you are envious and cannot get your desire—then you fight and wage war." It is hard to see how faction that would not stick at bloodshed could be found in a primitive Christian community; among Jews it is easily illustrated. These "adulterous souls" (4) have broken the marriage vow that unites God and His people; men cannot "serve God and mammon," or give "friendship" at once to God and the world—they are powers at war, and neutrality cannot exist.—5 is best taken thus: "Or do you suppose that Scripture means nothing when it tells us He is yearning jealously over the spirit He made to dwell within us?" The reference is perhaps to the general tenour of revelation, rather than to a single passage: there is no OT text verbally near to this. Nor is God's "yearning" a vague sentiment, it shows itself in His "offering more grace"—the declaration is proved by Pr. 3^{34}. Note how Peter takes up James's words, as often (1 P. 5^{5,9}). For the Christian the assurance is guaranteed by the resistance of Jesus to the devil. Sinners are to put away sin from hand and heart (*cf.* Is. 1^{15}f.), and by penitence seek pardon. For an Oriental, fasting and lamentation were the spontaneous and natural expression of deep sorrow. Our Lord permits but never prescribes it, only insisting that it must be absolutely sincere and not for show (Mt. 6^{16}ff.).

IV. 11f. A return to the topic of 1^{26}, 2^{12}, 3^{1}–^{12}. Backbiting was a conspicuous habit among these Jews, who applied to one another some of the censoriousness they freely dealt out to the Gentiles. "Judge," here as elsewhere, means "condemn"—there is no opening for a judge's impartiality. James tells them that such conduct abrogates the "royal law" of 2^{8}, and makes them usurp the function of the One Lawgiver. The thought, of course, was suggested to him by Mt. 7^{1}f.

IV. 13–17. This and the next paragraph denounce the vices of the rich, in the spirit of Amos and Isaiah; that they are Jews, and not Christians, seems obvious, if this epistle is to be got into the first centuries of Christian history, when the rich had small power to oppress the poor. First comes a warning suggested presumably by the Lord's parable of the Rich Fool. They make plans for a year, and know not what will happen the very next day; human life is transitory as a puff of steam. They were proud of big plans which fate might turn to folly. And such "idle words" (Mt. 12^{36}) were not meaningless frivolities; there was "evil" in them—it is a strong word, that which closes the Lord's Prayer. Finally, since these people knew how to do good—did they not boast of their Law?—and would not do it, they were guilty of sin. For the NT with one consent—here following the spirit of the prophets—makes sin mainly the failure to do right, and not merely the doing of wrong.

V. 1–6. From the merely careless rich James turns to the actively oppressive, the fellows of those whom he lashes in 2^{6}f. For him, of course, the prophetic "Day of the Lord" was more assured and more definite than to the Jews he addressed; he had in thought the apocalypse of Mk. 13, which was to receive a first fulfilment in the fall of Jerusalem. Even Jews of the Dispersion would feel many reflex effects of that catastrophe.—2 recalls Mt. 6^{19}. There was a kind of fuliginous vapour arising from the Dead Sea which "rusted" even gold, and this may have suggested the figure. "For a testimony unto you" is the figure of Mk. 6^{11}. The dust of the city there is to be "witness" that the apostles have brought it their message; the "rust" of selfishly hoarded gold is similarly "witness" at the Judgement of the misuse of the stewardship of wealth. "This night is thy life required of thee," is the message to these rich worldlings. "The hire (Lk. 12^{20}) . . . kept back by you crieth out"—it is another mute witness, like the rust; *cf.* the stones in Lk. 19^{40}, Hab. 2^{11}. On the OT title *Yahweh Sebâ'ôth*, see 1 S. 1^{3}*. "You fattened yourselves in a day of slaughter," like sheep grazing greedily an hour before the butcher comes. So follows the climax of the indictment. It may well be based on the magnificent passage in Wisd. 2, especially 20. That for James "the righteous one" was pre-eminently Jesus (Ac. 3^{14}) does not affect the wholly general reference of the term. It was indeed a special title of James himself, and occurs in Hegesippus's story of his martyrdom. "He doth not resist you," echoes Is. 53^{7}; *cf.* especially Mt. 23^{35}.

V. 7–11. "Patience" in 7, 8, 10 is different from "endurance" in 11, Heb. 12^{1}f.; it is the opposite of "short-temperedness" or "impatience." The farmer does his work and then can only wait for a harvest which he can do nothing to hurry. The "Coming of the Lord" is a phrase appropriating to Yahweh—and in Christian language to Christ—a term almost technical for *royal visits*. (With our new knowledge of the "profane" use of the word, *mg.* becomes misleading.) The "former rain" follows the sowing, the "latter" comes just before the corn ripens. This epistle belongs to the period when all Christians still believed in the imminence of the Advent (contrast 2 P. 3^{4}, written perhaps two generations later); and even among Jews, as the apocalyptic literature shows, such a belief could readily find acceptance. "The Lord" is a title which Christian writer and Jewish reader would understand differently. The latter would equally fail to trace the source of 9 (Mt. 7^{1}), and the personality of the expected Judge (Mt. 25^{31}ff.) who is "at the door" (Mk. 13^{29}). The examples chosen to encourage faithful men are almost enough alone to show that James writes to Jews; the higher example of Heb. 12^{2}f. is in his heart, but must not yet be set down with the pen. When the Sauls to whom he writes have become Pauls, they will understand.—11 suggests a Beatitude, "Blessed are they that have endured to the end, for they shall be saved" (Mk. 13^{13}). Job's "endurance" lies in the persistence of his trust in God (*cf.* Job 13^{15}); for "the end," *cf.* Job 42^{12}—it proved that "God worketh all things for good with them that love God" (Rom. 8^{28}, *cf. mg.*).

V. 12. A disconnected maxim, warning Jews against a very prevalent sin, and again directly quoting the unnamed Master (Mt. 5^{34}ff.; *cf.* 23^{16}–^{22}). The Quaker-like self-control which makes "Yes" or "No" carry more weight than a whole string of oaths, is a virtue not inappropriately commended after that of "patience." "Before all things" is not a relative phrase; a warning to guard the sacredness of God's Name, and avoid the "condemnation" of the Third Commandment, is declared to be among the first things. Probably *mg.* is right, as the words are so close to Mt. 5^{37}. Our Lord's own habit of doubling a word for emphasis is well exemplified in His characteristic "Amen, Amen" in Jn. (*e.g.* 13^{20}).

V. 13–18. The key to this hard passage seems to lie in the climax, the example of Elijah, who in 1 K. 17₁, 18₄₁ff., is not said to have prayed for drought or for rain. His "prayer" is in the phrase "before whom I stand"—a life in the Presence, bringing with it an instinctive knowledge of God's will; *cf.* Am. 3₇. The "elders," therefore, of a faithful "congregation" may expect a Divine impulse prompting them to ask for physical recovery when God wills it; we may also believe that such united prayer is a real instrument in God's hands, just as much as the application of remedies like oil (*cf.* Is. 1₆, Lk. 10₃₄). "The prayer of faith," of an instinctive and unquestioning "conviction," becomes a curative agency by the mysterious power that links mind and body, the power which Jesus used in His miracles of healing. Forgiveness and physical healing are joined here as in the story of Mk. 2₁–₁₂. The assurance that the faithful community may expect such guidance was learned by James from the Lord Himself (Mt. 18₁₉f.). A primary condition of this mutual help was frankness and free confession of faults "one to another" (not to one superior individual), that prayer might be definite and intelligent. "A good man's inspired (lit. 'inwrought') supplication has mighty power." Prayer, then, is not our asking God for something we think we need, but the establishment of unhindered contact of the human will and the Divine—the completion of an electric circuit, as it were, which can exert immense power. And the best of it all is that such a cosmic force is not reserved for "supermen," as we might think Elijah to be. Stress is laid on his having been "a man of the same nature as ourselves"—the power is for us all, if we will "only believe" (Mk. 5₃₆). That the drought of 1 K. 17f. lasted three and a half years was an inference from 18₁, found also in Lk. 4₂₅.

V. 19f. These concluding words return to the thought of 16. How great a thing it is to bring back to the truth one who has strayed from it! "Understand [see *mg.*] that he who has brought a sinner back when he has lost his way will save a life out of death, and 'cover a multitude of sins' (Pr. 10₁₂)." It is true to James's whole view of belief and conduct; to lose the truth—"what is genuine in belief" (see on 13)—endangers the ethical power of that truth. Truth, if held with heart as well as head, is an anchor to keep the ship from drifting down the rapids into the abyss of wrong-doing (*cf.* Heb. 2₁). Many have strangely thought the teacher's own "life" intended. Jesus teaches us that we can only "save our lives" by "losing" them; it is only when self-forgetfulness is complete that self-preservation is assured. It is very unlike James and the NT to assert that successful preaching can atone for the preacher's sins; contrast 1 Cor. 9₂₇.

I. PETER

By the Rev. G. CURRIE MARTIN

In this short epistle we have a very interesting and original contribution to early Christian literature. The NT writings of this character are so much overshadowed by the great genius of Paul that we are apt to neglect the shorter but very important works which proceed from other hands. The treatment of the Gospel message in these pages brings before us a type of teaching that stands halfway between the more free teaching of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, and the more strictly Jewish attitude of Jas. and Rev. It has strong resemblances to Pauline thought, but its dependence upon the epistles of Paul is not clearly proved, and the simpler and more practical presentation of the work of Christ and its significance are of great importance in forming a true picture of the apostolic age.

The purpose of the book is clearly to encourage communities in the stress of trial. They are exposed to peculiar difficulties and temptations, probably to persecution for the faith they profess, and the writer seeks to remind them of the meaning of Christ's sacrifice, and the power that fellowship in His sufferings confers upon them (4ff., 12ff.). We are reminded throughout of Peter's speeches in Acts, with their constant quotations from the prophets, and the use of the same passages in proof. The writer centres his message upon the hope of the Gospel, an extremely appropriate thought for days of trial. It is clear that the forces which opposed them were those of a great nation—a power that relied upon physical force. Over against this the writer places the inherited greatness of the new race created in Christ (2f.); and yet he bids his readers not to despise or abuse the authorities under whom they live, and even if they are unfairly treated, still he exhorts them to suffer patiently (213–17, 415f.).

All this suggests to us the days in which the Roman power persecuted the Christians, and designated them a "third race," neither civilised nor barbarian, but something so unutterably mean, as to be scarcely human. Does this then point to some special persecution that can be identified in history? To this question various answers have been given by scholars, some pointing to the persecution under Nero, others to that under Domitian, and others again to the days of Trajan. In this way, the epistle has been variously dated from the sixth decade of the first century to the early decades of the second century. One strong argument for the latter date is that there is no clear proof that persecution "for the name of Christ" (414) took place earlier than the reign of Trajan.

The question of date is, of course, closely knit with that of authorship. If it was not written before the second century, then clearly Peter was not its author, and this seems true, in spite of Ramsay's argument to the contrary, if it is later than the days of Nero.

Doubt has been thrown on the Petrine authorship from another consideration, viz. the supposed dependence upon Pauline teaching in this epistle. But the common subjects dealt with, and the manner of treatment familiar to us from Acts, dispose of that difficulty. As already noted, there is an originality in the writer's method, and his difference from his great contemporary is quite as distinct as his indebtedness. The manner, not the matter, should be our guide in such considerations.

Were Peter not the author we have only probabilities upon which to go, and the best suggestions made have been Barnabas and Silvanus, the latter seeming to have the better claim. There was a considerable Petrine literature in the early Church, some of which is, without doubt, not genuine, but is not this a strong reason for supposing that in 1 P., at all events, we have a real example of the apostle's teaching?

It has strong, early testimony in its favour, especially 2 P., Polycarp, and the Didache. It is not included in the Muratorian Canon, but is accepted by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius. For dates of these writers, see article on *The Canon of the NT* (p. 595).

Its place of origin is almost certainly Rome (513), and the recipients seem to have been Christian communities in the places named in the opening verse. The technical term "Dispersion" is detached from its Jewish and invested with a Christian significance; for later verses of the epistle make it clear that those addressed are converts from paganism.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Cook (Sp.), Plumptre (CB), **Bennett** (Cent.B), Sadler, Cone (IH), Mitchell (WNT); (*b*) Hort (11–217 only), Bigg (ICC), Johnstone, Blakiston (CGT), **Masterman** (with excellent English paraphrase); (*c*) Usteri, von Soden (HC), **Knopf** (Mey.), **Gunkel** (SNT), Windisch (HNT), Monnier, Godet; (*d*) Lumby (Ex.B), **Leighton** (full of suggestion), J. H. Jowett, *cf.* on 2 P. *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries, especially those of Chase in HDB, and that of Schmiedel on *Christian, Name of*, in EBi; Lives of Peter; Introductions to NT and to both Epistles; McGiffert, *Hist. of Christianity in the Ap. Age;* Harnack, *Die Chronologie;* Ramsay, *Church in Roman Empire;* Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity;* O. D. Foster, *The Literary Relations of 1 Peter* (with a marked text showing these clearly); R. Perdelwitz, *Die Mysterien-religion und das Problem des 1 Petrusbriefes.* On the "Spirits in Prison," see articles in Dictionaries under that title and on Hades (Descent into) (especially Loofs in ERE iv. 654ff.), and Eschatology; and further, Charles, *Eschatology;* Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality;* and Stevens, *Theology of the NT.*

I. 1f. The provinces named cover the whole of Asia Minor, since Pamphylia is probably reckoned in Galatia, Cilicia as belonging to Syria, and Lycia may not have possessed Christian communities. The order from NW. to SE. may represent the route of the

bearers of the letter. The verses contain the cause, method, and purpose of their choice by God, which involves a covenant of fellowship. The salutation is similar to that in Rom. and Gal., but the phrase *be multiplied* is found only in 2 P. and Jude, and is probably derived from Dan. 4¹ and 6²⁵. Does this hint at the apocalyptic strain in these epistles?

I. 3–12. The section contains a deep and rich thanksgiving to God for the certainty of an eternal fellowship with Christ. This no sufferings can mar, nor death itself break. He is the unseen Friend, and since they know Him by the power of faith, they have a richer inheritance than the prophets, and in their joy is a note that is wanting even in the song of angels.

7. revelation: lit. apocalypse. Thus was every manifestation of Christ regarded. He is always present, sometimes more clearly seen.—**11. Spirit of Christ** is regarded as the inspirational power of the prophets. As by Paul (2 Cor. 3¹⁸) the Lord and the Spirit are identified.—**12. minister:** Rendel Harris, by a slight alteration of the original word, secures a very much clearer meaning, viz. "to them it was revealed that they got this intelligence not for themselves but for you" (Moffatt's NT). The ordinary reading leads us to think of the prophets as servants of God for our sakes, doing tasks whose full import they could not understand (*cf.* 2 Esd. 13¹⁶–²⁰). For the angels' share in this joyful mystery, see Eph. 3¹⁰*. The Jewish apocalyptic books (*e.g.* Enoch) had much to say of the angels' concern in human affairs, and these may be the sources of the ideas in the NT.

I. 13–21. Here the practical aim of the epistle becomes at the earliest possible moment clearly manifest. The writer finds in the central reality of the Christian faith—the example, sacrifice, and resurrection of Jesus Christ—the truest source of good conduct. He reminds them that all this has taken place that they may be sharers in the character of God. Hope in God can have no other logical issue than conformity to His will.

13. girding up: a metaphor derived from a necessity of Eastern costume, and perhaps with special reference to the Passover. It is found also on the lips of Jesus (Lk. 12³⁵).—**14. in the time of your ignorance:** one of the proofs that the communities were originally Gentile.—**15.** Read *mg.*, "Like the Holy One which called you," a reminiscence of Isaiah's distinctive name for God.—**17.** May not this refer to the Lord's Prayer and be an evidence of its early use in worship? Speaking of this verse and those which follow, Bigg writes: "This full passage affords an admirable illustration of what we may call 'Petrinism,' the mingled severity and tenderness of the Christian disciplinarian." It is noteworthy, as Gunkel points out, that no attempt is made to reconcile or explain Fatherhood and Judgeship—they are simply postulated as equally real. The necessity of holiness is here grounded on three considerations: (1) the character of God, (2) the reality of judgment, and (3) the costliness of redemption.—**19. precious blood:** this goes back not only to the sacrifices of the OT and such passages as Is. 53, but much more strikingly to the scene at Calvary; love's constraint is, as with Paul, the supreme argument.—**20. foreknown:** this implies Christ's pre-existence, in which this writer agrees with other NT thinkers, a doctrine derived from later Jewish speculation, *e.g.* the Book of Enoch (*passim*).—**21. faith and hope:** as by all the NT writers this is grounded on the fact of Christ's resurrection, and it is God's action in that event which is here, as by Paul, emphasized, since the gist of the whole argument rests on God's consistency of character, and our reliance thereupon.

I. 22–II. 10. The Christians, who were formerly pagans, are created a new race in Christ Jesus, and consecrated as a special priesthood of service to the whole world. Their life must be in accordance with this profession. They are to manifest to one another brotherly love, "that noblest jewel in the diadem of early Christianity" (Gunkel), and as children naturally seek milk for nourishment, so their desire is to be for spiritual refreshment in the purity of faith. By a changed figure they are to become living stones in a living temple founded on a living Lord, who of old time was termed by the prophets the Corner Stone. To them He is a precious possession, but to those who refuse Him, He is like a stone in the path to trip over, as a rock in the way, over which one may fall.

22. love of the brethren: not brotherly love, but brother-love. Not "love men *as though* they were your brothers," but "love men *because* they are your brothers." As Maurice finely said, "There can be no brotherhood without a common father" (Masterman).—**23. word of God** is here transitional between the written word, and the personal Word of the Fourth Gospel. It is better to take "liveth and abideth" as referring to "word" than to "God" (*mg.*).—**II. 2. spiritual milk:** a curious phrase, but meaning "nourishment that belongs to the spiritual nature."—**6.** Two of the OT passages here quoted are found in combination in Rom. 9, and in the same chapter is the reference to Hos. made below (10). From this and similar instances it has been suggested that selections of Messianic passages were already in use by Christian teachers (p. 700).—**7. the preciousness:** the phrase may be understood in various ways, but probably "for you is the honour" is most likely in contrast with "shame" mentioned in 6 and referred to throughout. On the other hand, "precious" may refer back to the quotation in the sense of the inherent unique quality of Christ.—**9. royal:** because belonging to a king, not as consisting of kings.

II. 11f. Three reasons are here given for a life of purity and moderation: (1) that it is in agreement with pilgrim life (a figure frequent in OT and familiar to us from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*), (2) that it may not give offence to the Gentiles, (3) that it may win the latter, by the force of example, to the same life. We know what wicked and groundless accusations were made against the Christians, and how, as Harnack shows in the *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, it was by the conduct of the Christians that the truest headway was made in the spread of the faith.

II. 12. day of visitation: a phrase derived from OT (Is. 10³), but its meaning is not quite clear in this passage. It may mean (1) the final judgment day, which fills so large a place in the mind of NT writers, (2) the day of trial before the magistrates, or (3) the day when the Gentiles themselves are convinced of the truth of the faith. The last seems most likely.

II. 13–17. As Jesus had given them an example so were they to live in all dutiful obedience to human authority—from the emperor to his representatives, since they constituted the bulwarks of the State. Their service was not mainly to the commonwealth of men, but to the City of God. Of this they were free men, but for that reason they must act so as to commend it—their Emperor had as His servants men whose freedom spelled obedience. It is interesting to compare and contrast the view here taken of civil authority with that of Paul in Rom. 13 (pp. 774f.). The State is a "human

institution" to this writer, while to Paul it is a Divine one, and the magistrate himself a "minister of God." "St. Peter, throughout the epistle, maintains that God is King, but rules through Law. His frame of mind is constitutional; St. Paul, the Roman citizen, is imperialist both in politics and in theology" (Bigg).

15. put to silence is really "muzzle."

II. 18–25. This is one of the noblest passages in the NT on the real meaning of service. It raised the position of slave at one moment to the highest honour. A man could take all degradation out of it, for he might put into his slavery the whole spirit of Jesus. With exquisite reminiscences of prophetic language and touches of personal experience the writer sketches Christ's life and death of ministry, which wrought righteousness and healing. So might their lives, thus ordered, bring a new reign of purity, sweetness, and well-ordered power in the world (and they did!). All this they know, for the wanderers—slaves of sin—have returned to One who is Shepherd and Guardian. *The* Master transforms all service. Catching His spirit they can become gentle even to the harshest taskmaster, and rejoice in such an opportunity. *Cf.* p. 649.

19. for conscience toward is more accurately rendered, "from a sense of God," *i.e.* because one is conscious of God's nature and requirements.—**21–23.** An interesting illustration of these verses is found among the recently discovered *Odes of Solomon*, Ode 31, lines 8ff., "But I endured and held my peace and was silent, as if not moved by them. But I stood unshaken like a firm rock which is beaten by the waves and endures. And I bore their bitterness for humility's sake; in order that I might redeem my people!"—**24. upon the tree:** the word rendered "tree" (lit. "wood") is used twice in Peter's speeches in Ac. (5$_{30}$, 10$_{39}$) in the same sense as here. The sacrificial ideas of priest and victim are here combined in one Person (Heb. 9$_{14}$). The victim was always regarded as holy though he bore the sin. The recollection of this fact is essential to a right understanding of the theory of sacrifice.—**died unto sins:** this analogy, so frequently used by Paul, is found here also.—**stripes:** really "weals," a word that would touch slaves.—**25. Bishop:** here probably used in the most general sense as "overseer." It is noteworthy, considering its later ecclesiastical usage, that Christ Himself should be termed Bishop, from whom, as we may say, "Every bishopric on earth is named."

III. 1–7. This counsel to wives and husbands is full of a fine courtesy, and true chivalry, and shows how the new leaven is at work in the thought of the Church. It is not only a contrast to paganism, but has the essence of a real advance upon Judaism, even though the example of Sarah is cited; and the claim of obedient Christian wives to be her spiritual children is almost as highly thought of, as the place of all Christians as children of Abraham is by Paul. Faithful, wise, and loving wives are regarded as the best missionaries, who may win, without a word, those who despise the Word. Deeds are more eloquent than speech.

The peculiar vanities of pagan society are deprecated, and a full idea of Christian womanhood set up. Men are granted their rights in a fuller way than modern thought would recognise them, but they are reminded that these rights mean responsibilities, and the claim upon them for consideration and protection of the physically weaker. "In Christ" there is neither male nor female, and so this fellowship must be true in spirit, if it is to make for godliness.

6. put in fear: this probably denotes anxieties and worries of all kinds—the writer urges a calm and trustful attitude as the ideal.—**7. your prayers:** either those of the husband alone, which would be hindered (Jas. 5$_4$) by the injured wife's complaints to God, or the prayers of both in fellowship, which cannot be offered truly, if there is lack of harmony in spirit.—**hindered:** some MSS. read a stronger word, which differs only by one letter and means "cut off."

III. 8–17. This short and simple section deals with the wider relations of the Christian disciple to his fellow-disciples and to the world. It is an expansion of Christ's teaching in the Golden Rule. It is clearly shown that to suffer for righteousness is only to tread in the steps of the great Forerunner, and that such a life is reasonable, and its principles once grasped can be easily justified to others. The "hope" of the Christians was the chief point likely to be under discussion, since this was at once the most attractive feature of their faith, and the one most difficult of belief. This epistle is full, as we have seen, of the idea of hope, and hence the writer lays stress upon it, when urging the nature of their *apologia* or vindication of their manner of life, and its ruling thought. Christ is to dominate their hearts, for He constitutes their Hope in the most perfect presentation of its power.

10. he that would love life: this does not quite represent the Gr. of the OT, which is, "He that desireth life, and loveth many days." It may have been changed, because the original Gr. is awkward, or to give an even finer meaning to the passage, viz. that the making of life lovely lies in the will of the individual. He can triumph over all difficulties and injustice, and make all life worthy of being loved. As Tennyson phrases it:

"Let my day be brief,
So Thou wilt strike Thy glory through the day."

14. fear not their fear: "Have no fear of their threats."

III. 18–22. Christ Himself suffered injustice at the hands of men, but see how splendid the result! All salvation—everywhere in the universe—is the result of His suffering and sacrifice, and these have raised Him in triumph above all orders of creatures. Through our faith—outwardly expressed in baptism—we are made partakers in the power of His resurrection (Phil. 3$_{10}$), so our suffering counts for little. While this seems to be the general idea of the section there is one very difficult passage in it—a passage that has been termed "the darkest in the NT"—the words which deal with the preaching to the spirits in prison. A brilliant emendation by Rendel Harris (accepted in Moffatt's NT) seems the real solution of the problem. At the beginning of *v.* 19 the Gr. reads *enōkai*, and Harris thinks that the word *enōch* followed this, and had been slipped by the scribe. We should therefore read, "It was in the spirit that Enoch also went and preached," etc. The reference would then be to the story in the Book of Enoch (chs. 6ff.) of his intercession on behalf of the fallen angels, as the result of whose sins the flood came upon the earth. This makes the illustration of Noah quite intelligible, and also, allowing for the extravagances of allegory, the supposed resemblance between the passing through the flood on the part of those in the ark and baptism.

If we decline to accept the emendation, then this passage has to bear either the burden of a special revelation as to an activity of Christ on which the rest of the NT is silent, or we must suppose that the writer invented a myth for which he had no reasonable basis. Each of these suppositions is very difficult, and it seems scarcely worth while to spend time over

all the speculations to which the passage has given rise, as these may be read in the literature cited in the bibliography (p. 908). The idea of Christ's preaching in Hades laid hold of the imagination of the early Church, and has held sway ever since. In early English poetry the "Harrowing of Hell" was a familiar subject, and it appears in Christian art. Nineteenth-century controversies about Eternal Hope again brought it into prominence, as may be seen in such a work as Plumptre's *Spirits in Prison*. There is in the mind of the present writer no doubt that Rendel Harris's solution is the correct one, and this is strengthened by frequent references in the epistle to the Book of Enoch.

[The very ingenious emendation, in which Rendel Harris had, in fact, been anticipated, is most attractive, but it is difficult to harmonise with 4$_6$, which cannot well be separated from this passage. There the preaching is of glad tidings, whereas Enoch preached condemnation. Moreover, as Rendel Harris himself confesses (*Side-lights on NT Research*, p. 209), the text as he restores it is lacking in continuity, and further correction would be necessary to fit it into its context. The sudden transition from the experiences of Christ to the preaching of Enoch is harsh in the extreme, and it is almost incredible that the references to Christ should have been abruptly closed without the completion we naturally expect. If the present text is accepted, the meaning is probably, not that Jesus preached to the angels who mated with women (Gen. 6$_{1-4}$), but that in the interval between His death and resurrection (note the sequence of clauses and the words "went and preached") He went to Hades and there preached to the imprisoned spirits of the antediluvians of Noah's time.—A. S. P.]

21. interrogation: the word is difficult, and has been given many meanings (*cf. mg.*). Perhaps we cannot get beyond the general sense that what is of real effect is the inward turning of the contrite and genuine heart to God in the rite of baptism.—**22. angels,** etc.: in Enoch 61$_{10}$ we read, "He will call on all the host of the heavens . . . and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities." Probably we should here read, "angels of authorities and powers," as the departments of angelic domination.

IV. 1–6. Our voluntary suffering in the way of righteousness denotes our fellowship with Christ, and our breaking with sin. Let there be therefore no return, on the part of converts, to the evil life of paganism, even when urged to it by old comrades. They too must face the Divine judgment, which is the same for all, and rules throughout the universe, so that none, alive or dead, can escape this standard, or find any way of salvation save through obedience.

1. mind: better, "thought" (*mg.*).—**6.** This verse has been termed the hardest to explain in the NT. In the light of our explanation of 3$_{19}$ it need not be so, for this is a natural sequence to that passage. These to whom Enoch preached also served their term of punishment. Justice was meted out to them in a way to which no human system of law could take exception, and yet God might have mercy upon them and upon all who turned to Him in true repentance. The reality of judgment is as necessary for men to recognise, as the reality of mercy.

[Possibly the meaning is: Christ preached to the dead that the sinful principle (the flesh) might be destroyed, and that they might be spiritually quickened. The order of the words favours this; and since it is a Pauline common-place that the believer, while still in the body, is no longer in the flesh, the converse that the sinner is still in the flesh when he is no longer in the body is not intrinsically more paradoxical, but strange because unfamiliar.—A. S. P.]

IV. 7–11. The conception that the consummation of all things is at hand fills the thought of the section with urgency. All work is to be done in that spirit of earnest, prayerful readiness that all life may prove a practical thanksgiving to God as it reflects the life of Jesus Christ.

8. love covereth a multitude of sins (*cf.* 1 Cor. 13$_{5}$f., Jas. 5$_{20}$*). "The love of Christ covers sins (Lk. 7$_{47}$); and love of the brethren, flowing as it does from the love of Christ, may be regarded as a kind of secondary atonement. Brother becomes a Christ to brother, and in so far as he renews the great Sacrifice, becomes a partaker in its effects and a channel through which the effects are made operative for others" (Bigg).—**9. hospitality:** this new conception was one of the greatest contributions of the Christian Church to the society of the time. This and all the gifts subsequently named are to be used with the clear recollection that they are God's gifts. As Gunkel says, "the peculiar 'gifts' of the early Church are no longer ours, but the ideal of a community in which each serves his neighbour, and in which each regards his position as a call of God—this remains with us."

IV. 12–19. The section repeats ideas that have already appeared (2$_{18-24}$, 3$_{13-17}$), only they are emphasized by the imminence (17) of severe trial.

15. a meddler: the original word seems to be a coinage of the writer, and its exact significance is difficult to define. It may be used politically as "a revolutionary" or as "a stirrer up of strife" in the home or society of the Christians. Again, it may be used of conformity to pagan practice, but this is unlikely in the context.—**16.** There may here be still the echo of the nickname, though it became accepted gladly by the Christians themselves as their title. Perhaps this passage had some part in that process (*cf.* art. "Christian" in HDB).—**19. Creator:** this title is found only here in the NT, and is specially significant as pointing to God as the source of all, and His will as behind all chance and change.

V. 1–7. The writer, himself a presbyter, gives wise and loving counsel to his fellow-presbyters and to their flocks. Sincerity, humility, and love are to mark all their intercourse, and continual subjection to the will of God. If the author is the apostle Peter we cannot fail to trace the extreme appropriateness of his language in light of the interview recorded in Jn. 21. He does not lay stress on his apostleship, but this may be an evidence of the very humility to which he exhorts them. The phrase "a witness of the sufferings of Christ" certainly denotes a disciple who knew Him in the days of His flesh; and "a partaker of the glory" may have reference to promises made to the Twelve (*cf.* Mt. 19$_{28}$). The full force of the exhortation "gird with humility" seems again reminiscent of the scene in Jn. 13, and may indicate the sense in which the exhortation of Jesus there given was understood. The passage culminates in the statement *because He careth for you.* "In these few words," says Masterman, "is the central truth that Christ was manifested to reveal."

V. 8–11. Further counsels to watchfulness, and to sympathy, closing with a renewed promise of God's reward, and a short doxology.

8. seeking whom: the rendering "seeking someone to devour," founded on a better reading, is preferable. It is more in accord with the figure and less suggestive

of the adversary's success.—**9. knowing,** etc.: the Gr. words are not easy to render (*cf. mg.*), but the translation given by Moffatt is much to be preferred, "and learn to pay the same tax of suffering as the rest of your brotherhood throughout the world." The words constitute a call to active participation in the trials of the community (2 Tim. 2_3 *mg.*).—**in the world** may point to a general persecution.—**11. to him be** may be "to him is," *i.e.* an assertion of a fact rather than an ascription.

V. 12–14. Mention of the scribe or amanuensis and closing salutations. These words may (as sometimes with Paul) have been in the author's own hand. He probably calls the letter brief in view of what he had it in his heart to say. Silvanus can supplement the written message, and they may trust him as one who knows and can express all that is in the writer's mind. Silvanus is generally identified with the person of the same name in Paul's letters (1 and 2 Th. 1_1, 2 Cor. 1_{19}) and the Silas of Acts. It is thought by some that he was more than a mere amanuensis of this letter, and was given much freedom in its composition, and by many who deny the Petrine authorship his name is chosen as the most likely substitute.

The greeting from "her of Babylon" may refer to an individual or to a church. It may be Peter's wife who sends the greeting, a theory confirmed by the consideration that the other greetings are from individuals. Most agree that it refers to the church—but where? The usual answer is "In Rome," since apocalyptic writers use the name so frequently for that city. "Mark" is almost unquestionably the early companion of Paul and Barnabas of whom we read in Acts. That book places him in close relation with Peter, and so does later tradition when it asserts that the Gospel written by him preserved the form of Peter's version of his Master's ministry. "Son" is no doubt a title of affection, similar to that used by Paul of Timothy, Titus, and Onesimus, and may denote a special spiritual relationship. The "kiss of love" was a practice of the early Church, modified at a later time, but still retained in some Eastern churches. The form of the final benediction is more Jewish than we find in Paul's letters.

II. PETER

By the Rev. R. BROOK

The epistle can best be described as "a homily thrown into epistolary guise." The author writes as "Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ." He refers to his call (1$_3$), his presence at the Transfiguration (1$_{17}$), his impending death foretold by Jesus (1$_{14}$), to the Gospel of Mark, which embodied his teaching (1$_{15}$), and to his First Epistle (3$_1$). But, apart from these references, the personal note is entirely absent. Nothing is said as to the place or circumstances of composition; there are no greetings and no trace of any personal relations between the author and his readers. He addresses himself, not to any particular church, but to Christendom in general. His purpose is to exhort the faithful to godliness, to warn them against false teachers who practised libertinism, and to rehabilitate the belief in the Second Advent. He bases his "homily" upon the Epistle of Jude and borrows freely from it. (For a justification of this, see Introduction to Jude.)

The Petrine authorship has been questioned on various grounds. (1) Weakness of external evidence. There is no certain or even probable evidence of the use of 2 P. by any first- or second-century writer (unless we suppose that Jude was based on 2 P. instead of *vice versa*, but see below under 6). In this respect its position is wholly different from that of the Pauline Epistles and 1 P. The first clear reference to it is in Origen, though he regarded it with suspicion. In the fourth century doubts were felt about it by Eusebius and Jerome, and it was rejected by the Syrian Church. It was probably known to Clement of Alexandria, though connected by him rather with the Apocalypse of Peter than with 1 P. (*cf.* Chase in HDB). Attempts have been made to explain the weakness of the evidence: (*a*) that the epistle would have little interest for Gentile readers because it was addressed to Jewish Christians (so Zahn); but there is nothing to suggest that the readers were Jewish Christians; on the contrary, "the problem of the Law does not exist for the author or the readers"; or (*b*) that it never had a wide circulation—a fact evidenced by the bad state of the text (so Bigg)—owing to its brevity and the limited interest of its subject-matter. But this would not explain the silence and suspicion of early writers about a document believed to be of apostolic authorship. (2) Relation to 1 P. The style, language and tone of the two epistles are so widely different that, making all allowance for difference of subject-matter and of circumstances of composition, identity of authorship seems impossible. (2 P. was rejected on this ground as early as the time of Jerome.) Such verbal agreements as exist are best explained as due to a definite imitation of 1 P. by some later writer. Moreover, the whole outlook and teaching of the two epistles is different; *e.g.* in 1 P. the Parousia is regarded as imminent; in 2 P. its further delay is contemplated and explained. Some commentators who accept 2 P. are, accordingly, compelled to abandon the direct authorship of 1 P. (3) The reference to the Pauline Epistles in 3$_{15}$f. seems to imply the existence of a NT Canon, and therefore to necessitate a date for 2 P. which is incompatible with its authenticity. (4) The epistle is completely silent as to the Resurrection and the Ascension, and hardly contains an allusion to the sayings of our Lord—here, too, presenting a striking contrast to 1 P. This raises a presumption against its genuineness, which is strengthened by the fact that the only references to the Gospel history which it does contain are such as would serve to identify the author with Peter. They seem to be introduced solely for this purpose and after the manner of the apocryphal writings, and lend support to the statement that the author "shows a too manifest anxiety to have his work attributed to St Peter." (5) The "false teaching" attacked is said to be a form of second-century Gnosticism. The false teachers are certainly charged not only with immorality—as would appear to be the case in Jude—but also with doctrinal errors, yet the indictment is so general that this argument must be regarded as inconclusive. It would support, though it does not demand, a late date. (6) Its connexion, both in thought and language, with the Apocalypse of Peter—an apocryphal work of the second century—is so close that it requires explanation. The possibilities seem to be that both are the work of the same writer (Sanday) or of the same school (Chase), or that 2 P. borrowed from the Apocalypse.

These arguments vary in force. Some of them, taken separately, do not carry much weight, but in combination they seem conclusive. The majority of scholars therefore regard the epistle as a pseudonymous work of the second century. The exact date and place of composition can only be conjectured. Since some regarded it as Petrine at the end of the second century it cannot have been written much later than about A.D. 170. Its resemblance to the Apocalypse of Peter and its traditional connexion with it, give probability to the view that it was written about the same time and in the same neighbourhood—about A.D. 150 and in Egypt. It is scarcely necessary to add that those who say that on this view the epistle is "neither more nor less than a forgery" are guilty of an anachronism: we must not judge an ancient writer by modern literary standards. *Cf.* pp. 432, 902.

Accepting the epistle as genuine, Zahn supposes that it was directed against the libertinism prevalent in the Gentile churches, notably at Corinth, and was written at Antioch, before Peter went to Rome, and therefore before 1 P., and was addressed to Jewish Christians in Palestine. Bigg's view is similar, though less definite as to the place and date of composition. He thinks that it was probably addressed to the Asiatic churches to warn them against false teachers from Corinth who were beginning to make their way into Asia Minor.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Lumby (Sp.), Plummer (Ellicott's), **Bennett** (Cent.B), Plumptre (CB), Mitchell (WNT); (*b*) **J. B. Mayor**, Bigg (ICC), R. H. Strachan (EGT), James (CGT); (*c*) Windisch (HNT), von Soden (HC), Burger (KHS), Hollmann (SNT), **Knopf**

(Mey.), Spitta, de Zwaan; (*d*) Lumby (Ex.B), J. H. Jowett, *The Epistles of St. Peter. Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries and Encyclopædias (especially Chase in HDB), Discussions in Histories of the Apostolic Age, Introductions to NT; Jones, *N T in Twentieth Century*, 343ff., 350–357; Robson, *Studies in the Second Epistle of St. Peter.*

I. 1–11. The author writes to those who possess a faith not less honourable (" precious ") than that of the apostles themselves, since they, too, possess all things pertaining to life and godliness. But effort on their part is necessary if they would make their calling sure. The lack of such effort involves stumbling and implies forgetfulness of their baptismal cleansing—possibly, forgetfulness that the special cleansing of baptism cannot be repeated (Bigg). The Gospel is not a cloke for libertinism.

3. him that called us: *i.e.* Christ: the reference is to the call of the apostolate. In this section " we " and " us " refer to the apostles, " you " to those who have received the apostolic message.

I. 12–15. So long as he lives, it is his duty as an apostle to impress these truths upon them, especially since he anticipates a sudden death. (**14. swiftly:** render " suddenly "—the reference is to the prediction in Jn. 21 that Peter should die a violent death.) But he will make provision for them, so that after his death they may be reminded of these truths. The reference is probably to the Gospel of Mark, which is traditionally connected with Peter. Some, however, suppose that the reference is to the Apocalypse of Peter, either as implying its existence or suggesting its composition. Spitta, who maintains the priority of 2 P., suggests that Jude was written to fulfil this promise.

I. 16–21. In support of his teaching, he appeals to a twofold witness: (1) His apostolic relation to Jesus. In speaking of the power of Jesus, as manifested in His earthly ministry, he was not following cunningly-devised fables, as the false teachers asserted (treating the Gospel records, perhaps, as allegory and not history), but was speaking of that which he had seen and heard—for he had been present at the Transfiguration and had heard the voice from heaven. (2) OT prophecy—an even more sure witness, which provides them with a lamp in the darkness of this world until the Second Coming of Jesus. But they must remember that if they are to interpret prophecy aright, they need a guide. Prophecy did not come by the will of man but from God, and therefore it cannot be interpreted by man's unaided power.

16. and coming of our Lord: His coming in the flesh; but the reference may be to the Parousia.—**19.** Render, " even more sure is the word of prophecy which we have "; the meaning is not, as in RV, that the Transfiguration proves the truth of OT prophecy, but that in the OT there is a second witness to the author's teaching against libertinism. *For this purpose* the voice of Heb. prophecy, with its stern insistence on righteousness, is more certain than the voice of the Transfiguration.

II. 1–9. As there were false prophets in Israel, so there will arise false teachers among the faithful. (Writing from the assumed standpoint of the apostolic age, he projects their coming into the future; in 2¹⁰ they are regarded as already active; *cf.* 3₃, 17.) By their vicious lives they will deny the Master who bought them. Many will follow them, thus causing the Gentiles to blaspheme the Church. But their punishment is certain. God's judgment on sin, pronounced long ago, has always been and still is fulfilling itself; witness the judgment on the angels that sinned, on the world in the days of the Flood, and on Sodom and Gomorrah. But, as God saved Noah and Lot, so He will always save the godly, while keeping the unrighteous under punishment—as the fallen angels are kept in pits of darkness until the final judgment day. (*Cf.* Enoch 10¹², 54₃.)

The whole passage should be compared with Jude 4–7. For the reference to Israel in the wilderness, which Jude places first, 2 P. substitutes the Flood, placing it, to secure chronological sequence, after the fallen angels. He also adds, in order to soften the severity of Jude, the two cases of mercy—Noah, who in accordance with later Jewish tradition (*cf.* Josephus, *Ant.* I. iii. 1) is described as a " preacher of righteousness," and Lot; for " just Lot," *cf.* Wisd. 10₆.

4. The sin of the fallen angels is not specified, but was traditionally connected with Gen. 6₁–₄*. Jude's account of the sin of the angels is fuller, and shows dependence on Enoch (see on Jude 6). Here, as elsewhere (see on 2¹¹,¹⁷), 2 P. shows more reserve than Jude in the use of the Apocrypha.

II. 10–17. The sins of the false teachers are now described—licentiousness (10), audacious blasphemy (10–12), open profligacy (13), and covetousness like that of Balaam (15). They are as worthless as springs without water, and their end is blackness of darkness. The whole section is based on Jude 8–15.* 2 P. softens the severity of Jude's language and rearranges the order. He expands the reference to Balaam and omits Cain and Korah. In 11 he omits the explicit reference to Michael, and also, at the end of 17, the passage from Enoch quoted in Jude 14f. (see on 24, reserve in use of Apocrypha).

10. dominion: render, " the Lordship," *i.e.* Christ or God (see on Jude 8).—**dignities:** render, " the glorious ones " (*cf. mg.*), *i.e.* the heavenly beings, or the unseen powers: it is difficult to see in what sense the false teachers reviled the unseen powers, but the word can scarcely be taken to mean the rulers of the Church.—**11.** Paraphrase, " They do not hesitate to revile the unseen powers, while even angels, who are far greater than these false teachers, do not dare to bring against these powers an irreverent accusation, in the presence of the Lord." The argument can be understood only in the light of Jude's reference to the story of Michael (Jude 9*), where the forbearance of Michael is contrasted with the audacity of the false teachers. The dispute between Michael and the devil did not take place *in the presence of the Lord*, and the insertion of the words, which are not found in Jude, is difficult.—**12. matters . . . ignorant:** they know nothing of the Lordship or the glorious ones; they only know the things of the fleshly life.—**13. suffering wrong as the hire of wrong-doing.** The text is almost certainly corrupt, and presents two difficulties. (1) The writer could scarcely speak of the false teachers suffering *wrong* at the hands of God. (2) The phrase translated " hire of wrong-doing " occurs again in 15, where it means " unrighteous gain." Here the context requires a different meaning—" penalty of wrong-doing ": but it is difficult to give the same phrase two such different meanings in the same passage. " Receiving the reward of unrighteousness " (*cf.* AV) looks like a conjectural emendation, but while removing the first difficulty, it leaves the second.—**their love-feasts:** render " their deceivings " (*mg.*); *apatais* (deceivings) is the reading of all MSS. except B (p. 601); *agapais* (love-feasts), the reading of B, followed by RV, was probably suggested by the parallel passage in Jude 12, where " love-feasts " is undoubtedly the correct reading: Jude, however, has " *your* love-feasts " not, as

RV here, "*their* love-feasts."—**while they feast with you:** render, "while they share in the feast (probably the Agape—so Bigg) with you." Paraphrase, "Spots and blemishes in your midst, revelling in their deceits, while continuing to share your Agape"; despite their openly evil lives, they do not separate themselves from the Christian fellowship.

II. 18–22. Uttering vain words they snare in the lusts of the flesh those who were just escaping (or, had actually escaped) from heathen vices, promising them liberty, while all the time they are themselves the slaves of sin. Having once been rescued from the defilements of the world, they have again become enslaved, and their last state is worse than their first; better to remain a heathen than become an apostate.

22. The first proverb is found in Pr. 26^{11}; the second is, apparently, not derived from a Heb. source, and its interpretation is difficult. "The sense is, not that the creature has washed itself clean in water (so apparently RV), still less that it has been washed clean (as AV), and then returns to the mud, but that, having once bathed in filth, it never ceases to delight in it" (Bigg). [The objection to this view is that the illustration requires a change from filth to cleanliness, followed by a reversion to the old condition, so that the last state is worse than the first. The dog gets rid of his unwholesome food, but then hankers after it and returns to it; the sow gets rid of its dirt by washing itself and then rolls in the mud and becomes as filthy as ever. Wendland suggests that the proverb goes back to a saying of Heraclitus, which he gives in this form: "Swine wash themselves more gladly in mire than in clear and clean water." (Burnet reads differently: "Swine wash in the mire, and barnyard fowls in dust.") But it is much more likely that it comes from *Ahikar*; the passage is rendered thus by Rendel Harris: "My son, thou hast behaved like the swine which went to the bath with people of quality, and when he came out, saw a stinking drain, and went and rolled himself in it." (Smend's translation is somewhat different, but agrees in substance).—A. S. P.]

III. 1f. In this, as in his former letter, he is only reminding them of the OT prophecies and of the teaching of the apostles—the twofold witness to which he had appealed in ch. 1.

1. the second epistle: the author again claims identity with Peter, and refers to 1 P.; what he here says is, however, an inaccurate description of 1 P., and if the genuineness of 2 P. is maintained, it is better to suppose that the reference is not to 1 P. but to some other epistle of Peter's which has not been preserved.—**unto you:** this has been taken to imply that 2 P. was addressed to some particular church or churches, to which Peter had previously sent an epistle; it is better to regard it (like the references in 1^{12}) as part of the "literary drapery" of the letter; *cf.* also 3^{15}.—**2. your apostles:** in the parallel passage in Jude (17) the author implies that he was not himself an apostle; some commentators see here a similar disclaimer, but this interpretation is not necessary; the meaning is, those apostles who were your teachers. —**3.** On the relation of this verse to Jude, see on Jude 18.

III. 3–7. A further characteristic of the false teachers was the denial of the Second Advent (their coming is again spoken of as in the future; *cf.* 2^{21} and 3^{17}). Their scepticism is based, partly, on the non-fulfilment of the primitive hope of the immediacy of the Parousia, and partly on a belief in the rigid immutability of the world process. The first generation of Christians ("the fathers"—which can hardly be taken to mean "the OT saints"; there is here an indication of the late date of the epistle) has already passed away and all things remain as they had been from the beginning. But their reasoning is false. They wilfully forget that by the word of God the heavens were made and the earth from water and by means of water, and that by the same means they were afterwards destroyed. So by the word of God the heavens that now are and the earth will be destroyed by fire. There is no parallel in Jude to the teaching of 2 P. with reference to the Parousia; this is the author's main addition to Jude, and probably represents his main purpose in writing.

6. the world that then was: the universe, the first heavens and earth. The tradition that the heavens as well as the earth were destroyed at the Flood is found in Enoch (83$_{3-5}$), and is a development of the earlier tradition of Gen.—**7. stored up for fire:** treasured up for destruction by fire. The belief that the universe would be destroyed by fire (*cf.* 10ff.) was widely prevalent in the second century (*cf.* Origen, *Contra Celsum*, iv. 11, 79).

III. 8–13. Moreover the Lord is not really slow to fulfil His promise; He "does not reckon time as men reckon." His seeming slowness is not the manifestation of His impotence, but of His long-suffering love (*cf.* 15). His purpose is that time for repentance should be given to all; when the end comes it will be sudden, and there will be no time for repentance then. The fact that all material things will pass away constitutes a call to holy living (we can see here, *per contra*, the connexion between the libertinism of the false teachers and their disbelief in the Parousia), especially since we look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein righteousness dwelleth (*cf.* Is. 65^{17}, Enoch 91^{16}).

12. earnestly desiring the coming: render, "hastening (*mg.*) the coming," *i.e.* by repentance; for the belief that men's repentance was the essential condition of the Parousia *cf.* Ac. 3^{19}f., "Repent, therefore . . . that he may send the Christ."

III. 14–18. The epistle closes, as it had opened, with an exhortation to godliness. The Gospel is not a cloke for licentiousness but a call to righteousness. This, the author adds, was the burden of Paul's teaching in all his letters, though his words had been misunderstood by the ignorant and distorted by the wicked into a justification of moral laxity. (That this was the case, even in Paul's lifetime, can be seen, *e.g.* in Rom. 3$_8$, 6$_1$, also in 1 Cor. *passim*; *cf.* Jas. 2$_{8-13}$*.) He bids his readers beware lest they are led astray by these perversions of the apostolic teaching, and exhorts them to grow in grace and knowledge of the Lord.

15. unto you: unless we suppose that 2 P. was addressed to some particular church, it is not necessary to see here a reference to any one particular epistle of Paul's addressed to that church; the appeal is to the general teaching of Paul. Nor is it necessary to limit "these things" (16) to the words which immediately precede—the doctrine that the delay of the Parousia is due to the long-suffering of God, or even that disbelief in the Parousia is connected with moral laxity. The author is only concerned to say that Paul's condemnation of libertinism is not less emphatic than his own.—**16. the other scriptures:** lit. "writings," but almost certainly the word is used in the technical sense, Scriptures. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that in speaking of the Pauline Epistles and "the *other* Scriptures," the author implies the existence of a NT Canon (at any rate none of the attempts to explain the passage differently is satisfactory) and if this conclusion is accepted, the Petrine authorship of the epistle must be abandoned.

I. JOHN

By Professor A. L. HUMPHRIES

This epistle contains no intimation as to either its author or its readers. It has been regarded by some as addressed to Christians in general, for which reason the epithet "Catholic" has been applied to it. That it is a real letter, and not, as some have thought, merely a doctrinal treatise or homily, is suggested by the recurring phrases, "I write unto you," "I have written unto you." Moreover, its tone and contents afford evidence that the author had some acquaintance with those to whom he writes, and held in relation to them a position of authority and responsibility. There is no hint that the letter was a response to some appeal for guidance. The author seems to have written of his own accord, and as one who felt that his position gave him the right to do so. Such an attitude would agree with all that tradition reports concerning the Apostle John during his alleged residence at Ephesus. After the fall of Jerusalem John is said to have left Palestine, and to have made his home henceforth at Ephesus, the chief city of the Roman province of Asia. There, in virtue of his saintly character not less than of his apostolic office, he obtained a commanding influence not only in Ephesus itself, but over all the churches of proconsular Asia. This fact is reflected in the Book of the Revelation being sent in John's name to "the seven churches which are in Asia." It seems likely that this epistle also was intended for more than one church. It was probably designed for all the churches which came within John's sphere of influence, and this may explain why, though no church in particular seems to be addressed, the writer is so well acquainted with his readers, and can write to them in terms of both affection and authority.

Early Christian writers, *e.g.* Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, mention John as the author, and it is only in modern times that this view has been challenged, the grounds of scepticism being in the main those which have been urged against the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel. For it is generally conceded that this epistle and that gospel are so akin that they must have come from the same Christian circle and, most credibly, from the same writer. Their resemblances to each other in vocabulary and style (p. 592); in resort to antithesis, *e.g.* light and darkness, life and death; in mode of argumentation, the author being fond of repeating in parallel expressions his point of view, sustain the theory of a common authorship. Differences there are, but only such as are easily accounted for by some interval of time between the two writings and by a difference in their theme and aim: they are insufficient to demand a difference of author. Hence we may regard this epistle as identical in its authorship with the Fourth Gospel. Any considerations which permit the view that the apostle John was the author of the gospel, justify us in assigning this epistle also to him.

The main object of 1 Jn. was to safeguard its readers against the insidious influence of certain false teachers. The heresy they taught has been generally regarded as some form of Gnosticism, so called because its adherents set great store by *gnosis* or knowledge. In the decay of belief, characteristic of the time, Gnosticism was an attempt to blend Eastern mysticism with Græco-Roman culture. The main stream of the movement, in addition to the exaggerated value it attached to intellectualism, regarded spirit and matter as hostile to each other, sin being declared to reside solely in the flesh. It was not until the second century that Christianity encountered the full force of this dangerous amalgam of ideas, but even in the first century, as we may learn from Jude and from what is told us concerning the churches of Asia in Rev. 2f., movements which drew their characteristics from Gnosticism were affecting the Christian Church. One type of false Christology, known as Docetism, reduced the Incarnation to the mere appearance of a union of God with man. Another type taught that the Divine Christ united Himself with the human Jesus at the Baptism and departed from Him prior to His Crucifixion. This Christological heresy in both its forms appears to be assailed in 1 Jn. The words "I know him" (1 Jn. 2$_4$) seem a quotation of one of its watchwords. Doctrinally it annulled the unity of Christ's person. In practical matters its belief that salvation was constituted solely by the knowledge of Divine mysteries led to an estimate of right conduct as unimportant. The same antinomian conclusion was reached by way of its doctrine of the flesh, for whilst the hostility assumed to exist between it and the spirit drove some of the worthier adherents of this heresy to asceticism, it led others to regard the flesh as so remote from the spirit that its passions could be freely gratified without sin. Clearly with such a heresy the Christian faith could hold no truce, and it is not surprising that John, having this seductive peril in view, attacks it without quarter. Cerinthus, a Gnostic with whom, according to tradition, John held a controversy, is reported by Irenæus to have held that the æon Christ descended on Jesus at the Baptism, deserting Him before the Crucifixion to fly back to His Pleroma. 1 Jn. is difficult of analysis, but broadly its argument is an appeal to the perfection and finality of that revelation of God which came by way of the historical Jesus, and an assertion of the worth and finality of the Christian experience which that historical revelation had demanded and created. In other words, Christianity is the true *gnosis* rooted in history and, by its ethical fruits, verifying itself in human experience. If the foregoing view be correct, we may regard 1 Jn. as written by the apostle John about A.D. 90.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) Bennett (Cent.B), Plummer (CB), Ramsay (WNT), Forbes (IH); (*b*) **Westcott**, Plummer (CGT), D. Smith (EGT), **Brooke**

(ICC); (*c*) *Haupt, Rothe (these on 1 Jn. only), *Huther (Mey.), B. Weiss (Mey.), Luthardt, **Holtzmann-Bauer** (HC), Baumgarten (SNT), Windisch (HNT); (*d*) Alexander (Ex.B), Findlay, *Fellowship in the Life Eternal;* Law, *The Tests of Life* (1 Jn. only). *Other Literature:* Stevens, *Johannine Theology;* Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity;* Cone, *The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretation;* Gilbert, *The First Interpreters of Jesus;* Schmiedel, *The Johannine Writings;* Articles in Dictionaries and books on NTT and INT.

I. 1–4. The Author's Purpose.—The writer is concerned with "the Word of life." "Life," which "from the beginning" had been contained in the Word, found at length in Jesus a manifestation to which John and others could bear witness (p. 745). He writes, therefore, so that his readers may share both his convictions and his experience, and in so doing may reflect his joy. The repeated "we," though possibly simply a plural of majesty, may be a true plural (especially since "I" is used in 2$_{1,7}$), John claiming to speak in the name of the whole circle of apostolic witnesses. Even so, however, the natural interpretation of "heard," "seen," "beheld," "handled," is that the writer himself had known Jesus in the flesh.

1. from the beginning (*cf.* Gen. 1$_{1}$, Jn. 1$_{1}$): the phrase suggests the eternal existence of the Word whose manifestation in the historic Jesus was but a phase in a timeless life.—**the Word of life:** in view of the Prologue in Jn. 1 (*cf.* especially "In him was life"), this phrase is best taken as meaning "the life-giving Word" or "Logos," and not (as Findlay and others) "the revelation concerning life." "Life" (often with the epithet "eternal") is one of the key-words of this epistle. It is a symbol of the highest good, life which is "life indeed," and which, regarded as being in Christ, is meant to be ours through His historic manifestation (see 4$_{9}$, 5$_{11}$).—**2. eternal life** in the Johannine writings denotes quality of life rather than enduring life, though the latter idea is not absent, life which is spiritual being above the power of time to limit or destroy (*cf.* JThS, Oct. 1916).—**3. fellowship with us:** John's aim is that his readers should share not simply his convictions, but his experience of communion with God in and through Christ.

I. 5–II. 2. Fellowship with God Requires a Right View of Sin.

5–10. Spiritual fellowship depends on moral affinity. Hence since Jesus has declared the holy perfection of God, we cannot truthfully claim fellowship with Him, and at the same time be habitually committing sin. Only as we Christians constantly aim to be like God have we fellowship with Him and with one another, our sinfulness being cleansed by the blood of Christ. To deny that we are sinful or that we have committed sin proves self-deception, ignorance of moral facts, and of God's message to us in the Gospel. Our duty is to confess our sins to God and thereby secure from Him forgiveness and cleansing. Thus does John deal with the view which regarded sin as immaterial or unreal.

5. God is light: this is one of John's great definitions of God (4$_{16}$). Light, as here contrasted with darkness, means not intellectual illumination (for which *cf.* Jn. 8$_{12}$) but ethical perfection. It describes the absolute purity and holiness of God, as He has been revealed by Christ (p. 745).—**6. walk:** a familiar Scriptural figure to describe a regular course of life.—**do not the truth:** *i.e.* do not live in harmony with its demands. The life as well as the statement of the lips is false.—**7. we have fellowship one with another:** *i.e.* possibly, "with God," but probably "with brother Christians," fellowship with God being implied and the truth declared that the nearer we are to God, the closer is our fellowship with each other.—**cleanseth from all sin:** the ritual cleansing required by the Law as a condition of approach to God has its parallel in the cleansing of the heart effected by the blood of Christ as the preface and accompaniment of fellowship with God.—**8. the truth is not in us:** *i.e.* we are blind to our real condition.—**10. we have not sinned:** *i.e.* since conversion. In any case this phrase points to acts of sin, whilst that in 8 regards sin as a condition or state. God is made a liar because His entire scheme of redemption assumes the universality of sin, and the same view is set forth in His Word.

II. 1f. Instead of regarding sin as non-existent or unimportant, men should avoid committing it; though if they sin, they may secure forgiveness because of the sacrifice and intercession of Christ.

1. an advocate: otherwise "Comforter" or "Paraclete." The word is applied in Jn. 14 to the Holy Spirit. It denotes primarily "one who is called to the aid of another" in a court of law, "the counsel for the defence." Hence here it describes Christ in His intercession for sinners before God. His righteousness qualifies Him for this work.—**2. propitiation:** that by which God's favour is secured for sinners. The propitiation is Jesus Himself, since His own humanity, perfected through suffering, is the sacrifice which He as Priest brings to God. His offering has world-wide efficacy.

II. 3–11. Obedience the Proof of Fellowship.—Here John repeats in a positive way the teaching of the previous section. Conduct cannot be, as the false teachers claimed, a matter of indifference, for true knowledge of God implies moral affinity to Him, *i.e.* obedience to His commandments and an attempt to imitate Christ. "I know Him" was the watchword of the false teachers, their reference being to an esoteric and barren intellectualism. But John uses "know" in its large Biblical sense as denoting the intimacy of moral fellowship and affection between man and God. Hence by its very nature knowledge involved for man an effort to obey God's will and to imitate His spirit, religion which came short of this being unreal and false.

3. Better, "hereby we come to know that," etc. Comparison with 6 shows that to "know God" and to "be in Him" are parallel expressions, both denoting vital fellowship, and that to heed Christ's commandments and to walk "even as he walked" are two ways of stating the same thing, Christ's life being an embodiment of His precepts.—**5. been perfected:** become mature, reached perfect expression.—**the love of God:** *i.e.* our love to God; the teaching is (in harmony with Jn. 14$_{15,21,23}$) that the proof of love is obedience.

7–11. The mention of Christ's commandments leads John to recall specially Christ's new commandment of love (Jn. 13$_{34}$). In a sense it was no longer new since it had been the property of the Church "from the beginning." Yet it was new: in Christ, because He had made its standard to be that of His own love; in His disciples, as they gradually realised their duty in the growing light of the Gospel. A man who claimed special illumination and yet was without love for his brother was living in spiritual darkness.

7. from the beginning: either of the Church, the reference then being to Jn. 13$_{34}$; or, preferably, of their own religious life when they "heard" it in the teaching given to them.—**8. which . . . you:** this difficult expression refers to the newness of the commandment. In a sense the commandment was not new even when Christ uttered it, for love to neighbours had been en-

joined in the OT (Lev. 19¹⁸). Yet Jesus in act and word gave that love a new depth and range, and His followers, in the fresh demands which the commandment made and their growing realisation of its meaning, also found it new.—**9***a*. A reference, like 4*, to the special illumination claimed by the false teachers.—**brother** here and in 1 Jn. generally probably means no more than "fellow-Christian." John says nothing of the duty of Christians to love non-Christians.

II. 12–14 slightly breaks the argument. It is prompted by John's desire to remove any impression which the earnestness of his previous words may have created, that he had misgivings as to the spiritual condition of his readers. He speaks approvingly of their knowledge both of Christ ("him which is from the beginning") and of the Father, and of their victories over temptation. He writes not because they are faulty, but to save them from being injured. The phrase "little children" (Jn. 13³³) is a term of endearment applied here to Christians in general (Mt. 18⁶*), whilst "fathers" and "young men" will represent two stages, the sage and mature, the active and strenuous.—**13. I have written,** by a grammatical usage peculiar to Gr., probably means no more than "I write" in 12.

II. 15–17. Christians are called to love God and their brethren, but they must not love the world, *i.e.* the circle of interests divorced from God and in opposition to His will. Its gratifications, such as sensual excesses, unlawful desires awakened by means of the eyes, self-assertive and atheistical display, belong to a doomed and dying order. *World* is the key-word to this section. Unlike 2 (*cf.* also 4¹⁴), where it describes the sum total of humanity, it means here the un-Christian and anti-Christian forces and interests of the time, society viewed as apart from God and controlled merely by selfishness. Hence in John's terminology it is the antithesis of the Church which it hates (3¹³), the home of Antichrist and false prophets (4ff.), and the domain of Satan (5¹⁹). The sharp contrast in the first century between the Christian brotherhood and society outside it gave special point to this conception. **17***a*. John believed that the existing order of things was on the point of being brought to an end (18). On this ground, love of it was foolish, even as, because of its moral quality, love of it was incompatible with a true love for God (*cf.* Jas. 4⁴).

II. 18–28. The Antichrists and their Teaching.—Here John deals with the false teachers, who embody the spirit of Antichrist and betoken by their appearance the speedy end of the world and the return of Christ. These teachers had left the Church because in spirit they had never really belonged to it. Christians had, through the Holy Spirit, power to detect their falsehoods, notably those concerning the person of Christ. Hence John urges his readers to abide in what they had been taught, their spiritual anointing giving him confidence that they will do so, and that they will stand unashamed before Christ at His coming.

18. ye heard: the reference is to the Christian teaching they had received. Jewish writings spoke of the Messiah's coming being preceded by an outbreak of fierce hostility to God, sometimes concentrated in some outstanding figure. The idea passed into Christian teaching concerning the return of Christ (2 Th. 2³ *, 1 Tim. 4¹). False Christs were also expected (Mt. 24⁵, ²⁴), and thus the term "Antichrist" was applied to the malignant being (or those embodying his ideas and spirit) who opposed the Church in the "last hour," *i.e.* the period immediately preceding Christ's return.—**20***a*. He refers to the Holy Spirit which had been given them, "the Holy One" who gave it being God, or perhaps Christ.—**22. See Introduction.** We know God as Father through knowing Christ as Son. The Sonship constitutes and interprets the Fatherhood. Those, therefore, who destroyed Christ's sonship by denying that there had been a real Incarnation of God in Him, or held that Christ was a Divine æon which had been only for a time united with the man Jesus, the two thus being distinct, surrendered thereby the Christian doctrine of God.—**24. which . . . beginning:** *cf.* 7. The belief that Jesus was Divine had been taught in the Church from its foundation, or at least to these believers at their conversion.—**25. life eternal:** 1²*. Eternal life, as John conceives it, is dependent upon fellowship with the Father and the Son (Jn. 17³*). —**27.** The Holy Spirit granted to the readers will by His inward illumination save them from being beguiled by the false teachers. The range and truth of His teaching is emphasized.—**ye abide:** the indicative is better than the imperative (*mg.*). Because John's readers were already abiding in Christ, he could exhort them (28) to continue doing so.—**28. if he shall be manifested:** the conditional form of statement implies no doubt as to Christ's actual return. Only the time was uncertain.

II. 29–V. 12. The Characteristics of God's Children.

II. 29–III. 3. Because God, made known to us in Christ, is righteous, those who claim to be His children must be like Him, with a goodness which the world does not understand and which at Christ's manifestation will be perfected.

29. (read *mg.*) connects most naturally with the argument that follows. "He" in "he is righteous" ought, in view of 28, to refer to Christ, whilst "begotten of him," according to general NT usage, should mean "begotten of God." The somewhat loose use of the pronoun is an illustration of the ease with which John's thought passed from God to Christ and *vice versa*, the identity between them being regarded as so complete.—**III. 1. knew him not:** an echo of Jn. 17²⁵.* —**2***b*. We shall be changed by beholding (*cf.* 2 Cor. 3¹⁸); seeing Christ we shall pass into His likeness. Christ is the type after which all God's children are to be fashioned.

III. 4–12. To commit sin is a breach of God's law, a frustration of God's work of redemption, and the manifestation of a principle which betrays kinship with the devil. A man begotten of God will be in moral affinity with God, for which reason righteousness and brotherly love will characterise him.

4. sin is lawlessness: *i.e.* not the absence of law, but opposition to it. Law does not cease to exist for the Christian, and all opposition to it, so far from being morally unimportant, is rebellion.—**5. he was manifested:** *i.e.* at His Incarnation. Righteous Himself, the work of Christ is to make us righteous too (*cf.* 8).—**6. sinneth not:** *i.e.* habitually, this sense being conveyed by the Gr. tense. Occasional acts of sin are not excluded, as we may infer from 2¹f.—**8. from the beginning:** as in 1¹, the remotest period of time of which we have any conception.—**9.** Paul speaks of our being "risen with Christ," and, therefore, of our duty to reproduce Christ's moral perfection. John prefers to speak of conversion as a new birth, the entrance into us of a new vital principle whose product must be in accord with its essential nature.—**10. he . . . brother:** a return to the teaching of 2⁹f.—**12. as Cain was of the evil one:** John has been teaching that each man has a moral ancestry as well as a physical one. We are not told either here or elsewhere the condition which made Cain's works evil and Abel's righteous.

III. 13–24. The hatred of the world is to be expected,

but within the Christian brotherhood there must be love, manifesting itself in deeds of self-sacrifice in imitation of Christ's love. If we possess this spirit we shall be able to silence inward misgivings as to our standing before God, because we obey Him in that we believe in Christ and love one another. Such obedience ensures His indwelling, attested by the gift of His Spirit.

14. The teaching is the same as in 2 9f., except that the metaphor has been changed, and the soul's lack of correspondence with its spiritual environment is described as death.—**15***a*. An echo of Mt. 5 21f.—**16.** In Christ and His Cross love at length found a perfect manifestation, and human conduct in consequence was given a new standard.—**19***b*, **20.** A true parallelism would be obtained and difficulties in the original relieved if, in harmony with several minor MSS., "because" was omitted in 20*b*. The rendering would then be: "We shall reassure our heart before Him, because, if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart." In any case the teaching is that God knows us and all the conditions of our life better than we ourselves do. Hence there will be occasions when God will not endorse the condemnation we pass upon ourselves. "Heart" is here almost equivalent to "conscience."—**23. name** is in this and kindred phrases almost equivalent to "revealed nature," so that to "believe in the name of Christ" is to commit ourselves to Christ as He stands expressed in the Gospel. —**24. hereby:** *i.e.* by the inward activity of His Spirit; the word refers to the close of the verse. The Holy Spirit has been given by Christ to His Church, and has been bestowed on each individual believer.

IV. 1–6. A digression. The reference to the Spirit (3 24) reminds John that some who claimed to possess the Spirit of God, *e.g.* the false prophets, did so unjustifiably. Hence his readers must have a token whereby they may discriminate between true prophets and false. That token was the nature of their testimony concerning Christ. Thus the Spirit of truth or of Christ could be distinguished from that of error or Antichrist.

1. prove the spirits: the primitive Church, as we learn from 1 Cor. 12–14*, was rich in activities and experiences attributed to the operation of the Holy Spirit. At the same time evil spirits were believed to exist and to take possession of human beings, producing phenomena outwardly akin to those due to the Spirit of God. Hence some mode of distinguishing the two operations was needed (for which reason "discernings of spirits" is mentioned in 1 Cor. 12 10 as one of the charisms). In the case of men claiming the inspired and exalted type of utterance known as "prophesying" the test suggested here is the orthodoxy of their message as regards the person of Christ (in 1 Cor. 12 3 it is the confession of the lordship of Jesus). A prophet to be genuine, says John, must proclaim the reality of the Incarnation, the true union in Jesus of the human and the Divine.—**gone out:** *i.e.* from the Church into the world (2 19).—**2. confesseth . . . flesh:** other possible translations are "confesseth Jesus as Christ come in the flesh," and "confesseth Jesus Christ as come in the flesh." In any case the double name suggests the two sides of our Lord's nature, both being contained in His historic Person. The Incarnation was, therefore, real, and not, as the Docetists taught, merely apparent.—**3. confesseth not Jesus:** *i.e.* in the sense just named. A different, but well attested, reading gives us "Every spirit which annulleth Jesus," *i.e.* breaks up, as Cerinthus (*cf.* Introd.) did, the unity of His Divine-human Person.—**heard:** *i.e.* in apostolic teaching (*cf.* 2 18).—**in the world already:** it had found a home outside the Church in the non-Christian section of society. For "world" in this sense, see 2 15*.—**4. he that is in you:** *i.e.* the Spirit of God, who, as the Spirit of truth, is greater than the spirit of error which is in the world. Hence false teaching, to which the world listens with sympathy, is rejected by the Church.—**6. We:** John himself, possibly also the circle of apostolic witnesses of whom he regards himself as a type (1 1).

IV. 7–21. John returns to the theme of 3 14ff., because if the Church is the home of truth, still more is it the home of love. The evidence for our Divine sonship is that the love manifested by God in sending His Son for our redemption—a fact to which the Church bears witness—issues in love on our part to God and to our brethren; love, when mature, casts out fear. Moreover the proof that we love the unseen God is that we love our brother, as Christ commanded us.

7. love is of God: *i.e.* is so peculiarly His product, answering to the deepest thing in His nature, that the lack of love proves that we have no real knowledge of God or kinship to Him.—**9. that we might live through Him:** *cf.* 3 14, 5 11, Jn. 3 16.—**12.** Though we have no direct proof of God's existence and indwelling, we can know of His presence within us by the brotherly love which it creates (*cf.* 1 6, 3 24, Gal. 5 22). This is the inward, as Jesus was the outward (Jn. 1 18), manifestation of the invisible God.—**his love:** probably "the love which He seeks to create within us." That love attains full development.—**14–16.** With love to the brethren John links belief in the reality of the Incarnation as evidence of God's indwelling in the soul.—**16***a*. **in us:** *i.e.* towards us (*cf.* 9). "We" in 14, 16 refers primarily to the apostle and his circle of witnesses. They are convinced of the reality of God's love, because they are convinced of the reality of the Incarnation.—**17. Herein:** *i.e.* by the mutual indwelling of God and the believer.—**made perfect:** reaches perfect expression.—**that . . . judgement:** judgment was always associated with the return of Christ (Mt. 25 31). Hence the thought here is parallel to that in 2 28. —**17***b*. Christ is with the Father, whilst we are "in this world." With that difference love makes Him and us akin.—**18. fear hath punishment:** the idea that fear itself is a form of punishment may be present, but the context ("day of judgement") requires the interpretation that fear implies a consciousness of shortcoming and a consequent expectation of punishment. Where love is perfected, no such expectation can exist. —**20. hateth his brother:** love to God and hatred of our fellow-Christians cannot coexist. The latter disproves the former.—**21. this commandment:** *cf.* 3 23.

V. 1–5. The marks of true children of God are a correct view of Christ's person, love to God and one another, obedience to God's commandment, and faith, this being the victorious principle by which "the world" is overcome in its efforts to tempt us not to obey God.

1*a*. See 4 2*. The full belief in Jesus as a Divine-human being is meant, as also in 5.—**2. when we love God:** the argument seems the opposite of 4 20, but the problem is being approached from a new point of view, and John is arguing that love of the parent involves also love of those who, like ourselves, have been begotten of Him.—**3***a*. Love and obedience are bound up with each other.—**4. the world:** *i.e.* the anti-Christian environment (2 15*,43) whose evil influences tend to make obedience difficult, yet not impossible to those who, being "begotten of God," receive a plentiful supply of His grace.—**hath overcome:** the change of tense may

arise from the victory, though in process of being won, being regarded as assured (EGT). If a victory already past be meant, the reference may be to the triumph over the false teachers (4₄), or to the victorious stand which the Church from its foundation had, in virtue of its faith, made against the world.

V. 6–12. Reference to the faith held by the Church concerning Christ leads John to specify in symbolic terms what that faith was and the witness by which it was sustained. The truth belongs to the sphere of revelation and so has its source in God, but it is confirmed by the spiritual experience which it creates in the believer.

6. by water and blood: *i.e.* by the water of His baptism and the blood of His death. The reference is to two events in Christ's ministry, one at its opening and the other at its consummation. The claim of John (in opposition to the false teachers) is that Jesus Christ, *i.e.* the full Divine-human personality of our Lord, was as present and active in the suffering of the Cross as in the baptism at the Jordan.—**7. the Spirit that beareth witness:** the reference must be to the influence foreshadowed in Jn. 15₂₆, which the Holy Spirit had exerted in the Church in producing an adequate view of Jesus.—**8. three who bear witness:** the idea is suggested by a requirement of the Jewish Law (Dt. 17₆).—**the Spirit, and the water, and the blood:** these terms must obviously recall the meaning in which they have just been used, so that the interpretation which makes "water" and "blood" refer to two Christian sacraments is far-fetched. John means that Christ's baptism as representing His anointing to the office of Messiah, and the Cross as the completion of the work of redemption, point to that high doctrine of Christ's person which is confirmed by the teaching of the Spirit in the Church. The words **in heaven . . . in earth** found in the AV are no part of the original text, but are an unauthorised though early interpolation.—**9***b*. Divine revelation in its broad content is concerned with Christ, and justifies the view that He is the Son of God. —**10. in him:** *i.e.* in the experience which the evangelical faith creates. The Son is the fountain of "eternal life" (1₂*), so that to have Him is to possess also the spiritual experience of which He is the source.

V. 13–21. Conclusion.—A reminder of the writer's purpose, an assertion of the value and also the limitations of intercessory prayer, and a summary of the teaching of the epistle.

13. that . . . life: John wishes his readers to have no misgiving as to the reality of their religious experience, though the appended clause ("*even* . . . God") indicates that the security is bound up with a right view of Jesus.—**14f.** When our prayers for ourselves or for others are in accord with God's will, He hears and will answer them.—**16. a sin not unto death . . . a sin unto death:** this distinction has given rise to much discussion. "Death" symbolises the hopeless ruin of the moral personality. "Unto death" denotes, not that the gravest sin actually and at once produces "death," but that it looks in that direction, has that tendency. In the light of the teaching of this epistle the "sin unto death" will mean such a view of Christ as saps the foundation of faith and obedience. It is such heresy as poisons conduct. John evidently thought his heretical opponents guilty of this mortal sin—hence his reassertion of the contention that sin attached to every act of unrighteousness. For the view that certain forms of apostasy are fatal to the soul, *cf.* Heb. 6₄–6, 10₂₆f.

18–21. In both experience and faith the Christian has distinct characteristics. In view of his new birth he cannot be guilty of habitual sin, but is preserved from it by the power of God. Moreover he sees in Christ a real Incarnation of God in man, and through that view attains to a right conception of God and the possession of "eternal life."—**19. in the evil one:** *i.e.* in his embrace. Unlike the Church which, because of its inner life, is secure from being harmed by the evil one, the sinful world is wholly in his power.—**20. This is the true God:** "true" here means "real," "genuine"; the revelation of God in Christ, as the Church interpreted it, being thus distinguished from the false view of God taught by John's opponents. With the true doctrine was bound up a valid experience (*cf.* Jn. 17₃).—**21.** Avoidance of the pagan worship prevalent in Asia Minor may here be enjoined (Zahn). But a serious danger of that kind would surely have elicited more than this incidental warning. "Idols," therefore, more probably symbolises any form of unreality or falsehood which threatens to draw the soul away from Christ.

II. JOHN

By Professor A. L. HUMPHRIES

To whom written? — Who was "the elect lady" addressed? By translating either "the lady Eclecte," or "the elect Kyria" some scholars have assigned to her a name, but with little plausibility, for nowhere else is Eclecte found as a proper name, and the order of the Gr. would have been different had the word rendered "lady" (*kuria*) been a name instead of a common noun. On the face of it, therefore, 2 Jn. appears to have been written to some unnamed lady of distinction (1), a first century Countess of Huntingdon, whose home was a centre of worship for the Christians of her neighbourhood. But closer examination points to a different conclusion. Though the letter begins with "thy" and "thee," it passes in 6, 8, 10, 12 to "ye," "yourselves," "your." This artless transition to the plural suggests that "the lady and her children" are a Christian community which, under that semi-poetic form of address (*cf.* 1 P. 5 13 and the description of the Church as the Lamb's "bride" Rev. 219), the writer warns of its danger from certain false teachers. At the same time he sends greetings from the church ("the children of thine elect sister") to which he himself belonged. If the letter was written from Ephesus, it has been conjectured that it was sent to Pergamum. The peril to which it refers was akin to that dealt with in 1 Jn., a denial of the full reality of the Incarnation.

The writer, who here and in 3 Jn. simply styles himself "the elder," writes as one in authority over those whom he addresses. The style and ideas of 2 Jn. are strikingly akin to those of 1 Jn., though the conjecture that it accompanied 1 Jn. as a sort of covering letter is less probable than the view that 2 Jn. and 3 Jn. are closely related to each other. Some church—either Pergamum or one of the other Asian churches—having received 1 Jn., received also on some later occasion from the same writer the short Second Epistle, whilst Gaius, a leading Christian in the community, was the recipient of 3 Jn. 2 Jn. and 3 Jn. are absent from some early copies of the NT, *e.g.* the Syriac Version. They were probably saved from the oblivion which befell similar letters written by the same writer as part of his personal correspondence to other Asian churches, by the fact that they became in time attached to the copy of 1 Jn. which belonged to the church receiving them. In that way they ultimately passed into the NT. The writer's description of himself as "the elder" or "presbyter" has caused many to identify him with "John the Presbyter," who, on the strength of a passage in Eusebius, is regarded by many scholars as distinct from the apostle John. But this conclusion, while plausible, is not inevitable, for "elder" is the designation of an apostle in 1 P. 51, and may thus here reasonably represent a self-description which the apostle John used when writing to his friends and children in Christ.

Literature.—See under 1 Jn.

1–3. The Salutation.—The writer greets "the elect lady and her children" (see Introduction) on the ground of their fellowship with him in the truth, *i.e.* the faith held by the Church as opposed to that taught by the false teachers. Such "truth" became a bond between the various members of the Church.

3. from God the Father . . . the Son of the Father.—By this form of statement the doctrines of the false teachers are challenged in anticipation.—**in truth and love:** *i.e.* truth of belief and lovingness of disposition—the two marks of a valid Christianity as laid down in 1 Jn.

4–11. Exhortation and Warning.—The commandment of love given by Christ to His Church "from the beginning" must be faithfully observed. Loyalty to Christ meant that His followers must beware of the false teachers, the embodiment of Antichrist, who denied the reality of His Incarnation. Ground already won for the faith might be lost. Those who, under the lure of "advanced" thought, sought to beguile others from Christ's teaching, were not Christians, and must receive neither countenance nor hospitality.

4. In some way, possibly through a visit from some travelling evangelists belonging to the church addressed, John had ascertained the fidelity to the truth which many of its members exhibited.—**5f.** 1 Jn. 27f.*, 53*.—**7. gone forth:** *i.e.* from the Church (1 Jn. 41*).—**world:** 1 Jn. 215*.—**confess . . . flesh:** the double name, Jesus Christ, is significant. It expresses the two sides of our Lord's personality. The heresy assailed distinguished Jesus from Christ, and dissolved the unity of Christ's Person. See 1 Jn. 222, 42f., where, too, those who taught the heretical doctrine are styled "antichrists."—**8.** Past gains, secured by the faithful ministry of the writer and others like him, were imperilled.—**9.** The idea (as in 1 Jn. 222–24) is that a true doctrine of Jesus as the Son is necessary to our conception of God as Father.—**goeth onward:** probably one of the catchwords of the false teachers is here alluded to, their claim being that their teaching represented "advanced doctrine" into which all ought to move who made any pretence to be "progressive" thinkers. That "progress," however, is delusive which cuts itself loose from the historic facts of the Christian faith.—**10.** John himself is said to have fled when on one occasion he found himself under the same roof as the false teacher Cerinthus. Here, in the interests of truth, he forbids hospitality to be offered to the false teachers when they came.

12f. Conclusion.—The writer refrains from further messages because he hopes shortly to visit the church and see its members.—**13.** The members of the writer's own church send greeting (see Introduction).

III. JOHN

By Professor A. L. HUMPHRIES

"The elder" who writes this short private letter must be identified with the author of 2 Jn., this conclusion being sustained by the marked resemblances in phrasing which they exhibit (*cf.* 2 Jn. 1,4,12 with 3 Jn. 1,3f.,13). These resemblances have led some scholars to conclude that the two epistles were written about the same time, and that in 3 Jn. 9, which Westcott translates, "I have written a few words to the church," 2 Jn. is referred to. An interesting situation would then be disclosed. The "elder" is uncertain how his message will be received. The community has a loyal section, "the friends" of 14, but Diotrephes leads a party of opposition to John and his adherents. Diotrephes was ambitious (9), and for his own ends was seeking to subvert the "elder's" authority over the churches in his sphere of influence. Harnack thinks 3 Jn. belongs to a time when local churches, previously submissive to some central authority like that constituted by apostles and outstanding leaders, were beginning to assert their independence. Diotrephes in his own church was the leader of the party of revolt. Not only did he speak disrespectfully of John, but he refused hospitality to any friends of "the elder" who, in the course of an evangelistic tour, visited the church. He also forbade any member of the church to entertain such visitors, and expelled any who disobeyed this prohibition, as Gaius appears to have done (5). Travelling evangelists—sometimes called "prophets"—seem to have been a familiar feature in the primitive Church, as we learn from an interesting document written *c.* A.D. 100, called *The Teaching (Didaché) of the Twelve Apostles.* There, since it was customary for these evangelists to receive hospitality from any church which they visited, definite regulations are laid down as to the treatment they were to receive. They were not to be given hospitality for more than two days, nor were they, when they left a particular church, to receive anything beyond sufficient food to sustain them till they reached their next destination. Any evangelist who asked for money, or sought more than these regulations accorded to him, is denounced as "a false prophet," "a Christ-trafficker," *i.e.* a man who uses religion as a cloke for personal gain. A group of travelling evangelists were, in this instance, going forth with John's approval, Demetrius (12) probably being their leader and the bearer of this epistle, the purpose of which was to commend them to Gaius so that he might entertain them in the event of the local church being persuaded by Diotrephes to refuse them an official welcome. This little letter sheds an interesting light upon the inner conditions of an early Christian church.

Literature.—See under 1 Jn. Add Rendel Harris, *Exp.*, 1901, p. 194ff.; Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, vol. xv.; Bartlet, JThS, vol. vi.

1. Salutation.—Gaius (or Caius) was a common Roman name, being applied elsewhere in the NT to men belonging to Macedonia (Ac. 19$_{29}$), Derbe (Ac. 20$_4$) and Corinth (1 Cor. 1$_{14}$). The Gaius of 3 Jn. may have been distinct from all these, though early tradition says that Gaius of Corinth acted as John's scribe, and that the apostle appointed a Gaius as Bishop of Pergamum.

2–8. Commendation of Gaius.—John expresses his delight at the witness borne to the moral integrity of Gaius by some who had visited the apostle. He prays that Gaius may have prosperity and health commensurate with his spiritual wellbeing. Gaius is also commended for the hospitality which he is known to give to evangelists who travelled in the interests of the Gospel. To entertain such men and set them on their way in a worthy fashion was gracious service to the truth.

3. brethren: possibly the visitors who reported to "the elder" the facts named in 2 Jn. 4.—**5. brethren and strangers:** these would be Christians compelled, for some reason, to travel, and especially itinerant evangelists, who went forth from some Christian community to visit other churches and to break up new ground (see Introduction). Such Christians usually received hospitality from brother Christians, the public inns, because of their low moral tone, being undesirable halting-places for Christian travellers and evangelists (p. 615).—**6. the church:** *i.e.* that to which the writer belonged.—**7. the Name:** *i.e.* that of Christ (*cf.* Ac. 5$_{40}$f.). They went forth out of love for Christ and zeal for the Gospel. For that reason, and to avoid contact with idolatry, they were unwilling to accept the hospitality sometimes offered them in heathen homes.

9–11. Diotrephes and his Evil Doings.—This leading official in the church of which Gaius was a member is denounced because of his ambition, and his inhospitable treatment of "the elder" and his friends.

9*a*. See Introduction. **Diotrephes:** his name ("nourished of Zeus") suggests heathen birth. He appears to have been the leading official of his church; beyond this nothing is known of him.—**10. casteth . . . church:** *i.e.* expelled them from membership. This suggests that Diotrephes was a presiding elder, and therefore one who, by virtue of his office, ought himself to have entertained John's missionaries.

12. Commendation of Demetrius.—He was probably the bearer of this letter and one of the evangelists. The name was so common that any identification with the Demetrius of Ac. 19$_{24}$ is improbable.

13–14. Conclusion.—The writer adds no more because he hopes soon to visit Gaius. He sends greetings from himself and others.—**14. the friends:** this is almost a technical expression denoting an inner circle in the churches to which the writer and Gaius belonged. Those constituting each group were drawn together by moral affinities and love of the truth. Here "the friends" at Ephesus send a greeting to Gaius and "the friends" in his church.

JUDE

By the Rev. R. BROOK

The author of this writing describes himself as "Judas, a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James." He plainly implies (17) that he was not an apostle, and he must be distinguished from Judas, the son of James (Lk. 616, Ac. 113, where AV wrongly has "*brother* of James," *cf.* Jn. 1422, "Judas, not Iscariot"). If the epistle is genuine, he must be identified with the Judas mentioned, together with James, in Mk. 63 (*cf.* Mt. 1355), as one of the "brethren of the Lord." He is not mentioned by name elsewhere in the NT, and the only reference to him in ecclesiastical history is in the story, told by Hegesippus, of the arrest, in the reign of Domitian, of the grandsons of Jude, "said to have been the Lord's brother after the flesh" (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 19*f.*). We may, however, conclude that as one of the "brethren of the Lord" he joined himself to the apostolic band before the Day of Pentecost (Ac. 114) and soon came to occupy a prominent place in the Church (*cf.* 1 Cor. 95).

Authenticity.—1. External Evidence. The epistle was accepted by Clement of Alexandria, who wrote a commentary on it; by Origen, with some reserve; and by Tertullian, who, however, identified the author with the apostle Judas. It is included in the Muratorian Canon (*cf.* p. 595) and in the Canon of the Council of Carthage (A.D. 397). On the other hand, it is classed by Eusebius among the "disputed books," and later writers generally show some hesitation in accepting it. This, however, was probably due to the fact that from the third century onwards the Assumption of Moses and the Book of Enoch, from which Jude freely borrows, were regarded with suspicion. In the time of Tertullian Jude's direct reference to Enoch (9) was regarded as canonising Enoch; but in the time of Jerome, as he expressly says, it led many to reject Jude. We may conclude that the wide circulation and general acceptance of the epistle at the end of the second century, despite its brevity, its lack of positive teaching, and its admittedly non-apostolic authorship, is strong evidence of its authenticity. **2. Internal evidence.** It has been maintained that the epistle dates from the second century, and therefore cannot be the work of Jude, on the following grounds: (*a*) That the author looks back on the apostolic age as "distant and authoritative" (3, 4, 17). But an examination of the passages in question (see below) shows that this interpretation of them is not necessary. (*b*) That the false brethren denounced were "second-century Gnostics" (4, 8, 19). But so little is said of their teaching that there are not sufficient data to substantiate this view; further, 1 Cor. shows us that we need not look beyond the apostolic age for the existence within the Church of such evil-livers as are here denounced. (*c*) That the author makes use of Enoch and the Assumption of Moses —"two late Apocryphal books." At one time great stress was laid on this fact, but as it is now generally held that both were written before or during the lifetime of Jesus, this argument breaks down. It may, therefore, be asserted that whatever force there is in these arguments, it is not sufficient to outweigh the strong external evidence. On the other hand, that the author lays no claim to be regarded as an apostle, his humility in describing himself as "brother of James" rather than as "brother of the Lord," and that, after the salutation, he makes no attempt to develop his identity with Jude (contrast 2 P.), render the view that the epistle is pseudonymous improbable.

Date and Destination.—(1) If the epistle is genuine, it can hardly have been written later than A.D. 80. (Hegesippus's account of the grandsons of Jude implies that their arrest took place early in the reign of Domitian and that Jude was already dead.) On the other hand, it must have been written after Romans (24f.) and the Pastorals (18), *i.e.* after A.D. 63. (2) The vices of the false brethren are similar to those which we see from 1 Cor. to have existed in the Gentile churches, and we may conclude that the readers were Gentiles—a conclusion strengthened by the reference in 3 to "our common salvation"—"he writes as a Hebrew Christian to Gentile Christians" (Chase). Though the salutation is general, it would seem that the epistle was addressed to some particular church, or churches, in which the author had some special interest and about which he had just received disquieting news (3f.). (3) We can gather nothing from the epistle as to the place of its composition. Chase suggests that it was written at Jerusalem about the same time as the Pastoral Epistles and addressed to the Church at Antioch in Syria. This is a plausible conjecture, but not more can be said. If the epistle belongs to the second century, we really know nothing either as to its author or its destination: of the various views suggested, that of Harnack (see Sanday, *Inspiration*, pp. 379–382) is the most probable.

Relation to 2 Peter.—A comparison of the two epistles makes it plain that there is some literary connexion between them (*cf.* especially Jude 4–16 and 2 P. 21–18; Jude 17f. and 2 P. 32f.). The question arises, which of the two borrowed from the other. Apart from the general grounds on which a late date is assigned to 2 P. (see p. 913), an independent comparison of the parallel passages shows the priority of Jude. This is the conclusion of most modern scholars (though Zahn, Bigg, and others maintain the priority of 2 P.). "The impression which they leave on my mind is that in J. we have the first thought, in P. the second thought; that we can generally see a reason why P. should have altered J., but very rarely a reason why what we read in P. should have been altered to what we find in J." (Mayor). "The various lines of argument converge and, so far as demonstration is possible in literary questions, demonstrate the priority of Jude" (Chase).

The purpose of the epistle is purely practical; it contains little teaching and is not particularly edifying.

Literature. — *Commentaries:* (*a*) Lumby (Sp.), Plummer, **Bennett** (Cent.B), Plumptre (CB), Mitchell (WNT); (*b*) **J. B. Mayor**, Bigg (ICC), J. B. Mayor (EGT), James (CGT); (*c*) Windisch (HNT), von Soden (HC), Burger (KHS), Hollmann (SNT), **Knopf** (Mey.), Spitta, de Zwaan; (*d*) Plummer (Ex.B), Salmond (PC). *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries and Encyclopædias (especially Chase in HDB), Discussions in Histories of the Apostolic Age, Introductions to NT; JThS, vi. 391ff. 569ff.; Jones, *The NT in the Twentieth Century*, 343–50.

1–4. The author had intended to write them a pastoral letter, but circumstances have made it necessary for him to write in a different strain and to exhort them to contend earnestly for the faith. These circumstances were the presence in their midst of false brethren—whose doom was appointed long ago—men denying Jesus Christ, their Master and Lord, by their vicious lives.

3. the faith . . . unto the saints: this reference to the faith as "a fixed and final deposit" is said to prove the late date of the epistle: but the same conception of "the faith" is found in the Pastoral Epistles; *cf.* also Gal. 1$_{23}$, Rom. 10$_{8}$, Eph. 4$_{5}$.—**the saints,** *i.e.* Christians; the phrase does not suggest that the writer regards those to whom the faith was delivered as belonging to an earlier generation than those to whom he writes.—**4. of old set . . . condemnation:** render, "who were long ago set forth in writing to this doom." There is no reason to suppose that "the writing" is some early Christian document (possibly 2 P.) and to see here proof of the late date of Jude (or of the priority of 2 P.). The writing is the OT with its denunciation of evil-livers. Jude has not yet said what the doom is; it is described in the next section.

5–7. Three examples are given as revealing the doom of such evil-livers: the faithless Israelites in the wilderness, who were destroyed; the fallen angels, who are kept in bonds under darkness until the Judgment Day; and the Cities of the Plain, which suffered the punishment of eternal fire.

6. The sin of the angels was twofold: (*a*) "they kept not their own principality," the sphere allotted to them by God (Dt. 32$_{8}$, Enoch 18$_{13}$ 21$_{3}$)—the sin of pride or disobedience; (*b*) "they left their proper habitation," they came down to earth (Gen. 6$_{1-4}$*; Enoch, *passim*)—the sin of lust; the fall of the angels through lust is one of the main subjects in Enoch. The tradition as to their punishment is derived from Enoch (*cf.* 10$_{4,12}$, 54$_{3}$). (For the use of Enoch by Jude, see the parallels quoted by Chase.) The whole passage should be compared with 2 P. 2$_{1-9}$, which is based on it.

8–16. The false brethren sin in like manner. In their "dreamings," *i.e.* vain conceits ("yielding to their own wayward fancies," Chase), they are licentious and rebellious. They despise the Lordship (8*) and rail at the glorious ones (*cf. mg.*). Unlike Michael, who in his controversy with the devil did not abuse him, they do not fear to utter abuse upon things which are beyond their knowledge (*i.e.* the Lordship and the glorious ones); and in the carnal things which, like mere animals, they do understand, they are destroyed. They are compared to Cain, to Balaam, and to Korah. They are as dangerous as hidden rocks, selfish as shepherds who only feed themselves, useless as floating, waterless clouds or barren trees, disobedient as wandering stars (which "keep not their own principality"—their sin is like that of the fallen angels and they are doomed to the same fate—see on 6). It was to these also that Enoch spoke when he foretold the final judgment. They are discontented, licentious, boastful, unprincipled self-seekers. The whole passage should be compared with 2 P. 2$_{10-17}$.

8. dominion: render, the Lordship, *i.e.* Christ or God: *cf. Didaché* 4$_{1}$ ("whencesoever the Lordship speaketh, there is the Lord").—**dignities:** render, the glorious ones, *i.e.* the heavenly beings (2 P. 2$_{10}$*).—**9.** The story of Michael is taken from the Assumption of Moses. The devil claimed the body of Moses on the ground that he was a murderer (Ex. 2$_{11}$). This was blasphemy which Michael would not tolerate, yet he forbore to charge the devil with blasphemy, and merely said: "The Lord rebuke thee." The story is not found in that fragment of the Assumption which has been preserved, but its presence in the original work is well attested (*cf.* Clement of Alexandria's Commentary on Jude; also Origen, *de Princ.* III, ii. 1). —**11. in the way of Cain:** the false brethren were not murderers, and there is an element of exaggeration in the comparison, which probably accounts for 2 P.'s omission of it; but *cf.* Wisd. 10$_{3}$, where Cain is regarded as a typically unrighteous man. Jude emphasizes mainly the uncleanness ("the error") of Balaam (Nu. 25, the sin of Baal-Peor; *cf.* Rev. 2$_{14}$); in 2 P. the emphasis is rather on his covetousness. Korah despised the authority of Moses (Nu. 16), as the false brethren despised the rulers of the church.—**12. love-feasts:** 2 P. 2$_{13}$*. Taken in connexion with "shepherds that feed themselves," and the charge of making "separations" (19), we may suppose the reference is to such disorders as are mentioned in connexion with the "Lord's Supper" at Corinth 1 Cor. 11$_{18-22}$).—**14. Enoch, the seventh from Adam** (*cf.* Gen. 5): the quotation is based on two passages in the introduction to the Book of Enoch (1$_{9}$ and 5$_{4}$).

17f. But remember the words of the apostles, how they warned you that in the last times such men would be found. This passage plainly implies that the writer was not himself an apostle; some critics maintain that it also implies that the epistle dates from the sub-apostolic age. But the past to which the writer refers was the time when those whom he is addressing had received oral instruction from the apostles—or some of them; that period of personal intercourse was now past, not necessarily because the apostles were dead, but because they were no longer living in that neighbourhood. If we suppose that the epistle was addressed to Antioch, the language is quite consistent with the situation in A.D. 63–64, when Peter and Paul were in Rome and the other apostles had left Palestine.

18. The same prophecy, expanded so as to include an anticipation of the denial of the Parousia, is given in 2 P. 3$_{3}$, though 2 P. gives it as his own prophecy. It has been urged that Jude is here quoting 2 P. and giving apostolic authority to it. But the prophecy itself was plainly a constant element in the apostolic teaching (*cf.* 1 Tim. 4$_{1}$, 2 Tim. 3$_{1-5}$, Ac. 20$_{29}$), and Jude's reference to it in no way implies dependence on 2 P. The probability is that the writer of 2 P., finding the prophecy attributed by Jude to the apostles, quotes it as his own, in order still further to establish his identity with Peter.

19–23. These false brethren make divisions among you, but do you build up yourselves by means of your most holy faith. As regards them, show mercy towards those who are in doubt; save others, snatching

them from the fire which is consuming them; show mercy to others, yet fear lest you be contaminated by them.

19. separations: *cf.* the warning against those who cause divisions in Rom. 16$_{17}$; the divisions were probably social (*cf.* 16, "respect of persons"), such as are referred to in 1 Cor. 11 and Jas. 2$_{1}$.—**22f. on some have mercy who are in doubt:** or possibly, "some confute when they dispute." The text of both verses is most uncertain. Possibly the original text only contained two clauses and the text adopted in RV may be conflate; "some save, plucking them from the fire; some, who dispute, pity in fear" (so Bigg); see WH, vol. ii. p. 106ff. The two verses may be compared with *Didaché*, ii. 7. "It is conceivable that parts of the *Didaché* are *ultimately* the work of the author of this epistle" (Chase).—**24f.** The epistle concludes with a doxology, which both in form and language should be compared with the doxology in Rom. 16$_{25-27}$. Note the advanced Christology—Glory to God through Jesus Christ from all eternity to all eternity. Amen.

REVELATION

By Professor H. T. ANDREWS

Character of the Book.—The Book of Revelation is unique as far as the NT is concerned, and has few points of affinity with other NT writings, but it is by no means unique in Jewish or Jewish-Christian literature. It is the blossom and fruit of the great apocalyptic movement which grew up in the century before and the century after Christ. No one can hope to understand the book till he has made himself familiar with this movement, and the student is recommended to approach the study of it by reading carefully the article on Apocalyptic Literature (pp. 431–435). What Daniel is to the OT and Enoch and 4 Ezr. are to later Jewish literature, the Book of Revelation is to the NT. Until the significance of the apocalyptic movement is properly appreciated, Revelation will remain a sphinx riddle to the modern reader, and the value of its message will be completely missed.

The Interpretation of the Book.—Many methods of interpretation have been suggested. (*a*) One school of interpreters (generally known as the Futurists) maintains that the prophecies of the book still refer to the future, and we must wait for the end of the world before they will be realised. Such a theory, however, cannot be maintained in face of the writer's own explicit statement that his utterances must shortly come to pass (1$_{1}$). He did not place the fulfilment of his prophecies in the dim and distant future: he looked for their realisation in his own day. (*b*) Another view regards the book as a diagram of history from the writer's own time to the end of the world. Part of it, therefore, has been fulfilled; part is now in course of fulfilment; part still belongs to the future. This is known as the historical method of interpretation. This theory is open to the same objections as the Futurist, and it has the additional difficulty to meet that though history has now gone on for nearly 2000 years, it is impossible to find the faintest trace of its outline in the Book of Revelation. (*c*) The true theory is known as the Preterist, and maintains that the writer had solely the needs of his own age in view when he wrote the book. The drama belongs entirely to the past. The vision of the author never extended beyond the first century. The Apocalypse was an attempt to solve the problems which faced the Early Church. Like all other apocalyptic writers, the author of Revelation could see no escape from the difficulties of the hour, except by a Divine intervention which would mean the end of the age.

The Situation in which the Book was Written.—The book was written to meet an extremely grave situation. Persecution had broken out on all sides. The writer himself had been exiled to Patmos. Though the name of only one martyr (Antipas) is given (2$_{13}$), there is every indication that martyrdoms were of frequent occurrence. At the opening of the fifth seal, for instance, the writer sees "underneath the altar the souls of them that had been slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held" (6$_{9}$). A systematic attempt was being made to establish Cæsar-worship on an extensive scale. An edict was issued that "as many as should not worship the image of the beast should be killed" (13$_{15}$). The devotees of the cult of Cæsar wore a special mark "on their right hand or upon their forehead," and all who had not received the "mark of the beast," as it was called, were boycotted in the markets and ostracised in social life. This clash between Christianity and Cæsar-worship entailed untold sufferings upon the followers of Christ. To profess the Christian faith meant the risk of martyrdom and the certainty of petty persecution in the ordinary avocations of life. The strain had become well-nigh intolerable, and a wholesale sacrifice of life seemed inevitable if Christianity was to maintain its integrity. It was no wonder that large numbers of Christians grew weak in the faith and compromised their religion.

The Message of the Book.—It was to meet this situation that the Book of Revelation was written. The writer had inherited from the past three great ideas. (*a*) Like all Christians of the time he believed in the near return of Christ. (*b*) Like all apocalyptic writers he held that before the end God would intervene in human history to vindicate truth and righteousness and save His people from their foes. (*c*) This intervention would mean a day of judgment for the world, the destruction of Antichrist, and the establishment of a kingdom of saints. In the Book of Revelation the three great ideas are applied to the crisis which confronted the Church in the first century. The prospect seemed so hopeless that no human way of escape appeared possible. Faith, therefore, demanded that God should act, and in the first century Divine action could only follow the lines which had been laid down in apocalyptic literature. The Book of Revelation is right in assuming that God must come to the rescue of His people; it is wrong only when it attempts to describe the mode in which the deliverance must arrive. Its lurid pictures of the outpouring of God's wrath were not realised, but its promise of Divine succour and help for the stricken Church was abundantly fulfilled.

The Unity of the Book.—There has been much discussion in recent years as to whether the book is the work of an original prophet, or whether it embodies a Jewish Apocalypse or at any rate some old Jewish apocalyptic material. One of the most advanced theories is that of Vischer, who maintains that the bulk of the book is a Jewish work to which the author has added a Christian introduction (1–3) and appendix (22) and some interpolations in the general body of the work. This view is at first sight very attractive. Harnack says, for instance, that when he first read it, "there fell, as it were, scales from my eyes." It has not, however, won general support, because most writers feel that

the Christian elements are inextricably woven into the fabric of the book, and cannot be as easily separated as Vischer imagines. The very simplicity of the theory seems to be fatal to it. More complicated theories like those of Weyland, Spitta, and Schmidt assume the existence of two or even three Jewish sources which have been incorporated in the present work. It is impossible to describe these hypotheses in detail here, but a full account may be found in Moffatt's INT, pp. 489–491. The view which finds most acceptance among modern scholars is that the book on the whole is a unity, but that the author freely used not so much a Jewish Apocalypse but apocalyptic material taken from many sources. There is a difference of opinion as to the amount of this material which has been embodied in the book, but most scholars are agreed that it includes 11_{1-13} and 12. Many critics think that there are interpolations in 7, 8, 13, 18, and 19 (see Moffatt, pp. 493–496).

The Drama of the Book.—One of the great problems is to decide whether there is any real movement in the plot of the book, or whether the different scenes simply recapitulate the same position. Is the book a drama in which there is a steady progress towards the climax, or does it resemble a "miracle play" in which the different scenes are loosely thrown together without any unity of development? Do the "seven trumpets" and "the seven bowls" represent an advance on "the seven seals" or are they simply a repetition? Much may be said in favour of both views. As the book stands, there is certainly much repetition, but at the same time there is a movement of the drama. The appearance of Antichrist in the second half of the book marks a real advance upon the position reached in the first half. Much of the repetition may be due to the writer's desire to keep the number "seven" throughout. There are indications, for instance, that there were only four seals in the source which the writer used, and according to J. Weiss and Charles there were originally only three trumpets.

The Contents of the Book may be tabulated as follows:

I. Prelude (1–3).
  (*a*) The Introductory Vision.
  (*b*) The Letters to the Seven Churches.
II. Act I. The Seven Seals (4–6).
  (*a*) Scene 1. The Vision of Heaven (4f.).
  (*b*) Scene 2. The Plagues of the Seven Seals (6).
III. First Interlude (7): The Sealing of the Redeemed on Earth and in Heaven.
IV. Act II. The Seven Trumpets (8f.).
V. Second Interlude (10f.) in two parts.
  (*a*) The Vision of the Strong Angel and the Little Book (10).
  (*b*) The Vision of the two Witnesses (11_{1-14}).
VI. Act III (12f.).
  (*a*) Scene 1. The Appearance of the Dragon and the War in Heaven (12).
  (*b*) Scene 2. The Appearance of the Two Beasts and the War on Earth (13).
VII. Third Interlude (14). The Vision of the Redeemed in Heaven and the Doomed on Earth.
VIII. Act IV. The Plague of the Bowls (15f.).
  (*a*) Scene 1. Vision of Heaven (15).
  (*b*) Scene 2. The Plague of the Bowls (16).
IX. Act V. The Vision of Doom (17–20).
  (*a*) Scene 1. The Overthrow of the Beast (17) followed by a Dirge over the Fallen City (18).
  (*b*) Scene 2. The Triumph of Heaven (19).
  (*c*) Scene 3. The Overthrow of Satan and the Final Judgment (20).
X. Act VI. The New Heaven and the New Earth ($21–22_5$).
XI. Epilogue (22_{6-21}).

The Author of the Book.—The only facts we gather from the book itself are that its author's name was John—that he was a "brother and partaker" with the people to whom he was writing "in the tribulation and kingdom"—and that he had been exiled to Patmos "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus." There is nothing in these statements to identify this John with the Apostle, but early Christian tradition assumed the identification. Justin Martyr (about A.D. 150) says definitely with reference to the book, "A certain man whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, prophesied in a revelation which came to him." Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria are equally emphatic in their statements. This opinion was not definitely challenged till the third century, when Gaius of Rome (210) and Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 240) denied, on the grounds of style and subject-matter, that the Fourth Gospel and the Book of Revelation could be the work of the same writer. Eusebius of Cæsarea too (A.D. 325) expresses some hesitation about admitting the Apocalypse into the NT Canon, and this hesitation would have been impossible, if he had been sure that the book was written by an apostle. There are strong grounds to-day for questioning the apostolic authorship. (*a*) The early tradition in its favour is by no means conclusive. We have almost as good grounds for assigning to Peter an apocalypse which we know he did not write. (*b*) Modern criticism corroborates the opinion of Dionysius, that it is incredible that the Book of Revelation and the Fourth Gospel came from the same pen. The style, the contents, and the theological outlook of the two books are diametrically opposed to each other. It is not too much to say that if the two books were written by the same hand, the personality of the author must have completely changed in the interval. (*c*) There is nothing in the book itself which constitutes a claim to apostolic authorship. John was a common name, and no two Johns ought to be identified without a tangible reason. Failing John the Apostle, an attempt has been made by some scholars to identify the writer of the Revelation with John the Presbyter, who is described by Papias as a disciple of the Lord. The points in favour of the theory are: (*a*) John the Presbyter belonged to the inner group of teachers in the sub-apostolic age. (*b*) He lived in Asia Minor. (*c*) He probably shared the millenarian views of Papias. But the theory is mere guesswork after all, and there are no grounds which enable us to lift it out of the region of hypothesis. Another view, which was first suggested as a possibility (though he did not accept it) by Dionysius of Alexandria, connects the Revelation with the name of John Mark, the reputed author of the second gospel. Here again, however, the evidence is far too slight and scanty to amount to anything like proof. One serious objection is that we have no data for connecting John Mark with Asia Minor. In the light of our present knowledge, therefore, all that can be said is that we have no means of identifying with certainty the John to whom the authorship of the Apocalypse is imputed. He must remain "an unknown prophet," but that does not in the least detract from the value of his book.

The Date of the Book.—Ancient tradition is fairly unanimous in assigning the book to the reign of

Domitian (A.D. 81–96). Irenæus (A.D. 180), for instance, says that the vision of the Apocalypse "was seen not a long time ago, but almost in our own generation, at the end of the reign of Domitian." Attempts have been made by many modern scholars, however, to prove an earlier date for the book. Some have attempted to place it as early as the reign of Nero. The main argument upon which they rely is the statement in 11₁, which appears to imply that the Temple at Jerusalem was still intact, and which, in that case, must refer to a period anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (11₁*). In addition to this, those scholars who maintain the Johannine authorship of both the Fourth Gospel and the Book of Revelation find it necessary, on account of the differences in style and outlook, to posit a longer interval between the two books than a Domitianic date would allow. Others argue for a date in the reign of Vespasian (about 77). The mainstay of this theory is the allusion to the seven kings in 17₁₀*, where the reigning emperor is probably to be identified with Vespasian, and the fact that the frequent allusions to the legend of a "returning Nero" imply that his death had already occurred. It does not seem easy, however, to maintain either of these theories in view of the following facts: (*a*) The widespread cult of Caesar-worship, which is writ large over the pages of the Book of Revelation, belongs to the age of Domitian rather than to an earlier period. As Moffatt says, "No worship of the Emperor which is adequate to the data of the Apocalypse was enforced till Domitian's reign." (*b*) There is no trace before Domitian of such a persecution in Asia Minor as is described in the Apocalypse. Nero's persecution was limited in the main to Rome, and there does not seem to have been another serious outbreak till we reach Domitian's reign. (*c*) The allusion to the "eighth emperor" in 17₁₁* carries us beyond Vespasian and seems to identify "Nero redivivus" with Domitian. In view of these facts, it seems best to maintain the traditional date, first suggested by Irenæus, for the book in its finished form, *i.e.* some date between A.D. 80 and 96. The indications which seem to point to an earlier date are probably to be explained by the fact that the author has incorporated earlier material, and in some cases has omitted to bring it up to date.

The Canonicity of the Book.—"No book in the NT," says Swete, "with so good a record, was so long in gaining general acceptance." Dionysius of Alexandria in his *critique* of it says, "Before our time some have rejected and attempted to refute the book as a whole, criticising every chapter and pronouncing it unintelligible and nonsensical." He then proceeds to state the theory, which was held in many quarters, that it was the work of Cerinthus. He tells us, however, that he is not able to accept this view himself, since, though he feels its contents "pass his comprehension," he is not willing on that account to reject it altogether. Gaius of Rome, too, who wrote some thirty years earlier than Dionysius (202–219), also denied that the book was of apostolic origin, and ascribed it to Cerinthus. Eusebius, as we have seen, also displays some doubt about the book, and tells us that in his day some people ranked it among "the spurious writings," while Cyril of Alexandria (*c.* 430) not only omits it from his list of canonical writings, but seems definitely to exclude it from private and public use. Yet, in spite of these adverse opinions, there is no doubt that the Apocalypse received very warm support from quite early days. There seems to be evidence that it was known to and used by Papias (*c.* 135). It is apparently quoted in the *Shepherd* of Hermas (*c.* 140). Justin Martyr mentions it by name and ascribes it to the Apostle John. Melito of Sardis seems to have written a book about it. The Muratorian Canon (*c.* A.D. 170) recognises it and acknowledges the Johannine authorship. The letter of the Churches in Gaul (A.D. 177, Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, V. 1) quotes it as Scripture. Later writers like Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian, accept it without question. The evidence is, therefore, overwhelming that by far the greatest and most influential section of the Christian Church in the early centuries ranked the Apocalypse as Scripture.

Literature.—*Commentaries:* (*a*) **C. A: Scott** (Cent.B), A. Ramsay (WNT), Randell (PC), Lee (Sp.), W. Milligan, Simcox (CB), Dean; (*b*) **Swete**, Moffatt (EGT), Hort (chs. 1–3 only), Simcox (CGT), Charles (ICC); (*c*) Calmes, *Bleek, **Bousset**[2] (Mey.), J. Weiss (SNT), Holtzmann-Bauer (HC); (*d*) W. Milligan (Ex.B), C. A. Scott, *The Book of the Revelation;* C. Brown, *Heavenly Visions;* W. Milligan, *Lectures on the Apocalypse;* Hill, *Apocalyptic Problems;* Goudge, *The Apocalypse and the Present Age* (CQR, Oct. 1916). *Other Literature:* Articles in Dictionaries, Histories of the Apostolic Age, Introductions to NT, Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses;* Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse;* Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, vol. iii.; W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches;* Porter, *The Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers;* Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos;* Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church;* Peake, *The Person of Christ in the Revelation of John* in *Mansfield College Essays;* C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, 189ff.; Studies by Vischer, J. Weiss, Wellhausen, etc.

I. The Superscription.—**1–3.** An introductory paragraph describing the purpose and contents of the book.

1. Revelation, *i.e.* unveiling of the future.—**God gave him:** the Son receives the revelation from the Father (*cf.* Jn. 7₁₆).—**shortly come to pass:** the writer expected a speedy fulfilment of the prophecies (*cf.* 22₆).—**angel:** the source of the prophecies in this book is God, who speaks through Christ, who speaks through the angel to His servant John (*cf.* 4–9).—**2. testimony of Jesus:** *i.e.* that to which Jesus bore testimony.—**3. he that readeth:** not the ordinary reader of the book, but the man whose duty it was to read it aloud in public to the church. [On the office of the Reader, see Harnack, *Sources of the Apostolic Canons.* There is no evidence that the *office* had been developed by this time.—A. S. P.]

4–8. The greeting is addressed to the seven churches of Asia for whom the book was written.

4. seven churches, *i.e.* Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea.—**Asia:** not in the modern sense but the Roman province, which extended along the western coast-line of what is now known as Asia Minor.—**which was,** etc.: this phrase describes the eternity of God. He is Lord of the past, the present, and the future.—**the seven spirits:** a startling expression. We expect a reference to "the Holy Spirit" as in the benediction in 2 Cor. 13₁₄. Many scholars think the writer uses this phrase to describe the Holy Spirit in His plenitude and perfection, and with the intention of signifying that each of the seven churches has its special impartation. But it is doubtful whether the Book of Revelation has reached the doctrine of the Holy Spirit as we understand it, and the phrase may refer to "the seven angels of the presence" (*cf.* 4₅). [If the seven spirits are not to be identified with the Holy Spirit, it is unjustifiable to say, with Bousset, that Christ is

placed in the same rank as a similar heavenly being. This is inconsistent with the place elsewhere given to Him in the book. That He is mentioned last is due to the author's intention to speak more fully of Him, and he thus avoids the awkwardness of interpolating the description of Him into the middle of his trinitarian formula. 2 Cor. 13^{14} shows that nothing can be inferred from order as to rank.—A. S. P.]—**5. faithful witness:** *cf.* Jn. 18^{37}, "I am come into the world that I may bear witness," but the word may mean "martyr," and there may be an allusion to the death of Christ.—**firstborn of the dead:** *cf.* 1 Cor. 15^{20}*, Col. 1^{18}.—**Unto him:** the first of many doxologies (*cf.* 4^{8}, 5^{9}).—**loosed us:** AV "washed us." The presence or absence of a single letter in a Greek word accounts for the difference in the two versions. [Hebrew ritual of purification includes washing with water, and sprinkling with blood. It knows nothing of washing in blood, so that the AV reading is on that ground highly improbable. In 7^{14} render "through the blood of the Lamb"; the words are not closely connected with "washed."—A. S. P.]—**6. kingdom . . . priests:** the ideal represented by this phrase is the union of the royal and the priestly prerogatives in one set of persons. The king and the priest represent the two highest offices, and here these are combined in the position promised to the Christian (*cf.* Ex. 19^{6}, 1 P. 2^{9}).—**7. with the clouds:** *cf.* Dan. 7^{13}.—**which pierced him:** the phrase, as in Jn. 19^{37}, is borrowed from Zech. 12^{10}. We have here a point of contact between Rev. and the Fourth Gospel.—**8. Alpha and Omega:** the first and last letters in the Greek alphabet, and so used to represent the beginning and the end. Here applied to God, but in 1^{11} (AV) and 22^{13} to Christ.

9–20. The Prologue gives an account of the vision of the Son of Man, and the manner in which the messages to the seven churches came to the seer.—**9. John your brother:** the term "brother" in the NT is used to signify "fellow-Christian," the members of the same Christian community (*cf.* the phrase "our brother Paul," 2 P. 3^{15}; see Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*^{2}, i. 405f.).—**tribulation** refers to the persecutions. The order of the words is significant, kingdom coming after tribulation and before patience, and reminds us of the words, "Through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom" (Ac. 14^{22}).—**patience:** *i.e.* patient endurance. We must not only enter the kingdom through the gate of tribulation, but we must maintain our place in the kingdom by "patient endurance."—**Patmos:** a small island off the coast of Asia Minor, about 15 miles from Ephesus. The wild scenery of Patmos and the neighbouring volcanic islands doubtless suggested some of the imagery in the book.—**for the word . . . and testimony:** the obvious meaning is that John had been exiled to Patmos for preaching the Gospel.—**10. in the spirit:** *i.e.* in a prophetic trance.—**on the Lord's day:** *i.e.* the day consecrated to the Lord, the first day of the week, the day of the Resurrection (*cf.* Ac. 20^{7}, 1 Cor. 16^{2}).—**as a trumpet:** *cf.* Ezek. 3^{12}.—**12. seven golden candlesticks:** or lampstands; the imagery is suggested by Ex. 25^{31}, Zech. 4^{2}.—**13. like a son of man:** Dan. 7^{13}*, but the phrase is misapplied here.—**14. his head,** etc.: from the description of the "Ancient of Days" in Dan. 7^{9}.—**15. his eyes . . . his feet:** from the description of the angel in Dan. 10^{6}.—**many waters:** *cf.* Ezek. 1^{24}, 43^{2}, Rev. 14^{2}.—**16. a two-edged sword:** *cf.* 2^{12,16}, 19^{15}. Compare also Heb. 4^{12}. The whole description is thus made up of classical phrases mostly borrowed from the OT.—**17. the first,** etc.: the same phrase is applied to God in 1^{8} and 21^{6}.—**death and Hades:** the two words stand for the same thing. Hades is the abode of the dead. For the combination, *cf.* 6^{8}, 20^{13}; "to have the keys" (3^{7}*) means to possess authority over.—**20. mystery:** "the inner meaning of a symbolical vision" (2 Th. 2^{7}*).—**angels of the seven churches:** The meaning of this expression has been much disputed. It has often been interpreted as referring to the "presbyters" or "bishops" of the churches. But this explanation is contrary to the invariable usage of the word in the book. The word occurs some sixty times, and always in the sense "of a superhuman being employed in the service of God or Satan." The phrase can, therefore, only mean "the guardian angels of the churches." The angels are represented as personifying the spirit and genius of the different churches, as in Dan. different angels personify the characteristics of different nations. [For connexion with the idea of the Fravashi, see note on Mt. 18^{10}.—A. S. P.]

II. 1–III. 22. The Letters to the Seven Churches.—These letters are addressed to individual churches, but their messages are intended for the Church as a whole. In every letter there occurs the phrase, "He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches."

II. 1–7. The Letter to the Church at Ephesus.—**1.** Ephesus was the capital of the Roman province of Asia (1^{4}*). The worship of Artemis, for which it was notorious, is referred to in Ac. 19, which also gives an account of Paul's three years' work in the city. Paul's speech to the elders of Ephesus (Ac. 20$^{18–35}$) throws no little light on the character of the church. The Epistle to the Ephesians is probably a circular letter, but there can be little doubt that Ephesus was one of its recipients. Tradition connects the Apostle John with Ephesus, and probably the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles reflect the influence of his teaching.—**he that holdeth:** this description of Christ is borrowed from 1^{6}. It should be noted that each epistle contains a different description, taken mostly from the same source.—**2. I know thy works:** this phrase occurs in five of the seven letters. The Ephesians are praised (*a*) for their labour and patient endurance, (*b*) for their power of discrimination, which enabled them to reject false prophets and apostles (1 Th. 5^{20}*).—**4.** The charge against the church is that their love has grown lukewarm. Whether the writer is specifically referring to love to God or love to the church is uncertain. Probably both ideas are included.—**5. remove thy candlestick:** *i.e.* take away that which makes you a true church.—**6. the works of the Nicolaitans:** *cf.* 15. We have no definite information with regard to the founder or the views of this particular sect. The most probable theory is that they were antinomians, and pushed their conception of Christian liberty to extremes. Their motto seems to have been, "Only believe, and then you can do what you like."—**7. To him that overcometh:** this phrase occurs in each letter. It is significant that while the writer has many descriptions of Christ, he has only one name for the Christian, "the overcomer."—**tree of life:** see 22^{2}*.

II. 8–11. The Letter to the Church at Smyrna.—Smyrna was situated about 35 miles N. of Ephesus, and from a commercial point of view was its most serious rival in Asia. We have no information about the church at Smyrna before this letter, and do not know when or by whom it was founded. It was later the home of Polycarp, and the scene of his martyrdom.—**8. the first,** etc.: borrowed from the description of Christ in 1^{18}.—**9. thy tribulation:** *i.e.* persecution, apparently from the

Jews.—**poverty**: probably explained by the fact that the mass of Christians were drawn from the poorer classes, though possibly they may also have sustained losses in the persecutions.—**blasphemy**: *i.e.* the calumnies or revilings of the Jews, who, as we know from Ignatius (*Ep. ad Smyrn.* 5), were specially bitter against Christianity at Smyrna.—**they are not**: the true Jew would have recognised that Christianity was the culmination of the teaching of the prophets. These men can, therefore, only be described, as in 3^{9}, as a synagogue of Satan.—**10.** Persecution is ascribed to the agency of Satan.—**ten days**: not to be taken literally; the phrase denotes a brief period.—**crown** (*cf.* Jas. 1^{12}*, 2 Tim. 4^{8}, 1 P. 5^{4}).—**11. second death**: the final death of the wicked after the resurrection (*cf.* 20^{6}, 21^{8}).

II. 12–17. The Letter to the Church at Pergamum.—**12.** Pergamum was a town of great importance about 50 miles NE. of Smyrna. It was one of the most renowned centres of paganism in Asia, and possessed many temples, among them one dedicated to the worship of Augustus. In such a stronghold of paganism as the letter indicates, Christianity was confronted with exceptional opposition.—**two-edged sword**: for this description of Christ see 1^{16}.—**13. where the throne of Satan is**: the specific reference in this phrase seems not to be to the prevalence of immorality or the strength of paganism at Pergamum, but rather to the fact that Pergamum was the chief centre of Emperor-worship in the province. "It was," as Sir W. M. Ramsay says, "the worship of the Emperor that was recognised, when the Apocalypse was written, as the special foe of Christianity." [Zahn and J. Weiss think the reference is to the worship of Asclepius the healer. Christians would regard this cult as a caricature of their own religion. Hort says, "Doubtless those are right who refer this to the serpent-worship attached to Asclepius."—A. S. P.]—**Antipas**: nothing is known about this man, except the fact that he was one of the earliest Christian martyrs.—**14. Balaam**: *cf.* Nu. 31^{16}, 25^{1}ff. Balaam advised Balak to attempt to seduce the children of Israel from the worship of Yahweh by tempting them to licentiousness.—**to eat things sacrificed**: *cf.* the discussion in 1 Cor. 8^{1}–9, 10^{14}–33, where Paul lays down the principle that while such eating is a matter of indifference to an enlightened man, yet for the sake of example it is better to abstain (p. 650). In a stronghold of paganism like Pergamum it would be necessary for Christians to take a firm stand in this matter (*cf.* 2^{20}).—**15. Nicolaitans**: 2^{6}*.—**17. the hidden manna**: Aaron was commanded (Ex. 16^{33}) to lay up a gold pot of manna before the Lord. According to later Jewish tradition mentioned in 2 Mac. 2^{1}–8, this was placed in the Ark when it was hidden away by Jeremiah till the Messiah should appear, at which time, according to the Apocalypse of Baruch, the treasury of manna would again descend from on high (*cf.* 11^{19}*).—**a white stone**: this phrase has never been explained, and it is still impossible to be certain about the allusion. It has been interpreted of (*a*) the white pebble used by jurors to signify acquittal; (*b*) a tablet of admission to banquets or entertainments; (*c*) the Urim and Thummim (pp. 100f.) which were inscribed with the Divine name; (*d*) the precious stones which are said in Jewish tradition to have fallen with the manna. But whatever be the origin of the metaphor, the meaning seems obvious. The white stone inscribed with the new name (*i.e.* the name of Christ) is a kind of charm or amulet which will secure entrance for the Christian into the new kingdom which is to be established. The white stone is thus the symbol of citizenship in the Kingdom of Heaven.

II. 18–29. The Letter to the Church at Thyatira.—Thyatira, which was about 4 miles SE. of Pergamum, was relatively much less important than the cities already mentioned. It was a commercial centre, and seems to have been chiefly famous for the dyeing trade (*cf.* Ac. 16^{14}f.).—**18. the Son of God**: while the rest of the verse is borrowed from the description of Christ in 1^{13}, this phrase is an addition.—**19. last works**, etc.: contrast 2^{4}f., where the reverse is said of Ephesus.—**20. Jezebel**: probably some Jewish-Christian woman of great influence and power, who had been leading the church at Thyatira astray, by advocating the principles of the Nicolaitans. Another, but less likely, suggestion is that the name Jezebel stands for a heathen priestess or Sibyl who exercised great influence at Thyatira, and led an attack upon Christianity.—**idols**: 2^{14}*.—**22. a bed**: *i.e.* a bed of pain or tribulation.—**those that commit adultery**: probably used metaphorically, hence her followers and adherents.—**23. her children**: *i.e.* her converts.—**24. the deep things**: the Jezebel party had probably undertaken to lead the church into "the deep things of God" (1 Cor. 2^{10}*) and had interpreted this phrase to mean, "All things are lawful." The writer takes up their phrase and changes it into "the deep things of Satan."—**no other burden**: a reference to the Apostolic Decree in Ac. 15^{28}.—**26. authority**: the imagery is suggested by Ps. 2^{8}. Christians are to share in the glory of the Messianic reign.—**27.** *Cf.* again Ps. 2^{8}f.—**28. the morning star**: in 22^{16} Christ is described as "the morning star," and many commentators take this verse as a promise of the Parousia. But though the metaphor is the same, its application may be different, and the words need only indicate in this passage "the freshness and beauty of the glory with which the redeemed are to be clothed."

III. 1–6. The Letter to the Church at Sardis.—Sardis was a little more than 30 miles SE. of Thyatira: formerly a city of great importance, at this time it had become a town of the second rank. It had been destroyed by an earthquake in A.D. 17, and though rebuilt it had not recovered its former glory.

1. seven spirits of God: 1^{4}*.—**name that thou livest**: this is the severest condemnation passed upon any of the churches.—**2. the things that remain**: the church is not entirely lost to hope; there is still the possibility of revival.—**found no works**: in the case of the other churches there is always something to praise, but Sardis has no record of achievements to call forth admiration.—**3. how thou hast received**: the church is urged to remember its past history and the mercies vouchsafed to it.—**4. few names**: there are even in Sardis a few persons (*cf.* 11^{13} Gr.) who have not sullied the purity of their Christian life.—**5. white garments**: white is the emblem of purity (*cf.* 7^{13}f.).—**book of life**: originally this title was applied to the roll or register of the citizens of Jerusalem. Subsequently it was used to denote the roll of God's people (Ex. 32^{32}, Ps. 69^{28}, Rev. 13^{8}, 17^{8}, 20^{12}, ^{15}).—**confess his name**: *cf.* the saying of Jesus, Mt. 10^{32}*.

III. 7–13. The Letter to the Church at Philadelphia.—Philadelphia was about 30 miles SE. of Sardis. Like Sardis it was subject to frequent earthquakes, and consequently never attained any great size. The condition of the church seems to have been satisfactory; the difficulties arose from Jewish rather than pagan opponents.

7. that hath the key of David: *cf.* Is. 22^{22}, where the key of the house of David is given to Eliakim after

the deposition of Shebna. **The key** was the symbol of office, especially of the Treasurer's or Chancellor's office. It is Christ who here carries "the key" which indicates His authority over the House of God.—**8. door opened:** probably the door of opportunity (*cf.* 1 Cor. 16$_9$, 2 Cor. 2$_{12}$). Possibly there is an allusion to the geographical position of Philadelphia, which was situated in the centre of Asia, and so had abundant opportunities of evangelizing the neighbouring districts.—**9. synagogue of Satan:** as at Smyrna (*cf.* 2$_9$), the opposition comes from the Jews.—**10. the word of my patience:** the teaching which emphasized and held up as an example the endurance of Christ.—**the hour of trial:** the hour of testing, *i.e.* the persecution.—**12. a pillar in the temple:** the man who remains steadfast in the hour of testing will become a "pillar" (*cf.* Gal. 2$_9$, of "James and Cephas and John"), *i.e.* one of the chief supports of the Church of God.—**name of my God:** three names are written on the "pillar man," (*a*) the name of God (*cf.* Nu. 6$_{27}$), to indicate that his life was consecrated to the service of God; (*b*) the name of the New Jerusalem, to indicate that he was a citizen thereof; (*c*) the new name of Christ (*cf.* Rev. 19$_{12}$), to indicate that he was to share in His victory. For the description of the New Jerusalem *cf.* 21$_2$. See also Gal. 4$_{26}$*.

III. 14–22. The Letter to the Church at Laodicea.—Laodicea was 40 miles SE. of Philadelphia and near Colossæ. It was famous for its wealth, and when it was overthrown by an earthquake in A.D. 60, it disdained to receive a subsidy from Rome, preferring to restore the damage out of its own resources. It was, according to Sir W. M. Ramsay, one of the great banking and financial centres of the time.

14. the Amen: *cf.* Is. 65$_{16}$ (RVm.), "the god of the Amen," here applied to Christ because "His character and nature are in themselves a guarantee for the truth of His testimony" (Swete).—**faithful and true witness:** *cf.* 1$_5$*.—**the beginning of the creation:** *cf.* Col. 1$_{15}$, "firstborn of all creation." The phrase does not signify that Christ was the first to be created, but rather that He was the principle and source of the creation.—**15. neither cold nor hot:** Laodicea was free from the vices which corrupted Ephesus, Pergamum, Thyatira, and Sardis, but it had its own sin, the spirit of indifference. —**16.** "A draught of tepid water provokes nausea, and a tepid Christianity is nauseous to Christ. . . . There is probably an allusion to the hot springs of Hierapolis, which in their way over the plateau become lukewarm, and in that condition discharge themselves over the cliff right opposite to Laodicea" (Swete).—**17. I am rich:** an allusion to the wealth of Laodicea and its self-reliant, self-satisfied spirit.—**18.** The true wealth can only be obtained from Christ, who alone possesses the "unsearchable riches."—**white garments:** in contrast to the garments made of the glossy black wool of the sheep for which Laodicea was renowned.—**eye-salve:** Laodicea was famous for a particular ointment. —**19. be zealous:** what the church at Laodicea needed was enthusiasm, hence this injunction.—**20. stand at the door:** the metaphor was probably suggested by Ca. 5$_2$. Swete thinks the words have an eschatological reference, and indicate the near approach of the Parousia (*cf.* Mt. 24$_{33}$, Jas. 5$_9$), but the phrase, "if any man hear my voice," seems to indicate that the more common and popular interpretation of the verse is correct.—**21. sit with me on my throne:** *cf.* Lk. 22$_{30}$.

IV. The Vision of Heaven.—In this chapter the real Apocalypse commences. A door is opened in heaven and the seer sees the throne of God, flashing like jewels, and surrounded by a rainbow. Twenty-four elders sit on thrones, and with four "living beasts" offer continual praise and worship to God. Much of the imagery is traditional, and derived from similar descriptions of heaven and the Divine majesty in OT; *cf.* Is. 6$_{1-4}$, Ezek. 1$_{24-28}$, Dan. 7$_9$f.

1. the first voice: that mentioned in 1$_{10}$.—**2. a throne:** *cf.* Ezek. 1$_{26,28}$, 10$_1$.—**3. was like a jasper stone and a sardius:** note the absence of any anthropomorphism. The Divine presence is described as a radiance of jewels. "The seer's eye is arrested by the flashing of gem-like colours, but he sees no form" (Swete).—**jasper:** *cf.* Rev. 21$_{11}$, "a stone most precious . . . clear as crystal." As this description does not apply to the modern jasper, many scholars think that the reference here is to the opal.—**sardius:** probably our cornelian, a deep red stone.—**rainbow:** from Ezek. 1$_{27}$. Some think that a green stone like the emerald is inappropriate, and suggest that the Greek word used here may refer to the rock-crystal.—[But green is appropriate because of its restfulness to the eye, mitigating the dazzling brightness. Bleek aptly recalls Pliny's statement that when the eyes are blinded by any other sight, the emerald restores them. —A. S. P.]—**4. four and twenty elders:** some scholars think that the number is made up of the twelve Patriarchs and the twelve Apostles, who in their union signified the Church of the OT and the Church of the NT. Others regard them as representing the twenty-four courses of priests. The probability, however, is that they are angels of the highest rank. The evidence of Is. 24$_{23}$ and of Jewish apocalyptic literature proves that the term "elder" was often applied to angels (*cf.* Scott, Cent.B, p. 163).—**6. a glassy sea:** the conception of a celestial sea in heaven is found in Jewish literature, *e.g.* in the Book of the Secrets of Enoch and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. "The seer, still looking through the window, sees between himself and the throne a vast surface, which flashes back the light that falls upon it, like the Ægean when in summer day he looked down upon it from the heights of Patmos." The whole of this paragraph may be regarded as a pictorial expansion of the conception of God "dwelling in light unapproachable" in 1 Tim. 6$_{16}$.—**four living creatures:** *cf.* Ezek. 1$_5$, where the living creatures are identified with the cherubim. See also the account of the seraphim in Is. 6.—**full of eyes:** *cf.* Ezek. 10$_{12}$.—**7.** In Ezek. each of the cherubim has four faces (lion, ox, man, eagle), in Rev. the "living creatures" have only one face each.—**8. six wings:** . . . **Holy, holy, holy:** a reminiscence of Is. 6$_2$f.—**which was,** etc.: *cf.* 1$_8$.—**9.** The initiative of worship comes from the cherubim; it is at their instance that the other powers join in and take up the strain of praise.—**11.** See next note.

V. The Vision of Heaven (*continued*).—Ch. 4 gives us the vision of the majesty and glory of God, ch. 5 the vision of the "Lamb standing as though it had been slain." The theme of 4 is the creative power of God: the theme of 5 the redemptive power of Christ.

1. a book: *i.e.* the book of destiny, containing the secrets of the future, probably in the form of a papyrus roll, sealed with seven seals for the sake of security. The imagery is taken from Ezek. 2$_9$. [The view that the book is the book of destiny is probably correct. Huschke, followed by Zahn, J. Weiss, and Clemen, takes it to be a will. Seven witnesses would attest a will, each affixing his seal. Before the will could be executed the seals had to be broken; hence failure to break the seals of the book would mean that the

Church could not receive the heavenly inheritance Gunkel thinks the book is a book of magic.—A. S. P.] —**2.** The angel's challenge to heaven and earth, "Who is worthy (*i.e.* morally fit) to open the book?" a challenge which met with no response.—**5.** The phrases used in this verse show the writer's familiarity with the details of Messianic prophecy. "Lion of the tribe of Judah" is from Gen. 49$_9$, "Judah is a lion's whelp," etc., words which were interpreted in a Messianic sense by Jewish commentators. —**Root of Jesse:** *cf.* Is. 11$_1$, "a shoot out of the stock of Jesse."—**6.** Note the change from the lion to the lamb. "He looked to see a lion and beheld a lamb. He looked to see power and force . . . and he saw love and gentleness" (Stevens NTT, p. 542). The term "Lamb" (though a different Greek word is used) is applied to Christ in Jn. 1$_{29,36}$, Ac. 8$_{32}$ (quoted from Is.), 1 P. 1$_{19}$. Probably the metaphor was suggested by the words of Is. 53$_7$, "a lamb that is led to the slaughter."—**having seven horns:** "horn" is used both in OT and NT as the symbol of strength and power, and the phrase describes the all-conquering might of Christ.—**seven eyes:** the eye is the symbol of insight and illumination, and the phrase denotes the fullness of the Divine vision possessed by Christ.—**sent forth:** Christ's vision is not restricted to heaven but extends also over all the earth.—**8.** The same kind of adoration which in ch. 4 was bestowed upon God is now extended to the Son.—**golden bowls full of incense:** the incense symbolises the prayers of the saints (*cf.* Ps. 141 2).—**9. a new song:** *i.e.* the song of redemption, new in contrast to the old song of ch. 4.—**didst purchase . . . with thy blood:** for this conception of the significance of Christ's death, *cf.* 1 Cor. 6$_{20}$*, 7$_{23}$, Ac. 20$_{28}$, Rev. 14$_3$f. —**10.** "By a supreme act of self-sacrifice He has purchased men of all races and nationalities for the service of God, founded a vast spiritual empire, and converted human life into a priestly service and a royal dignity" (Swete). For the idea *cf.* 1$_6$, 20$_6$. Many MSS. read, "they are reigning," *i.e.* the reign of the saints has already commenced.—**11. ten thousand times:** *cf.* Dan. 7$_{10}$.—**12.** The doxology of the angels to the Lamb. Note the "sevenfold honour" as in 7$_{12}$.— **13.** The doxology of the universe of created things.— **to him that sitteth . . . and to the Lamb:** observe that in this final doxology God and the Lamb are joined together. The same praise is accorded to the Redeemer as to the Creator (*cf.* p. 642).—**14. the four living creatures:** 4$_6$*.—**the elders:** 4$_4$*.

VI. The Opening of the Seals.—When the seals of the book are opened by the Lamb, a number of woes are let loose upon the world. The first four are described under the figure of horses of different colour, the first white, the second blood-red, the third black, the fourth pale or livid. The best interpretation regards these woes as (1) triumphant militarism, (2) slaughter, (3) famine, (4) death. The other two woes are described without this metaphor—martyrdom and earthquake. The seventh seal is not opened till ch. 8.

1. one of the seven seals: belonging to the book of destiny (*cf.* 5$_1$).—**living creatures:** 4$_6$*.—**come:** to whom was the order addressed? Three answers are possible: (*a*) to the seer, (*b*) to Christ, (*c*) to the rider who appears in answer to the summons. The repetition of the command before the breaking of each of the four seals favours the last explanation.—**2. a white horse:** the metaphor of the differently-coloured horses is suggested by Zech. 6$_{1-8}$. There has been much debate as to the interpretation of "the white horse." Some scholars, on the strength of the reference to "the crown," and the phrase "conquering and to conquer," think that it can only refer to Christ. This interpretation is supported by 19$_{11}$, where one whose name is called the Word of God is represented as riding on a white horse. Others think that it refers not to Christ Himself but to His victorious Kingdom or Church. But these views separate the "white horse" from the other three, and there is no indication that the writer intended to draw such a contrast. The "white horse" is one of four. The other three clearly indicate woes that scourge humanity, and we are bound, therefore, to find a parallel meaning for the remaining one. "A vision of the victorious Christ would be inappropriate at the opening of a series which symbolizes bloodshed, famine, and pestilence." We must, therefore, regard the "white horse" as portraying "conquest" (Scott) or "triumphant militarism" (Swete).—**4. a red horse:** this symbolizes "bloodshed" or "slaughter." The red horse naturally follows the white. Conquest "wears another aspect when viewed in the light of the battle-field" (Swete).—**5. a black horse:** *i.e.* famine, the natural result of war and bloodshed.—**a balance:** *i.e.* scales. It is a sign of scarcity when food is sold by weight (*cf.* Lev. 26$_{26}$, Ezek. 4$_{16}$).—**6. a measure of wheat for a penny:** a penny, *i.e.* a denarius (see p. 117), was the sum generally earned by a labourer for a day's work; a measure of wheat was the amount required by a man for his daily need. The phrase (*a*) may be used to indicate the approach of a time of famine when a man's utmost earnings would only suffice to purchase the bare necessities of life; or (*b*) it may be a proclamation of the cherubim forbidding famine prices. The previous context supports the first interpretation: the following phrase, "the oil and the wine hurt thou not,"[1] the second.—**8. a pale horse:** in natural sequence of the other three, stands for pestilence or death.—**fourth part:** an indication of the wide extent of the devastation.—**9.** Here the metaphor of the horses stops, and the next two scenes are described without the pictorial element.—**underneath the altar:** according to Jewish tradition the souls of the righteous were regarded as "buried under the altar."—**word of God and for the testimony:** if these two phrases are to be distinguished, the former would indicate their devotion to the true God in the face of polytheism, the second their witness to Jesus Christ.—**10.** The martyrs' cry to God for vengeance has led some commentators to regard them as Jews and not Christians. Contrast the prayer of Stephen (Ac. 7$_{60}$). We must not, however, assume that all martyrs were able to face death in the spirit of Jesus and Stephen, and this verse is quite in keeping with the general tone of the book.— **white robe:** *cf.* 3$_4$f.—**12. the sixth seal:** *i.e.* earthquake and other cosmical disturbances. These celestial phenomena which precede "the day of the Lord" are found in all apocalyptic literature (*cf.* Jl. 2$_{31}$, Is. 34$_4$).— **15.** Every condition of life is summarized under these phrases. All ranks and classes of society are to be affected by the great disaster.—**16.** Hos. 10$_8$.

VII. This chapter seems to be an interlude in the movement of the drama. It is not easy to see how it fits on to the previous narrative. Some scholars have regarded it as an interpolation. Others have imagined that the writer of the Apocalypse had no sense of unity, and threw the various visions together in a haphazard fashion without any principle of arrangement. The true explanation, however, seems to be

[1] This expression may have reference to the edict issued by Domitian in A.D. 92, restricting the cultivation of the vine in the provinces of the empire. It led to an agitation in Asia, and was revoked in 93. The prophet is describing a situation in which necessities were at famine prices, while luxuries were abundant.—A. J. G.]

as follows: Six seals have already been broken. The seventh seal will bring the final doom. Before "the day of the Lord" breaks, the seal of God is placed upon Christians to protect them against the doom which is to fall upon the rest of the world. At the end of ch. 6 a picture is drawn of the panic and terror which fell upon all ranks of society as the great day approached. The question would naturally arise, How would Christians fare at the crisis? and this chapter gives them an assurance of safety.

The chapter contains two visions: (*a*) the sealing of the servants of God (1–8), (*b*) the bliss of an innumerable multitude. Do these two visions refer to the same or to different people? The usual answer to this question is that the first vision relates to Jewish Christians who belong to "the tribes of the children of Israel," the second to the great mass of Christians belonging to the Gentile world. But many modern scholars hold that this distinction cannot be maintained. In spite of the mention of the twelve tribes they think that the first vision includes all Christians who were alive at the time. Upon this theory the first vision describes "the sealing" which protects them from all the horrors that are to follow from the "breaking of the seventh seal"; the second vision portrays the final bliss of the redeemed in heaven after "the tribulation" is over (see Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse*, pp. 133ff.).

VII. 1–8. The Sealing of the Hundred and Forty Four Thousand.—1. Four angels are here represented as holding the winds, which are to bring disaster upon the world, in leash, until the seal of protection has been placed upon the Christians.—**2.** The object of the sealing may be to protect against (*a*) physical dangers, or (*b*) apostasy, or (*c*) demoniac activity. Probably all are included, for all may be connected with the breaking of the last seal. *Cf.* Ezek. 9₄–6*, where "the mark on the foreheads" protected from death.—**4.** 144,000, *i.e.* 12,000 out of each tribe. The number is evidently symbolical, being "based on the square of twelve," and so denoting completeness. Whether the number represents Jewish Christians or "the spiritual Israel," *i.e.* the totality of Christians alive at the time, is uncertain.—**5–8.** The list of tribes presents some difficulties. (*a*) The order differs from other arrangements (G. B. Gray, Exp., 1902, pp. 225f., thinks this is due to the disarrangement of the verses; 7 and 8 originally stood before the last clauses of 5); (*b*) Dan is omitted, probably because of the traditional belief that Antichrist would spring from his tribe; (*c*) Judah is placed first because of the belief that the Messiah would arise from his tribe; (*d*) Manasseh is given in place of Dan, though it is included in Joseph. [This is a strong reason for the view that Manasseh was not in the original list at all; moreover Manasseh is not in his proper place, coming far too high in the list. In other lists Naphtali is combined with Dan, both being sons of Bilhah. It is accordingly very probable that this was the case here, and that Manasseh is due to a scribe's blunder, Dan being misread as Man, and this being regarded as an abbreviation for Manasseh.—A. S. P.]

VII. 9–17. The Vision of the Redeemed in Heaven.—A great multitude is contrasted with the 144,000, which is a difficulty for the theory that the two visions refer to the same body of Christians.—**arrayed in white robes:** *cf.* 3₅, 6₁₁. Charles thinks that these white robes represent the spiritual bodies which the martyrs receive before the final judgment.—**11. throne, elders, living creatures:** 4₄,₆*. The picture of heaven remains the same in all these chapters.—**12.** *Cf.* the sevenfold doxology in 5₁₂.—**14. out of the great tribulation:** notice the emphatic article. The reference is not to tribulation in general but "*the* tribulation," that which is connected with the day of the Lord.—**15. shall serve him:** in the ministry of worship.—**spread his tabernacle:** *i.e.* the protection of God's overshadowing presence. —**17. unto fountains:** "unto life's water-springs" (Scott).

VIII. The arrangement of ch. 8 has recently been subjected to critical examination by Charles (*Studies in the Apocalypse*, ch. 8), who arrives at the conclusion that 7–12 contains a separate Apocalypse, the insertion of which at this point causes inexplicable difficulties. He thinks the chapter was originally composed of the following elements: 1, 3–5, 2 (changing the word "seven" to "three"), 6 (with the same change), 13. This would also entail a change in the enumeration of the trumpets in ch. 9. The theory has one very important merit. It explains "the silence in heaven" by connecting 1 with 3–5. The real problem is, What is the connexion between "the seventh seal" and "the trumpets" and later on "the bowls"? Does the "seventh seal" let loose the woes of the trumpets and the bowls? Or do the trumpets and the bowls recapitulate and go over again the ground already covered by the seals? We expect the breaking of the seventh seal to be followed by a climax, but instead of a climax we get a pause. Do the trumpets and the bowls carry us forward towards the climax, or are they different ways of approaching the same end?

1. silence in heaven: the explanation of this "silence" has always puzzled commentators. The usual interpretation is in the words of C. A. Scott (Cent.B, p. 198): "It suggests the wistful or alarmed uncertainty with which the end of the silence was awaited. The silence big with fate conveys as nothing else could the sense of trembling suspense." Charles's theory, that 2 is out of place and the "silence in heaven" is explained in 3–5, gives what seems to be the true interpretation. "The praises and thanksgivings of all the mighty hierarchies of heaven are hushed in order that the prayers of the suffering saints on earth may be heard before the throne of God" (*op. cit.*, p. 153).—**half an hour:** this phrase is not to be taken literally; as Swete says, "Half an hour is a long interval in a drama."—**2. And I saw . . . trumpets:** these words obviously come too early, and are really connected with 6.—**3. another angel:** sometimes identified with Michael the guardian and intercessor of Israel.—**over the altar:** the picture which is drawn of heaven in chs. 4f. contains no altar, though "the bowls full of incense" in 5₈ may possibly imply an altar of incense. In 8₃ most scholars think there is a reference to two altars, (*a*) the altar over which the angel stood, *i.e.* the altar of burnt offering which stood before the holy place, (*b*) "the golden altar," *i.e.* the altar of incense (Ex. 30ff.*), the theory being that there was a "pattern in the heavens" of the complete earthly Temple (*cf.* Heb. 8₅). Swete and Charles, however, maintain that the Apocalypse only mentions one altar—the altar of incense. Jewish Christian writers before A.D. 200 never allude to a second altar in heaven, and their language definitely excludes the possibility of the existence of more than one (*op. cit.*, pp. 161–179). —**a golden censer:** *cf.* Lev. 16₁₂f.—**add it unto the prayers:** apparently the prayers of the saints in this metaphor, are the live coals upon which the incense is sprinkled. In 5₈, however, there is a variation of the metaphor, and the "prayers" are represented as the incense.—**4.** lit. "the smoke of the incense went up

to help (lit. 'for') the prayers of the saints."—**5.** The prayers are answered; the angel uses the censer to cast the fire from the altar upon the earth as a symbol of disaster (*cf.* Ezek. 10$_2$).

VIII. 6–13. The First Four Trumpets.—The first four trumpets, like the first four seals, form a connected group, and differ in character from the last three. They affect chiefly the natural world, which they overwhelm with disaster. Many of the features are borrowed from the plagues of Egypt. [The description seems to be based also on volcanic phenomena, as often in OT prophecy. The whole district was subject to volcanic disturbances, and in particular the island of Santorin (about 80 miles S.W. of Patmos) may have suggested several features. See J. T. Bent's article, "What St. John saw in Patmos" (*Nineteenth Century*, 1888). On this island there is a work by F. Fouqué, *Santorin et ses éruptions*.—A. S. P.]

7. The first trumpet (*cf.* Ex. 9$_{24}$), "fire flashing continually amid the hail." The phrase "mingled with blood" is added. "Blood-red rain is not unknown in nature"; storms of this character have occurred in the S. of Europe, and the usual explanation given is that the air was full of particles of red sand from the Sahara.—**8.** The second trumpet.—**a great mountain:** this phrase is introduced by way of illustration, and we need not imagine that the writer pictures an actual mountain cast into the sea. He indicates rather a huge blazing mass like a mountain in size.—**9. sea became blood:** *cf.* Ex. 7$_{17-21}$, Rev. 16$_3$. —**10.** The third trumpet. A great meteor falls from heaven and destroys the fresh-water supply. [J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 326, compares "the falling of the great star Gocîhar upon the earth," mentioned in the Bundahish.—A. S. P.]—**called Wormwood:** lit. absinthe. In OT the term is always used metaphorically to denote the bitterness of injustice or the fruits of idolatry or Divine chastisement (Pr. 5$_4$*). —**12.** The fourth trumpet. This causes the partial eclipse of the heavenly bodies (*cf.* Ex. 10$_{21-23}$). None of these plagues are final, and it seems to be suggested that there is still time for repentance.—**13.** On the ordinary interpretation this verse is intended to be a last warning to the world before the other trumpets are blown. Charles thinks, however, that originally the four trumpets were not found in the text, and that this verse simply introduces the three trumpets (*cf.* 9).—**an eagle:** so the best MSS. TR reads, "an angel," and so AV.—**15.** See Introd. to ch. 20.

IX. On the ordinary theory ch. 9 continues the account of the trumpets commenced in 8. But if we follow Charles in excising 8$_7$–12, there were originally not seven but three trumpets, an account of two of which forms the theme of ch. 9.

1–12. The Fifth Trumpet or the First Woe.—The seer sees a star fallen on the earth. The star seems to represent a person, possibly Satan (*cf.* Lk. 10$_{18}$).—**abyss:** the word properly means "bottomless," and is used in OT of the abode of the dead, *e.g.* Ps. 71$_{20}$. The abyss is approached by a "shaft" or "well," here translated "pit," which is closed and kept under lock and key.—**3. out of the smoke came . . . locusts:** *cf.* Ex. 10$_{13}$ and Driver's quotation of the observations of a modern traveller: "we observed large dark clouds resembling smoke moving to and fro . . . One morning these clouds came down and proved to be locusts." (CB, *Joel*, p. 90).—**power was given to them:** these locusts were specially endowed with the scorpion-like power of tormenting men.—**4. not hurt the grass:** this conflicts with 8$_7$, where, as the result of the first trumpet, "all green grass was burnt up."—**seal of God:** 7$_{3ff}$*.—**5. five months:** this is supposed to represent the ordinary duration of a plague of locusts. The object of the plague is not to kill, but to torture and torment.—**7. like unto horses:** this description is taken from Jl. 2$_4$.—**crowns . . . men's faces:** these two features seem to be peculiar to the locusts of the abyss; there is nothing about the ordinary locust to account for this description.—**11. They have . . . as king:** In Pr. 30$_{27}$ it is stated that locusts have no king, but these locusts belong to the abyss.—**Abaddon:** the word only occurs in what is known as the Wisdom Literature (Job 26$_6$, 28$_{22}$, Ps. 88$_{11}$, Pr. 15$_{11}$*, etc.), where it means "ruin" or "destruction," either on earth or in Sheol. Here "Destruction" is personified. —**Apollyon** is the Greek equivalent for Abaddon.

13–21. The Sixth Trumpet or the Second Woe.—The loosing of the four angels of death, and the slaughter of a third part of the human race.

13. the horns: the corners.—**the golden altar:** *cf.* 8$_3$. —**14. Loose the four angels:** these angels are kept bound in the river Euphrates (*cf.* 16$_{12}$) waiting for the day of vengeance. There is a striking parallel in a Syriac Apocalypse of Ezra, "Let these four kings be loosed which are bound near the great river Euphrates which shall destroy a third part of mankind." Many commentators see in this reference an expectation that the armies of Parthia were soon to be loosed on the Roman Empire.—**16.** The figure 200,000,000 is probably derived from Ps. 68$_{17}$, "The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands upon thousands."—**17. hyacinth** is sometimes used as (*a*) the name of a precious stone (21$_{20}$), (*b*) of a dye, *i.e.* blue. The breastplates appeared as flame-coloured, smoky blue, and yellow like sulphur.—[**19. their tails:** The Parthians twisted their horses' tails to a point. There may be a further reference to their skill in shooting backwards.—A. J. G.]—**20. the rest of mankind,** *i.e.* the two-thirds who were not killed.—**worship devils:** both in OT and NT the worship of the pagan world is said to be given to demons (*cf.* Dt. 32$_{17}$, Ps. 106$_{37}$, 1 Cor. 10$_{20}$).— **21.** The four sins mentioned in this verse are the characteristic vices of the pagan world. For the connexion between idolatry and immorality *cf.* Rom. 1$_{21-27}$.— [**sorceries:** the Gr. word means magic spells inciting to illicit lusts.—A. J. G.]

X. The second interlude in the movement of the drama. The sixth trumpet, like the sixth seal, is followed by a pause. Once again the climax is postponed. 10 and 11$_{1-13}$ are parenthetical, and the visions which they record are episodes in the main story.

1–11. The Vision of the Strong Angel and the Little Book.—1. The strong angel.—We have no means of identifying this angel. To suppose that he represents Christ is contrary to all analogy and precedent.—**coming down out of heaven:** the scene of the previous visions is laid in heaven, whither the seer had been transported. Here he seems to be standing upon the earth and watching the descent of the angel.—**2. a little book:** the Gr. word is an emphatic diminutive, "a very small roll (or scroll)." This book is supposed to contain a fragment of Divine revelation (*cf.* the book mentioned in Ezek. 2$_9$).—**4. the seven thunders:** suggests that another cycle of visions, like the cycles of the seals and trumpets and bowls, occurred to the writer's mind, but he dismisses the temptation to use them.—**seal up:** the metaphor "sealing" is generally used to denote the ending of a document which has been written. Here it is applied to an unwritten utterance.—**6. time . . . no longer:** (*a*) time now ceases, because eternity has begun, or (*b*) there shall no

longer be any interval or respite before the commencement of doom. The latter is preferable because it helps us to see the connexion of this chapter with the rest of the book (*e.g.* 6 10 f.). It announces that the pause is at an end and the hour of Divine intervention at hand. That this is the true interpretation is clear from the allusion to the seventh trumpet in 7.—**then is finished the mystery of God** (2 Th. 2 7*): the revelation which God made to the prophets is now consummated.—**9. Take it, and eat it up:** *cf.* Ezek. 3 1. A bold metaphor indicating that the message of God was to be incorporated by the seer into his system; *cf.* the Prayer Book phrase, "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest."—**bitter:** in Ezek. the only effect of eating the roll was to induce the sense of sweetness. Here there is a twofold result, a sweet taste in the mouth, and internal pain. "Every revelation of God's purposes, even though it be but a fragment, is 'bitter sweet,' disclosing judgment as well as mercy" (Swete).—**11** indicates a fresh development in the movement of the drama, which is to involve many nations and kings.

XI. 1–13. The Interlude continued. The Second Episode.—The first two verses are introductory, and represent the survey or measuring of the holy city by the seer. Then comes the prophecy concerning the two witnesses, followed by the first appearance in the book of "the beast" or Antichrist (7).

1. a reed: a measuring rod (Ezek. 40 ff., Zech. 2 1), Ezekiel's reed (40 5) was nine feet long.—**measure the temple:** the allusion is not to the heavenly sanctuary but to the Temple at Jerusalem. The object of the measuring was to provide for its preservation in the day of crisis. The reference, therefore, is not so much to the material Temple as to that which the Temple represented, viz. the spiritual Israel; *cf.* the sealing of the 144,000 in 7 3*.—**the altar:** the altar of burnt offering.—**2. the court:** the court of the Gentiles, separated from the Temple proper by "the middle wall of partition" on which were inscribed the words, "No man of another nation to enter within the fence and enclosure round the Temple. And whoever is caught will have himself to blame that his death ensues."—**forty and two months:** the 1260 days of the next verse, *i.e.* the 3½ years of Dan. 7 25, 12 7. This period represents the actual duration of the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes (from the spring of 168 B.C. to the autumn of 165 B.C.), when the Temple was profaned, the sacrifices interrupted, and a pagan altar erected. This historical event invested the period of 3½ years with a special significance for Apocalyptic, and henceforth it became the typical figure for the length of the persecution under Antichrist. [This may have seemed the more reasonable that it is the half of the number of perfection.—A. S. P.]—**3. The two witnesses:** it is impossible to discover what the writer intended his readers to understand by these "two witnesses." The use of OT phrases has led many scholars to identify them with two OT heroes from the following list: Abel, Enoch, Moses, Elijah, Elisha, Jeremiah. Others maintain that the phrase is symbolical, and that the witnesses represent "the Church in her function of witness-bearing" (Swete). A third school regards them as referring to two prophets or leaders who were to appear as champions of the faith before the end came. [C. H. Turner (*Studies in Early Ch. Hist.*, p. 214) suggests Peter and Paul, "the two most illustrious victims of the Beast (Nero), the martyrs whose bodies lay in the great city."—A. J. G.] We have not sufficient data to solve the enigma, but the context seems to point to Moses and Elijah. For the period of their ministry, 1260 days, *cf.* 2*.—**4. the two olive trees:** an allusion to Zech. 4, where the two "sons of oil," Zerubbabel and Joshua, representing the civil and ecclesiastical power, supply the needs of "the candlestick," *i.e.* the theocratic state.—**5. fire proceedeth:** as in the case of Elijah (2 K. 1 10).—**6. power to shut heaven:** so Elijah (1 K. 17 1).—**power over the waters:** so Moses (Ex. 7 19).—**smite the earth:** so Moses, a reference to the plagues of Egypt.—**7. the beast:** the first reference to the figure of Antichrist, which plays such an important rôle in the later part of the book (*cf.* 17 8). With the description *cf.* the four beasts of Dan. 7 5.—**8. Sodom:** the term Sodom is applied to Jerusalem in Is. 1 10 in token of its wickedness.—**Egypt:** also a term of reproach, though not applied to Jerusalem elsewhere.—**where also their Lord was crucified:** the "great city" thus seems to be Jerusalem, though some scholars think that the context points to Rome, and the phrase, "the great city" is applied to Babylon, *i.e.* Rome, in 16 19, 17 18, 18 10 ff.—**9. three days and a half:** "day" here means year, and the reference is to the 3½ years of Dan. (2*).—**10.** This verse describes the general exultation at the death of the two prophets or "witnesses," who had tormented men's consciences.—**11.** the seer "sees the Church of the martyrs recovering herself from an age of persecution as Ezekiel (37 10) had seen new life infused into a dead Israel" (Swete).—**12.** The final triumph of "the witnesses" and their ascension to heaven in full view of their enemies.—**13.** "The witnesses" are vindicated by a great natural catastrophe in the form of an earthquake which destroys a tenth of the city and 7000 people. The reserve of the writer is still maintained. The disaster is only partial; the final doom is still postponed.

XI. 14–19. The Seventh Trumpet and the Third Woe.—The story which was broken off at 9 21 is now resumed. The seventh trumpet heralds the approach of the Kingdom of Christ.—**15. great voice:** in contrast to the silence which followed the breaking of the "seventh seal" (8 1).—**our Lord:** God the Father.—**his Christ:** God's Anointed One.—**16. elders:** 4 4*.—**17.** *Cf.* with this doxology those in 4 11, 5 12, 7 12.—**19. the temple of God:** *i.e.* the heavenly temple (*cf.* 7 15, 15 5 ff.). The judgment was followed by the manifestation of the glory of God in the opening of His Temple.—**the ark of his covenant:** according to the tradition preserved in 2 Mac. 2 1–8, the Ark had been hidden away by Jeremiah in a "cavernous chamber" until "God should gather His people together again." That time had now come, though not in the sense predicted by Jeremiah, and the Ark stood revealed in the open Temple of heaven, the symbol of God's faithfulness in keeping His covenant (*cf.* 2 17*). The rest of the drama of the book is worked out in full view of the open Temple.

XII. The Vision of the Woman, the Child, and the Dragon.—This chapter has always presented difficulties to the student of Revelation. Two questions present themselves: (*a*) What is the connexion of this chapter with the previous part of the book? (*b*) What interpretation did the writer intend his readers to put upon the vision? The first question has been answered in many ways. Some scholars regard this passage as a fresh interlude, and think that it is unconnected with the main movement of the drama. It is often explained as a fragment of a Jewish Apocalypse which the writer determined to utilise, though he failed altogether to weave it into the thread of the argument. The most probable explanation is as follows. The theme of the second part of the Apocalypse is the struggle against Antichrist, and this chapter forms the

introduction. Antichrist is first introduced almost incidentally in 11$_7$ and the allusion in that passage is here developed and carried a stage further on. The second question is equally difficult to answer. There are three characters in this scene—the woman, the child, the dragon. There is no difficulty about the identification of the dragon. It undoubtedly represents Antichrist, but the other two characters are not so easy to explain. The child is generally understood to represent the Messiah, but the details of the story do not correspond with the facts of the life of Jesus. Jesus was not "caught up unto God" immediately after birth, and the description in 5 of "a man child who is to rule all the nations with a rod of iron" does not seem an appropriate description of His mission. It is difficult, therefore, to suppose that this chapter was written with full knowledge of the life of the actual Messiah. It is, however, when we come to ask what is meant by the woman that the problem becomes acute. We may dismiss at once the theory that identifies her with the Virgin Mary. There is not a single detail of the narrative which suits such an hypothesis. Nor can we suppose that the woman was intended to denote the Christian Church if the child is to be regarded as the Messiah. It was not the Christian Church that produced the Messiah: it was the Messiah who created the Christian Church. The only reasonable explanation is that the woman personifies the people of Israel. The best interpretation of the chapter is, therefore, that we have here a pre-Christian Apocalypse representing Israel in travail with the Messiah and that this Apocalypse has been inserted by the author of the book without any attempt to reconcile it with the facts of the life of the actual Messiah. Gunkel thinks that the basis of the story was a Babylonian myth. [No story of the birth of Marduk has been discovered; Gunkel postulates the existence of a myth of his birth on the lines of the myth of the birth of Apollo. Dieterich derived our passage from the Greek myth of the birth of Apollo; Bousset has called attention to the Egyptian myth of the birth of Horus. The parallels with our passage are too close to be accidental. Probably there was a widespread myth, of which the Greek and Egyptian forms are variants, describing how the god of light was successfully born in spite of the attempt of the dragon of darkness and chaos to prevent his birth. See Peake, *The Person of Christ in the Revelation of John*, in *Mansfield College Essays*.—A. S. P.]

1. a woman: the people of Israel in the early part of the chapter, and later on probably the Christian community.—**the sun:** the imagery used here is probably suggested by a passage in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, "Judah was bright as the moon and under his feet were twelve rays" (Test. Naph. 5).—**twelve stars:** probably an allusion to the twelve tribes.—**2. child:** the Messiah.—**3. dragon:** Antichrist; in 9 he is identified with "the old serpent who is called the Devil and Satan."—**seven heads and ten horns:** the frequent occurrence of similar terms in the Book of Daniel makes it clear that the writer uses them to cover a reference to kings or kingdoms. What the original writer of this little Apocalypse intended by these words cannot be discovered, but our author obviously meant them to refer to Roman Emperors.—**4. draweth the third part:** for the metaphor *cf.* Dan. 8$_{10}$.—**5. child was caught up unto God:** this cannot refer to any event in the life of Christ, unless it be to the Ascension, but must be an imaginary picture of the Messiah's experience drawn by a pre-Christian writer.—**6.** A prediction of Israel's fate after the Messiah's departure.—**1260 days:** (11$_2$*) suggested by the 3½ years of Dan.—**7.** The war in heaven described in the following verses has its analogy in the wars of the Olympian gods described by Homer and Virgil (*cf.* Eph. 6$_{12}$*).—**Michael:** the guardian angel of Israel (*cf.* Dan. 10$_{13,21}$, 12$_1$).—**8.** This verse seems to imply that the final fall of Satan from heaven (*cf.* Lk. 10$_{18}$) did not take place till this conflict, but perhaps the words should not be unduly pressed.—**10.** The victory of Michael is followed by a pæan of triumph.—**11.** The victory in heaven is followed by a victory of the martyrs upon earth.—**12. a short time:** afterwards defined as 3½ years (14).—**14. two wings of the great eagle:** we must not attempt to turn poetry into prose and find some definite fact beneath this phrase. All that it denotes is that in some mysterious way the woman was enabled to escape.—**a time, times,** etc.: *i.e.* 3½ years (Dan. 7$_{25}$*, Rev. 11$_2$*).—**15. cast out . . . water:** the tangible facts covered by this phrase cannot be deciphered. Some have interpreted it of the Roman armies [at the siege of Jerusalem, 66–70]; others of the persecutors; others of the influx of heretical opinions. If these words were in the early Apocalypse, they are probably meant to be indefinite.—**16. the earth opened:** here again it is useless to look for an answering fact [*e.g.* the escape of the Jerusalem Christians to Pella, or the death of a persecuting emperor.—A. J. G.]. The phrase simply means that help would come from unexpected quarters. [There are streams in Asia Minor, *e.g.* the Lycus and the Chrysorrhous, which flow for a distance underground.—A. J. G.]—**17. the rest of her seed:** the followers of the Messiah, especially those outside Palestine, *e.g.* in Asia Minor.—[**and he stood:** possibly we should read, "and I stood" (AV), and connect with next chapter.—A. J. G.]

XIII. This chapter records the appearance of two beasts: (*a*) the one rising from the sea (1–10), (*b*) the other springing from the earth (11–18). The first beast is conquered by the dragon, the second beast derives its authority from the first. The chapter throughout is reminiscent of Dan. 7. The first beast is generally identified with the Roman Empire and the second with the spirit of paganism which inculcated the cult of Cæsar-worship. The portrait of the first beast in the concluding verses seems to individualise in the person of Nero; at any rate this appears to be the most plausible interpretation of the number 666. The point of the chapter seems to be this. The dragon, beaten in the heavenly war by Michael and his angels, turns his attention to earth, and endeavours to exterminate the Christian faith by inspiring the Roman Empire to persecute.

1. a beast coming up out of the sea: *cf.* the vision of the four great beasts that come up out of the sea in Dan. 7$_3$. As the beasts in Daniel represent empires we may suppose that this beast also stands for an empire.—**ten horns:** the horns represent emperors, either beginning with Julius Cæsar and ending with Titus or beginning with Augustus and ending with Vespasian, or if we omit some or all of the three usurpers (Galba, Otho, Vitellius) we may end with Domitian, Nerva, or even Trajan. [Perhaps the "seven heads" are emperors (Augustus to Titus), and the "ten horns" provincial governors or dependent kings, *cf.* 17$_{12}$*, p. 939.—A. J. G.]—**names of blasphemy:** possibly the name "Augustus," which means "worthy of worship," or the title "God," which, as we know from the inscriptions, many of these kings assumed.—**2. leopard . . . bear . . . lion:** in Dan. 7$_{4-6}$, the lion, the bear, and the leopard are distinct. Here the

qualities of all three animals are ascribed to a single beast.—**the dragon:** the power of the beast was derived from Satan.—**3. one of the heads . . . smitten:** note the point of contact between this description of the beast and the description of the Lamb "as it had been slain" (56). This phrase must be interpreted in the light of 178, and doubtless refers to the legend of *Nero redivivus* (178*).—**5.** *Cf.* the description of Antiochus Epiphanes in Dan. 78–20.—**forty and two months:** the length of the persecution of Antiochus, 3½ years (*cf.* 112f.*, 9,11, 126).—**6.** If, with the best MSS, we omit "even" the words "them that dwell in the heaven" define and explain the term "tabernacle of God."—**8. shall worship him:** *i.e.* the beast, a reference to Emperor-worship, which was so prevalent at this time (p. 775).—**book of life:** 35*.—**from the foundation of the world:** the connexion of this clause is uncertain. Most people attach it to "the Lamb slain," and make it indicate the eternal character of the sacrifice of Christ. The parallel passage in 178, "written in the book of life from the foundation of the world," strongly suggests that a similar connexion of the words ought to be understood here.—**10.** *Cf.* Jer. 152, Mt. 2652. The text and meaning of this verse are uncertain. The AV renders "He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity: He that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword." The faith of the Christian Church is sustained by the belief that acts of persecution will recoil upon the heads of the persecutors, and vengeance will be meted out to them by God. The RV, following a more reliable text, modifies the first clause, "If any man is for captivity into captivity he goes," but keeps the second clause practically unaltered. There is an ambiguity about this second clause. It may have the meaning of the AV, but it may also mean "If any man shall kill with the sword, with the sword must he (*i.e.* the murdered man) be killed." The former rendering is much more natural, but it completely spoils the parallelism between the two clauses and brackets together two incommensurate ideas. It is essential that the parallelism of the clauses should be maintained even at the cost, as Hort suggests, of emending the text. The passage is probably based on Jer. 152, "Such as are for death to death and such as are for the sword to the sword." The words seem to inculcate the Christian duty of acquiescing in the will of God even though persecution and martyrdom were involved. It was by accepting the suffering which might come upon him that the Christian exemplified his loyalty and faith. Failing this interpretation of the passage, it will be necessary to fall back upon the weaker text of the AV. The RV cannot be right unless the second clause is explained as above.

11–18. The Second Beast.—This represents the spirit of paganism, and more particularly the priestly system which was organised to enforce Cæsar-worship.—**11f.** The second beast is regarded as inferior to, and deriving its authority from, the first.—**12. to worship:** an allusion to Emperor-worship.—**deathstroke:** *cf.* 3; an allusion to *Nero redivivus* (178*).—**13. great signs:** an allusion to the displays of magic by the priests for the purpose of deceiving the people.—**14. an image of the beast:** a statue of the emperor which was used in Cæsar-worship.—**15. to give breath unto it:** an allusion to the pretended miracles wrought by the priests, like the later miracles of the Middle Ages, by which a stone image was made to move and act like a living being.—**16. a mark upon their right hands:** like the stamp embossed on official documents bearing the name of the emperor and the year of his reign. [In later persecutions, at least, certificates were given to those who sacrificed or otherwise fulfilled the regulations of pagan worship.—A. J. G.] As to whether the devotees of Emperor-worship were actually branded on the hand or the forehead we have no information beyond this passage, and possibly here the language may be apocalyptic (*cf.* the seal on the foreheads of the saints in 73). But it seems certain that there was some sign or mark which served to distinguish pagan worshippers from Christians.—**17.** Christians, since they lacked this mark, are said to have been boycotted in the markets and were neither allowed to buy nor sell.—**the name of the beast:** *i.e.* the name of the emperor.—**18. Here is wisdom:** these words are a challenge to the readers of the Apocalypse. If any man regards himself as wise, let him try to read the riddle of the number of the beast.—**it is the number of a man:** we are to look among the ranks of men, and not of angels or supernatural beings, for the answer to the riddle.—**Six hundred and sixty and six:** the riddle is, "Find the man, the letters of whose name, when regarded as numerals, sum up to the total 666." There have been many guesses, but very few of them have any claim upon our attention. We may dismiss all those theories which find the "number of the beast" in some later personage as Muhammad, Luther, or Napoleon. The beast lived in the age when the book was written. The best solution is that he was Nero. The words Neron Cæsar or Nero Cæsar when written in Hebrew characters make up the numbers 666 and 616 respectively, and as both readings, viz. 666 and 616, are found in vogue in early times, and the solution does for both, we may regard it as tolerably certain that this is the key which fits the lock. [There may be an implied contrast between 666 and 777, the triple repetition of the perfect number. In *Orac. Sibyll.* 1328, the number 888 represents Christ (Swete)—A. J. G.] [At a date earlier than this passage in the Sibylline Oracles, Marcus the Valentinian pointed out that the name Jesus made up 888 in Greek letters. Possibly the number 666 was an ancient symbol of the beast. The writer has observed that it also fits a man (not perfectly well, for Neron Cæsar in Hebrew character would more naturally sum up to 676, but written "defectively" it gives 666); the ancient beast of apocalyptic tradition is thus incarnate in a man. Hence the ending of the passage, "Let him count the number of the beast, for it is the number of a man," *i.e.* not simply the number of the beast, but at the same time the number of a man. The beast is incarnate in Nero.—A. S. P.]

XIV. Third Interlude.—Three Visions: (*a*) the Lamb on Mt. Zion (1–5), (*b*) the three angels (6–13), (*c*) the harvest and vintage of the world (14–20).—**1–5.** After the horror and tragedy of the last two chapters, we have another pause in the movement of the drama, a new vision of heaven and the bliss of the redeemed.

1. the Lamb: this chapter recalls the vision in ch. 5 (*cf.* 56).—**mount Zion:** Zion is the Christian Acropolis, but whether the reference here is to the earthly or heavenly Zion cannot be determined. For the 144,000, *cf.* 74, where possibly the number covers only Jewish Christians. Here there is no suggestion of any such limitation, for in 3 they are described as "they that had been purchased out of the earth."—**name . . . on their foreheads:** *cf.* 73f. and contrast the mark on the foreheads of the worshippers of the beast (1316).—**2. many waters:** *cf.* 115.—**3. a new song:** *cf.* 59.—**four . . . elders:** 44,6*.—**4. they are virgins:** the term virgin is in the masculine, and should be trans-

lated " celibates." Whether it is to be taken literally here is disputed. As Swete says, " No condemnation of marriage, no exclusion of the married from the highest blessings of the Christian life, finds a place in the NT." And if we were to press the meaning of the word " virgin " or " celibate " here, this passage is an exception to the general teaching of the NT. Moreover, the imagery used in chs. 21f. throws a halo of sanctity over marriage. The probability is therefore that the words here describe not celibates but men who had kept the marriage-bond inviolate.

XIV. 6–12. The Vision of the Three Angels.—6. an eternal gospel: it is doubtful whether gospel is here used in its technical sense. It probably means a proclamation of good news. The proclamation here is one which urges men to fear and worship God in view of the coming judgment (*cf.* Mk. 1$_{15}$).—**8. Babylon:** there can be no doubt that Babylon here means Rome. There are traces in other apocalyptic literature of the same usage of the word.—**fornication:** probably in a metaphorical sense to denote idolatry.—**9. worshippeth the beast:** a reference to Emperor-worship. The beast is probably Nero, as in ch. 13.—**mark in his forehead:** *cf.* 13$_{16}$.—**10.** The description of the punishment of the pagan world is based upon the imagery of Ps. 75$_8$, Is. 30$_{33}$, 51$_{22}$f.—**13.** " a new beatitude which needed a voice from heaven to proclaim it " (Swete). **[Yea, saith the Spirit**—the response of the inspired seer.—**that they may rest:** in that they rest. Their labours are over, but not their works, " for their works follow with them."—A. J. G.]

XIV: 14–20. The Harvest and the Vintage of the World.—The scene culminates in a vision of the Parousia, and an ingathering of the spiritual harvest.

14. The coming of the Son of Man on the clouds, which was first suggested by a misinterpretation of Dan. 7$_{13}$, is one of the most familiar ideas in Christian eschatology (*cf.* Mk. 14$_{62}$, Mt. 24$_{30}$).—**like unto a son of man:** Dan. 7$_{13}$*. The phrase originally denoted the advent of a new kingdom with human qualities and characteristics in contrast to earlier empires, which could only be described under the figure of beasts. Later on, however, especially in the Book of Enoch, the term " Son of Man " was used to denote the Messiah, and this later usage of the phrase led to a misinterpretation of the passage in Daniel.—**15. send forth thy sickle:** for the metaphor, *cf.* the parable of the harvest in Mk. 4$_{29}$. Many scholars think that the harvest represents the ingathering of the saints, the vintage the ingathering of the wicked for their doom.—**19. winepress:** the metaphor comes from Is. 63$_{1–6}$.—**20. without the city:** winepresses were generally erected outside the walls of a city, but the phrase no doubt suggests the further meaning that capital punishment was inflicted on criminals " without the city " (*cf.* Heb. 13$_{12}$).

XV., XVI. The Seven Bowls.—This new cycle of catastrophes is parallel to the seals and the trumpets. Ch. 15 is introductory, and simply sets the stage for this new movement in the drama.

XV. 1–8. The Preparation for the Vision of the Bowls.—1. which are the last: an indication that we are nearing the end of the tragedy.—**2.** Before the plagues are poured out from the bowls we have a new vision of heaven and the triumphs of the redeemed.—**glassy sea:** *cf.* 4$_6$.—**mingled with fire:** this addition to the description of the heavenly sea is difficult to explain. " The crystal light of the sea of glass is reddened as by fire," and " The red glow on the sea spoke of the fire through which the martyrs passed, and yet more of the wrath about to fall upon the world which had condemned them " (Swete). **This seems to be the only possible explanation.** The lurid light of the coming judgment was reflected in the sea of glass. [There may, however, be no symbolism intended. The writer may use features in his description suggested by physical phenomena, in this case by the sunset on a still sea or lake. Details in these descriptions are perhaps not to be pressed any more than details in parables.—A. S. P.]—**victorious from the beast:** *i.e.* those who had refused to worship the Emperor and suffered martyrdom in consequence.—**the number of his name:** *i.e.* 666 (*cf.* 13$_{18}$).—**3. the song of Moses:** the song of triumph after the passage of the Red Sea which is given in Ex. 15.—**the song of the Lamb:** the new song of the redeemed. The character of this song is rather surprising. We should have expected a reference to the martyrs and certainly an allusion to the Lamb. Swete suggests that " In the presence of God the martyrs forget themselves, and their thoughts are absorbed by the new wonders that surround them . . . they begin to see the great issue of the world-drama, and we hear the doxology with which they greet their first unclouded vision of God."—**5. the tabernacle of the testimony:** 11$_{19}$*. Both in Hebrews and the Apocalypse the Tabernacle, rather than the later Temple, is the symbol of the Divine presence.—**6. the seven angels . . . plagues:** see ch. 16.—**arrayed with precious stones:** there is an interesting variation in the Gr. text here which accounts for the difference between AV and RV. The difference is explained by the fact that the Gr. words for " linen " (*linon*) and " precious stone " (*lithon*) are spelt exactly alike with the exception of a single letter, and might be easily interchanged. Authorities differ in their preference for one or other of two readings. Those who, with RV, adopt " precious stones " interpret the phrase by a reference to Ezek. 28$_{13}$. [The RV is intrinsically so improbable that one would hesitate to accept it even if it stood in the autograph, were that accessible. No one who has had much experience in the extent of error that arises in copying or in writing from dictation will easily believe that any weight of MS testimony could justify the acceptance of a reading so incredible. Ezek. 28$_{13}$ speaks of a number of stones, not of one, and Toy renders " adornment " rather than "covering."—A. S. P.]—**7. living creatures:** see 4$_6$*.—**golden bowls:** see 5$_8$—**8. temple . . . smoke:** based on Is. 6$_4$.

XVI. The Vision of the Bowls and the Plagues.—The seven bowls correspond to the seven seals and the seven trumpets, but there is this difference: " the beast " or Antichrist has now made his appearance in the drama, and the wrath of God is poured out upon him and his worshippers.—**2.** The first bowl. The wrath of God is poured out on the worshippers of the beast, *i.e.* Antichrist, *i.e.* Nero.—**mark of the beast:** 13$_{16}$*. —**worshipped his image:** *i.e.* the image or statue of the emperor (*cf.* 13$_{14}$f.).—**3.** The second bowl, like the second trumpet (8$_8$), destroys the " living creatures in the sea." *Cf.* also the first of the Egyptian plagues (Ex. 7$_{17–21}$).—**4.** The third bowl, following the precedent of the third trumpet (8$_{10}$), destroys the rivers and springs.—**5. angel of the waters:** in later Jewish thought every part of nature was under the control of some angel. The Book of Enoch (66$_2$) speaks of " the angels which were over the powers of the waters." Here the angel recognises the righteousness of the Divine action.—**6.** The explanation of the form which the Divine retribution assumed.—**7. the altar saying:** " a response comes to the angel of the waters from the

altar in heaven" (Swete).—**8.** The fourth bowl, like the fourth trumpet (8¹²), affects the sun, but whereas the trumpet diminishes its power, the bowl intensifies its heat.—**10.** The fifth bowl. The first four bowls produce general effects, but now the wrath of God smites the beast (Nero or Domitian) on his throne.—**12.** The sixth bowl lets loose forces in the Far East, at or near the river Euphrates (9¹⁴*), to attack and destroy the Roman Empire.—**Euphrates . . . dried up:** the object of this is to make it easy for the nations of the Far East to swoop down on the Roman Empire.—**13. dragon . . . beast . . . prophet:** 12³*, 13¹,¹¹*; "the prophet" here is the beast that comes up out of the earth in 13¹¹.—**unclean spirits . . . frogs:** metaphor for evil influences and impure impulses. [In Persian mythology frogs are regarded as agents of Satan.—A. J. G.]—**14. unto the kings:** to marshal the forces of unrighteousness to resist the doom of God.—**15.** Here the story of doom is interrupted for the moment, and a word of comfort and exhortation is vouchsafed to the Christians.—**16.** The prophet resumes, and pictures the mustering of the forces on the final battle-field at Har-Magedon (the more correct way of spelling the familiar Armageddon). The name Har-Magedon means "the mountains of Megiddo." We should naturally have looked for a word signifying the plain of Esdraelon on which Megiddo was situated, since that place was the scene of many battles in which the armies of Israel were concerned, and merited the description of G. A. Smith, "the classic battleground of Scripture." There were mountains near at hand, however, and the writer may have been influenced by Ezek. 38⁸,²¹, 39²,⁴, where the forces of Gog meet their overthrow "upon the mountains of Israel" (*cf.* Is. 14²⁵).—**17.** The seventh bowl. The scene of destruction this time is "the air." A mighty earthquake and a storm of hail follow, which involve the whole world, and specially Rome, in ruin.—**lightnings . . . thunders:** so also after the seventh trumpet (11¹⁹).—**a great earthquake:** earthquakes followed the opening of the sixth and seventh seals (6¹², 8⁵) and the seventh trumpet (11¹⁹), but this earthquake is described as the greatest of all.—**19. the great city:** here undoubtedly Rome (11⁸*).—**Babylon:** Rome (*cf.* 14⁸, 1 P. 5¹³*).—**21. great hail:** *cf.* the seventh trumpet (11¹⁹).—**a talent** was a round weight ranging from 108 to 130 lbs.—**blasphemed God:** the plagues only hardened the hearts of the opponents of Christianity (*cf.* 9²¹).

XVII. The Vision of the Harlot and the Beast.—In 14¹⁸ and 16¹⁹ brief statements have been made concerning the overthrow of Babylon, the name which is used in Revelation to denote the Roman Empire. In ch. 17 the whole drama of the destruction is unfolded in the form of a vision. A scarlet woman appears riding on a beast with seven heads and ten horns (*cf.* 13¹*). The woman is described as "drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs." The beast and the woman war against the Lamb of God and are overthrown. The explanation of the vision is apparent from the statements made by the seer himself. The woman represents Rome, "the city of the seven hills." The beast is the Empire personified in the Emperor Nero. The "seven heads" are seven kings, and the "ten horns" ten provincial rulers or satraps. Nothing could exceed the lurid picture of the Roman Empire drawn in the chapter, but the Neronian persecution justifies and more than justifies all that is written here.

1. harlot . . . waters: the description of Babylon in Jer. 51¹³, "thou that dwellest upon many waters," is here transferred to Rome. [Ultimately it goes back probably still further. The "many waters" refer to the watery chaos, the chaos monster, so that the beast on which the woman sits is really identical with the many waters on which she is said to sit in this verse.—A. S. P.]—**2. kings . . . fornication:** the imagery is that of OT (*cf.* Is. 23¹⁷). The sin of which these kings were guilty "consisted in purchasing the favour of Rome by accepting her suzerainty and with it her vices and idolatries" (Swete).—**3. into a wilderness:** *cf.* Is. 31.—**scarlet-coloured beast:** the beast, as in 13¹–¹⁰, is the political power of Rome personified in Nero. The term "scarlet" indicates the pomp and splendour of the Empire.—**full of names of blasphemy:** *i.e.* the imperial titles which claimed Divine honours for the Emperor.—**seven . . . horns:** 12³*.—**5. Mystery:** the term here means "symbol," and the whole phrase signifies, "This woman is the symbol of Babylon the Great."—**6. drunk with the blood:** a reference to the Neronian persecution. [If a Jewish source has been employed here, the original reference may have been to the appalling bloodshed in the war with Rome and the sufferings which followed the suppression of the rebellion. See p. 774.—A. S. P.]—**7. the mystery of the woman:** *i.e.* what the woman symbolises.—**8. was and is not:** like "the wounded head" in 13³, this phrase evidently refers to the legend of *Nero redivivus*. A widespread rumour was current through the Empire that Nero was not actually dead but in hiding and would soon return. *Cf.* Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 8), "About the same time Greece and Asia were greatly alarmed by a false report that Nero was about to reappear . . . so that many pretended that he was alive and even believed it." For other references to this belief, *cf.* Cent. B, pp. 56ff.—**out of the abyss:** this phrase implies that Nero had actually died, though in 13³ he seems to have recovered from his "wounded head." These contradictory statements represent two different forms of the legend.—**name . . . book of life,** etc.: 13⁸*.—**9. seven mountains:** Rome was described as "the city of the seven hills."—**10. seven kings:** this is a second interpretation of the "heads." The most probable explanation is: "The five are fallen," *i.e.* Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero are dead; "the one is," *i.e.* Vespasian is still reigning, "the other is not yet come," *i.e.* Titus is still to ascend the throne as seventh emperor (but *cf.* p. 928).—**11. an eighth and is of the seven:** *i.e.* Nero, who was the fifth emperor in the foregoing list, and on his return would be the eighth.—**12. ten horns:** probably ten Parthian satraps who were about to assist Nero to recover his kingdom and would be rewarded for their loyalty by receiving kingdoms.—**for one hour:** the rule of *Nero redivivus* would be of the shortest possible duration.—**14.** The victory of Christ over the empire of Antichrist.—**16. the ten horns:** 12*.—**shall hate the harlot:** the belief was that Nero would return in fury to wreak vengeance on Rome.—**17.** God uses the plans and devices of His enemies to fulfil His own purposes.—**18. the great city:** this verse proves that "Babylon" in this chapter must mean Rome, for the phrase "which reigneth over the kings of the earth" could only apply to Rome.

XVIII. The Dirge over the Fallen City.—This chapter contains a very fine threnody over Rome after her fall. It describes her desolation and ruin and the paralysis of her trade and commerce.

1. another angel: we have no means of identifying this angel of doom.—**2. habitation . . . bird:** *cf.* Is. 13²¹f., 34¹⁴, where the ruined cities of Babylon and Edom become the haunts of unclean spirits.—**3. kings of the earth:** 17²*.—**4. come forth:** "the

cry 'come forth' rings through Hebrew history (*e.g.* Gen. 12₁, 19₁₂, Nu. 16₂₆, Is. 52₁₁). . . . In this context the *sauve qui peut* is to be regarded partly as a feature borrowed from the OT model, partly as a warning to Christians at Rome to shun entanglement in the sin and punishment of Babylon" (Swete).—**6. double unto her:** this phrase is explained by Jer. 16 18 (*cf.* Is. 40₂).—**9. all the kings of the earth:** 17₂*. The vassal kings are the first to take up the strain of woe, because Rome was the prop upon which they leaned, and when it fell, they lost their main support.—**11. the merchants:** Rome was the market of the world in the first century of our era, and the merchants bemoan the loss of their trade. The list of the imports given in 11–14 is an indication of the wealth and luxury of the time.—**12. thyine wood:** *i.e.* all kinds of scented wood. Citrus or thyine wood was much prized for its veining, and was largely used in the manufacture of dining tables.—**13. cinnamon:** probably not the spice now called by that name but an unguent or cosmetic used as a perfume.—**chariots:** a fashionable kind of equipage much used in Rome by the wealthy classes.—**souls of men:** the Gr. phrase does not refer to what we mean when we use the term "soul." It denotes simply "the natural life." "Lives of men" would be the more exact rendering. The writer is alluding to "the traffic in human life," whether in the form of slavery or immorality, or the brutal sports of the amphitheatre.—**14. And the fruits:** lit. "and the ripe fruit of the desire of thy soul is gone from thee" (Swete) and all thy rich and sumptuous things have perished. "Just when the fruit of the labour of many generations seemed ready to fall into the mouth it had vanished like a dream" (Swete).—**17.** The dirge of the shipmasters and mariners follows that of the merchants.—**17–19.** There are many reminiscences in this passage of the lament over the fall of Tyre in Ezek. 27.

XVIII. 20–24. The Rejoicing in Heaven over the Fall of Rome.—20. judged your judgement: vindicated the cause of the Christian Church against Rome. **21. took up a stone:** a symbolical action to represent the utter destruction of the city (*cf.* Jer. 51₆₃f.). "As this stone is flung into the deep, so shall Babylon vanish" (Swete). —**22.** The sound of merriment and revelry is stilled: no sounds will in the future come from its industrial life, or domestic labour. The stillness of death will be over everything. For the imagery *cf.* Ezek. 26₁₃, Jer. 25₁₀.—**24. all that have been slain:** the language of this passage is hyperbolical. Rome could not be held responsible for all the martyrdoms that had occurred in the history of Israel. The seer, however, is referring principally to the martyrdoms of his own day, and as Rome was mistress of the world and responsible for its good government, "the loss of the lives sacrificed throughout the Empire lay at her door" (*cf.* Mt. 23₃₅).

XIX. The Hallelujah of Victory in Heaven and the Marriage of the Lamb.—We have here another illustration of the contrasts in the Book of Revelation. Ch. 18 gives us a dark and gloomy picture of Rome, 19 paints the scene of triumph in heaven.

XIX. 1–10. The Marriage of the Lamb.—1. Hallelujah: this term is found in NT only in this chapter. It means "Praise ye the Lord." It occurs in several psalms, but is always translated in the versions. The term itself is first found in the Apocrypha; *cf.* Tob. 13₁₈, "All her streets shall say 'Hallelujah'!"—**2. the great harlot:** Rome (*cf.* 17₁ff.*).—**3. her smoke:** *i.e.* the smoke from the ruins of the city.—**4. elders . . . creatures:** 4₄,₆*.—**7. marriage of the Lamb:** the first suggestion of a new theme, worked out in more detail in ch. 20. "It is the manner of the writer to throw out hints of the next great scene some time before he begins to enter upon it" (Swete). The metaphor of marriage is often found in OT to denote the ideal relationship between God and His people (*cf.* Hos. 2₁₉, Is. 54₁–₈, Ps. 45), and it is taken over in NT in the teaching of Jesus (Mt. 25₁) and by Paul (*e.g.* Eph. 5₂₃ff.). —**his wife:** *i.e.* the New Jerusalem, the Church of Christ (*cf.* 21₂).—**8. righteous acts:** we must compare with this the statement in 7₁₄, "They washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." —**10. see thou do it not:** this prohibition, which is repeated in 22₈f., seems to be introduced as a protest against the tendency to the worship of angels which undoubtedly existed in Asia Minor, as we know from the Epistle to the Colossians.—**hold the testimony of Jesus:** the meaning of this phrase is not quite clear. It may mean either "the testimony to Jesus," *i.e.* the common faith in Jesus, or the witness of Jesus Himself in their hearts.—**the spirit of prophecy:** one of the difficulties in the early Church was to find some criterion to judge between true and false prophets (1 Jn. 4₁–₃*). Here the "testimony of Jesus" is made the standard. The phrase means that the true prophet is to be recognised by the testimony of Jesus, *i.e.* either by his faithfulness to the common faith of the Church in Jesus (*cf.* 1 Cor. 12₃*), or, less probably, by the fact that he has the witness of Jesus in his heart.

XIX. 11–21. The Vision of the Triumphant Christ.—This paragraph really forms an introduction to the closing section of the book, where at last, after many pauses and delays, we reach the real *dénouement*. The last act of the drama falls into five scenes, of which this is the first. In this scene Christ is portrayed as a warrior riding on a white horse to the final conflict with Antichrist.

11. a white horse: the same imagery is used in 6₂, but "the white horse" there does not represent Christ but the spirit of militarism.—**Faithful and True:** *cf.* 15₃, 3₇,₁₄.—**12. flame of fire:** *cf.* 1₁₄.—**name which no man knoweth:** *cf.* 2₁₇, 3₁₂. This phrase seems to imply that the names usually bestowed upon Christ do not exhaust the significance of His person. "Only the Son of God can understand the mystery of His own Being" (Swete); *cf.* Mt. 11₂₇, "no one knoweth the Son, save the Father."—**13. sprinkled with blood:** The readings vary. Probably RV is right, but "dipped in blood" (AV) has very strong MSS support.—**The Word of God:** this phrase is probably used here with the same meaning as in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. "The Word" or Logos is employed in a technical sense (Jn. 1₁*).—**15. sharp sword:** *cf.* 1₁₆.—**rod of iron:** *cf.* 2₂₇, 12₅.—**winepress:** *cf.* 14₁₉.—**16. garment . . . thigh:** these phrases do not refer to two different inscriptions, but mean "on the cloak and on that most exposed part of it which covers the thigh" (Swete).—**King of Kings:** the same title is bestowed on the Lamb in 17₁₄.—**17.** *Cf.* Ezek. 39₁₇–₂₀, where the birds of prey are summoned to feast on the bodies of the slain.—**19. I saw the beast:** the last reference to the beast (the Roman power personified in Nero) was in 17₁₆ff., where he was forming a confederation of ten kings for the destruction of Babylon.—**20. the false prophet:** *cf.* 16₁₃. In 13₁₁f. he is described as the beast that cometh from the land.—**the signs:** a reference to the miracles wrought by "the false prophet" (13₁₃).—**the mark of the beast:** 13₁₆*. —**the lake of fire:** this phrase occurs in 20₁₀,₁₄f., 21₈. The expression is parallel to "the Gehenna of fire" of

the Gospels (Mt. 522, Mk. 943). Though burning by fire is the usual doom for the wicked (*cf.* Dan. 711, Mt. 1342), the phrase "lake of fire" is peculiar to Revelation.

XX. This chapter contains three scenes: (*a*) the binding of Satan and the millennial reign of Christ (1–6); (*b*) the release of Satan and the final conflict (7–10); (*c*) the general resurrection and the last judgment (11–15). [J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 326, compares from the Bundahish "the final unchaining of Aži Dahāka, the Old Serpent, which prepares for his final destruction, and the detail that he swallows the third part of men and beasts: *cf.* Rev. 202,7–10, 87–12, 915."—A. S. P.]

The first scene raises the problem as to the meaning of the millennium. Christ is described as reigning with the martyrs for a thousand years. The interpretation of this statement has caused endless controversy. We must approach the question by discussing the relation of the statements in the Apocalypse to current Jewish thought. The view, which was originally held, and which is strongly advocated in Daniel, maintained that the Kingdom of God which was to be established on earth would be everlasting (*cf.* Dan. 244, 727). Gradually, however, this gave way to the belief that the Messianic kingdom would be of limited duration. Various periods are allotted to the kingdom by different writers. The first reference to 1000 years is found in the Slavonic Book of Enoch, which dates from A.D. 1–50. The idea of a millennium arose from a combination of Gen. 23 and Ps. 904. Six millennia of toil were to be succeeded by a millennium of rest. In other writers, however, we find other estimates of the length of the Messianic reign. 4 Ezra, for instance, puts it at 400 years. It is obvious, therefore, that Rev. simply incorporates an idea which was current at the time, and belonged to the ordinary panorama of apocalyptic belief. The reign of Christ and the martyrs is simply an attempt to Christianise the eschatological tradition in vogue at the time. Since the age of Augustine, however, an effort has been made to allegorise the statements of Rev. and apply them to the history of the Church. The binding of Satan refers to the binding of the strong man by the stronger foretold by Christ. The thousand years is not to be construed literally, but represents the whole history of the Church from the Incarnation to the final conflict. The reign of the saints is a prophecy of the domination of the world by the Church. The first resurrection is metaphorical, and simply refers to the spiritual resurrection of the believer in Christ. But exegesis of this kind is dishonest trifling. It ignores the fact that the reign described in this chapter is not a reign of the saints, but a reign of the martyrs, all others being definitely excluded, and even the martyrs are so clearly described as to leave no doubt whatever that the reference is to the martyrs of the writer's own day. Besides, to put such an interpretation on the phrase "first resurrection" is simply playing with terms. If we explain away the obvious meaning of the words, then, as Alford says, "There is an end of all significance in language, and Scripture is wiped out as a definite testimony to anything." The only course open to the honest student of the book to-day is to regard the idea of a millennium as an alien conception which was foisted upon Christianity by the Jewish Apocalyptic of the first century. There is no support to be found for it in the teaching of Jesus, or in the rest of NT.

1–6. The Establishment of the Millennium.—1. key of the abyss: 91*.—**chain:** *i.e.* manacle or handcuff.—**2. dragon:** 123*.—**4. thrones:** the imagery is suggested by Dan. 79.—**they sat:** the subject of the sentence is omitted, and we do not know who are here denominated as judges; probably, however, the saints and martyrs referred to in the subsequent verses (*cf.* 1 Cor. 62).—**the beast:** *i.e.* the Emperor.—**mark:** 1316*.—**they lived and reigned:** there is no definite statement in the passage as to whether "the reign" was in heaven or on earth.—**5. The rest of the dead:** only the martyrs were raised from the dead; other Christians were apparently still in the sleep of death. This conception contradicts the teaching of Paul, who definitely states that "to be absent from the body" is to be "at home with the Lord" (2 Cor. 58).—**first resurrection:** these words must be taken literally and not spiritualised. According to Rev. the first resurrection was confined to the martyrs.—**second death:** *cf.* 14.

7–10. The Release of Satan and the Final Conflict.—8. Gog and Magog: the names are taken from Ezek. 38f., where Gog is the name of a prince and Magog the name of his country. The reference is to an attack by hostile nations, but we have no means of further identification.—**9. the beloved city:** Jerusalem.—**10.** the final overthrow of Satan is here described.—**beast and false prophet:** 1311*, 1613*.

11–15. The General Resurrection.—11. great white throne: in contrast to the thrones of 4. "In the final judgment there is but one throne, since there is but one judge" (Swete); "white" symbolises the purity of the judgment.—**fled away:** *cf.* 1620.—**12. the dead:** *i.e.* the rest of the dead who did not share in the first resurrection.—**books . . . book:** the books contained the record of the acts and deeds of men, the book of life contained the names of the redeemed.—**13. Hades:** the abode of the dead, not the place of their punishment.—**14. death and Hades** are here personified and regarded as two demonic powers.—**the second death:** the wicked after the resurrection are condemned to a second, an eternal death, in the lake of fire (*cf.* 218).

XXI.–XXII. 5. The Vision of the New Jerusalem.—The doctrine of the new heaven and the new earth goes back to Is. 6517, and is derived from the belief that the present world was so corrupt that it could not possibly be the seat of the Messianic kingdom, at any rate in its present condition. The idea was developed in the apocalyptic literature, especially in Ethiopic Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Ezra. Some expositors hold that the New Jerusalem was established with the foundation of the Christian religion, and that the history of the Church is the history of the building of the city. But such an interpretation is mere allegorising. The writer of Rev. indicates in the clearest possible way that the "holy city" will not be established upon earth till after the final judgment, and the description of the manner of its appearance does not correspond at all to anything in the history of Christianity. It is only by abandoning the plain meaning of the text that we can construe this description of the New Jerusalem in terms of the history of the Church. The writer of Rev. regarded it at any rate not as something which was to be slowly evolved in the process of the centuries, but as the final *dénouement* of history and the last intervention of God.

An interesting attempt to rearrange chs. 20–22 has recently been made by Charles (ET, xxvi. pp. 54f., 119f.) on the ground of the difficulty in harmonising certain statements in 21 with the situation described in 20. In 2013–15, for instance, the final judgment has already taken place, and condemned sinners have been plunged into the lake of fire; yet in 218 the wicked are still described as dwelling outside the

Holy City, and there is still a possibility of moral recovery; *cf.* 22$_2$, "the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." In order to avoid this apparent contradiction, Charles suggests that the writer intended to arrange his material in the following order: 20$_{1-3}$, 21$_{9-22_2}$, 22$_{14,15,17}$, 20$_{4-15}$, 21$_{1-8}$, 22$_{6,7,16,13,12}$, 22$_{8-10,20}$. According to this scheme the account of the millennial reign of Christ is very much expanded, and contains a vision of the New Jerusalem which comes down from heaven to be the abode of Christ and the glorified martyrs during 1000 years. The rearrangement, however, is so intricate that Charles has to assume that the author of the book died after reaching 20$_3$, and that the material which he left for the completion of the book was put together by a "faithful but unintelligent disciple." Beet in his reply to Charles (ET, xxvi. p. 217) argues that no such rearrangement is necessary, since the lake of fire need not have caused extinction of life in the case of the wicked any more than in the case of "the beast and the false prophet," who are described in 20$_{10}$ as "being tormented for ever and ever." Other scholars, *e.g.* Völter, J. Weiss, Spitta, and Bousset, prefer to assume that the materials for these chapters were derived from two, three, or even four different sources which the author of Rev. has not attempted to harmonise.

The vision of the New Jerusalem may be divided into the following sections: (*a*) the distant view of the new city (1–8), (*b*) the measuring of the city (9–17), (*c*) the character of the city (18–27), (*d*) the river and tree of life (22$_{1-5}$).

1–8. (*a*) **The Distant View of the City.—1.** *cf.* Is. 65$_{17}$. **—sea is no more:** "To the apostolic age the ocean spoke of separation and isolation. . . . For this element of unrest, this fruitful cause of destruction and death, this divider of nations and churches, there could be no place in a world of social intercourse, deathless life, and unbroken peace" (Swete). [Ultimately this probably goes back to the conception of the sea as God's turbulent enemy, which often finds expression in the OT and is based on the Babylonian myth of the conquest of the chaos monster which preceded the creation of the world. The last things are to be like the first, the creation of new heavens and new earth will be preceded by an even more splendid triumph, in which God's ancient enemy will be utterly destroyed. —A. S. P.]—**2. new Jerusalem:** see introductory remarks to this chapter.—**a bride:** *cf.* 19$_7$; also, for the imagery, Is. 61$_{10}$, 62$_5$.—**3. the tabernacle:** *i.e.* the abode of God; *cf.* Jn. 1$_{14}$ *mg.*, "The Word . . . tabernacled among us."—**4. death:** here personified as in 20$_{13}$.—**the first things:** the former world.—**6. the Alpha and the Omega:** 1$_8$*.—**7. He that overcometh:** this phrase occurs in each of the letters to the seven churches. All the great promises of Rev. are made to "him that overcometh."—**the fearful:** the cowards who failed in the contest with paganism.—**the abominable:** those who took part in the abominations connected with the worship of the beast.—**sorcerers:** dealers in magic.—**second death:** 20$_{14}$*.

9–17. (*b*) **The Measuring of the City.—9. seven bowls:** *cf.* ch. 16.—**10. to a mountain:** as in Ezek. 40$_2$. —**11. jasper stone clear as crystal:** possibly the stone indicated is a diamond or opal (4$_3$*).—**12. twelve gates:** *cf.* the description in Ezek. 48$_{31ff.}$.—**14. twelve apostles:** *cf.* Eph. 2$_{20}$, "built on the foundation of the apostles"; but it is not stated here that the apostles constituted the foundations, but that the names of the apostles were inscribed on the foundations.—**15.** *Cf.* Ezek. 40$_3$ and Rev. 11$_2$, **where, however, the city is destined to destruction, the Temple and altar being measured for preservation.—16.** The city is not merely a square, but a perfect cube, length, breadth, and height being equal.—**12,000 furlongs:** lit. *stadia*, *i.e.* nearly 1500 English miles. This figure might be intelligible when applied to the length and breadth, but when applied to height it becomes inconceivable. "Such dimensions defy imagination and are permissible only in the language of symbolism" (Swete).—**17. 144 cubits:** about 216 feet. If this figure refers to the height of the wall, it seems out of all proportion to the height of the city, which was over 7,000,000 feet high. The wall and the city, therefore, do not correspond, and this is another indication that the figures are not to be taken literally.

18–27. (*c*) **The Character of the City.—19f.** This list of stones should be compared with the stones of the high priest's breastplate (Ex. 28$_{17ff.}$ 39$_{10ff.}$) and the description of Tyre (Ezek. 28$_{13ff.}$). There is considerable difficulty in identifying these stones, but probably, as C. A. Scott (Cent.B) says, the sapphire is our lapis-lazuli, the chalcedony is our onyx, the emerald our emerald, the sardonyx our onyx, the sardius our cornelian, the chrysolite is a golden-yellow stone probably amber or topaz, the beryl is our beryl, the topaz our chrysolite but of a paler yellow, the jacinth is our sapphire, the amethyst our amethyst (see also *Precious Stones* in HDB).—**22. no temple:** "The city possesses no sanctuary, for it is itself a Holy of Holies. . . . The Eternal Presence renders the New Jerusalem one vast temple" (Swete).—**23.** This description is suggested by Is. 60$_{19}$. In fact the whole of 23–26 is practically borrowed from Is. 60.

XXII. 1–5. (*d*) **The River and the Tree of Life.—1. a river:** the introduction of the river into the scene is suggested by the description of the Garden of Eden in Gen. 2$_{10}$.—**out of the throne:** *cf.* Ezekiel's vision of the healing stream which issues out of the Temple (Ezek. 47$_{1-12}$).—**2. the tree of life:** the singular form is used; the context shows that there must have been more than one tree. There are trees on "this side" and on "that side" of the river. The description of the fruits is suggested by Ezek. 47$_{6-12}$.—**3. no curse any more:** the probable meaning is, "No accursed person or thing shall enter the city."—**service:** "To the final revelation of God there corresponds a perfected service" (Swete).—**on their foreheads:** *cf.* 7$_3$*, and contrast the mark on the right hands or foreheads of the worshippers of the beast (13$_{16}$).

XXII. 6–21. The Epilogue.—The Epilogue consists of the last words, warnings, and exhortations of the angel and the seer.—**6. these words:** the contents of the book.—**shortly come to pass:** the author thought his prophecies would be speedily fulfilled.—**7. I come quickly:** "I" means Christ. The voice of Christ is heard behind the voice of the angel.—**8. I, John:** *cf.* 19. —**I fell down:** as in 19$_{10}$.—**10. seal not:** contrast the instructions to the seer in 10$_4$.—**13. Alpha and Omega:** 1$_{13}$*.—**14. wash their robes:** the AV, following a different Greek text, translates "that do his commandments." The Greek phrases vary but little, and a change of two or three letters explains the difference. For the idea involved in RV, *cf.* 7$_{14}$.—**tree of life:** *cf.* 2. —**15. dogs:** the word was used as a term of contempt. It signified "impure or lascivious persons," and was also applied by Jews to Pagans (*cf.* Phil. 3$_2$, Mt. 7$_6$).—**16. root . . . David:** *cf.* 5$_5$.—**morning star:** the phrase is used in 2$_{28}$, but in a different sense. The imagery seems to have been suggested by Nu. 24$_{17}$.—**17.** The answer of the Church to the words of Jesus

in 16.—**the bride:** *i.e.* the Church.—**Come:** addressed to Jesus, beseeching Him to return, as in 20.—**he that heareth:** *i.e.* the book read in church or possibly the voice of the Spirit.—**he that is athirst:** here the parallelism of the clauses ceases. Instead of "let him say, Come" we have "Let him come." The reference is to the inquirer and seeker after truth, who cannot yet join in the Church's prayer for the return of Christ.—**18. If any man shall add:** *cf.* the warnings of Dt. 4_2, 12_{32}. We learn from the epistle of Aristeas (§311) that it was customary to conclude with such an imprecation. After the conclusion of the translation of the LXX "the whole company . . . bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon anyone who should make any alteration either by adding or changing or omitting anything."—**19. from the tree of life:** *cf.* 2*. This is the reading of the best MSS. The inferior reading, followed by the AV, renders "book of life."—**20.** The Apocalypse ends with the final assurance of the Lord, "Yea, I come quickly," and the responsive prayer of the Church, "Amen: come, Lord Jesus."

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES

By THE EDITOR

On the nature of Scripture see the bibliography on pp. 16 f.

A. The Hebrew Bible.—The most serviceable edition is Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, but there are valuable modern editions by Baer and Delitzsch, and by Ginsburg. P. Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the OT in Hebrew* (a critical edition, with much conjectural emendation; the sources are distinguished by colours). Unpointed texts by Boothroyd, and Foster. For the philological literature see p. 36.

B. The OT in Greek.—Swete, *The OT in Greek according to the Septuagint* (the most serviceable); Brooke and McLean, *The OT in Greek* (the larger Cambridge edition). Other editions by Tischendorf, and Lagarde (unfinished). On the grammar: Thackeray, *Grammar of the OT in Greek;* Helbing, *Grammatik der LXX;* Conybeare and Stock, *Selections from the Septuagint* (includes some grammar).

C. The NT in Greek.—Among editions of the Received Text (*i.e.* practically the text which lies behind AV), Scrivener, *Novum Testamentum Textus Stephanici* A.D. 1550[4], corrected by Nestle, is the most useful, as it contains an exhaustive presentation of the variations from it in Beza, Elzevir, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, WH, and the text implied in RV. Of the last-named, Souter's edition with a new Apparatus Criticus is the best. Of editions with extensive critical apparatus those by Tischendorf[8], Tregelles, and Von Soden are the most important; on a smaller scale, Baljon. Other editions are by Westcott and Hort (epoch-making, it contains an account of the principles on which the text has been constructed); B. Weiss; Von Soden (manual edition); Weymouth, *The Resultant Greek Testament;* Nestle (resultant text edited for Würtemburg Bible Society, more useful for students than the convenient edition prepared for the British and Foreign Bible Society).

D. Translations of the Bible.—Of the Vulgate (*i.e.* Jerome's translation of the Bible into Latin, a new critical edition is in preparation by a commission appointed by the Pope. For the NT, Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine* (manual edition), is the best; their large critical edition is in progress.—Of *English Translations* it is unnecessary to mention those down to the AV. In the present work the Revised Version is presupposed, including, of course, the Revisers' marginal notes and renderings. Other modern translations are: *Revised English Bible* (by Gotch, Davies, Jacob, and S. G. Green) and the 1911 *Tercentenary Commemoration Bible;* Rotherham, *The Emphasised Bible; The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures* (Roman Catholic Version, based not on the Vulgate but on the original, in progress).—*Translations of the OT:* Kent, *The Students' OT.*—*Translations of the NT: The Twentieth Century NT; The Corrected English NT;* Weymouth, *The New Testament in Modern Speech;* Moffatt, *The Historical NT* and *The NT: A New Translation.*—Portions of the Bible translated into English: P. Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the OT* (translation of Heb. edition mentioned above, Lev., Jos., Jg., Ps., Is., Ezek., published before the work was suspended); Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch;* Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (Parchment Library); Driver, *The Paralle Psalter, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah;* J. E. M'Fadyen, *The Psalms in Modern Speech, The Wisdom Books in Modern Speech, Isaiah in Modern Speech, Jeremiah in Modern Speech. The Oxford Church Biblical Commentary* includes a complete translation; and a translation of the poetical portions of OT is given in ICC, and some commentaries on individual books contain translations: Way, *The Letters of St. Paul;* Rutherford, *Th. and Cor., Rom.* Of *translations into German:* Kautzsch, *Die heilige Schrift des AT*[3]; Reuss, *Das AT;* Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob Die Psalmen, Das Buch Jeremia, Die Zwölf Propheten* (Eng. tr., *The Twelve Prophets,* by Duff); Weizsäcker, *Das Neue Testament.* Translations of OT are supplied in HK and SAT, of NT in SNT and HNT. Of *translations into French:* Reuss, *La Bible;* Renan, *Le livre de Job traduit de l'hebreu;* Lasserre, *Les Saintes Évangiles.*

E. Concordances.—For the Heb. Bible: Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiæ* (the standard work); *The Englishman's Heb. Concordance.*—For the LXX: Hatch and Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the OT.*—For the NT: Moulton and Geden, *A Concordance to the Greek Testament*[2]; Bruder, *Concordantiæ omnium vocum Novi Testamenti Græci*[4].—For the AV: Young, *Analytical Concordance to the Bible;* Strong, *Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible.*

F. Dictionaries of the Bible.—Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible* (vol. i. in revised edition); Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible* (5 vols.), also *A Dictionary of the Bible* (in 1 vol., not an abridgment of the preceding, but an independent work), *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, Dictionary of the Apostolic Church, Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (this includes important Biblical articles); Cheyne and J. S. Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica;* Jacobus, *A Standard Bible Dictionary;* Piercy, *Murray's Illustrated Bible Dictionary;* Orr, *The International Standard Bible Encyclopædia.* Also articles in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11]; *Chambers's Encyclopædia;* and the *Jewish Encyclopedia;* Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyclopädie für protestanische Theologie und Kirche,* of which The *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia* is an adaptation and abridgment.

G. Introductions to the Bible.—*To the whole Bible:* Bennett and Adeney. *A Biblical Introduction.*

To the OT: Driver, *Introduction to the Literature*

of the OT[9]; Cornill, *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the OT*; McFadyen, *Introduction to the OT*; Gray, *A Critical Introduction to the OT*; briefer works by Wright, Box, and Whitehouse; Kuenen, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*; König, *Einleitung in das AT*; Baudissin, *Einleitung in die Bucher des AT*. The development is sketched in Kautzsch, *An Outline of the History of the Literature of the OT*; H. T. Fowler, *A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel*; Reuss, *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des AT*[2]; Budde, *Geschichte der althebräischen Litteratur*[2]; H. Creelman, *Introduction to the OT, chronologically arranged*. See also W. R. Smith, *The OT in the Jewish Church*[2]; Cheyne, *The Founders of OT Criticism*; Orr, *The Problem of the OT*.

To the NT: Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the NT*[3]; B. Weiss, *A Manual of Introduction to the NT*; Salmon, *A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the NT*; Jülicher, *Einleitung in das NT*[5, 6] (Eng. tr., *An Introduction to the NT*, from 4th ed.); Zahn, *Introduction to the NT*; Hilgenfeld, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das NT*; H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das NT*[3]; briefer works by Bacon, Pullan, Peake, Allen and Grensted, Dods, M'Clymont, and G. C. Martin. See further Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*; Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur* (vol. i.); G. Milligan, *The NT Documents*; M. Jones, *The NT in the Twentieth Century*; Reuss, *History of the Sacred Scriptures of the NT*; Von Soden, *History of Early Christian Literature*; Gardner, *Historic View of NT*; McLachlan, *NT and Modern Knowledge*; M'Clymont, *NT Criticism, its History and Results*; Jacquier, *History of Books of NT—I. St. Paul and his Epistles*.

H. Biblical Theology.—*For the OT*: Schultz, *OT Theology*; A. B. Davidson, *The Theology of the OT*; H. W. Robinson, *The Religious Ideas of the OT*; Duff, *OT Theology, Hints on OT Theology, The Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews*; H. T. Fowler, *The Origin and Growth of the Hebrew Religion*; briefer works by Bennett, and Burney. See further the bibliography appended to the article on "The Religion of Israel" (p. 97). Other works: Baentsch, *Altorientalisches und israelitisches Monotheismus*; Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*; Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*; Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*; Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*.

For the NT: B. Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the NT*; Reuss, *History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age*; Beyschlag, *NT Theology*; Stevens, *Theology of the NT*; Bovon, *Théologie du Nouveau Testament*; H. J. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentlische Theologie*[2]; Feine, *Theologie des NT*[2]; Schlatter, *Theologie des NT*; Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des NT*; brief works by Adeney, Gould, Warman, and Sheldon. Other works: Titius, *Die neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit*; Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*; Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständniss des NT*; Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*; Shailer Mathews, *The Messianic Hope in the NT*; Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God*; J. F. M'Fadyen, *Jesus and Life*; J. Weiss, *Christ*; Lambert, *The Sacraments in the NT*; Scott, *The Apologetic of the NT*; Winstanley, *Spirit in the NT*; Du Bose, *The Soteriology of the NT*; Denney, *The Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation*; Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith*; J. E. Carpenter, *Phases of Early Christianity*.

I. Commentaries.—On the individual books the relevant bibliographies must be consulted. The following should be mentioned here:

On the whole Bible: *The International Critical Commentary*; *The Speaker's Commentary*; *The Pulpit Commentary*; *The Cambridge Bible*; *The Century Bible*; *The Westminster Commentary*; *The Oxford Church Biblical Commentary*; Dummelow, *A Commentary on the Holy Bible*, by various writers.

On the OT: *Kurzgefastes exegetisches Handbuch zum AT*; *Hand-kommentar zum AT*; *Kurzer Hand-commentar zum AT*; *Die Schriften des AT*; Ehrlich, *Randglossen zum hebräischen Bibel*.

On the Minor Prophets: (*a*) Horton (*Hosea to Micah*) and Driver (*Nahum to Malachi*) in Cent. B.; (*b*) Pusey; (*c*) Hitzig (KEH), *Orelli, Wellhausen[3], Nowack[3], (HK), Marti (KHC), Hoonacker, Duhm; (*d*) G. A. Smith (Ex.B.). Other literature: F. W. Farrar, *The Minor Prophets* (*Men of the Bible*); Duhm, *Die Zwölf Propheten übersetzt* (E. tr. by Duff).

On the NT: Bengel, *Gnomon NT*; Wetstein, *NT Græcum*; Alford, *Greek Testament*; *The Cambridge Greek Testament*; *The Westminster NT*; Meyer, *Kritisch-exegetisches Kommentar über das NT* (the Eng. tr. is made from Meyer's own work and that of his helpers; the German work in its later editions is entirely new); *Handcommentar zum NT*; *Die Schriften des NT*; *Handbuch zum NT*; Zahn, *Kommentar zum NT*.

J. Miscellaneous.—*The Cambridge Biblical Essays*; *London Theological Studies*; Foakes-Jackson, *The Parting of the Roads*; *Mansfield College Essays*; Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft*; Stade, *Ausgewählte Akademische Reden und Abhandlungen*; Gunkel, *Reden und Aufsätze*; Wrede, *Vorträge und Studien*; *Theologische Abhandlungen Carl von Weizsäcker gewidmet*; *Theologische Abhandlungen: Festgabe für H. J. Holtzmann*; Ezra Abbot, *Critical Essays*; *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (Yale Bicentennial Publications); Wernle, *Einführung in das theologische Studium*[2]; *A Companion to Biblical Studies* (edited by W. E. Barnes); Peake, *A Guide to Biblical Study*; Hamilton, *The People of God, Discovery and Revelation*; W. J. Moulton, *The Witness of Israel*; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*; Handcock, *The Archæology of the Holy Land*; R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer, Bible Side-Lights from the Mound of Gezer*; Baikie, *Lands and Peoples of the Bible*; Glazebrook, *The End of the Law*; Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the OT*; J. H. Bernard, *Studia Sacra*; L. W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition*; J. Rendel Harris, *Side-Lights on NT Research*; Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century*.

INDEX

A, *see* Codex Alexandrinus.
ℵ, *see* Codex Sinaiticus.
a text, 599.
a posteriori method, 2f.
a priori method, 2f.
Aahmes, 54.
Aaron, 123f, 168, 170, 173–176, 181–183, 188f, 191–193, 200–202, 209, 213–215, 219, 221–223, 228, 243, 275, 289, 295, 301, 316, 382, 389, 391, 394, 624, 719, 859, 892; descendants of, 215, 250, 254, 382, 586; sons of, 106, 124, 201f, 215, 222, 254.
Aaron's rod, 173–175, 221, 223.
Aaronic priesthood, 126f, 236.
Ab, 105, 117, 323, 329, 418.
Abaddon, 359, 404, 934.
Abana, 33.
Abarim, 33, 485, 517.
Abar-Naharah, 61.
Abba, 664, 668, 711, 824, 859.
Abdashirta, 55.
Abdi-Khiba, 55, 148.
Abdon, 66.
Abed-nego, 525.
Abel, 98, 134, 141, 720, 897, 899, 918, 935.
Abel-beth-maacah, 291, 416.
Abel-cheramim, 266.
Abel-mizraim, 134, 167.
Abel-Shittim, 229.
Abgar of Edessa, 704.
Abiathar, 45, 67, 275, 283, 289–291, 294–296, 474, 476, 482, 519; (mistake for Ahimelech), 684, 712.
Abib, 103, 105, 117f, 127, 177, 179.
Abibaal, 287, 297.
Abiel, 280.
Abiezer, 227, 263f.
Abiezrites, 263.
Abigail, mother of Amasa, 290; wife of Nabal, 284, 290.
Abihu, 168, 188, 191, 201.
Abijah, king of Judah, 70, 76, 120, 301, 319; son of Jeroboam I., 301.
Abijam, 301, *see* Abijah, king of Judah.
Abila, 33, 727.
Abilene, 727.
Abimelech, contemporary of Abraham, 133, 153f, 390; contemporary of Isaac, 156, 390; (mistake for Achish), 378; son of Gideon, 66, 244, 261, 264f, 318; son of Joshua, 300.
Abiram, *see* Dathan and Abiram.
Abishag, 294f.
Abishai, 284f, 291f.
Abishalom, 301.
Abner, 44, 67, 280–282, 285–287, 295, 300, 367.
Abomination, 76, 131, 165, 478, 507, 519, 942; of desolation, 523, 531–533, 696, 739.
Abortion, the, 846.
Abraham, 18, 20f, 34, 83f, 98, 108, 119, 124–127, 133f, 146–156, 255, 300, 456, 466, 471, 513, 586, 701f, 728, 747, 753f, 780, 784f, 806, 821, 898, 910; a prophet, 121f, 127, 153; and Abimelech, 153f, 390; and Amraphel, 119; and Christ, 753f; and Hagar, 150f, 153f; and Isaac, 108, 151–155, 821, 825, 898, 905; and Ishmael, 151, 153f, 156; and Keturah, 63, 155f; and Lot, 134, 146f, 149, 153, 233; and Melchizedek, 149, 893f; and Nimrod, 702; and Pharaoh, 147, 153, 390; and Sarah, 147, 149–155, 725, 898; and Yahweh, 21, 124f, 127, 130, 146f, 149–154, 351; blessing of, 146, 859; call of, 119, 146, 462, 784, 898; children (descendants) of, 127, 515, 702, 753, 821, 825, 860, 910; circumcision of, 83, 151, 251, 784, 821; covenants with, 11, 21, 127, 144, 150f, 234, 640, 784, 821, 825; date of, 119, 297; death of, 155f; defeats four kings and rescues Lot, 147–149; faith of, 146, 149f, 640, 806, 821, 829, 898, 905; falsehood of, 147, 153; father of believers, 821; friend of God, 258, 320, 905; historicity of, 119; hospitality of, 21, 152; intercession for Sodom, 152; justification of, 150, 640, 821, 905; migration to Canaan, 146; promises made to, 126f, 146f, 149–151, 380, 784, 806, 821, 893, 898, 905; purchases cave of Machpelah, 22, 154f.
Abraham's bosom, 736.
Abram, 63, 146, *see* Abraham.
Abrech, 163.
Absalom, 20, 67, 101, 244, 273, 289–291, 294f, 301, 367, 452.
Absolution, 715.
Abstinence, 101, 105, 219, 228, 525, 622, 650, 884.
Abydos, 405.
Abyss, the, 135–137, 143f, 166, 234, 349, 404, 731, 825, 934, 939, 941.
Acacia, 546.
—— wood, 123, 189–191.
Accents, 40, 42, 372.
"Accept the person," 586, *see* Respect of persons.
Acceptable year of the Lord, the, 665, 728, 743.
Accho, Acco, Akka, Akko, Acre, 28f, 259, 560.
Aceldama (field of blood), 722, 778.
Achaia, 613, 771, 797, 829, 848, 857, 881.
Achaicus, 848.
Achan, 64, 83, 108, 199, 251f, 280, 303, 488, 510, 754, 824.
Achilles, 21.
Achish, 66, 283, 285.
Achmetha, 328.
Achor, valley of, 252, 472, 537.
Achsah, 258.
Achzib, 560.
Acquittal, 101, 438.
Acra, 104, *see* Citadel.
Acres, 440.
Acropolis, 796.
Acrostic, 391, 397f, 409f, 496–500, 564.
—— poem, psalm, 375, 377f, 391f, 396, 496–500.
Actium, battle of, 609, 656.
Acts, heretical, 596.
—— of Paul, 596; of Paul and Thecla, 768, 792; of Peter, 777; of Pilate, 653, 741; of Solomon, 294.
Acts of the Apostles, 16, 25, 247, 595, 605, 652, 681, 742, 776–804; a defence of Christianity, 681, 774; and Josephus, 724, 777, 783, 790; and the Pauline Epistles, 16, 639, 724, 734, 766, 769–771, 776f, 787, 791, 799, 802, 857–859; and the travel document, 605, 776, 803; attitude to the Roman authorities, 605, 741, 771f, 774, 795, 797, 800–802, 804; author, 16, 742, 776f, 798; by author of third Gospel, 16, 605, 742, 776; canonicity, 776; conception of Christianity, 777; contents, 16, 776; date, 658, 681, 742, 772, 777, 804; evidence as to organisation, 645–647, 778, 783, 785f, 789, 791, 793, 798f; "Gospel of the Holy Ghost," 766; historical character of, 605, 776f; language of, 592, 742, 776f; legendary element in, 776; literary characteristics of, 25, 602, 605, 742; possibly left unfinished, 772; prominence of women, 792; representation of Paul, 16, 25, 605, 776f; sources, 605, 742, 766, 776; speeches in, 16, 25, 605, 776, 794, 779–785, 788f, 791–793, 796, 798–802; stress on the Resurrection, 777, 779, 782, 796, 801f; text, 599f, 777; theory of two editions, 777; title, 605, 776; unity of, 776f; use of Old Testament in, 778–781, 784–786, 791f, 804; "We passages" in, 724, 742, 776f, 790, 794, 803; written by Luke, 16, 605, 724, 742, 777, 798.
—— xv. and Gal. ii., relation between, 16, 770, 789f, 858f.
Acts of Uzziah, the, 315.
Actus Petri cum Simone, 780.
Adad, 299, *see* Hadad.
Adad-nirari III., 58; IV., 58.
Adam (man), 5, 75, 125, 127, 141, 151, 284, 314f, 361, 623, 728, 822f, 846, 855, 924; and Christ, 822, 846f; fall of, 434; first wife of, 459; sin of, 883.
—— of his own soul, 433f.
—— (place), 539.

Adar, 104f, 117, 323, 328, 338f, 652, 720; II., 117.
Adar-melek, 552.
Adasah, 104, 337, 607.
Adder, 383, 389, 480.
Admah, 539, 541.
Administration, 645–647.
"Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage," 429.
Adonai, 172, 217, 497f.
Adonibezek, 258.
Adonijah, 20, 67, 113, 294f, 318, 330, 452, 519.
Adoniram, 169, 297.
Adonis, 448, 507, 632; plantings of, 448; wailing for, 632; (river), 216.
Adonizedek, 258.
Adoption, 808, 811, 824, 863, *see* Sonship.
Adoram, 296f.
Adria, 805.
Adriatic, 795, 803.
Adriel, 282.
Adullam, 31, 66, 114, 277, 283, 287, 292, 395, 560.
Adulteress, 406, 469, 765, 842.
Adultery, 112, 156, 184, 208, 289, 361, 399f, 469, 512, 537, 539, 629, 664, 693, 705, 765, 883, 905, 930, *see* Fornication; (figurative), 259, 510, 906.
Adversity, 257, 351, 355f, 362, 370, 391, 405, 415, 482.
Ægean, the, 848, 931.
Æneas, 788.
Æneid, 431.
Ænon, 749.
Æolic, 591.
Æons, 746, 882, 916, 918.
Æschylus, 21.
Ætiological stories, 134, 139, 145, 165, 168, 223.
Affection, 827, *see* Love.
Africa, 219, 299, 337, 446, 613, 615, 789, 803.
African Latin, 599.
After growth, 408.
Agabus, 789f, 799.
Agag, 66, 83, 226, 280, 304, 337.
Agamemnon, 21.
Agape, *see* Lovefeast.
Agate, 191.
Age (world), the present, 805, 807, 841, 851, 864, 890, 897.
—— (world) to come, 805, 807, 841, 864, 890, 897; power of, 893.
Aged, the, 415, 579, 621.
Ager Romanus, 804.
Ages, 869, 882.
Agricola, 657; life of, 604.
Agricultural implements, 438, 456, 546; religion, 81, 85, 87, 96, 101–103, 210, 477, 489, 629–631.
Agriculture, agricultural life, 28, 30–32, 50, 52, 66, 84f, 87, 96, 98, 101f, 111f, 117f, 127, 156, 162f, 169, 177, 184, 187f, 193, 206, 210f, 256, 307, 387, 399, 402, 408, 414, 436, 438, 457, 477, 488f, 491, 494, 521, 574, 629f.
Agur, 397f, 409.
Ahab, 21, 30, 69–71, 73f, 87f, 119f, 244, 302–308, 311f, 448, 549; alliance with the Zidonians, 73, 302; and Assyria, 69, 119, 244, 246; and Benhadad II., 69, 303f, 306; and Elijah, 73, 87f, 96f, 302–304; and Jehoshaphat, 69–71, 76, 304f, 420; and Jezebel, 73, 302, 304, 307; and Micaiah, 69, 304; and Naboth, 87, 109, 304, 361, 520, 562; and Syria, 69, 111, 303f, 320; death of, 69, 245, 304f; family of, 30; idolatry of, 73, 96f, 302–304; overthrow of his dynasty, 69f, 304, 307f, 426, 489, 536; palace of, 30; prophets of, 69, 265, 281, 304; sons of, 69f, 74, 306–308, 536.
Ahasuerus, *see* Xerxes, 39; father of Darius the Mede, 528.
Ahava (river), 78, 329.
Ahaz, 59, 70f, 74, 76, 120, 308–311, 321, 436, 438, 441–443, 447, 512, 536, 538, 559.
Ahaziah, king of Israel, 68–70, 76, 120, 302, 304–306, 320; king of Judah, 30, 68–70, 74, 76, 120, 307f, 320.
Ahijah, contemporary of Zerubbabel, 327; priest of Saul, 279, 283; the Shilonite, 20, 67, 113, 300f.
Ahikam, 72f, 486, 490f.
Ahikar, 915.
Ahimaaz, 290f.
Ahimelech (priest), 283, 289; the Hittite, 284.
Ahinoam, 284.
Ahithophel, 290, 292, 295, 382.
Ahitub, 283, 289.
Aholiab, 298.
Ahriman, 61, 404.
Ai, 31, 64, 245, 249, 252, 270, 444; (in Ammon), 493.
Aiath, 444.
Aijalon, 31, 110, 253, 259, 267, 279.
Ain Karim, 726.
Air, the, 864, 939; full of evil spirits, 864.
Ajalon, *see* Aijalon.
Akaba, 111; Gulf of, 32, 64, 71, 148f, 170, 180f, 219f, 229, 232f, 299, 438, 548.
Akhenaten, 54, *see* Amenhetep IV.
Akiba, *see* Aqiba.
Akka, *see* Accho.
Akkad, 51, 148.
Akko, 112, *see* Accho.
Akrabbim, 229, 235; ascent of, 259.
Aku, 525.
Alabaster box of ointment, 697.
Alamoth, 316, 380.
Alarum, 570.
Alashiya, 55.
Albinus, 610, 656.
Alcala, 597.
Alcetas Halicus, 690.
Alcimus, 370, 382, 385, 607.
Alcohol, 202.
Alcuin, 6.
Aleppo, 449.
Alexander, associate of Caiaphas, 781; (coupled with Hymenaeus), 649, 882; (Jew of Ephesus), 798, 882; (kinsman of Annas), 781; (son of Herod the Great), 609, 656; (son of Simon of Cyrene), 698, 882; the coppersmith, 887.
—— the Great, 10, 62, 79, 81, 325, 337–339, 371, 446f, 524, 526, 528f, 531, 566, 591, 630, 668, 694, 844; and the Jews, 79, 120; captures Gaza, 79, 446; captures Tyre, 79; conquers Persia, 48, 62, 79, 227, 368, 447, 453, 529; death of, 62, 446, 524, 529, 531; extent of his conquests, 62, 637; founds Alexandria, 62; places Jews in Alexandria, 79, 607; son of, 531; successors of, 62, 79, 371, 380, 524, 526, 528f, 607, 614; work of, 607.
Alexander Balas, 414, 416, 608.
—— Jannæus, 120, 374, 384, 388, 391, 608, 704.
—— Polyhistor, 142.
Alexandra, Queen, 608.
Alexandria, 62, 121, 372, 595f, 600f, 615, 658, 743f, 773, 803f, 889; commerce of, 112, 607; foundation of, 62; Jews in, 6, 79, 94, 112, 607, 655, 657; Old Testament translated into Greek at, 40, 607; schools of, 607.
Alexandrian Canon of Old Testament, 39, 607.
—— culture, 603, 607; philosophy, 890; text, 600.
Alexandrians, 783.
Alkali, 438, 477, 587.
All flesh, 384, 394, 473, 546, 619.
Allegorical interpretation, 5f, 18, 380, 402, 414, 418, 421, 625, 628, 667, 841, 890f, 893, 941.
Allegory, 6, 25, 64, 254, 418, 510, 514, 534, 536, 575–577, 583f, 634, 686, 695, 719, 734, 736, 743, 750, 910, 914.
Alliance, 56, 296f, 304, 320, 437, 447–450, 456, 512, 539, 542, 548.
Alliteration, 453, 498.
Alloy, 438, 479, 587.
'Almah, 442.
Almond, almond tree, 111, 417, 477.
Alms, almsgiving, 406, 623, 705f, 721, 725, 733, 736, 738, 780, 788, 854.
Alogi, 595, 743f.
Alps Maritimae, 613.
Alpha and Omega, 929, 942.
Alphabet, 36f, 375, 391f, 396, 498, 869, 929; origin of, 54.
Alphabetic writing, 257.
Alphæus, father of James, 709; father of Levi, 709.
Alps, 615.
Altar, 74, 82, 87, 98, 103, 105, 124f, 128f, 131, 144, 146, 156, 161, 168, 177, 182f, 186, 188f, 191–193, 197–201, 206, 210, 215–217, 225, 230f, 238, 245, 247, 252, 254f, 259, 263, 265, 267, 274, 276f, 279f, 285, 293, 295f, 300f, 303, 309, 318, 320f, 326, 369, 374, 377, 379, 382, 441, 449f, 454, 477, 483, 498, 506f, 518–520, 523f, 530–532, 539f, 542, 545, 549f, 553, 572, 584, 586, 607, 620, 630–633, 725, 753, 826, 829, 840, 926, 932–935, 942; communion with, 841; earthen, 130, 186, 189, 191; horns of, 199, 295, 483, 519, 540; stone, 186, 189, 191; wooden, 191, 518; of Ahaz, 74, 309; of burnt offering, 77, 104f, 192, 194, 197, 201, 206, 215, 221, 323, 326, 437, 532, 545, 572, 610, 933, 935; of incense, 100, 192–194, 199, 201, 215, 475, 895, 933; of witness, 254f; the bronze, 74, 191f, 318; to the unknown God, 796.
Altar fire, 104, 200.
—— hearth, 456, 519.
Altars on roofs, 311f; plurality of, 87, 128, 252.
Altruism, 411.

Alvan, 34.
Am ha'aretz, 327, 624, 753.
Amalek, Amalekites, 63, 66, 149, 182, 219, 226f, 241, 258, 260, 280, 285f, 337, 387.
Amalthus, 230.
Amanuensis, 830, 880, 922.
Amariah, 76.
Amasa, 290f, 295.
Amasis, 492.
Amazian, king of Judah, 68, 70f, 76, 120, 209, 308f, 321; priest of Bethel, 547, 553.
Ambassadors, 289, 403, 447, 449, 456, 458, 867, 871.
Amber, 504, 942.
Ambition, 827, 873, 922.
Ambush, 252, 306, 568.
Amen, 216, 824, 844, 850, 906.
Amen (Egyptian deity), 55, 57.
Amen, the, 931.
Amenhetep I., 54; II., 54; III., 54f, 248; IV., 54f, 148, 248.
Amenophis I., *see* Amenhetep.
Amethyst, 191, 942.
Amil-Marduk, 77.
Amittai, 309.
Ammah, 287.
Ammon, 57, 67, 72f, 76, 100, 111, 130, 153, 163, 225, 233, 260, 266, 278, 280, 290, 431, 449, 491, 493, 512f, 533, 548, 569f, 582.
Ammonites, 63, 65, 72, 76, 147, 149, 233, 240, 256, 271, 278, 289, 299, 316, 320, 445, 482, 548f.
Amnon, 67, 273, 289.
Amon (god), 105, 492; (king of Judah), 74, 76, 120, 311f, 322, 569.
Amorites, 26, 51, 53, 55, 63f, 128, 149f, 154, 172, 220, 224, 232–234, 254–256, 259, 266, 329, 448, 510, 549.
Amos, 3, 31, 45f, 68, 88f, 107, 109, 112, 127f, 130, 231, 247, 250, 280, 331, 338, 367, 424–427, 436, 439f, 475, 501, 544, 547–553, 560, 569, 587, 784, 906; and Amaziah, 45, 424, 547, 553; at Bethel, 112; earliest of literary prophets, 424, 427, 547; his reason for writing, 45, 424, 547; visions of, 477, 547, 552f.
—— Book of, 408, 541, 547–554, 555; closing verses post-exilic, 424f, 554; date of, 547; later insertions in, 547–552, 554; rearrangement of, 547.
Amos (mistake for Amon), 701.
Amphipolis, 795.
Amphitheatre, 836, 940.
Amram, 174.
Amraphel, 51, 119, 148.
Amulets, 161, 220, 405, 509, 719, 930.
Amun, temple of, 301.
Amurru, 51, 53.
Anachronism, 526.
Anak, Anakim, 219, 233, 258, 493.
Anak, sons of, 219f, 258.
Anam-melek, 552.
Ananias (High Priest), 800.
—— and Sapphira, 648, 767, 782, 788.
—— of Damascus, 768, 787, 800, 802.
Ananus (High Priest), 610.
Anarchism, 828.
Anarchy, 68, 438, 534, 537, 539, 610.
Anastasis, 796.
Anath, 261.
Anathema, 824, 848.
Anathoth, 31, 73, 295, 444, 474–476 479, 481f, 488.
Anaxagoras, 6.
Ancestor, 82, 108, 237.
—— worship, 83, 101, 291, 471, 716.
Anchor, 803, 893, 907; emblem of hope, 893.
Ancient of days, 528f, 929.
Ancients, the Wisdom of the, 353.
Andrew, 709, 729, 751, 757, 764.
Andronicus, 643, 646, 830.
Angel interpreter, 575–577; marriages, 133, 139, 142, 146, 160, 220, 434, 842, 911; of the abyss, 404; of the waters, 938; of trial, 576; of Yahweh, 72, 150f, 154, 171, 180, 188, 259, 263, 267, 311, 378, 401, 576f, 587, 701; princes, 453, 531, 716; reapers, 546.
Angelology, 46f, 61, 317, 361f, 842.
Angels, 5, 133, 137f, 152f, 156f, 159, 188, 225, 274, 293, 317, 347, 350, 358, 361–363, 370, 375, 390, 414, 471, 507f, 526f, 531, 533, 546, 576f, 620, 622, 662, 695f, 716, 719f, 722, 725f, 730f, 733, 746, 750, 764, 768, 778, 782, 786, 800, 824, 834, 836f, 841–844, 851, 858–860, 864f, 868, 883, 890f, 899, 901, 909, 911, 928f, 931–934, 936–939, 942; affinity with the Fravashis, 716, 929; and Christ (Jesus), 662, 682, 696, 701–703, 719, 726, 731, 733, 748, 834, 864, 868, 883, 890f, 911, 928f, 934; and Enoch, 910f; and man, 375, 899, 909; and Nature, 938; and women, 133, 142, 220, 434, 650, 842, 911; battles of, 359; called "the strong," 386; changed into wind and flame, 890; coming to nought, 834; constitute the heavenly court, 137, 347, 370; counterpart, 716, 790; crucified Christ, 834; destroying, 220, 361, 501f, 507f, 546, 841; evil, 5, 386, 721, 812, 837, 851; fallen, 433, 910, 914, 924; fallible, 350; give the Law, 784, 834, 859f, 890; guardian, 531, 533, 716, 929, 933, 936; ignorance of, 834, 865; instruments of Divine government, 46f, 527; intercessory, 350, 361, 868; intermediaries between God and man, 46f, 126, 414, 434, 746; languages of, 648, 843f; lust of, 142; manna, food of, 386; misrule of, 142; not sinless, 350, 356, 370, 837, 865, 868; of children, 716; of death, 395, 733, 934; of justice, 370; of mercy, 361, 370; of the Churches, 646, 716, 929; of the nations, 453, 531, 716; of the presence, 716, 928; orders of, 46, 434, 824, 844, 864, 868, 911, 931; originally gods, 95, 375; possess superhuman knowledge, 834; rebel, 359; reconciled to God, 868; regarded as mediators, 868; rulers of the world, 834; servants of the saints, 890; song of, 909; to be judged by Christians, 837; winged, 157, 530; worship of, 868f, 890, 940.
Anger, 83, 134, 157, 159, 163, 170, 264, 356, 404f, 408f, 415, 499, 539, 548, 558, 664, 684, 689, 705, 785, 870, 898, 904, *see* God, Anger of.
Animal food, permission of, 144.
Animal offering, 98–100, 103, 154, 206, 217, 222, 237, 266, 385, 542, 586, 620, 863, 895f, 900.
Animals, 45, 135, 137–139, 142–144, 150f, 158f, 165f, 176, 187f, 197, 199, 202f, 206, 209, 212, 222, 225f, 236, 238, 241, 296, 343, 355, 362, 381, 385, 403, 420, 457f, 527, 586, 621, 712, 734, 748, 895, 924; creation of, 135, 137f, 140; distribution of, 143; intelligence of, 140, 355, 362; sacred, 215; speech used by, 140, 225; worship of, 502, 507.
Animism, 110, 263, 276.
Anise, 12, 720.
Ankle chains, 228, 439; rings, 439.
Anna, 727.
Annalists, 110.
Annals, 45.
Annas (High Priest), 610, 653, 657, 727, 762, 781.
Annius, Rufus, 656.
Ano, *see* Anoth.
Anointed, 499, 568; of Yahweh, 284, 325, 371, 373, 377, 388.
Anointed one, 530–532.
Anointing, 66f, 69, 82, 124, 157, 161, 191f, 193, 195, 201f, 215, 217, 276–278, 280f, 286, 295, 297, 303f, 307f, 464, 531, 540, 577, 688, 697, 706, 721, 730, 755, 757, 850, 863f, 918; of the dead, 697, 702, 722.
Anoth, 300f.
Anshan, 61, 77.
Ant, 400.
Antediluvians, 119, 141, 911.
Antelope, 151, 158, 467.
Anthony, St., 693.
Anthropology, 451.
Anthropomorphism, 19, 24, 99, 127, 134f, 138, 144, 152, 198, 241, 276, 369, 379, 383, 618, 628, 630, 931.
Antichrist, 372, 433, 612, 701, 711, 774, 853, 863, 877, 879f, 918f, 921, 926f, 933, 935f, 938f; of the tribe of Dan, 933.
Antichrists, 918.
Antigone, 414.
Antigonus, brother of Aristobulus, 608; king of the Jews, 120, 609.
Anti-Lebanon, 28, 32, 727.
Antimony, 307, 479.
Antinomianism, 822, 828, 838, 852, 861, 902, 905, 916, 929.
Antioch (Pisidia), 614f, 769f, 791–793, 857; (Syria), 62, 112, 532, 581f, 596, 600f, 629, 647, 654, 724, 744, 767–770, 783, 789–791, 793f, 797, 802, 858f, 913, 923f.
Antiochian text, 599.
Antiochus I. (Soter), 524, 528; II. (Theos), 80, 524, 528, 531; III. (the Great), 62, 80, 120, 414, 416, 523f, 528, 532; IV. (Epiphanes), 10, 62, 80f, 94, 104, 108, 120, 131, 337–339, 368, 377, 379f, 385–387, 406, 414, 433, 496f, 522–533, 581, 607, 609, 778, 790, 937; his persecution of the Jews, 62, 94, 367f, 380, 386, 433, 522–524, 527–532, 580f, 605, 607, 935, 937; VII., 740.
Antiochus Eupator, 607.
—— Sidetes, 608.
Antipas, *see* Herod Antipas.
—— (martyr), 926, 930.
Antipater (father of Herod the Great), 608, 656; (grandfather of Herod the Great), 656; (son of Herod the Great), 609.
Antipatris, 28, 801.
Antiphonal singing, 327, 440.

Antonia (fortress), 698, 734, 762, 790, 800.
Antoninus Pius, 656, 658.
Antonius (Mark Antony), 608f, 612.
Anvil, 461.
Anxiety, 659, 664, 696, 707, 733, 874f, 910.
Apes, 111.
Aphaca, 218.
Apharsachites, 328.
Aphek, 276, 304, 309.
Aphorism, 45, 341f, 344, 350, 397f, 402, 404–409, 903.
Aphraates, 601.
Aphrah, 560.
Aphrodisiacs, 158.
Aphrodite, 6, 218, 299.
Apion, 39.
Apis, 492.
Apocalypse, 48, 424, 431, 453f, 605, 696, 732, 864; the, *see* Revelation, Book of; of Baruch, 433f, 773, 930, 941; of Ezra, 934; of Peter, 434, 596, 927.
Apocalyptic, 5, 46–48, 82, 92, 338–340, 411, 431–435, 438, 442, 447, 453f, 498–500, 503, 525f, 528, 544, 546, 561, 581f, 660, 694, 696, 703, 708, 721, 737, 809, 828, 876–880, 909, 926, 935, 941; and Christianity, 435, 661; and prophecy, 10, 46, 48, 431; and the Old Testament Canon, 434; catastrophic expectation of, 431f; characteristics of, 46–48, 432f, 661, 696; contribution to theology, 434; dualism of, 434; eschatology of, 404, 431f, 434, 453, 582; history disguised as prediction, 48; in New Testament, 605f; meaning of the term, 431; origin of, 432; pessimism of, 431f; place in Jewish thought, 434; problem of, 46, 431f; pseudonymity of, 48, 431f; rise of, 46, 432; style of, 432; symbolism of, 432f, 453; value of, 435.
Apocalyptic discourse, 677; literature, 10, 14, 25, 35, 37, 48, 431–435, 582, 605, 618, 636f, 660f, 704, 706, 710, 713, 743, 807, 863, 867, 876, 902, 906, 909, 912, 926, 931f, 935, 938, 941; translations of, 434; symbols, 595; tradition, 433, 637, 863, 937, 941.
Apocrypha, 10, 14, 20, 35, 39, 244, 527, 533, 607, 618, 636, 753, 914; canonicity of, 39–43.
Apocryphal Acts, 725, 790; Gospels, 595.
Apollo, 627f, 936; birth of, 936.
Apollonia, 795.
Apollonius of Rhodes, 591; of Tyana, 605, 687, 764; (Syrian general), 607; writer against Montanism, 901.
Apollos, 771, 797, 832f, 835f, 848, 854, 888f.
Apollyon, 404, 934.
Apologetics, 647, 681, 807, 817.
Apologists, the, 870.
Apostasy, 21, 47, 74, 76, 113, 119, 259f, 277, 312, 321, 376, 379, 391, 502, 504, 510, 530f, 533, 549, 554, 560, 569, 631, 775, 879, 883, 891, 893, 897, 920, 933.
Apostates, 93, 379, 454, 464, 472f, 531f, 607, 693, 716, 915.
Apostles, the, 9, 13, 36, 592, 595f, 604, 640, 643, 645f, 655, 661f, 664–670, 681–694, 697, 704, 709f, 713–717, 719–722, 728f, 731–733, 736, 740–742, 747–752, 754f, 757–770, 772f, 776–783, 785f, 788f, 791, 794, 800, 808f, 826, 836f, 840, 845f, 849, 853, 858, 864f, 890, 901, 906, 914f, 921f, 924, 927, 942; and Jesus, 2, 645, 662, 664–670, 681–694, 697, 699, 709f, 717, 721, 729, 733, 750–752, 755, 758–762, 764, 808; and Paul, 646, 692f, 769f, 786f, 858, *see* Paul; and the Twelve, 643, 646, 778f; authority exercised by, 645, 647, 649, 767f, 785, 922; fixed number, 777f; functions of, incommunicable, 645; qualifications for office, 778; signs of, 780, 856; use of the term in New Testament, 643, 646, 778; witnesses of the resurrection, 645, 647, 778–780, 782, 788; false, 817; Jewish, 768.
Apostles' Creed, 669.
Apostleship, 647.
Apostolic age, 594f, 766–775, 923; delegates, 646; doctrine, 595.
Apostolic Constitutions, 848.
Apothecaries, 111, 331.
Appeal to Cæsar, 768, 772, 801–804.
Appetite, 417, 488, 494.
Apphia, 871.
Appian road, 804, 830.
Appii Forum, 804.
Apple, apple tree, 420.
Apple of the eye, 243.
Apples of gold, 23.
Apries, king of Egypt, 120.
Aqiba, 39, 41, 411, 418, 621, 625.
Aqueduct, 734.
Aquila (friend of Paul), 771, 796f, 799, 818, 830, 848, 889; (translator of Old Testament), 41, 411, 491.
Aquila's Version of Old Testament, 658.
Aquinas, 634.
Ar, 224f, 233, 448.
Arabah, the, 32, 213, 232f, 252, 284, 309, 552, 555.
Arabia, 36, 50–53, 55, 58f, 63, 67, 70, 98, 100, 110, 140, 226, 239, 299, 318, 320, 330, 385, 410, 446, 451, 513, 546, 687, 735, 768, 787, 858, 860.
—— (*i.e.* Nabatæan territory), 33, 858.
Arabian desert, 63, 513, 515.
Arabic, 34.
—— historians, 122.
Arabs, 27, 50, 57, 76, 82, 100, 109, 151, 161, 169, 198, 208, 215, 218, 220, 239, 241, 282, 289, 302, 320, 387, 445, 480f, 494, 514, 517, 555, 778.
Arad, 223, 258.
Aram, *see* Syria.
Aramæan migration, 55, 57, 63.
Aramæans, 34, 53, 55, 57f, 63, 68–70, 72, 74, 76, 260, 494, 548f, 554.
Aramaic, 8, 34–36, 41, 48, 124, 129, 311, 327–329, 333, 481, 522, 525, 592f, 604, 700, 711f, 715, 725, 754, 783, 786, 793f, 800, 848, 859; mistaken or alternative renderings of, 707f, 715, 727f, 732; inscriptions, 36, 553, 579; papyri, 36, 232, *see* Elephantine papyri; sources of Gospels, 8, 592f, 681, 725.
Aramaisms, 271, 347, 376, 395, 398, 411, 418, 549.
Aram-naharaim, 63, 155, 225, 260.
Ararat, 143f, 495.
Aratus, 796, 887.
Araunah, 293, 297, 317.
Arbela, 62.
Arch of Titus, 190, 210.
Archæology, 9, 83, 134, 143, 428; and criticism, 134, 148.
Archaism, 591f.
Archangel, 878.
Archelaus, son of Herod, 609, 656, 659, 738.
Archer, archery, 154, 166, 270, 282, 286, 356, 451, 494.
Archetype, 841.
Archippus, 871, 874.
Architecture, 53, 115, 502, 517, 524.
Archives, 78.
Archon, 415.
Arena, 869, 885.
Areopagus, 21, 614, 792, 796.
Ares, 6.
Aretas, contemporary of Aristobulus II., 608; contemporary of Paul, 609, 654f, 728, 735, 768, 787; daughter of, 654, 735; ethnarch of, 655, 769.
Argument from silence, 594.
Ariel, 456, 458.
Aries, 654.
Arioch, 148, 525.
Aristarchus, 798, 803, 830, 870; of Alexandria, 607.
Aristeas, Epistle of, 943.
Aristides, Apology of, 658.
Aristion, 699, 744.
Aristobulus I., 120, 368, 377, 608; II., 120, 225, 496f, 499, 608.
Aristobulus, brother of Agrippa I., 830; brother of Mariamne, 609; son of Herod the Great, 609f, 656.
Aristocracy, 113, 416, 608.
Ariston the Presbyter, 699.
Aristotle, 11, 411, 591, 604, 630, 634.
Ark (of bulrushes), 143, 168, 170, 214, 276; (of Noah), 125, 143f, 276, 910; (of the Covenant), 31, 73, 86, 104–106, 123, 126, 143, 181, 183, 188–191, 194, 214f, 217f, 220f, 226, 228, 236, 245, 250f, 255, 270, 273f, 276f, 279, 283, 288–290, 295f, 298, 316, 318, 384, 387, 394, 475, 478, 480, 497, 824, 895, 930, 935.
Arm, 115, 417, 685, 719.
Armageddon, 939.
Armenia, 53, 144, 495, 513, 550, 656.
Armenian catena, 798, 802.
Armenian VS, 596.
Armenians, 750.
Armlet, 286.
Armour, 76, 111, 281, 311, 396, 451, 515, 867f; the Christian, 828, 867, 878.
Armour-bearer, 66, 265, 279, 281.
Armoury, 297, 421.
Army, 74, 76, 78, 113, 180, 279, 422, 517, 532, 544f, 551, 580.
Arnold, Matthew, 20, 905.
Arnon, 32f, 224, 229, 233f, 260, 266, 448f, 493, 513, 549.
Arnuanta, 56.
Aroer (in Ammon, in Judah, in Moab), 224, 229, 266, 449, 493.
Arpad, 444, 494, 534, 552.
Arrian, 548.
Arrogance, 94, 439, 448, 457, 482, 587, 704, 849.
Arrow, 76, 100, 106, 226, 308, 358, 386, 389, 479, 495, 512, 567f, 868; poisoned, 351; (metaphorical), 145, 166, 351, 356, 378, 389, 393, 465, 481, 580.
Arrowsnake, 459.

Arsenal, 111, 451.
Arsham, 79.
Art, 56f, 619, 628, 789.
Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus), 39, 61, 78f, 245, 323, 325, 327–330, 332, 524, 529; decree of, 328f; II. (Mnemon), 61, 78, 414; III. (Ochus), 61, 79, 414, 449.
Artemas, 888.
Artemis, 798, 929.
Artisans, 72.
Arts, 108.
Arubboth, 296.
Arumah, 265.
Arvad, 53, 513.
Aryans, 58.
Asa, 21, 68–71, 73, 76, 120, 301, 319f, 491.
Asahel, 285, 287, 292f.
Asaph, 316f, 366–368.
Asaph (mistake for Asa), 701.
Ascension, *see* Jesus, ascension of.
Ascension of Isaiah, 433f, 658.
Ascent of Ziz, 320.
Asceticism, 99, 307, 417, 642, 644, 649f, 661, 711, 717, 725, 727, 732, 735, 773, 828, 869f, 883f, 887, 916.
Asclepius, 203, 223, 627, 930.
Asenath, 163.
Ashdod, 28, 59, 71, 276, 335, 448, 450, 486, 548, 550, 559, 570, 579f.
'Ashem-Bethel, 553.
Asher, 166; tribe of, 29, 65, 214, 243, 248f, 257, 259, 262, 296, 298, 315, 521.
Asherah, 73, 100, 128, 130, 301, 303, 477, 507; prophets of the, 303; (goddess), 235.
Asherim, 76, 235, 301, 310, 449, 454, 484, 562.
Ashes, 200, 222, 463, 507, 539, 557, 587, 706.
'Ashima, 553.
Ashir, 53.
Ashkelon (Ascalon), 28, 60, 70f, 277, 548, 570, 579f, 608.
Ashmedai, 754.
Ashtaroth, 235, 277, 286, 315.
Ashtart, *see* Ashtoreth.
Ashtoreth, 99f, 259, 299, 301, 480.
Ashtoreth-karnaim, 149.
Ashur-bani-pal, 58–60, 72, 120, 310f, 328, 529, 565.
Ashur-natsir-pal III., 58, 60, 69.
Ashur-resh-ishi, 57.
Asia, 54, 63, 301f, 583, 613, 615, 744, 756, 770, 794, 797, 830, 848f, 857, 877, 881f, 884f, 916, 928–932, 939.
Asia Minor, 50, 52, 55–62, 98, 306, 529, 532, 534, 555, 595f, 605, 607, 615, 629f, 653, 656, 744, 773, 775, 778, 789, 791, 794, 798f, 803, 861f, 864, 901, 908, 913, 920, 927–929, 936, 940.
Asiarchs, 756, 798, 847.
Asidæans, *see* Ḥasidim.
Asmoneans, *see* Hasmoneans.
Asphalt, *see* Bitumen.
Asps, 243.
Ass, 66, 76, 159, 166, 187, 208, 225, 235, 258, 263, 277f, 281, 290, 301, 306, 347f, 416, 437, 457f, 477, 580, 661, 735.
Assarion, 117.
Assassin, assassination, 69, 73, 79, 265, 491, 515, 539, 572, 578, 581, 610, 740, 800.
Assassins, the, 800.
Assayer, 479.
Assembly, 124, 562, 841.
Asshur (city), 52f, 57, 201, 227.
Asshurim, 227.
Assonance, 439, 539, 560.
Assos, 798f.
Assouan, 514.
—— papyri, 79, *see* Elephantine papyri.
Assumption of Moses, 433, 657, 923f.
Assurance, 639, 824, 840, 895, 897, 909.
Assyria (Assyrians), 26, 30, 45, 47, 50, 52f, 55, 57–60, 63, 68–72, 74–76, 79, 81, 86, 90, 98, 113f, 127, 130f, 139, 227, 239, 244, 246, 306, 309–311, 313, 327, 368, 371, 380, 436f, 440–442, 444f, 448–452, 455–459, 467, 492, 494f, 510, 515, 527, 534, 538–542, 544, 550f, 556f, 559, 561, 565f, 569f, 579; and Babylonia, 53, 57–60, 72, 310f, 445f, 450, 474, 501; and Egypt, 59f, 70–72, 310, 416, 442, 448–450, 474; and Israel, 58f, 68–70, 90, 99, 309f, 436, 441, 455, 477, 505, 510, 512, 534, 538–542, 552; and Judah, 59, 71f, 130, 135, 247, 309–311, 313, 427, 436f, 440–442, 444, 450, 455–458, 474, 477, 500, 512; and Palestine, 45, 57–59, 559; and Syria, 57–59, 441; and the Chaldeans, 58–60; and the Elamites, 59; and the Hittites, 59; and the Medes, 58–60, 72, 474; and the nations, 444; and the Philistines, 447; character of its people, 53, 436, 444, 564; downfall of, 46, 60, 72, 120, 447, 449, 474, 500f, 570; its debt to Babylonia, 53; methods of government, 60; name used for successors of Assyria, 328, 387, 445, 450, 454f, 500, 561, 579f; physical characteristics of, 53; races in, 53; religion of, 53, 474, 551, 569.
Assyrian language, 34, 301; chronology, 119; inscriptions, 302, 309f, 552, 567, 579, 587.
Astarte, 101, 259, 286, 302, 376, 480, 507.
Astral mythology, 134; spirits, 869; worship, 74, 130, 474, 480, 569.
Astrology, astrologers, 77, 137, 170, 378, 474, 481, 525, 606, 617, 632, 634, 701.
Astronomy, 5, 663.
Astruc, 122, 124.
Astyages, 61, 77.
Asylum, 113, 186, 230, 238f, 254, 295, 332.
Ataroth, 229.
Aten, 54f.
Athaliah, 70, 74–76, 120, 302, 307f, 320f.
Athanasius, 596, 601.
Atharim, 223.
Atheism, 368, 373, 375.
Athena, 628, 630.
Athens, 417, 591, 614, 617, 630, 633, 635, 769, 771, 776f, 784, 796f, 844, 848, 876, 878; schools of, 607.
Athletes, 616, 841, 869, 886.
Atomic theory, atoms, 635.
Atomism, 503.
Atonement, 11, 104, 192, 197, 204–206, 223, 228, 441, 527, 620, 640, 786, 810, 823, 857, 859, 863, 870, 888, 896; Day of, *see* Day of Atonement.
Atrocities, 258, 303, 307, 446, 548f, 565.
Atroth Shaphan, 229.
Attalia, 791, 793.
Attalus, 532.
Attic, 591, 593.
Atticism, 592.
Attis, 632f.
Aucassin et Nicolette, 22.
Augustan band, 613; cohort, 803.
Augustine, 185, 205, 596, 701, 874, 901, 941.
Augustus, 30, 609, 612, 614, 616, 631, 652f, 656, 702, 726f, 791, 795, 802, 844, 930, 936, 939.
Aulis, 154.
Auranitis, 33.
Aureus, 117.
Australia, 204.
Australian natives, 240.
Authority, 7–9, 112, 594, 695, 751, 780, 827, 849, 855f, 860f, 929f; of Jesus, 8, 663, 695, 751, 827; of Scripture, 5, 7; of the Church, 7; seat of, 7f; on the head, 842; (angelic order), 864, 869.
Authorship, ancient conceptions of, 902, 913.
Autobiography, 441f.
Autograph, 598f.
Autumn, 118, 177, 205, 219, 438, 448, 480, 628, 797.
—— crocus, 459.
Avarice, 414, 566, 666, 720.
Aven, 548.
Avenger of blood, 113, 124, 186, 272, 356.
Avvim, 233.
Awl, 126.
Axe, axehead, 306, 416, 444, 485.
Axle, 905.
Aylwin, 145.
Azariah, *see* Abed-nego (friend of Daniel), and Uzziah; son of Oded, 76, 320; son of Zadok, 296; the priest, 76.
Azazel, 205; goat for, *see* Goat for Azazel.
Azazimeh Arabs, 182.
Azekah, 489.
Azel, 583.
Azi Dahaka, 941.
Aziru, 55.
Azizus, 801.
Azotus, 786, *see* Ashdod.

B (MS), *see* Codex Vaticanus.
β text, 600.
Baal, Baalim, 73f, 87, 95, 128, 207, 216, 229, 235, 259, 263, 268, 277, 302, 477–480, 484, 494, 535–537, 539–541, 560, 583.
Baal, altar of, 263; and Yahweh, 73f, 87, 128, 216, 477, 535; changed to Bosheth, 229, 259, 280, 480, 537, 540; name, 87, 207, 477, 537; title of Yahweh, 73, 259, 263, 280, 287, 302, 429, 477, 537; worship, 73f, 85, 87f, 477–479, 482, 489, 535, 537, 542.
—— Berith, 105, 264f, 300.
—— (Baalah) Judah, 288; of Doliche, 630; of Hermon, 227, 259; of Lebanon, 227; of Peor, 227, 540, 924.
—— of Tyre (Melkart), 73f, 87, 299, 513, 826; and Elijah, 30, 87, 89, 128, 130, 263, 302, 429, 826; and Yahweh, 87, 130, 302f, 307, 429; priests of, 73f, 89, 308; prophets of, 73f, 302f; temple of, 74, 308; worship of, 73f, 87, 284, 302–304, 307f, 319, 426, 489.

Baalbec, 548, 582.
Baal-hazor, 289.
Baalis, 73.
Baal-meon, 229.
Baal-perazim, 287.
Baal-tamar, 259, 270.
Baal-zebub, 304.
Baasha, 58, 68–71, 76, 120, 301f, 320.
Bab el Mandeb, 388.
Babbler, 796.
Babel, 146, 380, 843, 845; tower of, 88, 133f, 139, 145f.
Babylon, Babylonia, Babylonians, 36f, 42, 46f, 50–63, 71–73, 75, 77–79, 81f, 86, 90f, 100f, 106, 116, 124, 130, 133, 135f, 139, 142, 146, 148, 151, 196, 221, 225, 239, 299, 313, 323–326, 328f, 332, 335, 352, 368, 371, 380–382, 388, 428f, 431, 445f, 451, 454, 458–460, 466f, 467, 474f, 477–480, 482, 484–492, 494–496, 498, 501–516, 522–528, 530, 544, 555, 557, 561, 575–579, 717, 784.
—— and Alexander the Great, 446; and Assyria, 53, 57–60, 72, 310f, 445f, 450, 474, 501; and Egypt, 52, 55, 60f, 98, 134, 313, 431, 474f, 486, 490–492, 498, 501, 514f, 523f; and Israel, 51, 98, 118, 429; and Judah, 60f, 72f, 77, 310f, 313, 323, 386, 394, 431, 445, 451, 474f, 477–479, 486–491, 495f, 501f, 506–513, 516, 524, 555; and Palestine, 51f, 57, 248, 486; and Persia, 61, 446, 523, 527f; and Syria, 51f, 60, 313; and the Chaldeans, 58–60, 71f, 446, 485, 524; and the Hittites, 52f, 55; and the Kassites, 52; and the nations, 486; canal system of, 50, 329, 394, 406, 446, 495; chronology of, 119; downfall of, 61, 445f, 522f; fertility of, 50f, 53; influence on Israel, 51, 177, 225; king of, 445–447, 491, 557; physical characteristics of, 50; prophecy of its overthrow, 445–447, 450f, 460f, 463–465, 467, 486, 494f; races in, 51.
Babylon (city), 51f, 57, 59–61, 71, 73, 76f, 242, 310f, 313, 445f, 460, 463–465, 467, 486, 489, 494f, 522–528, 711; captured by Cyrus, 61, 77, 446, 450f, 460, 522f, 528; destroyed by Sennacherib, 58; designation of Rome, 773–775, 912, 935, 938–940.
Babylonian and Hebrew religion, 51, 95.
Babylonian art, 504; cosmology, 359; Creation story, 51, 133–137, 326; Deluge story, 51, 99, 133f, 142–145; Empire, 526, 528f; gods, 95, 105; hymns, 51, 373; influence, 57; inscriptions, 524, 527; language, 34, 53, 55; law, 84, 233; literature, 22; liturgies, 632; monuments, 100, 225, 325, 428, 488; myths, 51, 130, 136, 401; psalms, 51; religion, 51, 428f, 448, 464, 480f, 484, 506, 510f, 524–527, 629; ritual, 198, 210; school of Massoretes, 42; script, 36, 51, 55f; Talmud, 36.
Baca, valley of, 388.
Bacchides, 607.
Backsliding, 478, 542.
Bacon, Essays of, 903.
Bag, 240, 542, 688.
Bagoas, governor of Judæa, 79, 199; Persian general, 79.
Bagpipe, 526.
Bahurim, 290.
Bakers, 99, 111, 490, 539.
Baking, 200, 520, 539.
Balaam, 20, 213, 224–228, 276, 341, 562, 701, 914, 924, 930; oracles of, 45, 225–227; story of, 22.
Balak, 171, 213, 224–226, 255, 276, 930.
Balances, 344, 405, 461, 542, 932.
Baldness, 237, 305, 439, 448, 452, 493.
Ball, 452.
Ballads, 18, 224.
Balm, 111, 480.
Balsam tree, 259, 388, 422, 480.
Bama, *see* High Places.
Bamoth, 224.
Bamoth-baal, 224f.
Ban (Herem), 64, 66, 99, 114, 187, 202, 212, 223, 227, 233, 251f, 258, 270, 280, 283, 304, 329, 458, 463, 561, 824.
Bandage, 514.
Bandit, 266, 283f.
Bani, 327.
Banias, 28, 229, 260, 269, *see* Panias.
Banking, 112, 931.
Banner, 420, 422.
Banquet, 446, 455, 491, 708, 735f, 930, *see* Feast.
Bantus, the, 209.
Baptism, 160, 180, 193, 203, 482, 608, 632, 638f, 647, 661, 663, 682, 702, 747, 749, 768, 770f, 779f, 786f, 789, 795, 822, 826, 833, 837, 841, 843, 847, 850, 860, 866f, 869f, 885f, 893, 897, 914, 920; administered by disciples of Jesus, 749; and faith, 639, 812, 822, 826, 860, 910f; and the gift of the Spirit, 638f, 771, 779, 789; Christian, 638f, 749, 778, 789, 893; for Moses, 841; for the dead, 847; has no magical efficacy, 812, 888; heathen, 893; into the name of Jesus, 642, 723, 779, 812, 833; into threefold name, 642, 723; Jewish, 893; of fire, 662, 682, 702; of infants, 639; of Jesus, *see* Jesus, baptism of; of suffering, 694, 717; of the Spirit, 682, 702, 747, 749, 777f, 893; of water, 639, 682, 778, 893; religious value of, 638f, 779, 812, 869f, 893; rite of entrance into Church, 638f, 812; significance of John's, 661, 682, 747, 749; sin after, 893, 899, 914; symbolism of, 812, 822, 897.
Baptismal formula, 639, 779, 867.
Bar, 243, 464, 517, 548, 557.
Barabbas, 698, 722, 741, 762.
Barachel, 361.
Barak, 9, 65, 114, 173, 253, 261f, 267, 269, 278.
Barbarians, 630, 804.
Bar-cochba, 226, 625, 658, 751, 760.
Barefoot, 161, 171, 560, 735.
Barley, 28, 103, 176, 272, 520, 537, 652f; bread, 264; harvest, 105, 118, 177, 188, 271.
Barn, 545, 574, 660.
Barnabas, 640, 731, 789–794, 858f; an apostle, 643, 646; and Cyprus, 782, 789, 791; and Mark, 791, 794, 840f, 912; and Paul, 647, 768–770, 776, 782, 787, 789–794, 840f, 858f; and the Church of Antioch, 768–770, 776, 789–791, 793f, 858f; and the Church of Jerusalem, 647, 767–770, 787, 789f, 793, 858f; gives his property, 767, 782; Hebrews attributed to, 595, 889; meaning of name, 782; missionary activity, 769, 776, 791–794; suggested author of I. Peter, 908.
Barnabas, Epistle of, 594–596, 658, 700, 901f.
Barracks, 800.
Barren fig-tree, 663, 694, 718, 734.
Barsom, 507.
Bartholomew, 748.
Bartimæus, 694, 717, 737.
Baruch, 46, 72f, 432, 474–476, 486, 488–492, 495; Book of, 343.
Baruk, 28.
Barzillai, 291, 295.
Basalt, 548.
Bases, 297f, 310.
Bashan, 33, 64, 128, 148f, 224, 234, 384, 438, 550, 564; Mt., 33.
Basilides, 136, 594, 658.
Basilidians, 652.
Basilisk, 447, 480.
Basin, 177f, 192, 383.
Basket, 74, 174, 191f, 241, 307, 477, 485, 690, 787; of summer fruit, 553.
Baskets of silver, 23.
Basque, 615.
Bastinado, 241.
Bath, bathing, 104, 170, 175, 191, 206, 217, 867, 915.
Bath (liquid measure), 115f, 440.
Bath-nimrah, 448.
Bath-rabbim, 423.
Bathsheba, 67, 273, 289, 294f, 318, 701.
Battering-ram, 505.
Battle, 84, 100, 102, 443, 455f, 546, 844, 939; shout, 493.
Bazaars, 303.
Bdellium, 140, 218.
Beam, 443, 567, 716, 730.
Bear, 305, 470, 498, 528, 542, 936.
Beard, 394, 448, 505.
Beast, 125, 185, 360, 381, 385, 390, 413, 440, 515, 517, 526f, 557, 569, 734, 941; of prey, 141, 365, 468.
Beast, the, 935–942; and the dragon, 936f, 939; and the false prophet, 939–942; and the second beast, 936f; heads of, 774, 937, 939; horns of, 774, 936, 939; identification of, 936f, 939–941; image of, 937f; mark of, 937f, 940–942; name of, 937; number of, 414, 612, 936–938; throne of, 939; worship of, 937f.
—— the second, 775, 936f, 940.
Beasts of the south, 456.
Beasts, the four, *see* Four beasts.
Beating, 490, 767, 783, 785, 795.
Beatitudes, 704, 729, 737, 903–905.
Beautiful gate of the Temple, 780.
Beauty, 420–423; and bands, 581.
Bed, 306, 469, 539, 659f, 684, 720, 788, 930.
Bedezor, 302.
Bedouin, 27, 98, 108, 111f, 141, 151f, 156, 169, 176–178, 182, 190, 260, 262f, 269, 348, 470.
Bee, 279, 400, 442.
Beelzebub, Beelzebul, 304, 666, 678, 686, 710, 712, 732.
Beer (place), 224.
Beer-elim, 224, 448.
Be'eri, 534.
Beer-lahai-roi, 100, 134, 150f.
Beeroth, 287.

Beersheba, 27, 30, 32, 63, 75f, 100, 123, 125, 128, 133f, 146, 154, 156, 164, 277, 303, 309, 478, 551, 553, 584.
Beggar, 688, 694, 904.
Begging, 685.
Begotten of God, 649, 746f, 918f.
Beheading, 163, 688.
Behemoth and Leviathan, description of, 342, 347, 349, 364f.
Beirût, 28.
Beka, 194.
Bekaim, 259.
Bel, 142f, 464, 494, 525, 527, 532, 557; and the dragon, 566.
Belbani, 53.
Belial, 237, 270, 285, 400, 564f, 853; daughter of, 275; sons of, 270, 275, 284, 400.
Belief, 916.
Believers, 845, 920.
Bellows, 408, 479.
Beloved as Messianic title, 702, 863.
Beloved, the, 434.
—— disciple, 744, 758, 762–765, 790.
Belshazzar, 61, 77, 446, 522, 527–529.
Belteshazzar, 525, 527, *see* Daniel.
Beltis, 444.
Belus (river), 28, 216.
Ben Asher, 42.
Ben Naphthali, 42.
Benaiah, 67, 268, 292, 294f, 318.
Ben-ammi, 134, 153.
Benediction, 195, 317, 742, 829f, 875, 879f, 912, 928.
Benedictus, 726f.
Benefactor, 740.
Bene-jaakan, 229.
Bengel, 597.
Benhadad I., 29, 69, 299, 301, 303f; II., 69, 306f; III., 69, 306, 309, 548.
Benjamin (land), 30.
—— son of Jacob, 133f, 161, 163f, 166, 488; tribe of, 64–66, 102, 110, 134, 214, 243, 249, 253, 258, 260, 262, 296, 300, 315–317, 384, 474, 479, 517, 521, 538, 541, 874.
Benjamites, 85, 114, 263, 270.
Benoni, 161.
Ben-Sira, 38, 343–345, 411, 579, *see* Ecclesiasticus.
Ben-Tabeel, 71, 441.
Bentley, Richard, 597.
Beon, 229.
Bera, 149.
Beracah, Valley of, 76.
Bered, 151.
Berenice, wife of Antiochus II., 531f.
Bereshith, 121, 133.
Bernice, 656, 802.
Berœa, 771, 795f, 798, 830, 853, 876, 878.
Berossus, 137, 142, 246.
Berothai, 288.
Beruria, 410.
Beryl, 140, 191, 360, 531, 942.
Berytus (Aleppo), 802.
Betah, 288.
Beth Ashbea, 111.
Bethabara, 601, 747.
Bethany, 31, 694, 732, 739, 742, 755, 757, 778; beyond Jordan, 747, 755.
Beth-arbel, 541.
Beth-aven, 279, 538, 540, 551, 756.
Bethbara, 264.
Beth-eden, 548.
Bethel, 30f, 63, 67, 73, 99, 103, 112, 125, 128, 130, 133f, 146–148, 156–159, 161, 166, 249, 251–253, 258f, 261, 266, 270, 277, 279, 300f, 305, 308, 312, 493, 538–541, 547, 550f, 553, 573.
Bethel Sharezer, 578.
Bether, 420.
Bethesda, 750.
Beth-ezel, 560, 583.
Beth-haccerem, 479.
Beth-haggan, 307.
Beth-horon, 31, 64, 104, 249, 252f, 279, 289, 299, 330, 607, 610.
Bethlehem, 31, 101, 161, 271f, 281–283, 394, 488, 491, 547, 560f, 609, 652, 701f, 726f, 753; in Zebulun, 267, 702.
Beth-millo, 265.
Beth-nimrah, 229.
Bethphage, 694.
Beth-rehob, *see* Rehob.
Bethsaida, 29, 32, 688–690, 713, 731, 751, 757, 785; mistake for Beth-zatha, 750.
Beth-shan, Beth-shean, 29f, 110, 254, 257, 259, 286, 315, 737, 749.
Bethshemesh, 31, 57, 184, 259, 267, 276, 296.
Bethsur, 31.
Bethsura, 416.
Bethuel, 155.
Bethulah, 442.
Beth-zachariah, 607.
Bethzatha, 750.
Beth-zur, 607.
Betrayal, *see* Jesus, betrayal of
Betrothal, 114, 537, 544, 855.
Betrothed, 114, 544.
Between the two evenings, 177, 210.
Beza, 597.
Bezaanim, 261.
Bezalel, 193f, 236.
Bezek, 258, 278.
Bezetha, 750.
Bible, 1–16, 97, 915; a picture of life, 6; alleged inerrancy of, 8, 10, 12, 596; an oriental book, 636; and astrology, 5; and English literature, 18; and nature, 2, 12f, 24, 369, 375, 377; and other sacred literature, 9; and science, 2, 5, 12, 136; and slavery, 5, 145; and the Church, 7f, 594; and witchcraft, 5, 187; as literature, 1, 18–25; authority of, 5, 7–9, 319, 596; centrality of God in, 2; historical sense of, 636; influence of, 1, 16; inspiration of, *see* Inspiration of the Bible; interpretation, 2, 4–6, 596f, 636; its debt to non-Hebrew sources, 9; its doctrine of man and sin, 2; its representation of Christ, 2; magical use of, 5; misuse of, 4–6, 145, 596; modern study of, 2f, 596f; modern view of, 2f, 7, 9, 16, 596f; mystical meaning of, 6; original manuscripts not extant, 4, 40, 598; records God's self-manifestation to man and man's quest for God, 1; result of prolonged editorial processes, 9; structure of, 2; superstitious use of, 5; text of, 4–6, 40–43, 598–601; translation of, 6, 40f; uniqueness of, 16; unity of, 1; universality of, 1; value of, 1f, 6f, 9, 247, 597; variety of, 1, 3.
Biblical criticism, 2f, 6–9, 12, 14, 16, 134, 148, 426, 594, 596f.
Biblical history, prophetical character of, 244.
Bidkar, 307.
Bier, 469.
Bigamy, 158, 207, 239f, 274.
Bildad, 352–354, 357, 359.
Bile, 480.
Bilhah, 63, 134, 161, 214, 241, 933; tribes, 249.
Bilingualism, 592.
Bill of divorcement, 108, 113, 466.
Binding and loosing, 666, 715.
Binding of Satan, 941.
Binding the feet, 719.
Biography, 19–22, 604.
Bird-catcher, 479.
Bird-seller, 748.
Birds, 32, 125, 136–138, 140, 143f, 150, 163, 171, 185, 197f, 203–205, 296, 343, 360, 369, 375, 381, 387f, 408, 417, 437, 442, 444, 449, 457, 459, 464, 479f, 485, 515, 517, 527, 540, 550, 660, 707, 733f, 847, 940.
Birth, 139, 144, 202, 349, 413, 415, 484, 542, 893, 905.
Birth story, 15, 605, 659, 686, 701, 725–727, 936.
Birthday, 539.
Birthright, 109, 134, 156f, 161, 165, 239f.
Bishop of Rome, 887.
Bishops, 596, 643, 646, 774, 783, 793, 798f, 858, 872, 874, 881, 883, 887, 910, 929.
Bit, 378, 905.
Bit-adini, 548.
Bithron, 287.
Bithynia, 616, 653, 658, 724, 794.
Bitter, bitterness, 1, 271, 280, 355, 399f, 415, 459, 478, 480, 499, 504f, 553, 566, 786, 934f.
Bitter herbs, 133, 177; lakes, 180; water, 181, 905.
Bittern, 447, 458.
Bitumen, 26, 33, 143, 146, 149, 152, 170.
Black basalt, 33, 234f.
Black Obelisk, 69, 246.
Black Sea, 393, 513, 517.
Blackness, 545.
Blacksmith, 461.
Blasphemy, 185, 210, 304, 311, 347f, 386, 443, 486, 514, 516, 569, 666, 684, 696, 698, 712, 740, 751f, 754f, 763, 785, 802, 820, 914, 924, 930, 939; against the Holy Spirit, 686, 712, 733.
Blasting, 360.
Blastus, 790.
Bless as euphemism for curse, 347, 581.
Blessedness, 704.
Blessing, 80, 106, 138, 149, 155–157, 160, 165, 201, 212, 224–226, 234, 241f, 258, 269, 275, 298, 370, 478, 578f, 587, 624, 629, 742, 836, 883, 899; of Jacob, 44; 165f, 249; of Moses, 106, 165, 182, 242f, 249; the priestly, 217.
Blessings, 241f, 859, 892f, 905; and curses, 224, 241f, 300.
Blight, 545.
Blind, blindness, 69, 165, 208, 287, 456, 459, 462f, 469, 582, 629, 666, 690, 694, 709, 730, 754, 786f, 791, 851, 931.
Blinding, 506, 508.

Block, the, 356.
Blood, 50, 70, 144, 162, 175, 177f, 187–189, 192, 196–208, 222, 237, 239, 243, 304f, 432, 448, 456, 458, 468, 471f, 513, 517, 546, 565, 567, 570, 573, 631–633, 793, 895–897, 920, 929, 934, 939f; belongs exclusively to God, 144, 198, 206; covenants formed by, 144, 188, 895, 897; crying from the ground, 142, 162, 206, 208, 265, 357, 361, 513, 573, 897, 899; drinking of, 103, 144, 206, 580; eating with the, 103, 144, 177, 187f, 198, 206, 237, 279, 573, 580, 769f, 793; innocent, 557; not drunk by God, 381; of the kin, 50, 207; offering, 99, 110; presentation of, 197, 392, 896; sacrificial, 98, 144, 192, 197–202, 204–206, 237, 334, 437, 458, 472, 480, 483, 510, 517, 580, 584, 620, 895; sanctity of, 144, 177, 197f; seat of vital principle, 144, 177, 197f, 206, 222, 237, 863; sprinkling, smearing of, 102, 104, 177, 188, 192, 197, 199, 204, 206, 222, 312, 334, 519, 895f, 929, 940.
—— brotherhood, 188; dedication, 83; feud, 50, 287, 409; guiltiness, 295, 382; of Christ, *see* Christ, blood of; of the Covenant, 178, 188, 721, 896, 897, 899; of the Lamb, 929, 940; revenge, 50, 67, 113, 141, 186, 239; soul, 144.
Bloodshed, 75, 141, 144, 162, 237, 284, 317, 439, 453f, 516, 538, 546, 567, 609f, 624, 906, 932.
Blossom, 420, 440, 506.
Blue, 190f, 934.
Blue Nile, 449.
Boadicea, 657.
Boasting, 444, 821, 837, 844, 855f, 864, 924.
Boat, 28, 170, 520, 674, 685–687, 713, 729, 751, 764, 803.
Boatswain, 878.
Boaz, 22, 48, 260, 271f.
Bochim, 259.
Body, 163, 350, 356, 379, 422, 489, 529, 649, 670, 706f, 734, 756, 806, 822–824, 827f, 838, 840, 843–845, 852f, 867–870, 874, 878f, 896, 905, 911; a temple of the Holy Ghost, 838; and soul, 356, 417; and the members, the, 827, 843; of Christ, *see* Church.
Bodyguard, 114, 162, 283, 285, 289–292, 294, 320, 330, 393, 421.
Boghaz-keui, 51, 53, 55f.
Boiling, 188, 198, 238, 477, 512, 520; of sacrifice, 102, 177, 192, 198, 238.
Boils, 203; plague of, 13, 174, 176.
Bolt, 557.
Bond, the, 400, 869f; of iniquity, 786.
Bondage, 150, 169, 329, 470.
Bonds, 564, 886, 924.
Bones, 91, 103, 140, 167, 179, 286, 292, 302, 306, 309, 375, 378, 390, 395, 459, 506, 517, 549, 552, 867.
Book, 357, 399, 417, 456, 504; of destiny, 931; of Elxai, 658; of Life, 385, 395, 439, 533, 732, 874, 899, 930, 937, 939, 941, 943; of magic, 931; of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, 246; of the Covenant, 44f, 90, 102, 108, 110, 112, 148, 184, 186–188, 194, 399, 511; of the Dead, 369; of the Kings of Israel, 315; of the Kings of Israel and Judah, 315; of the Law, 128f; of the Wars of Yahweh, 45, 213, 224, 256; of Yahweh, 458; sealed with seven seals, 931f; the little, 934; the Sacred, in Judaism, 620f, 623.
Boomerang, 550.
Boot, 443.
Booth, 103f, 188, 319, 326, 359, 437.
Booty, *see* Spoil; division of, 228.
Borders of garments, 220.
Boring of the ear, 128.
Bosheth, 299; substituted for Baal, 42, 207, 259, 280, 287, 302, 480.
Bosom, 405, 461, 466.
Bottles, 154, 284, 537, 851; of heaven, 359, 364.
Boundary, 404; stones, 239.
Bow, 114, 166, 360, 386, 396, 462, 473, 494, 567, 580.
Bowls, 175, 197, 204, 552, 577, 584, 927, 932f.
Bow-string, 360.
Box, 788.
Boxing, 841.
Boys, 151, 169f, 282.
Bozez, 279.
Bozrah (Zech. xi. 1-3), 580; (in Edom), 383, 458, 471, 494, 548; (in Moab), 493, 560.
Bracelets, 155, 228, 308.
Brahmins, 3.
Bramble, 265, 439.
Branch, *see* Shoot.
Branches, 104, 446f, 507, 511, 526, 564, 718, 759, 826.
Branding, 179, 439, 861, 883, 937.
Brass, 141, 189, 200, 235, 298, 310, 327, 470, 526, 688.
Brazen oxen, 105, 310; sea, 105, 310; serpent, 74, 189, 223, 310, 441.
Breach of trust, 187, 787.
Bread, 84, 138, 149, 188, 192, 197, 210, 220, 264, 267, 271, 281, 306, 369, 416, 490, 507, 536, 539f, 550f, 553, 555, 659, 689, 697, 703, 706f, 714, 736, 750; and wine, 149, 668, 721, 843; of heaven, 369; of mourners, 540; the Eucharistic, 641, 721, 739, 812, 841, 843, 866.
Breakers of death, 376.
Breaking of bread, 641, 647, 668, 688, 697, 742, 780, 798, 842; of the legs, 763.
Breast, 198, 200–202, 222, 420, 565, 709.
Breastplate, 101, 191, 867, 878, 934.
Breath, 139, 362f, 412f, 417, 423, 457, 470, 507, 516f.
Brethren of the Lord, 840, *see* Jesus, brothers of.
Bribe, 338, 361, 381, 405, 415, 440, 581, 772.
Bribery, 61, 113, 184, 187, 277, 438, 549, 551, 610.
Brick, 146, 169, 173, 443, 472, 505, 526, 565.
Brickmaking, 173.
Brick-mould, 565.
Brickwork, 491.
Bridal pavilion, 545.
Bride, 108, 155, 158, 178, 267f, 380, 419–423, 468, 471, 477, 545, 718, 721, 749, 942f; price, 108, 155, 158f.
Bridegroom, 155, 158, 178, 268, 369, 380, 419–423, 471, 545, 576, 632, 668, 721, 749; friend of the, 268, 749.
Bridesmaid, 419f, 720f.
Bridle, 365, 378, 905.
Brier, 383, 442, 444, 454, 468, 504.
Brigands, 414, 609f.
Brimstone, 152, 458, 934.
Britain, 612–614, 657.
British Empire, 612.
—— Isles, 297.
Bronze, 105, 189, 191, 483, 525f, 528, 577.
—— age, 252.
Brooding, 135f.
Brook, 235, 302, 351, 369, 391, 405f, 545, 560; of Egypt, 150, 229; of the willows, 448, 552.
Broom (plant), 393.
Broth, 200, 263, 472.
Brother, 109, 141, 419, 423.
Brotherhood, 904, 909; of Christians, 649, 832; of man, 649, 909.
Brotherly love, 394, 623, 639, 649, 767, 827, 854, 878, 899, 909, 911, 918f.
Brothers of Jesus, *see* Jesus, brothers of.
Browning, 20, 354.
Brushwood, 471.
Brutus, 684.
Bubastis, 514.
Bucket, 169, 461.
Buddha, 702, 727.
Buddhism, 411.
Buddhist, 3.
Builder, building, 23, 75, 78, 146, 169, 459, 509, 575, 612, 734, 835.
Buildings, 67, 99, 146, 446, 455, 868, 886.
Bul, 105, 117, 297.
Bull, 238, 376, 492f, 628, 632f; the golden at Bethel, 67, 73, 76, 128, 300f, 541; the golden at Dan, 67, 73, 76, 300, 541.
Bullock, 104, 191f, 199, 201, 205f, 275, 370, 494, 520.
Bull's blood, 205, 216.
Bulls (images), 300, 539–542, 553.
Bunch, *i.e.* hump, 456.
Bundahish, 941.
Bunyan, 64, 344, 364, 546, 575, 579, 909.
Burden, 173, 352, 417, 444, 452, 464, 571, 719, 750, 852, 861, 930; *i.e.* oracle, 307, 446, 485.
Burial, 110, 155f, 161, 165–167, 284, 286f, 291, 304, 313, 315, 415, 446f, 480, 483–485, 489f, 515, 517, 699, 708, 722, 741, 763, 785, 788, 846; lack of, 414, 446f, 483, 485, 490, 515, 553; ground, 416.
Burning, 192, 199f, 206, 222, 268, 287, 320, 437f, 444, 457, 510, 517, 526, 545, 900, 934, 941; alive, 208, 514. 609, 844, 898; bush, 64, 171, 173, 243, 784; of spices, 489, 552; of the dead, 110, 286, 315, 549, 552; the fat, 206, 275.
Burns, 737.
Burnt offering, 11, 79, 99, 101–104, 144, 176, 182, 188, 192, 197, 199–201, 203–206, 222, 237, 243, 280, 296, 305, 316, 326, 329, 347, 437, 480, 484, 518, 520, 528, 530, 533, 866.
"Bury my father," 708.
Bushel, 115, 704.
Busybodies, 880, 884, 911.
Butcher, 162, 581, 906.
Butler, 163.
Butter, 262.
Buxtorf, 37.

Buyer, 113, 406, 506.
Buz, 361.
Byblus, 579.
By-ends, 349.
Byron, 267.

C, *see* Codex Ephræmi.
Cab companies, 615.
Cabul, 29, 298.
Cæsar, *see* Roman Emperor.
Cæsar's household, 830, 872, 875.
Cæsarea, 28, 609, 655, 691, 724f, 767, 772, 786, 788f, 799, 801f, 862, 872.
—— Philippi, 32, 609, 667, 688, 691, 703, 714f, 752, 802.
Cæsarians, 789.
Cage, 437, 479, 748.
Caiaphas, 653f, 657, 668f, 698, 721f, 727, 740, 756, 762f, 781, 834.
Cain, 98, 134, 141, 227, 315, 753, 897, 914, 918, 924; mark on, 141; and Abel, 141, 897, 918.
Cainite genealogy, 141.
Cainites, 142.
Cairn, 159.
Cairngorm, 191.
Caius, *see* Caligula; (Gaius) of Rome, 744, 773, 927f.
Cakes, 98, 190, 198, 210, 264, 480, 492, 539, 550f; for the queen of heaven, 99, 480, 492.
Calamities viewed as judgments, 13, 21, 576, 623, 629, 734.
Calamity (disaster), 48, 91, 99, 202, 211, 258f, 266, 277, 321, 345, 351, 356–358, 374, 377, 383, 414, 417, 427, 436, 442f, 447, 451, 457, 463–465, 472, 479, 483, 492–494, 541, 545, 550–552, 555, 563, 576, 578, 696, 734, 739, 773, 775, 933f.
Calamus, 479, *see* Cane.
Caldron, 477f, 508, 512.
Caleb, 219f, 229, 233, 249, 253f, 258, 264, 284, 841, 892.
Calebites, 65, 193, 248.
Calendar, 102f, 118, 465, 652f; Hebrew, 105, 117f, 127, 177, 187, 210, 326, 572, 652, 798; Julian, reform of, 652; Mohammedan, 118; Roman, 652.
Calf, 152, 201, 209, 222, 238, 401, 445, 454, 492, 552, 562, 587.
Caliban upon Setebos, 354.
Caligula, 609f, 612, 630, 656f, 802, 879, 939; orders his statue to be set up in the Temple, 609.
Calling, 818, 824, 832, 834, 863, 879, 885, 891, 914.
Calneh, 552.
Calno, 444, 552.
Calvary, 741, 748, 758, 870, 909.
Calves, the, *see* Bulls.
Calvin, 185, 379, 634.
Calvinism, 863.
Cambridge, 591, 601.
Cambyses, 61, 77, 79, 232, 323, 449, 523, 531.
Camel in the needle's eye, 693.
Camels, 27, 30, 155, 159, 176, 202, 326, 347f, 381, 470, 477, 494, 693, 720.
Camisards, 648.
Camp, 69, 106, 123f, 127, 129, 159f, 192, 198, 201, 206, 210, 214f, 218, 222, 228, 252, 264, 279, 282, 284, 286, 306, 900.
Cana, 29, 748.
Canaan (*i.e.* Israel), 542; (*i.e.* Phœnicia), 452.
Canaan (land), 13, 26, 32, 34, 44, 63, 96, 98, 102f, 105, 123f, 133f, 146f, 149f, 153f, 165, 167, 172, 182, 187, 189, 213f, 216, 218, 223, 231, 234f, 237, 248, 257–259, 261, 271, 307, 390, 392, 394, 445, 477, 502, 504–507, 510f, 516, 583, 704, 785, 892, 898; civilisation of, 57, 477; conquest of, 45, 64f, 84f, 110, 114, 181, 213, 228, 244f, 248f, 255–257, 259, 269, 448; settlement in, 44, 64f, 81, 84f, 96, 98, 102, 108f, 114, 121, 127, 165, 174, 180, 218, 227, 239, 242, 248f, 255f, 287, 458.
—— (person), 145; curse on, 5, 44, 133, 145.
Canaanite language, 34.
Canaanites, 53, 55, 63, 65, 67, 83, 98, 100, 103, 110, 114, 130f, 135, 139, 143, 145–147, 149, 155, 157, 161f, 169, 172, 185, 188, 207, 214–216, 220, 232f, 235, 239f, 248f, 253–259, 261, 299f, 302, 329, 380, 386f, 506, 549, 624; (*i.e.* merchants), 111, 581, 584.
Canals, 52, 86, 169, 175, 329, 394, 406, 446, 450, 495, 503, 529, 565.
Candace, 299, 786.
Candelabra, 753.
Candlestick, 210, 577, 929, 935; *see* Lampstand, the golden, 190f, 194, 210, 217, 895.
Cane, 463, *see* Calamus.
Canis major, 551.
Cankerworm, 495, 544.
Canneh, 513.
Cannibal, cannibalism, 306, 444, 498f, 506.
Canon of New Testament, 3, 594–597, 602, 772, 776, 865, 889, 901, 903, 913, 915, 927; and Marcion, 594, 776; Evidence of Barnabas, 594; of Basilides, 594; of Clement of Alexandria, 595; of Clement of Rome, 594; of II. Clement, 594; of Didache, 594; of Dionysius of Alexandria, 596; of Eusebius of Cæsarea, 596; of Ignatius, 594; of Irenæus, 595; of Justin Martyr, 594f; of Muratorian Fragment, 595; of Origen, 595f; of Papias, 594; of Polycarp, 594; of Tatian, 595; of Tertullian, 595; of Versions of New Testament, 595.
—— of Old Testament, 3, 18, 37–40, 45, 48, 106, 121, 234, 314, 319, 324, 368, 380, 434, 522, 607, 657; controversies concerning, 38f; determination of its limits, 38f, 411; threefold division of, 37–39, 411, 418, 522; twenty-four books in, 37.
—— of the Prophets, 425, 579; are there Maccabean elements in? 425, 453, 458, 579–583.
Canonic Epistles, 901.
Canonicity, conception of, 37–40, 594; Jewish criteria of, 39f; true criteria of, 40.
Canopy, 491.
Canticles, *see* Song of Songs.
Cap, 507.
Caper-berry, 417.
Capernaum, 29, 32, 665, 682f, 685, 689, 693, 703f, 708f, 711, 714, 728, 731, 748, 751.
Caphtor, 56, 145, 233, 267, 493, 554.
Capital (financial), 112.
Capital punishment, 237, 240, 698, 765, 938, *see* Death penalty.
Cappadocia, 36, 111, 306, 507, 517, 613, 653.
Captain, 76, 106, 287, 303, 307, 557, 739; of the host, 296; of the Temple, 782.
Captive, 95, 173, 239, 326, 450f, 462, 464, 467, 550, 566, 608.
Captivity, 10, 212, 298, 439f, 463, 483, 551, 554, 560, 565, 937.
Caravan route, 110f, 548.
Caravans, 56, 65, 98, 112, 162, 166, 180f, 263, 351, 451, 659.
Caravanserai, 481.
Carbuncle, 468.
Carcase, 150, 186f, 199, 553.
Carchemish, 54, 57, 60, 72, 146, 219, 313, 444, 474, 482, 486, 492, 501, 523f.
Care, *see* Anxiety.
Cargo, 803f.
Caria, Carians, Carites, 56, 62, 114, 308, 492.
Carlstadt, 121.
Carlyle, 1, 19, 21, 364.
Carmel, Mt., 28–30, 73, 88, 267, 280, 302, 305f, 459, 472, 548, 554, 563f, 608.
Carmel, south of Hebron, 280, 284.
Carob-pods, 438, 735.
Carpenter, 75, 326, 461, 660, 688, 713.
Carpet, 410, 697.
Carriages, 615.
Carrion birds, 144, 150, 203.
Carrying the Cross, 698, 763.
Cart, 440, 456, 549.
Carthage, 200, 256, 595.
Carthaginians, 220.
Caryatides, 396.
Cases of conscience, 634, 637, 650f, 828f, 838–841.
Casiphia, 329.
Caspian, 59, 393.
Cassia, 365.
Cassiodorus, 372.
Cassius, 608.
Caste, 82, 450.
Castle, 76, 330, 332, 550.
Castor and Pollux, 759, 804.
Casuistry, 634, 636, 641, 666, 720, 873, 882.
Cat, 414.
Catacombs, 830.
Catalepsy, 503, 505.
Cataract (disease), 791.
Cataracts, 379.
Catechetical instruction, 604; literature, 602.
Catechumens, 596, 646, 844.
Caterpillar, 544.
Catholic, meaning of the term, 901, 916.
—— Epistles, 772, 901f; acceptance in the Church, 901f; authorship, 902; characteristics of, 901f; criticism of, 902; order of, 902; right to inclusion in New Testament, 902; value of, 902.
Cattle, 111, 141, 159, 163, 165, 176f, 185, 197f, 212, 215, 222, 224, 234, 237f, 276f, 279f, 286, 320, 348, 369, 372, 408, 439, 442, 457, 459, 464, 471f, 481, 545, 558, 567.
Caucasus, 57, 59.
Cauda (Clauda), 803.
Caul, 198, 542.
Cavalry, 114, 451, 457, 565, 613, 800.
Cave, 31, 64, 263, 284, 438, 480, 554f, 560, 565, 732; dwellers, 263.

Cedar, 28, 70, 226, 265, 309, 343, 365, 378, 387, 390, 438, 444, 510, 514f, 527, 543, 580.
Cedar-wood, 106, 109, 189, 204, 222, 288, 297, 443.
Celibacy (celibate), 209, 305, 622, 650, 717, 838–840, 883, 938.
Celts, 236.
Cemeteries, 878.
Cenaculum, 790.
Cenchreæ, 797, 829, 832.
Censer, 104, 192, 205, 215, 221, 895, 933f.
Censoriousness, 707, 828, 906.
Census, 48, 192, 213–215, 217, 227f, 293, 316f, 368, 629, 726f; *see* Quirinius.
Central sanctuary, 90, 96, 100, 102, 124, 187, 196, 206, 231f, 236f, 239, 241, 252, 254–256, 277, 282, 294, 296, 298, 300, 312, 370, 372, 573.
Centralisation of cultus, 45, 75, 89f, 100, 103, 106, 124, 128–131, 144, 155, 189, 206, 210, 230–232, 236–239, 298, 312, 346, 388, 449f, 474, 480, 573, 727.
Centurion, 613, 615, 660, 699, 708, 722, 730, 741, 788, 800, 803f.
Centurion's servant, 690, 708, 730.
Cephas (Kephas), *see* Peter.
Cerastes, 166.
Cerealia, 268.
Ceremonial, *see* Ritual.
Cerinthus, 658, 833, 916, 919, 921 928.
Cestius Gallus, 299, 607, 610.
Cestrus, 791.
Chabiri (at Thessalonica), 876.
Chaff, 378, 449, 456f, 462, 469, 478, 526, 542, 554, 568, 570, 638, 662.
Chains, 421, 461, 790, 795, 800f, 867, 941.
Chalcedony, 942.
Chalcis, 656.
Chaldean Empire, 60f, 72.
Chaldeans, Chaldees, 47, 50, 58–61, 71–73, 75, 146, 242, 346, 348, 445f, 452, 485, 489, 524, 526, 528, 566f, 576, 579; (*i.e.* magicians), 446, 524–526.
Chambers of death, 401; of imagery, 507; of the south, 354.
Chance, 272.
Chancellor, 328.
Chant, 440, 507.
Chaos, 135–138, 349, 353, 359, 363, 375, 389, 401, 458, 466, 478, 936, 939.
Chaos demon (chaos monster), 136, 359, 364, 456, 939, 942.
Charcoal, 221, 393, 408.
Chariot (in Ezekiel), 504f, 507f; of fire, 261, 303, 305, 529.
Chariots, 30, 54, 64f, 100f, 114, 180, 239, 262, 286, 294, 296, 303, 305f, 308, 380, 420, 422, 440, 451f, 473, 513, 541, 545, 560, 565, 567f, 577f, 660, 786, 934, 940; of iron, 258, 260f, 304.
Charismata, *see* Spiritual gifts.
Charismatic ministry, 643, 645–648.
Charity (in judgment), 665, 707, 730, 734, 828; (philanthropic), 188, 623f, 661, 728, 732, 734, 738, 880.
Charlemagne, 6.
Charms, 5, 83, 188, 235, 797, 930.
Chasidim, *see* Hasidim.
Chastisement, 362, 437, 450, 462f, 487, 545, 843, 899, 934.
Chastity, 398–400, 419, 421, 423, 621, 632, 840, 878; test of, 216, 240, 419.
Chebar, 77, 503, 508.
Chedorlaomer, 122, 134, 148; his expedition, historicity of, 148.
Cheek, 705.
Cheerfulness, 404, 827, 867.
Cheese, 290.
Chemarim, 569.
Chemosh, 70, 130, 224, 227, 266, 271, 299, 305, 493.
Chenaniah, 316.
Chepherah, 31.
Cherethites, 56, 114, 285, 289, 291, 296, 308, 513, 570.
Cherith, 302.
Cherubim, 123, 133, 140, 157, 189f, 276, 297, 300, 311, 318, 376, 389, 441, 449, 514, 518, 531, 864, 895, 932.
Chessalon, 31.
Chests, 74, 320f.
Chickens, 576.
Chief, 50, 162, 199, 202, 261, 264, 458.
—— good, 411, 415; musician, 373; priests, 696–698, 721, 739–741, 756.
—— of the synagogue, 106.
Child, children, 82, 158, 185, 234, 305, 393f, 406, 479, 496, 498–500, 513, 558, 560, 563, 578, 587, 659, 692f, 714–717, 737f, 749, 778, 839, 844, 866f, 870, 909.
Child, the (Rev. xii.), 935f.
Child sacrifice, 74, 83, 95, 99, 187, 239, 299, 309, 480, 484, 510f, 513, 516, 562.
Childbirth, 99, 140, 202f.
Childlessness, 150, 208, 485.
Children of God, 619, 745, 750, 753, 756, 899, 918f; of light, 736; of the bridechamber, 576; of the East, 513; of the Kingdom, 711; of this world, 736; of wrath, 864.
Chilmad, 513.
Chimham, 291, 491.
Chimney, 393.
China, 83, 226.
Chinese classics, 6.
Chinnereth, Sea of, 229, *see* Galilee, Sea of.
Chios, 798.
Chip, 540.
Chislew, 104f, 117, 323, 329f, 339, 530, 755.
Chiun, 551, 784.
Chloe, 833.
Choir, 76, 384, 394.
Chorazin, 29, 32, 711, 785.
Choresh, 283f.
Chorus, 420–422.
Chosen people, 2, 19, 121, 149, 636f, 891; vessel, 769, 787.
Choser, 565.
Chrestus, 818.
Christ, 16, 84, 95, 104, 171, 314, 418, 429f, 487, 531, 587, 637–644, 646–651, 662–664, 666f, 669f, 682f, 693, 695, 697, 707f, 711, 714, 716–722, 724, 727, 736, 743, 745–747, 749f, 752f, 756–761, 763–766, 777, 779–789, 792, 802, 805–813, 815, 818–875, 877–879, 882–884, 886–888, 890–900, 903f, 906, 908–911, 914–932, 934f, 937, 939, 941–943, *see* Jesus, Logos, Son of God, Son of Man; abolishes death, 846, 885; all and in all, 870; all things made subject to Him, 846, 891; all things summed up in, 813, 863; an apostle, 891; an atoning sacrifice, 810; and Adam, 822, 846f; and angels, *see* Angels; and Antichrist, 701, 853, 863, 877, 879, 919, 921, 939; and the Church, 418, 421, 638–644, 718, 752, 812, 835, 843, 864–870, 921, 940, 943; and the Law, 792, 806f, 810f, 814, 819f, 823, 825, 833f, 851, 859–861, 864f, 869f, 874, 890, 894, 896; and the Spirit, *see* Holy Spirit; and the spirits in prison, 910f; as Judge of men, 670, 721, 785, 789, 796; as Lord, 604, 639, 641f, 779, 789, 807f, 825f, 828, 843; as mediator, 639, 859; belongs to God, 835; blood of, 642, 647, 668, 721, 739, 752, 799, 809, 812f, 820, 822, 863f, 868, 895, 897, 899f, 909, 917, 920, 929, 932, 940; blood of (Eucharistic), 647, 668, 721, 739, 752, 809, 812, 841–843; body of, 647, 668, 739, 752, 812, 841–843, 846, 865, 868f, 874, *see* Church, body of Christ; brother of man, 891f; burial with, 822, 869; consummation of prophecy, 430; cosmic functions of, 812f, 868, 890; creator of the universe, 746, 813, 840, 868, 890f; cross of, *see* Cross, the; death of, 530, 642f, 799, 809–811, 821f, 842, 846, 852f, 856, 859, 863–865, 868, 886, 890–893, 895f, 910f, 929, 932; death of, an act of obedience, 668, 813, 873, 892; delivers up His kingdom to the Father, 846; distinguished from Jesus, 14, 833, 916, 918f, 921; divinity of, 693, 808, 813, 825, 873, 888, 890, 894, 918f; dying with, 650, 822f, 847, 852, 861, 864, 869; effects reconciliation with God, 808, 811, 813, 815, 822, 852f, 868; endless life of, 894; exaltation of, 808, 810, 812f, 864f, 873, 891, 894, 899; face of, 851; firstborn from the dead, 670, 868, 929; firstborn of creation, 813, 868, 931; flesh of, 752, 812, 864f, 868, 873, 919; fulness dwells in, 868f; fulness of, 866; goal of creation, 813, 868, 890; headship of, 638f, 641, 812, 822, 841, 843, 846, 864, 866–869; heavenly ministry of, 892–896; heir of all things, 868, 890; human destiny attained through, 812; humanity of, 873, 890–892, 919; humiliation of, 813, 854, 873, 890f; identification with, 810–812; identified with the Spirit, 745, 808, 810f, 851; image of God, 813, 841, 868; in Hades, 866, 911; in the form of God, 873; incarnation of, 746f, 811, 823, 834, 854, 860, 866, 873, 882f, 885, 888, 916, 918–921, 941; institutes a new Covenant, 863; intercession of, 894, 917; Kenosis of, 813, 873; Light, 642, 745f, 753, 851; Logos, 642, 745–747, 756, 758, 761, 890, 917, 940, 942; Lord, 727, 729, 736, 764, 779, 787, 789, 807f, 813, 825f, 828, 830, 838, 840–843, 848, 851, 865, 868f, 873, 878, 891, 904, 914, 924; love of, 642, 693, 758, 760f, 809–811, 822, 824, 852, 859, 865f, 873, 917, 919; made a curse, 641, 807, 833, 853, 859; made perfect through suffering, 891f; made sin, 853; mediator, 640, 883, 890, 892; members of,

812; mystery of, 870; name of, 742, 745, 759f, 813, 919, 922, 930f; obedience of, 822, 863, 892; our life, 641f; Parousia of, *see* Jesus, Second Coming of; peace of, 870; pre-existence of, 711, 743, 754, 760–762, 813, 841, 854, 868, 873, 882f, 890, 896, 909, 917; priest after the order of Melchizedek, 892–894; priesthood (High-priesthood) of, 890–896, 899f, 910, 917; Redeemer, Saviour, 2, 14, 16, 641f, 809, 811f, 820, 824, 834, 840, 860, 863, 890f, 895f, 914, 919f, 931f; reign of, 846, 856, 890f, 941f; rejection of, 211, *see* Jesus, rejection of, by the Jews; representative character of, 883, 891; resurrection with, 811, 822, 864, 869f, 918; risen life of, 807, 822, 840, 852, 859, 874, 886; sacrifice of, 668, 694, 697, 752, 755, 757, 761, 809–811, 820f, 823, 863, 866f, 883, 890, 894–897, 900, 908, 910f, 917, 937; Second Adam, 728, 811; self-identification with sinners, 810; session at God's right hand, 785, 824, 863, 870, 890, 894, 896, 898; sinlessness of, 377, 810, 853, 892, 894f; Spirit of, 766, 909, 919; sufferings of, 824, 849, 852, 856, 869, 874, 890f, 899, 908, 910f, 917; supremacy of, 864, 868, 890f, 910; sympathy of, 891f; the body, 641, 843; the bridegroom, 867; the corner-stone, 781, 864, 909; the eternal, 14; the first fruits, 846; the living, 806–810, 812; the only foundation, 835; the paschal victim, 837; the risen, 15, 766, 792, 802, 807, 809–812, 823, 857, 864f, 874, 878; the substance of which the Law is the shadow, 869; the water-bearing rock, 841; the Wisdom of God, 834; throne of, 894, 931; unchangeable, 890, 900; union with, 640, 752, 759, 810–812, 822f, 835f, 846, 849, 851, 864, 870, 874, 888; word of, 870; Word of God, 932; work of, 863, 868, 890–892, 896f, *see* Christ, death of.

Christ (the æon), 916.

Christ myth theory, 15, 663, 685, 814.

—— party, 833, 836.

Christian (in *Pilgrim's Progress*), 357.

Christian, name given at Antioch, 768, 789, 802.

Christian era, 652; ethics, 632, 640–642, 647, 812; liberty, misuse of, 650, 828, 838, 840f.

Christianity, 14, 62, 82, 84, 132, 558, 591, 602f, 606, 616, 618, 624–626, 630, 632–635, 645, 721, 725, 767–772, 797, 834, 837, 841, 844–846; a historical religion, 14; and ethical problems, 649–651; and Jesus, 14; and Judaism, 618, 624–626, 636f, 666, 711, 766–775, 807, 811, 814, 817, 903; and marriage, 650, 832, 833f, 838–840, 867, 878, 899, 910, 938; and pagan religion, 617, 627, 631–633, 635, 644, 729; and slavery, 649f, 839, 867, 870, 884f, 888; and the Law, 638–641, 667, 769–772, 774, 793, 799, 806, 811, 817–823, 857, 859, 894; and the Old Testament, 82, 806, 820; and the Roman authorities, 616, 741, 771f; and the Roman Empire, 2, 612, 616, 631, 649, 771, 774f, 827f, 879, 882, 886, 908–910; and women, 633, 650, 883; as the new law, 902; extension to Gentiles, 639f, 766–770, 772, 786–789, 791–794, 806f, 817, 825–827, 864; illegal, 616, 774f, 795, 908, 911; in Rome, 616, 772–775, 804, 817–819, 828–830; inseparable from history, 14; politically dangerous, 775; religion of the New Covenant, 636, 863, 889; religion *sub specie Christi*, 636; revolutionary principles of, 649; spread of, 2, 766–773, 785f, 789, 791–797; the absolute (final) religion, 889f, 893, 896.

Christians, 610, 627, 630, 633, 636, 638–643, 645f, 649–651, 669, 688f, 696, 710, 713, 715, 720, 746f, 767–771, 773–775, 778f, 781, 789, 795, 798f, 802, 804, 807–811, 828f, 835–841, 843f, 846f, 860f, 864f, 889, 897, 939; a third race, 908; and Jews, 610, 710, 713f, 720, 722, 779, 783, 798f, 802, 818, 874; and the heathen, 650f, 733f, 837; apparent atheism of, 775; belong to Christ, 828, 835f, 838; body of Christ, 812, 843; called Nazarenes, 702, 779, 801; charges against, 775, 798, 909; outlawry of, 616; priesthood of, 642f, 929; secret meetings of, 616, 775, 798; to judge angels, 837; to judge the world, 837.

Christmas Day, 632, 727.

Christological controversy, 604.

Christology, 642, 644, 670, 683, 744, 840, 851, 862, 868, 916, 919f, 925.

Chronicler, the, 48f, 75–78, 111, 115, 121, 318, 324f, 333f, 366, 368, 573; exaggeration of numbers by, 49, 314, 317f, 325f, 329; interests of, 48f.

Chroniclers, 20.

Chronicles, 20, 81.

—— Book of, 3, 13, 20f, 35, 48f, 106, 122, 244–246, 250, 314–322, 323–325; admission into Canon, 324; aim of, 48f, 245, 314; and earlier historical records, 314; and the Law, 48, 314, 318; characteristics of, 48f, 314; date of, 48, 121, 315; divisions of, 314; genealogies in, 5, 13, 48, 314; handling of earlier narrative, 9, 48f, 75–77, 314; historical value of, 13, 49, 314, 319f; interpretation of the history, 13, 21, 48f, 245, 250, 314; language, 35, 314f; Midrash rather than strict history, 75; place in the Canon, 49, 244, 314, 324; relation to Samuel and Kings, 9, 48f, 122, 245, 314, 319, 673; sources, 48, 246, 314f, 319–321; style of, 3, 35; title, 314.

Chronicles of David, the, 315; of the Kings of Israel and Judah, 246.

Chronology, 119, 213, 297, 310, 323, 523f, 530, 694, 767–769, 771, 797, 837; of New Testament, 652–658; of Old Testament, 119f, 244f, 652.

Chrysalis, 417.

Chrysolite, 191, 531, 942.

Chrysorrhous, 936.

Chrysostom, 596, 599, 705, 718, 888, 901.

Church, the, 7f, 15, 520, 593f, 638–643, 645–649, 664, 684, 693, 709, 713–715, 719, 722f, 729, 745, 766f, 776, 782, 784–787, 789f, 812, 831, 843, 864–870, 883f, 893, 914, 918–920, 929, 932, 935–937, 941, 943; admission of Gentiles, 639f, 769f, 789, 793f, 831; and the Bible, 7f, 594; and the Jewish authorities, 766–768, 771–773; and the Roman Empire, 616, 631, 649, 774f; authority of, 7f; body of Christ, 638, 641, 643, 752, 812, 843, 864–866, 869; bride of Christ, 867, 921, 943; built on a rock, 714f; doctrine of, 638, 862; its birthplace Jerusalem, not Galilee, 766; not infallible, 7f; origin of, 2, 7, 638; temple of Christ (God), 835; the true Israel, 642, 841, 861, 866, 874, 933.

Church meetings, 643, 645, 647f, 789, 834, 837, 841–845, 897.

Church of Colossæ, 771, 862, 868–871; of Corinth, 455, 602, 648–651, 771, 777, 797, 817, 832–851, 853–856, 901, 913; of Ephesus, 771, 773, 797–799, 862, 928f; of Jerusalem, 81, 645–647, 766–771, 773f, 776, 780–783, 785f, 789f, 793f, 797, 799, 853, 878, 903; of Philippi, 602, 853, 872–875; of Thessalonica, 602, 853, 876–880.

—— of Rome, 650, 700, 773f, 817, 889, 897, 901; asceticism in, 650, 828; connexion with Paul, 700, 773, 804, 817–819; connexion with Peter, 700, 773; Greek the language of, 830; not founded by Peter, 818; origin of, 773, 817f; persecutions of, 774f, 897; racial composition of, 817; relation to the Government, 774, 818, 827f.

Churches, autonomy of, 647; interrelations of, 646f.

—— of Asia, 862, 913, 916, *see* Seven churches.

Chuza, 730.

Cicero, 24, 628, 630, 876.

Cieled (panelled) house, 109, 573.

Cilicia, 58f, 111, 632, 655, 726, 768, 770, 787, 858, 908.

Cilician gates, 770.

Cimmerians, 517.

Cinnamon, 940.

Circle, 577.

Circumcision, 83, 90, 99f, 103, 134, 151f, 161, 168, 173, 179, 203, 208f, 236, 249, 251, 268, 326, 339, 481, 515, 523, 607–609, 624–626, 639, 646, 650, 726f, 752, 767, 769f, 820f, 829, 839, 857–861, 864f, 869, 874; antiquity of, 83, 99f, 151, 203, 251; controversy concerning, 767, 769f, 793f; covenant of, 100, 151, 829; diffusion of, 83, 99f, 151, 251; original significance of, 83, 99, 134, 151; rite initiatory to marriage, 100, 173; specially characteristic of the Jews, 151, 523, 607; token of the covenant, 151; of the heart, 236, 242, 481, 820, 864f, 869.

—— the, 821, 829, 870.

Cistern, 73, 76, 400, 417, 479, 483, 490f.

Citadel, 529, 580, 582, 607f.

Cities, origin of, 134, 141; personified as women, 437; of refuge, 29, 33, 113, 124, 126, 229f, 235, 254, 300; of the plain, 33, 148, 437, 494, 541, 924.

Citizenship, 62, 930f; in heaven, 874.

Citron, 608.

Citrus, 940.
City, 23, 32, 51, 76, 84-86, 88, 112, 141, 145-147, 223f, 256f, 260, 266, 270, 298, 319, 325, 421, 458, 464, 477f, 480, 517, 547, 550, 562, 567, 629f, 633, 900, 938-940, 942; of confusion, 453; of David, 607; of destruction, 450; of God, 864, 909; of righteousness, 450; of the sun, 450.
—— dweller, 419.
Civil government, 828; war, 44, 67f, 267, 286, 302, 441, 444, 449f, 608, 610, 612, 614; year, 105, 652.
Civilisation, 51f, 57, 63, 65f, 85, 98, 112, 119, 125, 141, 143, 151, 185, 256f, 297, 307, 428, 477, 489, 607, 630-632; J's pessimistic estimate of, 139.
Clairvoyance, 428, 647.
Clan, 63f, 66, 82, 85f, 88, 96, 103, 108f, 111, 171, 214, 229, 248, 256, 258, 260, 266, 268, 325; feast, 83.
Clapping the hands, 226.
Clarion, 844.
Class hatred, 67f.
Classical Greek, 591, 593; literature, 591.
Claudius (Emperor), 610, 612, 654-657, 768, 789, 796, 802, 818, 830, 939.
Claudius Lysias, 800-802, 804.
Clay, 51, 139f, 169, 379, 432, 464, 471, 484, 525f, 565, 825; tablet, 124, 128, 328.
Clean, cleanness, 82, 122, 125, 142, 144, 161, 197, 202f, 208, 215, 237 283 356, 520, 525, 621, 665f, 720; and unclean, 143f, 202, 208, 237, 520 650; and unclean animals, 143f, 179, 222, 788.
Cleanliness, 240, 720, 732.
Cleansing (purification), 639, 914, 917.
Cleanthes, 415, 796.
Clement of Alexandria, 172, 411, 593, 595, 601, 652f, 701, 708, 716, 731, 744, 901, 908, 913, 923f, 927f.
—— of Philippi, 874.
—— of Rome, 594f, 658, 773, 832, 874, 889; First Epistle of, 595, 646, 658, 700, 766, 772f, 781, 815, 874, 902; Second Epistle of, 658.
Clementine literature, 653, 785.
Cleopatra, 609.
—— daughter of Antiochus III., 532.
Cleopatra's Needle, 491.
Client of the deity, 371, 375f.
Cloak, 450, 560, 887, 914, 940.
Clod, 405.
Clothes, clothing, 111, 140, 166, 183, 186, 204, 235, 241, 276, 282, 439, 659, 661, 691, 698, 707, 763, 885, 904, *see* Garments; change of, 161, 200, 347; foreign 567; holy, 161, 200; origin of, 139f; religious significance of, 569; rending of, 75, 110, 276, 300; special, 157, 161; unclean, 161; washing of, 161, 166, 183, 200, 203-205, 316, 842.
Clouds, 145, 176, 180, 183, 195, 201, 219, 246, 292, 362-364, 390, 408, 417, 439, 449, 453, 457, 463, 470, 478, 504, 515, 529, 568, 570, 691, 703, 778, 841, 924, 929, 934, 938.
Club, 563, 698, 773.
Cnidus, 803.
Coal, 104, 408, 464, 476, 933.
Coals of fire, 827.
Coast, 28, 166, 172, 872, 877.
Coast lands (far lands), 389, 445, 461f, 465, 470, 486, 488, 532.
Coat, 421.
Cock, 100, 409, 697, 740.
Cock crow, 697f, 721f.
Codex Alexandrinus, 601; Amiatinus, 601; Bezæ, 598-601, 747, 777, 780, 783, 786, 788-790, 793, 795, 797-799; Bobiensis, 601; Ephræmi, 601; Floriacensis, 601; Monacensis, 601; Palatinus, 601; Sinaiticus, 600f; Vaticanus, 600f; Vercellensis, 601, 747; Veronensis, 601, 747.
Coele-Syria, 28, 79, 260, 548.
Coffer, 276.
Coffin, 634, 697.
Cohort, 499, 613, 761, 800.
Coin in fish's mouth, 663, 715.
Coinage, 116f, 609, 614, 616.
Coins, 36, 116, 155, 360, 570, 655, 735.
Cold, 111, 363, 410, 565, 583.
Collection for the Christians at Jerusalem, 647, 655, 771, 777, 790, 798f, 801, 817, 829, 832, 843f, 847f, 850, 859.
Colonisation, 60.
Colony, 61, 77, 94, 607; (Coloniæ) Roman, 452, 614f, 792f, 795, 832, 874.
Colossæ, 650, 771, 862, 868f, 871f, 874, 900, 931.
Colosseum, 657.
Colossians, Epistle to, 602f, 772, 862, 865f, 868-874, 872, 890, 940; authenticity of, 815, 862; Christology of, 815, 840, 862, 868; date of, 657, 772, 862; false teaching attacked in, 650, 815, 862, 866, 868-870, 890, 900, 940; place of writing, 772, 862; relation to Ephesians, 815, 862; style of, 815, 862; theology of, 815, 862, 872; vocabulary of, 815, 862.
Colour, 369, 931.
Colt, 694, 717.
Comet, 481.
Comfort, 91, 849, 869, 876, 878, 939.
Comforter, as title of the Messiah, 704.
Commagene, 632.
Commandment, the greatest, 661, 664, 695f, 719, 732, 738.
Commandments, 79, 693, 867, 869, *see* Decalogue.
Commentary, *see* Midrash, 319; on the Books of the Kings, the, 315, 321.
Commerce, 36, 55, 88, 110-112, 403, 513f, 608, 628, 659, 939.
Commercialism, 109, 513f, 659.
Common, the (contrasted with the holy), 202, 512, 570, 689, 897.
Common Greek, 591-593.
Communion, 697, *see* Fellowship; feast, 651; with Christ, 647, 651; with demons, 651; with God, *see* Fellowship with God.
Community, 93, 210, 212, 503, 544f, 629.
—— of goods, 767, 780, 782.
Comparative method, 426.
Comparative religion, 9, 82, 426, 428, 430, 628.
Compassion, 170, 460, 542, 548, 558, 621f, 704, 708, 870, 873, 905.
Compensation, 581, 705.
Competition, 414.
Compilation, methods of, 122.
Complutensian Polyglott, 42, 597.
Complutum, 597.
Comradeship, 414.
Conceit, 651, 834-837, 840, 844, 850f.
Conception of the world, Jewish, 368.
Concubinage, 270.
Concubine, 63, 67, 154, 161f, 186, 240f, 249, 270, 287, 361, 412, 422, 528, 608, 836.
Condemnation, 811, 823f, 851, 897.
Conduct, 93, 130, 873, 886, 904f, 916f.
Conduit of the Upper Pool, 310.
Coney, 203, 390, 409, 788.
Confession, 78, 93, 199, 212, 277, 333, 362, 499, 538, 542, 544, 563, 639, 825, 885, 893, 897, 919; of Christ, 638f, 919, 930; of faith, 786; of sin, *see* Sin.
Confirmation, 193, 632, 863.
Confucius, 185.
Confusion, 137, 458, 845; of speech, 125, 134, 145f, 843.
Congregation of Israel, 177.
Congregation, the, 124, 199, 201, 221f, 269f, 297, 487, 497, 907.
Coniah, *see* Jehoiachin.
Conjectural emendation, 43, 763.
Conjunction of planets, 701.
Conquest, *see* Canaan, conquest of.
Conscience, 7, 12, 139, 174, 406, 416, 553, 569, 640-642, 647, 651, 689, 695, 729, 806, 808, 819, 827f, 836, 840f, 849f, 854, 882f, 910, 919, 935.
Consciousness, 150, 852.
Consecrate war, warriors, 99, 239, 445.
Consecration, 105, 191, 193, 201, 204f, 215, 267, 301, 394, 441, 642, 838, 865, 868.
Conservatism of ritual, 173.
Considerateness, 651, 828, 840.
Consolation, 782, 840, 873; of Israel, 95, 337, 340, 660, 727.
Conspiracy, 87, 295, 307-309, 321, 442, 486, 539. 553.
Constellations, 353, 363, 446, 454.
Consul, 256.
Contempt of Court, 406.
Continence, 632, 838-840.
Contracts, 36.
Contribution, 189, *see* Heave offering.
Controversy, 722, 743f, 749-755, 779, 802, 804, 806f, 814, 828, 882, 885f, 888.
Conversion, convert, 380, 506, 730, 767, 769, 771, 786-788, 793 796f, 823f, 840, 848f, 853, 858, 860, 862, 873, 876, 883, 887, 889, 893, 897, 911, 917f, 930.
Cook, 162.
Coponius, 656.
Copper, 117, 189, 235, 360, 577, 614.
Copyist, 125, *see* Scribe.
Cor, 115.
Coral, 360, 380, 407.
Corban, 197, 689, 714.
Cord, 360, 440, *see* Rope.
Coriander, 181.
Corinth, 62, 594, 602, 614, 646, 648, 650, 655f, 771-773, 794, 796-798, 802, 817, 819, 829f, 832-836, 838, 843, 845, 848-850, 854f, 859, 872, 876, 878, 913, 922, 924; Church in, *see* Church of Corinth.
Corinthians, First Epistle to, 594, 675, 832-848, 849f, 857, 923; authen-

ticity, 815, 832; date, 657, 771, 832; mentioned in I. Clement, 594, 815, 832; occasion of, 832.
Corinthians, Second Epistle to, 849–856; authenticity, 815; characteristics, 849; date, 657, 771, 849; historical background, 849; unity of, 837, 849, 854–856.
Cormorant, 203.
Corn, 13, 30, 102, 105, 111, 127, 163–165, 210, 220, 222, 235, 240f, 268, 297, 311, 335, 370, 403f, 448f, 452, 456, 544–546, 554, 610, 631, 743, 790, 840, 906; ship, 803; spirit, 207, 268.
Cornfield, 99.
Cornelian, 191, 931, 942.
Cornelius, 639, 647, 725, 730, 767f, 770, 776, 788f.
Corner-clipt, 481, 494.
Corner-stone, 864f.
Corners, 220, 483, 493f; of the altar, 540, 580; of the field, 207.
Cornet, 539.
Coronation, 265, 308, 539; oath, 415.
Coronella Austriaca, 804.
Corporate personality, 358, *see* Solidarity.
Corpse, 105, 144, 202f, 216f, 228, 446, 449, 454, 458, 473, 480, 491, 517, 553, 565, 574, 782, 940.
Corruption, 412, 538f, 550, 559, 562, 693, 704, 737, 837, 845–847.
Corybantic phenomena, 647.
Cosmopolitanism, 637.
Cotton, 208, 450.
Couch, 290, 550, 552, 697.
Council of Carthage, 596, 923; of ten, 415; of Trent, 39.
—— of Jerusalem, 602, 654–656, 769f, 773, 776, 793f, 818; decrees of, 646f, 651, 769f, 793f, 799, 859, 930; letter sent by, 647, 793f.
Councils, 596, 802.
Counterfeit coin, 904.
Countess of Huntingdon, 921.
Couplet, 406–408.
Couplings, 317.
Course of Abijah, 725.
Courses of priests, 107, 317; of priests and Levites, 76, 368; of singers, 368.
Court, 67, 104f, 109, 129, 482, 788; Chronicles, 45, 86; History of David, 9, 45, 273, 294; ladies, 420, 422; of Justice, 112, 357, 361, 438, 462f, 468f, 500, 529, 546, 551, 571, 705, 716; of the Gentiles, 694–696, 935; of the Guard, 73, 475, 488, 490; of the Tabernacle, 222; of the Temple, *see* Temple courts; of the women, 696, 753.
Courtesy, 623, 870.
Courtier, 416, 499f, 520.
Courtyard, 698, 740.
Covenant, 11, 37f, 73, 76, 94, 99f, 125–127, 129, 143–145, 150f, 154, 156, 159, 174, 178, 188f, 194, 198, 201, 211f, 227, 231, 234f, 242, 255, 276, 282, 287, 292, 308, 312, 334, 368f, 380f, 388, 390, 462, 468, 470, 474, 481, 488f, 510, 516f, 530–532, 540f, 548, 586, 636f, 784, 819, 821, 825, 829, 864, 894f, 909, 935; at Horeb, 11, 184, 234f; at Sinai, 64, 168, 488, 510; between David and Jonathan, 282; between Yahweh and Israel, 11, 21, 37f, 84, 91, 171, 174, 188f, 212, 231, 234, 334, 368f, 371, 380, 468, 481, 488, 510, 532, 554, 586, 636f, 781, 805; in the land of Moab, 11, 234; New, *see* New Covenant; of peace, 516f; of the dead, 110; ratified by sacrifice, 99, 188, 312, 381; with Abraham, 11, 21, 125, 144, 150f, 234, 640, 784, 825; with David, 388, 825; with death, 455; with Levi, 11, 586; with Moses, 640, 825; with Noah, 11, 22, 143f, 453.
Cover the lips, 561.
Coverlet, 410.
Coveting, 184, 705, 823, 866.
Covetous, covetousness, 361, 649, 707, 733, 867, 870, 877, 900, 906, 914.
Cow, 209, 238, 276.
Cowherd, 165.
Cozbi, 227.
Crassus, 608.
Create, meaning of word, 136.
Creation, 12, 24, 121, 125, 133–138, 141, 181, 184, 195, 297, 346f, 353, 360, 363, 365, 368f, 377, 389f, 397, 399, 401, 464, 466, 478, 642, 746, 781, 784, 812f, 824, 851, 864, 868, 883, 890, 892, 904, 915, 931, 942; doctrine of, 135; double narrative of, 9, 125, 133, 135f, 138; eight works of, 135f; narrative of J, 125, 135f, 138–140; narrative of P, 24, 125, 135–138, 141, 346; out of nothing, 136, 368, 897; six days of, 12, 135–138.
—— passages in Amos, 135, 542, 551.
—— stories, 9, 12, 51, 57, 133, 135 346; Babylonian origin of, 9, 57, 135, 137f.
Creator, 13, 456, 551, 911, *see* God.
Creditor, 238, 351, 459, 483, 696, 733.
Creed, 3, 93, 627, 903–905.
Creeping things, 125, 137, 144, 389, 567.
Crescent 100.
Cretan script, 56.
Cretans, 52, 114, 514, 778, 887.
Crete, 50, 54, 56, 145, 257, 267, 493, 554, 613, 772, 803, 881, 887f.
Crew, 557, 803f, 878.
Crime, criminal, 95, 239, 632, 722, 838.
Crimea, 60.
Criminal neglect, 186f.
Crimson, 437.
Crispus, 797, 833.
Criticism and archæology, 134, 148.
Crocodile, 174, 364f, 514f.
—— river, 28, 30.
Crocus, 420.
Crœsus, 61, 77, 460.
Crops, 187, 222, 405, 409, 541.
Cross, the, 2, 11, 16. 154, 639–641, 661, 667–669, 691f, 698, 731, 763, 777, 808–813, 815, 820, 822, 824, 828, 831, 833, 859, 861, 868–870, 897–899, 903, 919; sign of the, 507.
Crown, 286, 289, 308, 399, 404, 421, 452, 455, 471, 482, 500, 578, 632f, 841, 904, 930, 932, 934, *see* Diadem; of glory, 904; of thorns, 698.
Crucible, 587.
Crucified Messiah, 594, 807–813, 834.
Crucifixion, 223, 608–610, 698, 741, 757, 762, 811; an accursed death, 641, 814, 833, 859.
—— the, *see* Jesus, crucifixion of; date of, 652–657, 837.
Cruelty, 89, 165, 280, 375, 465f, 496f, 502, 506f, 510–512, 529, 548f, 556, 564–567, 607, 609f, 629, 698, 722, 820.
Crusaders, 27.
Cry of desertion, 698f.
Crystal, 504, 931, 942.
Cub, 565, *see* Whelp.
Cub (Ezek. xxx. 5), 514.
Cubit, 115, 143, 260, 281, 297f, 518f, 526, 707, 942; of Ezekiel, 115; natural, 115; Persian, 115; royal, 115.
Cucumber, 481.
Culture, 547, 619.
Culture heroes, 141, 145.
Cultus, 45, 127, 397, 399, 535, 537–541, 544, 876, *see* Worship.
Cumanus, 610, 655f.
Cumin, 720.
Cuneiform inscriptions, 53, 137, 145f, 148, 310, 373, 524; script, 36, 51, 53, 55f, 124, 128f, 246, 328.
Cup, 164, 386, 486, 493–495, 512, 555, 558, 565, 567, 582, 720, 732; Eucharistic, 641, 694, 739, 841f; metaphorical, 668, 869; of blessing 697; of salvation, 392.
Cupbearer. 78, 330.
Cup-hole, 263.
Curds, 441f.
Cure at a distance, 690, 708.
Cure of souls, 503, 505.
Curious arts, 797.
Curse, 5, 141, 144f, 157, 161, 165, 184, 199, 208, 216, 224–226, 232, 234, 241f, 262, 269, 285, 290, 295, 302, 359, 370, 372, 391, 395, 405, 408, 463, 472, 484, 486, 493, 495, 499, 562, 567, 577–579, 581, 586f, 623, 629, 660, 711, 800, 843, 850, 859, 905, 942f; of the Law, 641, 810, 833, 859.
Cursing, 347–349, 391, 689, 740; God, 210, 304, 348, 443, *see* Blasphemy; of parents, 208; the king, 304, 443.
Curtain, 190, 199, 261, 317, 420, 494, 895.
Cush (Ethiopia), 140, 145, 219; in Arabia, 219, 445, 464.
Cushan, 219, 260, 568.
Cushan-Rishathaim, 260.
Cushion, 109, 674, 687.
Cushite, Cushites, 219, 291, 319f, 554.
Cuspius Fadus, 610, 656, 783.
Custom(s), 50, 82–84, 87, 110, 134, 275, 488, 725, 762, 783, 795, 799, 802, 842, 858.
—— *i.e.* dues, 111, 113, 613–615, 684, 706.
Cut a covenant, 312.
Cutheans, 310.
Cutting the victim in two, 99, 150, 312, 489.
Cuttings in the flesh, 110, 237, 491, 493, 539, 561.
Cyaxares, 60f, 72, 565.
Cybele, 209, 632f.
Cycle of existence, 411f.
Cymbals, 316, 327, 844.
Cynics, cynicism, 634, 812.
Cypher, 495.
Cypress, 143, 420.
Cyprian, 596, 601, 786, 901, 928.
Cyprians, 517, 566.
Cyprus, 55, 62, 99, 298, 452, 477, 513, 532, 608, 613, 655, 658, 768f, 782, 789, 791, 793, 799, 803.
Cyrene, 62, 613, 658, 724, 789.

Cyrenians, 783.
Cyril Lukar, 601.
Cyril of Alexandria, 928.
—— of Jerusalem, 596, 726.
Cyrus, 47, 61, 77f, 170, 301, 323, 325, 327f, 393, 446, 450, 460–462, 464, 487, 494f, 522f, 525–529, 531, 572f, 748, cylinder of, 77, 572; decree of, 77f, 245, 314f, 319, 322, 325, 328; return from exile under, *see* Return from exile.

D (MS), *see* Codex Bezæ.
D (Pentateuchal Document), 126–131, *see* Deuteronomic Code, Deuteronomy; Josiah, Law-book of; and E, 126; and J, 126; and P, 126.
δ text, 599.
Dagon, 178, 268, 276, 286, 315.
Dagon-takala, 269.
Daily bread, 706; sacrifice, *see* Sacrifice.
Dainties, 407.
Dalmanutha, 690, 714.
Dalmatia, 613f.
Dam, 169.
Damage, 186.
Damaris, 796.
Damascus, 26f, 29, 33, 55, 58f, 63, 68–71, 74, 111, 149, 243, 298f, 301, 306f, 309, 330, 356, 442, 444, 448f, 492, 494, 513, 520, 534, 548 550, 552, 655, 659, 669, 682, 690, 727, 767f, 784, 786f, 802, 856, 858; plain of, 33; cloth, 550; gate, 570.
Damp, 482.
Damuzi, 631.
Dan (place), 27, 32, 67, 73, 149, 219, 243, 269, 291, 293, 300f, 478, 541, 553; camp of, 31, 269.
—— priesthood of, 171, 269.
—— son of Jacob, 166.
—— tribe of, 65, 85, 161, 214f, 243, 249, 259, 262, 267, 269, 296f, 318, 521, 933.
Dance, 103, 181, 266, 270, 282, 288, 388, 392, 396, 422.
Dancing, 66, 100, 103, 278, 422, 528, 711, 841.
Daniel, 296, 432, 509, 522–531, 533, 566, 786, 788, 898; and Belshazzar, 527f; and Darius, 528; and Nebuchadnezzar, 524–527; confession of, 530; in the den of lions, 528; interpreter of dreams, 525–527; loyalty to the Law, 524f; not mentioned in Ecclesiasticus, 522; three friends of, 523, 525f, 898; visions of, 528–533.
—— Book of, 38, 46–48, 94, 106, 362, 366, 396, 431–434, 453, 509, 522–533, 582, 605, 661, 716, 720, 926, 936, 938, 941; an apocalypse, 46–48, 424, 431–434, 605; and the problem of suffering, 47; author, 38, 432; authorship, 522f; date, 48, 106, 522f, 637; description of happy future, 433; historical background, 523; historical inaccuracies in, 522–524, 527f; language of, 35f, 48, 522; place in Old Testament Canon, 38, 522; purpose of, 433, 523, 605; survey of history in, 48, 523; visions in, 432, 523, 525–533.
Danites, 65, 254, 259, 267, 269.
Dan-jaan, 293.
Dante, 267, 431, 434.
Danube, 613.
Daphne, *see* Tahpanhes.
Daric, 116, 315.
Darius I. (Hystaspis), 61, 77f, 116, 245, 315, 323, 327f, 337, 523, 528f, 531, 572, 574f, 748; decree of, 328; III., 61f, 79; the Mede, 522, 527f, 530f; the Persian, 325.
Darkness, 135f, 150, 177, 298, 349, 358–360, 363, 375, 388, 395, 406, 462, 466, 470, 551, 553, 561, 564, 577, 583, 628, 707, 732, 740, 745f, 758, 798, 851, 866–868, 899, 914, 916f, 924, 936; at the Crucifixion, 698; plague of, 123, 174, 176; powers of, 83.
Darts, 867.
Darwin, 3, 19.
Date of the Crucifixion, 652–657, 837; of the Last Supper, 653.
Dates, 423, 694.
Dathan and Abiram, 13, 123, 201, 213, 220f, 227, 382, 391.
Daughter of Abraham, 734.
Daughter-in-law, 733.
Daughters, 108–110, 158, 209, 227, 422, 437, 519, 733, 839; inheritance of, 227f, 230; of Jerusalem, 738; of men, 142, 434, 842.
David, 21, 31, 44f, 57, 65–67, 69f, 73, 75, 81, 86, 96, 100f, 106, 111–114, 120, 122, 127, 162, 165f, 174, 180, 182, 184, 215, 217, 220, 224, 226–228, 244–247, 258f, 264, 266–268, 273f, 277–300, 307–309, 314–318, 327, 354, 366–368, 372, 376, 381–383, 385, 387f, 391–396, 403, 412, 427, 438f, 468, 485, 487, 510, 516f, 537, 560f, 577, 641, 668, 684, 696, 701, 726, 728, 738, 779, 784f, 792; a prophet, 779; ancestry of, 48, 281, 283; and Abigail, 284; and Absalom, 67, 289–291, 295, 367, 396; and Achish, 66, 283, 285; and Bathsheba, 67, 289, 294, 381, 400; and Goliath, 20, 31, 66, 281f, 292, 366, 396; and Jerusalem, 31, 67, 86, 170, 224, 258, 282, 287f, 290, 315f; and Joab, 67, 287, 289–295; and Jonathan, 66, 282f, 286; and Michal, 101, 282, 284, 287f; and Nabal, 284; and Nathan, 20, 67, 86, 288f, 294, 316, 426; and Samuel, 66, 280f, 307; and Saul, 20f, 31, 44, 66, 244, 280–286; and Solomon, 67, 75, 289, 294f, 318; and the Philistines, 66f, 111, 267, 281–283, 285–288, 292, 316, 455; and the Psalter, 9, 44, 86, 341, 366–368, 376, 381, 397, 411, 418, 696, 779; and the religion of Israel, 73, 86, 287f; and Uriah, 67, 289, 368, 381f; army of, 114, 289, 291, 308, 318; as musician, 44, 66, 281, 367, 552; as poet, 44, 286f, 366–368; becomes king of Israel, 57, 67, 86, 112f, 287; becomes king of Judah, 66f, 286, 315; career of, 66f, 86, 245, 281–295, 315–318, 468; census of, 13, 48, 220, 293, 316f, 368; character of, 67, 86, 264, 286, 290, 374, 376; covenant with, 388, 825; death of, 294f, 779; elegy on Abner, 44, 287, 367; elegy on Saul and Jonathan, 18, 44, 286, 341, 367, 439; empire of, 111, 127, 188, 387f, 580; family troubles of, 67, 86, 289–291, 368; heroes of, 292, 315; house of, 113, 170, 300, 427, 429, 441f, 582, 696, 702, 726, 753, 779; in the Book of Chronicles, 48, 75, 122, 245, 250, 368, 376, 378; last words of, 292, 367, 376; meaning of his name, 281; officers of, 113, 288f, 292f, 296, 318; outlaw life of, 31, 66, 86, 245, 266, 283–286, 315; polygamy of, 67, 284, 287, 289; predicts resurrection of Jesus, 779; preparation for building of Temple, 75, 317f, 368, 394; religion of, 86, 100, 106, 122, 245, 282, 285, 288–290, 292f, 316, 367; story of, 20f, 66, 86, 122, 245f, 273f, 314; throne of, 337, 339, 394, 500, 779; tomb of, 779; victories of, 45, 66f, 69, 111, 227, 241, 285–291, 316, 383, 549.
David, sons of, 106, 113, 215, 289, 292, 296, 316, 318, 394.
David's court, history of, 9, 45, 273, 289–292, 294.
Davidic dynasty, 48, 288, 372, 388, 394, 427, 441, 502; monarch, monarchy, 49, 127, 427, 443, 487, 561; Psalms, 44, 341, 366–368, 381, 696.
Dawn, 105, 160, 270, 349, 363, 365, 380, 383, 422, 470, 545, 551, 577, 798; eyelids of, 349, 383; goddess of the, 349, 446; wings of the, 383, 395.
Dawn myth, 349.
Day, 117, 136f, 149, 159f, 349, 369, 377, 384, 395, 551, 583; (*i.e.* year), 505, 530f, 935; of Atonement, 11, 104–107, 127, 131, 196f, 199, 201, 205f, 210, 326, 623, 652, 737, 756, 803, 894–896, 900; of Judgment, 373, 378, 435, 705, 708, 721, 779, 796, 819, 861, 909, 914, 924, 926, *see* Judgment, the Last Judgment; of Pentecost, 638, 647f, 745, 766, 778, 817, 826, 887; of the Lord, 13, 46, 647, 649, 718, 779, 828, 835, 879, 906, 932f; of Yahweh, 46, 72, 398f, 427, 431f, 438, 440, 445, 481, 486f, 509, 544–546, 551, 555, 561, 563, 569–571, 583, 587.
Daybreak, disappearance of spirits at, 160.
Daysman, 354.
Dayspring, 726.
Deaconess, 829, 883.
Deacons, 643, 645f, 690, 783, 872, 883.
Dead, 18, 110, 149, 240f, 374, 391, 398, 402, 404, 406, 432, 446, 454, 470, 472, 480, 483, 507, 551–553, 632, 715, 825, 828, 868, 876, 878, 929, 934, 941.
Dead body, *see* Corpse.
Dead Sea, 26f, 31f, 64, 70, 134, 147–149, 153, 160, 170, 172, 213, 223f, 226, 229, 232f, 260f, 271, 284, 309, 387, 448, 458, 485, 493f, 517, 520f, 545, 548f, 553, 555, 583, 610, 702, 905f.
Deaf, deafness, 208, 417, 456, 459, 462, 726.
Deaf mute, 690.
Death, 8, 82, 131, 140f, 150f, 162, 171, 173, 193, 202, 212, 221f, 243, 267, 280, 344f, 348f, 352, 355–357, 360f, 369–371, 377f, 381f, 403, 409, 413, 415–417, 455, 459, 481, 483f, 509, 542, 565, 567, 577, 649, 663, 687, 694, 709, 745, 752, 759, 779, 788, 807, 810, 812, 822–824, 826, 835–837, 843, 845–847, 849–853, 864, 873, 876, 878, 887, 891, 895, 897f, 900, 907, 909, 916, 919f, 929, 932f, 937, 940–942; abolition of, 345, 453, 846; destroys man's relation with God, 352, 370, 377, 392, 459; *i.e.* pestilence, 483f, 932; *i.e.* poison, 306; of Christ, a ransom

paid to the devil, 838, *see* Christ, death of, Jesus, death of; of Egyptian firstborn, 173f, 176–178; origin of, 138f, 846; penalty, 106, 108, 110, 112, 129, 139, 144, 164, 171, 188, 193, 199, 208, 210, 279, 347, 607, 649, 760, 762, 767, 773f, 800, 802, 837, 853, 897, *see* Capital Punishment; penalty of sin, 197f, 351, 400, 436, 810, 822, 843, 853, 891, 897; premature, as punishment, 351, 357f; sentence, 614, 649; sting of, 369, 847; terrors of, 358; the end of all, 356, 413, 416; the reaper, 481; to sin, 643, 811, 822f, 864, 910; with Christ, 650, 822f, 847, 852, 861, 864, 869.
Debir, 253, 258, 260, 297.
Deborah, nurse of Rebekah, 161, 261.
—— prophetess, 100, 108, 112, 161, 173, 257, 261f, 269, 384; song of, 9, 18, 44, 65, 85, 165, 249, 253f, 256f, 261f, 265, 341, 384.
Debt, 102, 112, 211, 238, 305, 400, 466, 469, 549, 567, 705f, 870f, 905.
Debtor, 110, 459, 483, 733, 736.
Decalogue, 11, 21, 44, 64, 99, 101, 108, 130, 135, 183–185, 189f, 194, 208, 231, 234f, 276, 337, 361, 395, 488, 765, 867, 882.
Decapolis, 30, 33, 687f, 690, 704, 773.
Deceased wife's sister, 207.
Deceit, 157, 479, 481, 542, 782.
Deception, 147, 153, 157f, 163, 252, 282f, 846.
December 25th, Western date for birth of Christ, 652.
Decimal system, 115.
Decomposition, painfulness of, 356.
Decree, 78, 528, 530, 726, 859.
Dedan, Dedanites, 156, 451, 493, 513.
Dedication, 83, 151; of the walls, 79, 334.
Deed of sale, 113, 488f.
Deep, the, 135, 137, 243, 349, 352, 359f, 363, 378.
Deep things of God, 834, 930; of Satan, 930.
Defeat, 212, 298.
Defile the hands, 39, 202, 223, 324.
Defilement, 130f, 183, 196, 204, 207, 209f, 216f, 241, 484, 517, 525f, 556, 584, 664, 666, 689f, 720, 732, 749, 793f, 799f, *see* Uncleanness.
Delicacy, 623.
Delilah, 79, 268.
Deliver to Satan, 648f, 837, 850.
Deliverance, 260, 266, 277, 377, 379, 382, 391, 395, 438, 442, 445, 454, 457, 459, 463–465, 467f, 470f, 480, 557, 559, 562f.
Delphi, 655, 797, 838; oracle at, 428.
Delta, the, 52, 54, 56f, 164, 170, 450.
Deluge, 13, 125, 141–146, 297, 358, 468, 717, 720, 910, 914f; historicity of, 133, 143.
—— stories, 22, 51, 133, 141–144; Babylonian origin of, 9, 51, 57, 133, 142–145; composite character of, 9, 122, 133, 142–144; non-Biblical, 142f.
Demas, 870f, 887.
Demeter, 632.
Demetrius (3 Jn. 12), 922; (Hellenistic writer), 530.
Demetrius I. (Soter), 528, 532, 607f; II., 608; III., 608.
Demetrius the silversmith, 798, 847, 922.
Demigods, 133, 142, 446.
Demoniacal possession, 663, 708, 715, 728, 734, 754f, 795, 797.
Demoniacs, 682f, 687, 692, 694, 708f, 730f, 743.
Demonology, 317.
Demons, devils, 83, 88, 94f, 104, 136, 160, 203f, 206, 209, 243, 304, 387, 391, 446, 542, 31f, 651, 663, 666f, 683, 685–687, 690, 693, 708f, 728, 731, 734, 736, 754, 840–843, 867, 870, 905, 933f, *see* Evil spirits; fellowship with, 651, 841.
Demosthenes, 24, 591, 603.
Demotic script, 52.
Den, 166, 263, 363, 485, 565; of lions, 94, 528; of thieves, 480, 539.
Denarius, 116f, 695, 717, 932.
Depravity of the Gentile world, 619, 819.
Derbe, 769, 792–794, 798, 857, 922.
Dervishes, 107, 278.
Descent into hell, 866, 911.
Desert, 27f, 31f, 34f, 50, 63, 65, 78, 82, 85f, 89, 92, 95f, 104, 141, 148, 150f, 179, 214, 218, 226, 256, 303, 386, 391, 448, 450f, 456, 462, 472, 520, 527, 545, 550, 665, 682, 685, 688, *see* Wilderness.
Desertion, 73, 475, 485, 488, 490.
Desire of women, the, 532.
Despot, despotism, *see* Tyrant, tyranny.
Destiny, 633; (god), 472.
Destroyer, the, 361, 841.
Destruction, 545, 934, 942; of the world by fire, 717, 915.
Determinism, 404.
Deutero-Isaiah, *see* Second Isaiah.
Deuteronomic Code, 37, 74f, 79, 99, 103, 112, 124, 129, 131, 211, 312, 518; editor, 246, 250; Reformation, *see* Josiah's Reformation; (Deuteronomistic) point of view, 45f, 75, 250, 252, 254, 257, 259f, 277, 294, 296, 298–301, 309–312; school, 75, 188, 253–255, 273, 288; style, 46, 126, 129, 176, 231f, 241.
Deuteronomist, 75, 168, 178f, 250, 253–255, 257, 259, 277, 299, 307–309, 374.
Deuteronomy, Book of, 11, 45, 47, 74f, 87, 89f, 102, 106, 108, 121, 123f, 126, 128–131, 179, 184f, 196, 206, 211, 228–230, 231–243, 245, 251, 273, 303, 310–312, 396, 436, 474, 480, 501, 504, 506, 511, 587, 661, 693; aim of, 45, 89f, 128, 131; and Ezekiel, 11, 47, 129; and idolatry, 74f, 128f, 131, 237, 311f, 474, 480; and JE, 126, 128, 130, 231f, 236; and Jeremiah, 11, 46, 75, 90, 128f, 131, 231f, 236, 474, 480–482; and Josiah's Reformation, 45f, 89f, 128f, 231, 312, 474, 501; and P, 47, 126, 129f, 132, 233, 236, 341; and the Aramaic papyri, 232; and the centralisation of worship, 45, 75, 89f, 102, 106, 128f, 131, 187, 196, 230, 232, 236f, 239, 254, 312, 449, 474, 506; and the earlier legislation, 45, 90, 126, 128f, 184, 232; and the Law of Holiness, 130, 196; and the priesthood, 106, 124, 126f, 129, 215, 232, 236, 238f, 312; authorship, 74, 89f, 231, 312; composite character of, 45, 231f, 235, 242f; contents, 11, 231; date, 74, 89, 128f, 231f, 236f; discovery of, 45f, 74f, 128, 312; humanitarianism of, 90, 135, 235, 238–241, 280; influence of, 45f, 90, 129, 661; its debt to the prophets, 45, 90, 131, 341, 436; name, 231; origin of, 128; place in the Canon, 37, 45, 231; relation to Josiah's Law Book, 45, 75, 128, 231f; teaching of, 45, 90, 108, 128f, 131, 185, 231f, 234; the original, 45, 232.
Devil, *see* Satan.
Devils, *see* Demons.
Devoted things, 222.
Devoting (*i.e.* to destruction), *see* Ban.
Devotion, 93.
Dew, 29, 31, 263, 363, 394, 421, 454, 542, 561f.
Diadem, 191, 289, 360, 389, 577, 904, *see* Crown.
Dial, 311.
Dialects, 591, 615.
Dialogues, 20, 25, 419f, 604.
Diamond, 942.
Diaries, 14, 78.
Diaspora, *see* Dispersion.
Diatessaron, 122, 595, 600, 715.
Diatheke, 895.
Dibon, 224, 229f, 448, 493.
Dibon-gad, 229.
Dictation, 42, 598, 880, 938.
Dictator, 614.
Didaché 306, 399, 561, 594, 596, 602, 640–643, 646, 658, 707, 732, 766, 781, 783, 786f, 791, 848, 908, 922, 924f.
Didactic character of Hebrew history, 21; literature, 19.
Dido, 302.
Didymus, 759.
Dies Iræ, 570.
Dietary rules, 621f 731, 788.
Digging, 224, 439.
Digging through walls, 178, 583.
Dimon, 448.
Dinah, 134, 158, 160f.
Dinner, 23, 164, 404.
Diocesan episcopacy, 646.
Diocletian persecution, 596.
Diogenes, 634; Lærtius, 604.
Dion, 33.
Dionysius Exiguus, 652.
Dionysius of Alexandria, 592, 597f, 901, 928; the Areopagite, 796.
Dionysus, 216, 627, 648.
Dioscuri, 804, *see* Heavenly twins, the.
Diotrephes, 922.
Dirge, 18, 446, 480–482, 485, 490, 493, 513–515, 551, 560, 711, 939f, *see* Elegy, Lamentation.
Disaster, *see* Calamity.
Discerning of spirits, *see* Proving of spirits.
Disciples of Jesus, 9, 13, 604, 662, 664–670, 682–686, 690–692, 694, 697, 704, 710, 713, 715f, 722, 728f, 731–733, 736, 739–742, 747–752, 754f, 757–765, 808, 910.
Discipleship, 685, 691, 708, 710, 735, 886; aspirants to, 708, 731.
Discipline, 93, 96f, 111, 160, 535, 540f, 556, 627, 647–649, 836, 856, 861, 879, 886f, 899f, 905.
Discretion, 344, 403.
Disease, 76, 99, 160, 197, 202, 276, 348, 390, 444, 448, 500, 649, 663, 687, 709, 882.
Disguise, 157, 285, 301, 312.
Dish, 190, 732, 736.
Dishon, 34.

Dishonesty, 208, 512, 559, 562, 736, 757.
Disobedience, 66, 108, 139f, 177, 197f, 206, 212, 231f, 255, 278, 280, 298, 345, 387, 456, 481f, 489, 491, 622, 708, 749, 754f, 785, 792, 805, 822, 827, 833, 855, 864, 866, 880, 890–892, 899, 924.
Disobedient prophet, the, 67, 225, 247, 301, 312.
Dispensation, 865.
Dispersion, 62, 92, 94, 100, 106, 212, 380, 388, 391, 393, 443, 445, 454, 458, 463, 466, 468, 471, 473, 512, 544, 546, 560, 562f, 571, 578–580, 586, 608, 625f, 660, 752, 767f, 770, 786, 792, 796, 800, 805, 808, 812, 901, 906, 908.
Display, 666.
Disruption of the Kingdom, 49, 67, 75, 81, 86, 166, 243, 245f, 298–300, 426f, 442, 517.
Dithyramb, 512.
Dittography, 42, 565, 570.
Dius, 246, 297.
Divan, 109, 550.
Dives, 660, 725, 729, 736, 756.
Divination, 100f, 159, 164, 185, 187, 198, 226, 310, 404, 417, 428f, 512, 561, 580, 634, 795.
Divine animals, 628.
—— names, 124f, 276; their place in Pentateuchal analysis, 122–126, 174.
—— right of kings, 630.
Diviners, 236, 239, 276, 464, 495, 525, 561.
Division of Canaan among the tribes, 249, 253f; of labour, 111.
Divorce, 108, 113, 240, 271, 329, 466, 478, 531, 586f, 621, 666, 674, 693, 705, 716f, 735f, 838.
Docetæ, Docetism, Docetists, 644, 663, 756, 763, 873, 916, 919.
Doeg, 283.
Dogma, 35, 92; in pagan religion, 627f, 631.
Dogs, 130, 142, 240, 264, 287, 304, 307, 416, 633f, 690, 714, 915; (figurative), 707, 942; (*i.e.* Jews), 874; Jewish term for Gentiles, 874, 942.
Domitian, 630f, 655–657, 715, 764, 775, 804, 863, 886, 908, 923, 928, 932, 936, 939.
Domitilla, 775.
Door, 128, 177f, 186, 217, 222, 276, 421, 519, 734, 754, 795, 931; (*i.e.* opportunity), 870, 931.
Doorkeepers, 109, 315, 326, 329f, 368, 489.
Doorpost, 102, 109, 128, 178, 186, 386.
Dor, 28, 257, 296, 416.
Dorcas, 788.
Doric, 591.
Dositheus, 340.
Dothan, 30, 69, 162, 306.
Double portion, 239, 274, 305.
—— tradition, 672.
Doublet, 405.
Doubt, 764.
Dough, 826, 837.
Dove, 136, 142, 144, 197, 203f, 365, 382, 420–422, 459, 470, 493, 556, 565, 682, *see* Pigeon; a name for Israel, 556.
Dovecotes, 470.
Dove's dung, 306.
Dowry, 281f, 299, 423, 560.
Doxology, 366, 379, 385, 391, 396, 551, 554, 818, 825, 830f, 875, 880, 885, 900, 911, 925, 929, 932f, 935, 938.
Drachm, drachma, 116f, 735.
Draco, 454.
Drag-net, 566.
Dragon, 243, 330, 349, 352f, 386, 390, 401, 454, 466, 495, 935–937, 939, 941; the, and the woman, 935f; of the lower ocean, 557.
Dragon's well, 330.
Drama, 1, 20, 24, 342, 418f, 421f, 870.
Drawing of arrows, 100, 512.
Dream-oracles, 157, 472.
Dreams, 153, 157, 159, 162f, 189, 219, 226, 237, 260, 263f, 296, 352, 385, 414, 420–422, 429, 431, 456, 485, 525f, 576, 606, 701, 770.
Dress, 305, 439, 569, 883, 894, 909, *see* Clothes, Garments.
Dressing-room, 519.
Drink, drinking, 166, 181, 190, 467, 505, 536, 562, 720, 828, 841, 900.
Drink offerings, 103, 217, 376, 456, 480, 887.
Drinking feast, 158, 337f; troughs, 159.
—— the blood, 144, 370, 752.
Dromedaries, 296.
Dross, 375, 438, 512.
Drought, 13, 27, 50, 77, 242, 302, 483, 545, 553, 585, 587, 629, 706, 907.
Drowning, 557.
Drugged wine, 698.
Druidism, 616.
Drunkard, 407f, 440, 450, 455, 627, 649, 837.
Drunkenness, 68f, 103, 153, 216, 275, 284, 337, 386, 407, 455, 469, 482, 486, 493, 539, 550, 566f, 779, 838, 842, 866, 883.
Drusilla, 656, 801f.
Druzes, 33.
Dry land, 137, 556, 574; rot, 203; season, 111.
Dryden, 602.
Dual number, 593.
Dualism, 11, 434, 464, 632, 644, 851.
Dues, 79, 615, *see* Customs, Taxes, Tribute.
Dugong, 215.
Dulcimer, 526.
Dumah, 451.
Dumb, dumbness, 459, 709, 726.
Dung gate, 330.
Dungeon, 490, 580.
Duoviri, 614, 795.
Dura (river), 526; Plain of, 526.
Dust, 125, 133, 139f, 175f, 206, 349f, 421, 449, 456, 458, 461f, 467, 472, 549, 566, 570, 800, 847, 906, 915.
Dwarf juniper tree, 484.
Dwelling, the, 123f, 126, 129, 131, 181, 189f, 191, 194, *see* Tabernacle.
Dyes, dyeing, 54, 189, 243, 420, 930, 934.
Dying and rising god, 628, 631f.
—— Youth, the, 632.
Dysentery, 235.
Dysmas, 741.

E (Pentateuchal Document), 45, 48, 126–128, 130, 133, 149, 168, 175, 213, 303, 336; and D, 126; and J, 126f; characteristics of, 48, 127; combined with J, 126, 128; date of, 45, 127; expansion of, 127f; legislation of, 45, 127, 130; written in Northern Kingdom, 45, 127.
E or (E), document in historical books, 246, 256, 273f.
ϵ text, 600.
Ea, 130, 142, 326; Book of, 130.
Eagle, 203, 354, 364, 375, 390, 409, 445, 462, 478, 499, 504, 510, 528, 539, 555, 566f, 863, 931, 934, 936.
—— vision of Ezra, 863.
Ear, 128, 178, 186, 192, 236, 355, 379, 389, 407f, 471, 553, 698, 701, 896.
Earnest, *i.e.* instalment as pledge, 638, 850, 852, 860, 863.
Earrings, 100, 161, 193, 407, 707.
Ears of corn, 306, 455.
Earth, 5, 24, 135f, 139, 186, 191, 285, 353, 409, 446, 461, 464, 467f, 478, 554, 628, 705f, 727, 863–866, 868–870, 904, 915, 932, 934, 936; god, goddess, 494, 629; maiden, 630; mother, 628, 630; sanctuary of, 216.
Earthenware, 200, 203–205, 456, 486, 488, *see* Pottery.
Earthquake, 13, 27, 143, 152f, 183, 220f, 262, 279, 303, 330, 337, 353, 389, 391, 438, 453, 456, 517, 545, 547, 553, 560, 564, 567, 583, 629, 653, 722, 795, 819, 930–932, 935, 939.
Earthworks, 479.
East, 129, 578; wind, 180, 454, 484, 510f, 514, 541f, 558.
Easter, 179, 745, 764, 778, 821.
Eating, 103, 105, 138–140, 144, 152, 156f, 164, 177, 181f, 188, 197–202, 206, 210f, 218–220, 222, 237f, 241, 263, 272, 274f, 279f, 302, 306, 312, 381, 408, 412, 437f, 440, 442, 464, 472f, 483, 504f, 525, 544, 689, 697, 739f, 742, 752, 762, 788f, 828, 840–843, 859, 900, *see* Feast, Food, Sacrifice.
—— the book, 504f, 935; the flesh, 752.
Ebal, 30, 146, 241, 252, 265, 749.
Ebed-melech, 73, 475, 490f.
Eben-ezer, 276f.
Eber, 34, 227.
Ebionite Gospel, 658, 702.
Ebionites, 774.
Ebony, 421.
Ecbatana, 328.
Ecclesia, 700, 714.
Ecclesiastes, Book of, 18, 24, 35, 47, 92, 94, 341–345, 366, 397, 411–417, 418; aim of, 345; and Greek philosophy, 94, 342; and Solomon, 18, 341f, 417, 432, 522; and the problem of suffering, 47; and women, 415; author of, 94, 342, 411f; authorship, 342, 411f; canonicity of, 18f, 38f, 343f, 411f; characteristics of, 94, 342, 344, 411; creed of, 411; cynicism of, 345; date of, 342, 411; heterodoxy of, 342; interpolations in, 412–417; linguistic character of, 341f, 411; name of, 411; name Yahweh not used in, 366, 411; not pantheistic, 411; not written in metre, 411; pessimism of, 47, 94, 342, 345, 397, 411f; philosophy of life, 343–345, 411–413; rejects doctrine of immortality, 94, 411; scepticism of, 21, 92, 94, 342; unity of, 342, 412; value of, 412.
Ecclesiastical year, 652.
Ecclesiasticus (Ben-Sira, Sirach), 24,

34f, 39, 112, 343–345, 401, 411, 522, 603, 711; author of, 38; Hebrew fragments of, 35; prologue to, 37f; translator of, 37.
Eclecte, 921.
Eclecticism, 634.
Eclipse, 349, 353, 481, 545, 553, 563, 698, 741, 934.
Ecstasy, 92, 107, 150, 278, 420, 429f, 440, 503f, 507, 633, 647, 685, 703, 761, 779, 834, 842–844, 852, 859, 865.
Ecthyma, 348.
Eden, 125, 133f, 138f, 147, 466, 513, 741, 855, 942.
Eder, 161.
Edessa, 36, 596, 704.
Edification, 244, 841, 843–845.
Edom, 47, 58, 67, 70f, 76, 100, 111, 134, 148f, 154–157, 162, 171, 182, 213, 223, 226f, 229, 233, 260, 262, 266, 280, 288, 299, 303–305, 307, 309, 347, 383, 387, 394, 397, 410, 445, 448, 450f, 458, 471, 493f, 499f, 510, 513, 515f, 533, 546, 548f, 554f, 567, 580, 582, 585, 939.
Edomites, 63, 70, 76, 78, 147, 155, 240, 259, 346, 349, 387, 458, 499, 555, 572, 581.
Edrei, 224, 232, 581.
Education, 86, 91, 109, 170, 399, 614, 661, 721.
Edward II., 416.
Effigies of the dead, 358.
Egg, 136, 364, 444, 459, 469, 499, 707.
Eglah, 287.
Eglaim, 448.
Eglath-shelishiyah, 448.
Eglon, 65, 260.
Egoism, 558.
Egypt, 28–30, 36, 52–64, 67, 70–74, 79, 82, 90, 98, 100, 105f, 110–114, 119, 123, 126f, 130, 147f, 153, 162–165, 167, 169–178, 181, 193, 203, 207, 218, 229, 234–236, 241, 248f, 251, 254, 276, 285, 296, 299, 310–313, 318f, 324, 337, 340, 353, 381, 385–388, 390, 394, 406, 428, 442, 448–450, 452, 454f, 456f, 460, 463f, 467, 475, 477, 485f, 490–492, 498, 500–502, 507, 510f, 513–515, 523f, 526, 529, 531–533, 535, 539–542, 546, 548, 550, 553, 560, 562, 565, 569, 579f, 591, 599, 605, 607f, 613, 615f, 630, 632, 652, 659, 702, 730, 773, 778, 784f, 841, 864, 898, 913; and Assyria, 59f, 70–72, 310, 442, 448–450, 474; and Babylonia, *see* Babylonia; and Greece, 62, 79; and Israel, *see* Exodus, the; Israel; and Judah, *see* Judah; and neighbouring peoples, 71; and Palestine, 52, 54–57, 59–62, 79, 116, 248, 524; and Persia, 62, 79; and Syria, 54–56, 59–61, 116, 431, 523f, 531–533; and the Hittites, 53, 55f, 169; and the Libyans, 56; and the Peoples of the Sea, 56; called Ham, 387, 390; chronology of, 52, 119; dynasties of, 52, 63, 169; extent of, 52; gods of, 54f, 163, 449, 492, 510, 630, 632, 808; history of, 52, 54–57, 59–62, 248; kings of, 119f, 124; land system of, 134, 165; name of, 52; physical characteristics of, 52, 139, 147, 169, 236, 406, 450, 452, 730; races in, 52; religion of, 52, 54f, 57, 130, 164, 369, 428, 507, 630; wisdom of, 170, 296, 353, 397, 492.
Egypt, *i.e.* Jerusalem, 935.
—— son of Ham, 387, 390.
Egyptian alliance, 113, 449, 452, 455–457, 834; bondage, 63, 126, 150, 169f, 173f, 468; influence on Israel, 82, 84, 105, 135, 362; Jew, leader of the assassins, 800; monuments, 26, 257, 482, 587; scripts, 52; versions, 595, 601.
Egyptians, 80, 59, 99, 115, 147, 151, 163–167, 169f, 175, 177f, 180, 218, 239–241, 251, 255, 266, 296, 306, 444, 457, 463, 474, 490, 566.
Ehud, 65, 260f.
Ekron, 28, 71, 276f, 282, 304, 548, 560, 580.
El, 399.
El Elyon, 149.
El roi, 150.
El Shaddai, 124f, 151, 161, 164, 174, *see* Shaddai.
Elah, king of Israel, 68, 302.
Elah, Vale of, 31.
Elam, Elamites, 59–61, 77, 148, 445, 450f, 494, 512, 515, 529.
Elasah, 487.
Elath, 67, 71, 111, 149, 299, 309, 438.
El-berith, 265.
Elder, the, 902, 921f.
Elder brother, the, 718, 735, 811.
Elder John, *see* John the Presbyter.
Elders (Hebrew), 65f, 72, 74, 90, 112, 124, 172, 177, 182, 188f, 199, 201, 221, 259, 266, 269, 272, 277, 287, 291, 304, 313, 318, 331, 350, 415, 439, 453, 497, 501, 509, 511, 544, 559, 660, 718, 730, 740, 781, 783, 801.
—— *i.e.* Old Testament saints, 897; in savage tribes, 632; of the Church, 645–647, 789f, 793f, 798f, 883f, 887, 907, 921; the four and twenty, 931, 933, 935, 937; the seventy, 124, 168, 188f, 213, 218f.
Elealeh, 229, 448.
Eleasa, 608.
Eleazar (martyr), 898; rebel leader, 610; son of Aaron, 191, 220–222, 227f, 230, 255, 295; son of Abinadab, 277; son of Dodo, 292.
Elect lady, 921.
—— One, the (*i.e.* Messiah), 864.
Election, 92, 146, 620, 636, 638, 713, 719, 721, 806, 825–827, 863, 870, 880, 904, 909; of Israel, *see* Israel.
Electrum, 504.
Elegy, 18, 286f, 446, 448, 493, *see* Dirge, Lamentation.
Elemental spirits, 370, 647, 650, 860, 869f.
Elementary truths, 893.
Elements, 869; of the world, 834, *see* Elemental spirits.
Elephantiasis, 235, 348.
Elephantine, 79; Jewish Temple at, 79, 106, 232, 486.
—— papyri, 79, 118, 311, 330, 486, 553; relation to Deuteronomy, 79, 232.
Eleutheropolis, 32, 559, 564.
Elhanan, 281, 292.
Eli, 66, 209, 245, 257, 274–276, 283, 289, 294f, 300, 474, 480.
Eliab, 281.
Eliadah, 287.
Eliakim, *see* Jehoiakim.
—— (house steward), 452, 930.
Elias Levita, 37.
Eliashib, 79, 331, 335.
Eliezer (Abraham's servant), 148–150.
—— the prophet, 76.
Elihu, 9, 342, 347, 361–363, 399; speeches of, 342, 347, 361–363.
Elijah, 21, 30, 45, 69, 73f, 76, 86–88, 107, 128 130, 193, 246f, 275, 277, 294, 300, 302–307, 320, 424, 426, 539, 587, 661, 682, 691f, 699, 703, 710, 715, 731, 826, 907, 935; a mysterious figure, 302f; a prophet of the desert, 86; and Ahab, 73, 87f, 96f, 302–304; and Ahaziah, 69, 304; and Elisha, 32, 74, 303, 305, 731; and Jehoram, 76, 307, 320; and Jezebel, 74, 303, 688; and John the Baptist, 661, 668, 682, 692, 710, 715; and Obadiah, 302f; and the drought, 302f, 907, 935; and the prophets of Baal, 30, 74, 97. 302f; ascension of, 247, 302f, 305, 381; at Horeb, 74, 303; at the Transfiguration, 691, 715, 731; calls down fire from heaven, 247, 304, 731, 935; character of, 86–89, 97, 302, 426, 907; demands exclusive worship of Yahweh, 87, 303; denounces murder of Naboth, 87, 304; denounces worship of Tyrian Baal, 73f, 87, 128, 130, 263, 294, 302f, 426; despondency of, 74, 218, 771, 826; fed by ravens, 247, 302; forerunner of the Messiah, 302, 667, 692, 715, 753; mantle of, 180, 303, 305; multiplies the widow's cruse, 247, 302; outruns Ahab's chariot, 303; prays for rain, 303, 907; raises the widow's son, 247, 302, 798; sacrifice on Carmel, 73f, 247, 303; servant of, 303.
Elim, 181.
Elimelech, 271.
Eliphaz, 150, 346, 348–354, 356, 358f, 361, 399.
Elisabeth, 725–727; and the Magnificat, 726.
Elisha, 21, 45, 69f, 74, 107, 113, 128, 130, 246, 277, 294, 302–309, 424, 426, 539, 731, 935; and Elijah, 32, 74, 303, 305, 731; and Hazael, 69, 303, 305, 307; and Jehoram, 69f, 305–307; and Jehu, 69, 74, 303, 307, 426; and Joash, 308f; and Naaman, 69, 306; and the dynasty of Omri, 69, 113, 426; and the famine in Samaria, 69, 306; and the Shunamnite, 305–307; at Dothan, 69, 306; death of, 308; miracles of, 305f; raises the son of the Shunammite, 302.
Elishah, 513.
Elisheba, 725.
Elkanah, 274.
Elkosh, 564.
Elnathan, 486.
Eloah, 349, 355.
Elohim (proper name for God), 95, 122, 124–128, 138, 151, 161, 375, 398, 411; as criterion for Pentateuchal analysis, 122, 124–126; preferred to Yahweh by some later writers, 366; substituted for Yahweh in Elohistic Psalms, 366, 375, 379f.
Elohim (*i.e.* spirits of the dead), 83, 443.
—— the, 139f, 142, 178, 238, 375.
Elon, 66, 267.
Eloquence, 164, 833f, 852, 855.
El-Paran, 149.
El-roi, 150.

Eltekeh, 59, 71, 310.
Elul, 105, 117, 323, 327, 332.
Elymais, 532, 607.
Elzevir, 597.
Emancipation of slaves, 649f, 839, 868.
Embalming, 162, 166f, 170.
Embryo, 354.
Emerald, 931, 942.
Emerson, 13.
Emesa, 801.
Emim, 149, 233,
Emmaus, 607, 741.
Emotion, 19, 24, 399, 409, 416, 478, 482, 488, 512, 558, 628, 630–633, 635, 639, 685, 853, 883.
Emperor worship, 605, 616, 630f, 775, 798, 808, 879, 926, 928, 930, 936–938.
Emptiness, 458, 565.
Empty tomb, the, 669f, 699, 722, 741, 63, 766, 845f.
Encænia, 377, *see* Feast of Dedication.
Enchanter, 349, 525.
Encyclical letter, 862.
End of the world, 530, 918.
Endor, 30, 66, 285; witch of, 66, 285.
Endurance, 853, 868, 877, 886, 897, 903f, 906, 910, 929.
Eneglaim, 520.
Enemies, 361, 374, 382–385, 388, 391, 393, 395f, 560, 562–565, 567, 706, 827.
Engines (military), 76.
England, 175, 591.
En-gannim, 307.
En-gedi, 149, 284, 320, 420, 520.
En-hakkore, 100, 268.
En-harod, 100, 263.
Enjoyment, 411–416.
Enmeduranki, 141.
En-misphat, 149.
Enoch, 141, 381, 660, 897, 910f, 924, 935.
—— Book of, 35, 46, 411, 432–435, 527, 529, 637, 661, 670, 747, 752, 807, 864, 868, 909–911, 914f, 923f, 926, 938, 941; angelology of, 868, 909–911, 914, 924, 938; date, 433; composite character of, 433; influence on Jesus, 661, 670; influence on Jude, 914, 923f; Messiah in, 433, 435, 670, 747, 752, 807, 938; original language of, 35, 434; problems in, 433; pseudonymous, 432; Son of Man in, 433f, 637, 661, 670, 938; the Similitudes, 433; versions of, 434.
Enosh, 138.
En-Rimmon, 584.
En-rogel, 290, 294, 330, 583.
Ensign, 215.
Enthusiasm, 639, 641, 643, 647, 649, 751, 802, 808, 812, 840, 883, 931.
Envy, 162, 690, 844, 906.
Epænetus, 830.
Epaphras, 830, 862, 868, 870f.
Epaphroditus, 646, 872–875.
Ephah (Bedouin tribe), 470.
—— (measure), 115f, 199, 204, 210, 216, 220, 228, 272, 284, 440, 562.
Ephesians, Epistle to the, 772, 862–868, 872, 901; authenticity of, 603, 815, 862; called by Marcion Epistle to the Laodiceans, 862; date, 657, 772, 862, 865; doctrine of the Church, 815, 862, 864–867; doctrine of redemption, 815, 863f; not sent to Ephesus, 862; origin of, 603, 862; place of origin, 772, 862; possibly an encyclical letter, 862, 901, 929; readers, 862; relation to Colossians, 815, 862; style of, 815, 862.
Ephesus, 596, 639, 655, 657, 744, 746, 770f, 773, 775f, 794, 797–799, 818, 830, 832f, 847–849, 857, 862, 871, 916, 921f, 928–931.
Ephod, 100f, 191, 264, 269, 275, 279f, 283, 288, 317, 537.
Ephphatha, 690.
Ephræm Syrus, 601, 802.
Ephraim (city), 756; forest of, *see* Forest of Ephraim; gate of, 331; hill country of, 76; Mount, 30, 261, 267, 296.
—— son of Joseph, 109, 134, 165.
—— (tribe), 65, 67, 76, 127, 161, 214, 229, 253f, 257–259, 261, 263f, 315, 383, 386f, 438, 441–443, 445, 448f, 455, 474, 478, 480, 517, 521, 536, 538–543, 555, 580.
Ephraimites, 65, 264, 267.
Ephrath, 161, 271.
Ephrathah, 394, 561, 702.
Epic, absence from the Bible, 22.
Epictetus, 656, 683, 694.
Epicureanism, 411–413, 634f.
Epicureans, 607, 635, 796.
Epicurus, 603f, 634f.
Epigram, 341, 397.
Epilepsy, 715, 769, 856, 860.
Epimanes (nickname for Antiochus Epiphanes), 386, 527.
Epimenides, 887.
Epiphanea, *see* Hamath.
Epiphanius, 172, 653, 779.
Epirus, 772, 888.
Episcopate, 646, 773.
Episcopi, 799, *see* Bishop.
Epistle of Jeremiah, 603.
Epistle of straw, 905.
Epistle to Diognetus, 658.
Epistles, 7, 602f.
Eponymous ancestors, 63.
Equality, 649f, 904; with God, 873.
Equinox, 652f.
Equity, 623.
Er, 162.
Erasmus, 597.
Erastus (city treasurer), 830; (Acts xix. 22), 798, 830; (2 Tim. iv. 20), 798, 830.
Eratosthenes, 607.
Eri-aku, 148.
Esarhaddon, 58–60, 72, 77, 120, 310f, 327f, 441, 449.
Esau, 63, 134, 146, 156f, 159f, 162, 274, 555, 585, 899; and Isaac, 134, 156f; and Jacob, 21, 63, 134, 156f, 159f, 541, 585, 825; character of, 156, 899; name of, 156; reconciled to Jacob, 134, 160; repentance of, 899; robbed of the blessing, 134, 157, 899; sells his birthright, 134, 156; wives of, 133, 157, 162.
Eschatological school, 670.
Eschatology, 89, 91, 94, 96, 166, 406f, 409, 411, 427–429, 431f, 447, 462, 487, 561, 564, 695, 719, 805, 809, 862f; in the early Church, 642, 717, 780, 809, 860, 915, 938–943; in the Johannine writings, 751f, 759f, 809, 918; of Jesus, 661, 665, 668, 670, 695f, 717, 719–721, 733, 737–740, 759f, 809, 811; of Paul, 807, 809, 811f, 844–847, 852, 862f, 876–880; of the Apocalyptists, 404, 431f, 434f, 582, 661, 670, 696, 713, 807.
Esdraelon, Plain of, 28–30, 259, 261, 285, 294, 296, 298, 730, 939.
Esdras, First Book of, *see* Ezra, the Greek.
Eshcol (person), 148; (place), 123, 148, 219, 233.
Eshtaol, 259, 261, 269.
Essenes, Essenism, 411, 624, 650, 705, 828, 862, 883.
Esther, 22, 336–340, 418.
—— Book of, 22, 49, 244, 336–340, 406, 688; absence of reference to God in Hebrew, 336, 340; attitude to heathen, 22, 49, 95, 337, 339f, 517; canonicity of, 38f, 411; date, 49, 336, 339f; historicity of, 49; literary character of, 20, 22; relation of Hebrew and Greek recensions, 49, 336–340.
Etam, 31, 268.
Eternal destruction, 879; fire, 924; gospel, 938; hope, 911; life, 371, 497, 500, 533, 638, 641, 693, 717, 732, 745, 750, 761, 792, 819, 822f, 885, 887, 896, 911, 917f, 920.
—— Spirit, the, 895.
Eternity, 413, 528f, 892, 925, 934.
Ethan, 180, 316, 366–368.
Ethanim, 99, 102f, 105f, 117.
Ethbaal, 73, 302.
Ethical character of Old Testament religion, 11, 84, 87–90, 93–97, 130–132, 196f, 280, 344f, 361, 369f, 427–430; monotheism, 51, 89, 97.
Ethics, 11, 93, 196f, 341, 632, 634, 646, 649–651; of the Rabbis, 623; Pauline, 812.
Ethiopia, 70f, 311, 385, 445, 449f, 463, 565, 569–571.
Ethiopian eunuch, 767, 786, 788, 799.
Ethiopians, 52, 79, 99, 492, 533, 554.
Ethiopic, 34; version, 601.
Ethnarch, 609, 655, 769, 787, 856.
Etiquette, 93.
Etruscans, 381.
Etymologies, 84, 141, 146, 156, 158, 161, 170, 263, 268, 275, 281.
Eucharist, *see* Lord's Supper.
Eucharistic prayer, 641, 643.
Eudæmonism, 370.
Eulæus, 529.
Eumenes, king of Pergamum, 532.
Eunice, 885.
Eunuchs, 162, 240, 468, 490f, 717.
Euodia, 874.
Euphemism, 346f.
Euphrates, 34, 50, 53–55, 57f, 60f, 63, 71, 78, 127, 130, 143, 150, 155, 159, 188, 225, 227, 233, 236, 260, 288, 296, 312f, 330, 387f, 394, 442, 444–446, 454, 482, 492, 495, 513, 526, 531, 548, 554, 563, 613, 934, 939.
Euraquilo, 803.
Euripides, 222, 603.
Euroclydon, 803.
Europe, 61, 100, 219, 770, 850.
Eurymedon, 61.
Eusebius of Cæsarea, 170, 527, 596, 601, 653, 655f, 691, 700, 749, 765, 773, 785, 901, 908, 913, 921, 923, 927f.
Eutychus, 302, 771, 798.
Evangelists, 595, 646, 866, 887, 921f.
Evasion, 105, 414, 586, 689.

Eve, 134, 141, 153, 284, 855, 883.
Eve of the Sabbath, 117, 698, 741.
Evening, 27, 117, 136, 140, 384, 393, 706.
Evening oblation, 329.
Everlasting Father, 443; life, *see* Eternal life.
Eviction, 440, 559f.
Evidence, suppression of, 199.
Evil, 713, 740, 746, 851, 863, 903f; eye, 106, 238, 690; inclination, 622f; origin of, 281, 434, 806; spirits, 5, 85, 205, 240, 265, 281, 285, 391, 662f, 682, 686, 715, 726, 728, 731, 785, 834, 864, 867, 883, 919, *see* Demons.
Evil-merodach, 72, 77, 294, 313, 523.
Evolution, 633; theory of, 5.
Ewe, 158, 238, 461.
Excavation, 28, 30, 110, 116, 252, 260, 298, 302, 334, 480, 488.
Exchange, 116.
Excommunication, 5, 113, 151, 177, 193, 197, 199, 468, 649, 716, 754, 760, 837, 850, 874, 882, 886, 899.
Execution, *see* Capital punishment, Death penalty.
Exile, 161, 212, 439f, 454, 460, 463, 479, 481–483, 485, 487, 492f, 508, 511, 514, 516, 535–538, 540f, 546, 548f, 551, 553f, 556, 565, 573, 927, 929, 937.
—— the, 10, 35, 46f, 61, 72f, 75, 77f, 81, 90–92, 96–100, 104, 107, 112, 120, 135, 177, 196, 202, 205f, 212, 234, 242, 245, 271, 311, 368, 388, 394, 408, 460f, 467–469, 474, 489, 501–503, 505f, 516, 544, 557, 560f, 575, 701; conditions in, 77, 90f, 112, 220, 325, 394; duration of, 297, 486, 505; effects of, 46, 77, 81, 90f, 96–100, 177; literature produced during, 38, 46f, 77, 91, 131, 135, 196, 242, 273, 294, 394, 445, 450, 460, 501f; return from, *see* Return from exile; significance of, 46f, 75, 90f.
Exiles, 46f, 72f, 77f, 112, 124, 131, 212, 324–326, 368, 394, 453, 460–468, 470f, 473, 475, 480, 483, 485, 487f, 494f, 498, 501, 505, 508f, 511, 515, 554, 572, 576.
Exodus, Book of, 90, 121, 168–196; analysis of, 168; characteristics of, 168; divisions of, 169; legendary elements in, 168.
Exodus from Egypt, 10f, 63f, 102, 108, 119, 121, 126, 149, 165, 168, 176–179, 212–215, 244f, 247, 259, 390, 392, 394, 429, 444f, 463, 466f, 471, 481, 485, 488, 537, 541f, 563, 791; date of, 10, 63, 119, 121, 244f, 297, route of, 64, 179f.
Exogamy, 207.
Exorcism, 662f, 681–683, 685–687, 690, 692f, 707, 712, 728, 731, 734, 785, 795.
Exorcist who used the name of Jesus, 692f, 716, 731.
Experience, 7f, 40, 42, 90, 93, 95, 341, 397, 399, 402, 411, 429, 643, 667, 749, 772, 805–838, 810–812, 823, 833f, 843, 851–853, 856, 910; argument from, 15; and history, 15.
Expiation, 104.
Exploration, 748f.
Exposure of infants, 784.
Expurgation, 627, 632.
External soul, 716.
Extortion, extortioner, 409, 415, 649, 666, 720, 732, 837.
Extradition, 56, 65, 72, 486.
Eye, 166, 186, 278, 389, 417, 420–423, 471, 479, 504, 705f, 717, 860, 931f.
Eyelids, 349, 369, 479.
Eye-paint, 365, 479.
Eye-salve, 931.
Eye-witness, 725, 744, 764f, 798, 842.
Ezekiel, 11, 35, 46f, 73, 77, 91, 96, 100, 108, 129, 131, 144, 172, 183, 196, 202, 205, 209, 211f, 215, 297, 310, 313, 367f, 386, 397f, 432, 440, 475, 485, 489, 496, 500, 501–521, 522, 544, 573, 583, 703, 786, 834, 935, 942; and Apocalyptic, 46, 503, 544; and Babylon, 498, 501–504, 508, 510f; and Deuteronomy, 47, 129, 518; and Egypt, 498, 513–515; and Gog, 517f; and Jeremiah, 46, 73, 91; and Nebuchadnezzar, 501f, 510–515; and P, 47, 129, 131, 135, 341, 518; and the heathen, 46, 96, 129, 502; and the Law of Holiness, 46, 129–131, 196, 209, 211; and the Levites, 47, 129, 131, 209, 518f; and the nations, 129, 513–515; and the people, 91, 501–505, 515f; and the priesthood, 47, 129, 131, 202, 209, 215, 241, 512, 518–520; and the problem of suffering, 47, 510f, 515; and the prophets, 508f, 512; and the Temple, 129, 131, 367, 501, 506–508, 518–521; and Tyre, 297, 299, 397, 501, 513f; and Zedekiah, 501, 508, 510–512; as pastor, 91, 503, 505, 515; as poet, 91, 501, 513, 515; as priest, 73, 91, 131, 501–503, 518; as prophet, 46, 91, 131, 501–505, 508, 513–515; as theologian, 46, 502f; call of, 503–505; career of, 501–503; conception of religion, 91, 502f; death of his wife, 503, 513; doctrine of God, 46, 129, 131, 220, 502–504, 506, 511f, 515; doctrine of judgment, 46, 91, 211, 501f, 504f; doctrine of personal responsibility, 91, 501, 503, 505, 509–512, 515; doctrine of regeneration, 91, 131, 516; doctrine of restoration, 46, 91, 96, 129, 212, 502, 505, 515–517; doctrine of sin, 500, 502f, 506–513; doctrine of the community, 47, 91, 129, 131, 503; eschatology of, 91, 96, 502f; home at Tel-abib, 77, 505; importance of, 46f, 91, 501, 503, 517; indictment of Israel, 46, 131, 183, 368, 501f, 504–513; individualism of, 91, 484, 503, 505, 510f, 515; influence of, 46f, 91, 129, 503, 519; mental characteristics of, 91, 501; programme for restored community, 47, 77, 91, 96, 129, 131, 501–503, 517–521; psychical characteristics of, 91, 503, 505, 507f, 512, 518, 834; ritualism of, 475, 501–503, 506f, 573; silence of, 502f, 505, 513f; supernatural guide of, 518, 520; symbolical actions of, 25, 503, 505f; teaching of, 46, 73, 91, 129, 131, 144, 501–503; temple of, *see* Temple of Ezekiel; the father of Judaism, 91, 503; visions of, 25, 77, 131, 432, 501, 503–508, 518, 942.
—— Book of, 220, 245, 501–521; apocalyptic elements in, 46f, 503; canonicity of, 38; historical background, 501f; oracles against foreign nations, 513–515; symbolism in, 503–506, 508, 516f, 583.
Ezion-geber, 64, 70f, 229, 299, 304, 320.
Ezra, 21, 36f, 48, 78, 92, 103, 107, 119, 121, 124, 129, 131, 199, 245, 271, 320, 323f, 328–330, 333–335, 530, 573, 582, 585, 661, 863; and Artaxerxes, 61, 328f; and Nehemiah, 78, 103, 129, 131, 245, 320, 324, 585; and the Canon, 37; and the marriages with foreign women, 48, 78, 92, 271, 299, 323, 329f, 585; and the reading of the Law, 48, 78, 129, 210, 323f, 333; confession of, 78, 329; date of, 78, 120, 324, 328, 530; genealogy of, 328f; historicity of, 78; Law-book of, 37, 48, 121, 124, 333; legend of, 37; memoirs of, 49, 78, 324, 334; mission of, 48, 61, 530; reformation of, 48, 78, 92, 103, 107, 129, 131, 245, 323, 333, 461, 585; return from exile led by, 78, 245, 329, 445.
—— Book of, 20, 368, 525, *see* Ezra-Nehemiah.
—— the Greek, 324–327, 329, 333.
Ezra-Nehemiah, Book of, 5, 35, 48f, 77–79, 244f, 323–335; Aramaic sections in, 36, 77, 327–329; authorship and date, 48, 325; chronology of, 77, 119, 323, 327–330, 334f; historicity of, 77f, 324; place in Canon, 49, 324; sources, 49, 77f, 324; title, 323; treatment of material, 324.

Fable, 44, 265, 309, 397.
Face, 171, 309, 408, 439f, 453, 467, 477, 504, 706, 783, 844, 851, 904.
—— of God, 158, 193, 348, 440, 499; seeing the, 160, 193, 219, 263, 371, 375, 440, 716.
Faction, 89, 906.
Fair Havens, 803.
Fairs, 112.
Faith, 16, 84f, 89–92, 94, 96, 150, 156, 170, 172, 174, 180, 338, 346, 370f, 388, 429, 432, 435, 441f, 455, 497, 500, 502, 566, 638–644, 664f, 667, 683, 686–688, 690, 693, 695f, 704, 708f, 711, 713, 715, 718f, 730, 732, 736, 748–755, 761, 764, 780, 791f, 806, 808, 810–812, 818–823, 825–829, 831, 834f, 843–845, 850, 852, 855, 859–861, 863f, 867, 869, 871, 873f, 877, 879, 882, 885–887, 891–893, 897–899, 904f, 914, 919f, 926, 937; and works, 640, 819, 864, 877; the, 96, 882–884, 892, 903, 909, 924.
"Faithful is the saying," 882.
Faithfulness, fidelity, 257, 445, 479, 567, 812, 836, 859, 861.
Faith-healing, 663, 781.
Falling star, 934.
Fallow land, 102, 187f, 210f, 403.
False apostles, 646, 855, 929; brethren, 793, 858, 923f; Christs, 696, 745, 751, 918; gods, 11, 21, 74, 90f, 184f, 255, 294, 299, 311, 376, 391, 394, 444, 449, 453f, 462–465, 469, 477, 480f, 483f, 492, 502, 506f, 510–512, 532f, 542, 549, 563, 565, 583, 627–635, 750, 785, 867; *see* Idols, Heathen deities; prophet, the, 932–942; prophets, 11, 73, 90, 221, 237, 239, 265, 304, 485, 487, 490, 508f, 512, 560, 570, 696, 751, 914, 918f, 922, 929, 940; swearing, 538, 540, *see* Perjury; teachers, teaching, 398,

649f, 666, 707, 799, 815, 862, 868, 881–888, 900, 913–918, 920f; witness, 184, 740, 748, 783, *see* Perjury.
Falsehood, 134, 147, 153, 200, 208, 361, 382, 455, 470, 481, 516, 541, 565, 741, 846, 905, 920.
Familiar spirit, 285, 302, *see* Necromancer, Soothsayer, Wizards.
Family, 82f, 85f, 88, 98, 108–111, 113f, 170f, 185, 214, 221, 227, 229, 233, 239, 277, 282, 284, 414, 419, 639, 710, 865.
Famine, 10, 13, 67, 69f, 73, 77, 110, 147, 156, 164f, 167, 178, 212, 252, 271, 292f, 298, 306f, 332, 440, 443, 447, 483, 500, 505f, 509, 536, 550, 553, 562, 609f, 654f, 689, 789f, 829, 932; in the reign of Claudius, 654, 789f; visit, 654f, 769f, 789f.
Fan, 638.
Farmer, 111f, 271, 408, 417, 660, 886, 906.
Farthing, 117.
Fasces, 795.
Fast, 72, 82, 102, 104, 205, 333, 469, 490, 544f, 557, 575, 578f; of Esther, 104.
Fasting, 79, 206, 277, 286, 326, 333, 437, 469, 576, 578, 582, 661f, 666, 682–684, 692, 706, 709, 715, 729, 737, 787, 791, 793, 800, 906.
Fat, 95, 141, 177, 188, 197f, 200f, 206, 222, 275, 280, 437, 458, 468, 479f.
—— *see* Vat.
Fat tail, 198, 278.
Fatalism, 411.
Father, 85, 108, 111, 207, 228, 393, 511, 586, 839, 868, 877; in heaven, 695; of lights, 904.
Fatherhood, 865.
—— of God, *see* God, Fatherhood of; in Judaism, 618f; in teaching of Jesus, *see* Jesus, teaching of.
Father-in-law, 100.
Fathers and children, 91, 108, 393, 650, 870, 899.
Fathom, 115.
Fatling, 440.
Fault (geological), 26.
Faust, 459.
Fear, 83, 140, 150, 157, 159, 161, 178, 186, 225, 264, 285, 354f, 441f, 444, 450, 458, 484, 487, 635, 664, 687, 710, 726, 729, 733, 826, 898, 910, 919, 925; of God (Yahweh), 93, 234, 262, 344, 346f, 349–352, 360f, 373f, 393f, 397, 399, 407, 412, 415, 417, 445, 471, 481, 570, 587, 710, 741, 938; of Isaac, the, 159.
Feast, day, 647; of Acra, 104; of Booths, *see* Feast of Tabernacles; of Dedication, 104f, 607, 652, 754f; of Harvest, *see* Feast of Weeks; of Ingathering, *see* Feast of Tabernacles; of Nicanor, 104f; of Pentecost, 317, 750; of Purim, 104f, 336, 339f, 418, 750; of Tabernacles, 77f, 102–105, 118, 127, 129, 188, 205, 210, 238, 242, 274, 300, 303, 312, 317, 326, 333, 387, 411, 418, 457, 471, 520, 537, 542, 584, 608, 750, 752–755; of Trumpets, 104f, 127, 210, 326, 380, 387, 389, 750; of Unleavened Bread, 83, 102, 118, 127, 210, 238, 317, 697, *see* Mazzoth; of Weeks, 102f, 105, 127, 210, 238, 326; of Wood-carrying, 104.
Feasting, festivity, 104, 416, 451, 660, 841.
Feasts, 82, 101, 104, 111, 127, 130f, 154, 156, 177, 179, 182f, 188, 193f, 196, 210, 225, 238, 265, 274f, 277f, 280, 282, 284, 289, 294f, 300f, 326, 330, 336–338, 348f, 367, 386, 393, 402, 453, 456, 468, 518f, 527, 529, 537, 540, 542, 564, 572f, 584, 667, 669, 684, 719, 729, 733, 735, 771, 828, *see* Festivals.
Feather, 560.
Felix, 610, 655–657, 772, 800f.
Fellowship, 643, 647, 909f, 917; (communion) with God (Christ), 40, 46, 93, 95f, 98, 124, 171, 184f, 187, 192, 352, 356f, 370–372, 374–377, 385f, 399, 411, 417, 459, 475, 487f, 585, 640–642, 665, 703, 746f, 807f, 811, 844, 879, 890, 892–897, 899, 911, 917f.
Fence, 384, 416.
Feriae Latinae, 220.
Fermentation, 111, 177, 198, 267, 554.
Ferrar group, 601.
Fertility, 24, 27–33, 52f, 87, 100, 139, 147, 157, 166, 188, 212, 216, 226, 384, 436, 439, 452, 456, 458f, 466, 468, 477, 479, 502, 516, 536f, 545f, 564, 574, 580, 587, 622, 627f, 629f, 795f, 893; rites of, 627.
Festivals, 87, 89, 92f, 95, 101–103, 108f, 112, 118, 137, 188, 200, 205, 210, 228, 231, 243, 265, 314, 433, 439, 448, 486, 516, 520, 537, 539f, 551, 571, 621, 706, 712, 790, 798, 869, *see* Feasts.
Festus, 610, 655–657, 772, 801f.
Fever, 242, 567, 683, 728.
Field, 111, 130, 141, 157, 187, 458, 471, 517, 545, 550f, 567, 627, 629f, 720, 734, 778, 906; of blood, 722; of the wood, 394; sacrifice, 206; spirits, 208.
Fiery furnace, 94, 526; stones, 514; serpent, 213, 223, 235, 310, 441, 447.
Fifius Geminus, 653f.
Fig, 72, 123, 335, 420, 455, 485, 694; the first ripe, 485, 563, 565; cakes, 536; leaves, 140; mulberry, 553, 738; tree, 139, 265, 458, 537, 544, 550f, 686, 694, 718, 736.
Fighting with wild beasts, 847.
Fill the hand, 191f, 201, 215, 269, 301, 318.
Finance, 612.
Fines, 112f, 212, 400, 405f, 549.
Finger of God, 193, 369, 712, 732.
Finger-breadths, 115.
Fingers, 115, 432, 527, 689.
Fir, 288, 468, 543.
Fire, 6, 72f, 99, 103, 123, 127, 152, 176, 178, 180, 191, 197, 201f, 221, 228, 263, 265, 269, 287, 303f, 317, 319, 360, 377, 389, 391, 409, 432, 444, 463f, 466, 471, 473, 477, 479, 490, 493, 502, 504, 506–509, 511–513, 517, 526, 529, 545, 548f, 553, 564f, 567, 582, 587, 693, 702, 717, 721, 733, 740, 835, 879, 897, 899, 905, 915, 925, 934, 938, 940f; from heaven, 303f, 319, 934; of God, 348.
Firebrand, 436, 441.
Fireplace, 477, 480.
Fire-stick, 251.
Fire-walk, 514.
Firewood, 454, 517.
Firkin, 116.
Firmament, 135, 137f, 359, 363, 401, 504.
First day of the week, 647, 798, 929; man, the, 356, 847; ripe fruits, 222; sheaf, 105.
Firstborn, 98f, 102, 109, 141, 157, 165, 170, 173, 179, 187, 209, 215, 222, 238–240, 251, 300, 302, 305, 488, 511, 727, 868, 899; of creation, 813, 868, 931; of death, 357; of the dead, 670, 868, 929.
First-fruits, 79, 96, 98f, 101–103, 111, 187f, 198, 208, 210, 238, 241, 306, 334, 399, 477, 505, 520, 653, 826, 848, 852, 860, 877, 904.
Firstlings, 79, 99, 178f, 187, 208, 212, 215, 222, 237.
Fish, 32, 137, 144, 175, 180, 185, 203, 218, 335, 343, 466, 520, 556f, 566, 707, 715, 732, 742, 764, 847; the (in the Book of Jonah), 556f.
Fishermen, 450, 483, 520, 709.
Fish-gate, 331, 570.
Fish-hook, 550.
Fishing, 32, 112.
Fishing-god, 629.
Fist, 689.
Fitches, 456.
Flag, 420.
—— *i.e.* Nile grass, 352.
Flag-staff, 456.
Flail, 111.
Flame, 180, 390, 439f, 507, 890, 905.
Flamen Dialis, 202, 217.
Flamens, 209.
Flask, 484.
Flattery, 408, 695.
Flavian dynasty, 612, 774, 863.
Flavius Clemens, 775.
Flax, 176, 536.
Flea, 285.
Fleece, 263.
Fleet, 458.
Flesh, 140, 356, 390, 508, 512, 517, 570, 835, 838, 847, 853, 864, 867f; (nature of man), 142, 457, 806; and blood, 622, 811, 847, 858, 891; as food, 144, 186, 192, 218f, 386, 464, 480, 517, 525, 650, 828, 840f; doctrine of, in Old Testament, 457, 806; of sacrifice, 105, 192, 198, 200, 202, 222, 238, 480, 540, 584, 586, 900; the, 457, 622, 639f, 649, 738, 745, 747, 806, 811f, 823f, 835, 855, 861, 869, 879, 911, 915; torn of beasts, 130, 187, 206.
Fleshpots, 784, 841.
Flies, 416, 442, 449; plague of, 13, 123, 174f.
Flint, 26f, 440, 466; knives, 100, 173, 251.
Flock, 24, 30, 32, 98f, 102, 111, 113, 128, 147, 156, 158f, 161, 170f, 179, 188, 214, 218, 228, 262, 284, 361, 420, 448, 459, 468, 470f, 479, 485, 487, 494, 502, 516, 536, 538, 560–563, 570, 581, 688, 709, 726, 755.
Flood, the, *see* Deluge.
Floods, 13, 23, 28, 50, 52, 139, 379, 389, 454f, 457, 464, 492, 527, 564, 567, 570, 629.
Florentine papyri, 762.
Florus, 763.
Flour, 152, 220.
Flowers, 139, 422f, 434, 448, 631, 689, 707.
Flute players, 709.

Flying roll, 408, 577.
Fodder, 358, 369.
Fold, 111, 493, 560, 570.
Folklore, 127, 134, 140, 233, 268, 337, 685, 690, 867.
Folk-songs, 18.
Folk-story, 260, 397.
Folly, 23, 93, 161, 270, 344, 349, 401–404, 407f, 413, 415, 487, 834, 866, 906.
Food, 69, 99f, 137–140, 144, 157, 175, 181, 190, 202f, 206, 208, 236f, 263, 332, 403, 451, 457, 463, 505, 520, 545f, 553, 650, 659, 661, 682, 687, 703, 707, 714, 720, 733, 750, 788, 803, 836, 838, 841f, 869, 895, 900, 932; of God, 99, 197f, 519, 885; regulations, 83, 138, 144, 237, 621, 629, 828.
Fools, 23, 93, 270, 350, 398f, 401f, 404f, 407f, 413–416, 457, 459, 484, 551, 705, 847.
Foot, 76, 115, 422, 526, 899, 936.
Foot-gear, 868.
Footstool, 318, 389, 705; of God, 705.
Foot-washing, the, 758.
Forbearance, 623, 866f, 870, 888.
Forbidden degrees, 206–208; fruit, 138–140, 142.
Forced labour, 67, 86, 113, 169, 178, 277, 281, 296–300.
Ford, 32, 160, 493.
Forehead, 179, 719, 735, 937.
Foreigners, 110, 237, 240, 280, 320, 621.
Foreknowledge, 721, 824.
Foreordination, 395, 824, 834, 863, *see* Predestination.
Forerunner, 587.
Forest, 27f, 65, 291, 420, 444, 456, 461, 463, 470, 485, 492, 542, 567, 580, 587, 702; of Ephraim, 290.
Forgiveness, 163, 369, 409, 497, 499, 537, 649, 661, 665, 669, 686, 695, 706, 716, 730, 732, 736, 827, 850, 866, 870; of sins, 8, 11, 96, 199, 352, 355, 369f, 378, 388, 390f, 394, 454, 463, 488, 510, 516, 537f, 542, 548, 558, 620, 642f, 662f, 666, 668f, 682–686, 697, 706, 709, 716, 727, 730, 732, 735, 742, 779f, 782, 786, 789, 792, 808, 811, 820, 822, 863, 866, 868–870, 882, 893, 895–897, 906f, 917.
Fork, 483.
Form of God, 873.
Formalism, 89, 92, 427, 456, 498, 622.
Formality, 12, 550f.
Former measure, the, 115.
Fornication, 649, 651, 705, 716, 770, 793, 838, 866, 870, *see* Adultery; (figurative), 938f.
Fort, fortress, 31, 65–67, 76, 110, 169, 192, 257, 259, 287, 421, 438, 448f, 453, 455, 458, 497f, 505, 514, 532f, 541, 548, 566.
Fortification, 51, 67, 75f, 287, 491, 573, 575f.
Fortunatus, 848.
Fortune (god), 472.
Fortune-teller, 509, 582; telling, 795.
Forty and two months, 433, 935, 937.
Forty days, 142–144, 189, 236, 556f, 682, 702f, 742, 777; stripes save one, 103, 241; years, 300, 505, 784, 891; years in the wilderness, 220, 235, 551, 703, 784, 791, 891.
Foundation, 455, 560, 568, 835, 864f, 886, 942; sacrifice, 251f, 302; stone, 573.
Foundations of the earth, 562.
Fountain, 28, 82, 150f, 337, 477, 553, 582, 872, 933; gate, 330; of life, 405.
Fountains of the great deep, 137, 142, 363.
Four beasts, vision of, in Daniel, 432, 523, 528f, 935.
Four hundred and ninety years, 530.
Four living creatures, 504, 931–933, 935f, 938.
Four winds, 578, 933.
Fourth Book of Ezra, 37f, 433f, 657, 752, 806f, 926, 941.
Fourth Gospel, *see* John, Gospel of.
Fowls, 915.
Fox, 268, 500, 509, 734.
Fox, George, 478, 638.
Francis of Assisi, 693, 709, 725.
Frankincense, 190, 199, 216, 479, 484, 698, 702.
Fratricide, 157.
Fraud, 110, 541, 569, 717.
Fravashis, 701, 716, 929.
Free cities, 614, 795.
Free will, 406, 623, 633, 635.
Freedman, 613, 632, 724f, 875.
Freedom, 19, 94, 150, 164, 186, 256, 354, 470, 503, 566, 607f, 649, 695, 704, 753f, 810f, 825, 838–840, 860f, 891, 909.
Freeman, 867.
Freer MS., 598.
Freethinker, 440.
Free-will offering, 102, 200, 209, 320, 325f, 520.
Friars, 709.
Friend, friendship, 222, 405, 414, 417; (*i.e.* lover), 420.
Fringes, 208.
Frithstool, 239.
Frogs, 939; plague of, 13, 174f.
Frontier, 163, 165.
Frost, 159, 363, 583.
Fruit, 29, 111, 137–140, 210, 372, 420f, 423, 439, 454, 457f, 509, 525f, 543f, 546, 562, 568, 631, 730, 733, 750, 727, 759, 905, 942; of the lips, 542; of the Spirit, 640, 861; trees, 28, 741.
Fruitfulness, *see* Fertility.
Fuel, 517, 707.
Fugitive, 110, 149, 240, 493, 513, 555, 560.
Full moon, 101, 177, 387, 401, 653f, 698.
Fuller, 294, 773.
Fulness, 747, 865f, 868; of the Godhead, 868f; of the time, 12, 591, 863.
Functions (in the Church), 643, 645f.
Funeral, 208, 413, 481, 493, 659, 711, *see* Burial; ceremonies, 110, 157; feast, 241.
Furlong, 115, 942.
Furlough, 415.
Furnace, 183, 234, 375, 377, 438, 481, 512.
Future, the, 835, 897.

γ text, 600.
Gaal, 265.
Gaash, 259.
Gabbatha, 763.
Gabinius, 608.
Gabriel, 529, 652, 725f, 750.
Gad (deity), 229, 472; (prophet), 283, 315, 318; son of Jacob, 166; tribe of, 64, 114, 214, 218, 224, 228–230, 234, 245, 249, 255, 315, 493, 521.
Gadara, 32f, 687.
Gadfly, 417, 492.
Gaius of Corinth, 830, 833, 922; of Derbe, 798, 922; of Macedonia, 922; recipient of III. John, 921f.
Galatia, 602, 655, 770f, 794, 859, 872, 874, 887, 908; conflict in, 770, 777; kingdom of, 770; Roman province of, 613, 770, 792f, 857.
Galatians, 782.
—— Epistle to the, 247, 640, 769–771, 811, 857–861, 877, 901; and the Acts of the Apostles, 654, 769f, 786f, 858f; authenticity of, 815, 857; date of, 654, 657, 770f, 817, 857; occasion, 817, 857; readers, 769f, 857; relation to Romans, 817f, 857.
Galba, 612, 656, 936.
Galen, 725.
Galilean Aramaic, 36, 592, 660, 722.
Galileans, 609, 618, 660f. 668, 694, 718, 722, 734, 757, 768, 778.
Galilee, 27–31, 33, 257, 259, 298, 302, 384, 608–610, 637, 656, 659f, 662, 665, 667, 681f, 688, 690, 700, 703f, 709, 711, 719, 728f, 737, 741, 743f, 748–750, 752f, 756f, 763f, 792, 810; of the Gentiles, 592; Sea (Lake) of, 29, 32, 232f, 261, 301, 520, 687f, 704, 707, 729, 731, 751, 764.
Gall, 480, 722; of bitterness, 786.
Gallia Comata, 613.
—— Narbonensis, 613.
Gallim, 284.
Gallio, 612, 614, 655, 771, 796f.
Gallows, 22, *see* Stake.
Gamala, 32.
Gamaliel, 767f, 782f, 800.
Games, the, 523, 610, 870, 874, 884; children's, 659.
Gammadim, 513.
Ganges, the, 140.
Gaoler, 795.
Garden, 23, 125, 138f, 353, 421f, 438, 456, 469, 478, 481, 498, 543, 550, 553, 562f, 565, 583, 741, 761, 763; beds, 689; of God, 82, 133, 139, 147, 514.
Gardener, 764.
Gareb, 488.
Garland, 455, 792, 874, 885–887.
Garments, 23, 157, 161, 178, 200, 203, 220, 307, 361, 377, 443, 466f, 470f, 491, 506, 549, 576, 587, 706, 717, 729, 788, 797, 860, 895, 898, 940, 942, *see* Clothes.
Garrison, 76, 279, 580, 613, 800.
Gashmu, *see* Geshem.
Gate, the, 155, 272, 360, 393, 455, 486, 560; the middle, 491; the new, 486; of Ephraim, 104; of potsherds, 484.
Gatekeepers, 317, 332, 334.
Gateposts, 268.
Gates, 30, 112, 131, 153, 243, 251, 258, 268, 291, 330–333, 335, 464, 483f, 495, 508, 517f, 548, 565, 693, 707, 788, 790; of Benjamin, 584; of death, 715.
Gateway, 518, 565, 788, 790.
Gath, 28, 66, 69, 276f, 281–283, 285, 288, 290, 295, 316, 373, 552, 560.
Gath-hepher, 309.
Gaul, 595, 609, 614, 744, 887.
Gaulanitis, 33.
Gaûmata, 77.
Gaza, 28, 57, 70f, 79, 267f, 277, 447, 492, 532, 548, 579f, 786.
Geba, 31, 36, 75, 270, 279, 444, 584.
Gebal, 297, 387, 392, 513, 579.
Gedaliah, son of Ahikam, 73, 313, 474f, 486, 491, 572f, 578; son of Shaphan, 513, 515.

Gederah, 111.
Gedor, 31.
Gehazi, 21, 306.
Gehenna, 312, 466, 473, 480, 661, 693, 705, 736, 905, 940, *see* Hell.
Gemariah, son of Hilkiah, 487; son of Shaphan, 487, 490.
Gems, 189, 191, *see* Jewels.
Genealogical evidence, 599.
Genealogies, 20, 48, 75, 108, 125, 142f, 145f, 148, 162, 207, 244, 272, 314f, 573, 701, 728.
Generations, 124, 136, 150, 869.
Genesis, Book of, 10, 121, 125f, 133–167, 693, 796; ætiological stories in, 134, 139, 145, 165; and Babylonian myths, 51, 133–135, 137, 139–146; and science, 12, 136; chronology of, 133, 141f, 144, 146, 157f, 162, 164; composition of, 133; discrepancies in, 133f; documentary analysis, 133; historical value of, 133f; incredibilities in, 133; literary quality of, 134, 139; myth and legend in, 133; religious and moral value of, 134–136; title, 133.
Genius, 430, 631.
Gennesaret, 29, 32, 229, 662, 689f, 713f, 729; Lake of, *see* Galilee, Sea of.
Gentile Christians, 247, 645, 681, 789, 794, 799, 817, 859–861, 863, 877, 889, 933; mission, 605, 645, 766–770, 772, 780, 789, 791f, 800, 817.
Gentiles, 48f, 371, 376, 432, 556, 558, 573, 580, 585f, 609f, 623–625, 638–641, 649, 651, 659f, 689f, 695, 701, 707, 712, 714f, 718, 725, 728, 734f, 738, 757, 759, 767–770, 781, 787–789, 791f, 800, 806f, 815, 817–821, 825–827, 829, 831, 841, 858, 862, 864–866, 869, 874, 909, 913f, 923, *see* Heathen, the; Nations, the.
Gentleness, 866, 870, 877, 904f, 910, 932.
Genus and species, 137.
Genuzim, 39.
Geography, 139.
Geology, 5.
George Eliot, 435, 857.
Ger, 110, 179, 287f, 376, *see* Stranger.
Gera, 260.
Gerah, 116, 212.
Gerar, 147, 153, 156.
Gerasa, 33, 687, 708.
Gerastart, 376.
Gergesa, 32, 687.
Gergesenes, 601.
Gerhekal, 376.
Gerizim, 30, 79, 146, 236, 252, 265, 300, 386, 608, 749.
Gershom (son of Moses), 171.
Gershonites, 215, 218.
Geruth-Chimham, 491.
Geshem, 78, 331.
Geshur, 289.
Gessius Florus, 610, 656.
Gestus, 741.
Gethsemane, 668f, 697f, 706, 721, 740, 761f, 892.
Gezer, 28, 31, 36, 57, 99, 110, 179, 208, 229, 248, 251–253, 259, 288, 295, 298f, 302.
Ghost, 83, 96, 480.
Giah, 287.
Giants, 233, 258, 292, 359, 549, 551.
Gibbethon, 68.
Gibeah, 31, 270, 278f, 282–284, 444, 540f; outrage of, 269f.
Gibeon, 23, 31, 64, 246, 253, 286, 291f, 295f, 317f, 487, 491.
Gibeonites, 64, 67, 110, 249, 252f, 292.
Gideon, 20, 30, 65f, 85, 100, 113, 166, 172, 256f, 259, 262–265, 267, 271, 289, 300, 443f.
Gifts, 83, 104f, 134, 147, 149, 155, 159f, 164, 198, 258, 284, 286, 288, 290, 306, 325f, 380, 409, 463, 540f, *see* Spiritual gifts.
Gihon, 31, 140, 294, 330, 754.
Gilboa, 29f, 66, 263f, 273, 285f, 305, 308, 439.
Gilchrist, 303.
Gilead, 33, 64, 66, 151, 159, 227–229, 234, 254, 262, 264, 266f, 279, 296, 302, 383f, 481, 485, 538f, 542, 548f, 555.
Gileadites, 65.
Gilgal, 66, 236, 249, 251, 259–261, 277–280, 298, 305, 540–542, 551, 562.
Gilgamesh, epic of, 99, 142, 416.
Giloh, 290.
Gimirrai, 59f.
Girdle, 104, 140, 439, 445, 452, 482, 765, 799, 867.
Girgashites, 150.
Girl, 420, 510; with spirit of divination at Philippi, 795.
Gitta, 785.
Gittaim, 287.
Gittith, 373.
Gladiatorial show, 613.
Gladiators, 836, 874.
Glass, 109, 112.
Glassy sea, 931, 938.
Gleaning, 22, 207, 264, 272, 448, 555.
Glorification, 824.
Glory, 195, 345, 371, 386, 388, 567, 631, 747, 760f, 807, 811, 824, 834, 844, 847, 851, 858, 863, 869f, *see* God, glory of; *i.e.* soul, 377.
Glosses, 48.
Glossolalia, *see* Tongues, speaking with.
Glutton, gluttony, 407, 468, 622, 838.
Gnat, 174f, 466.
Gnosis, 916.
Gnosticism, 11, 595, 650, 658, 786, 815, 862, 866, 869, 881–883, 888, 902, 913, 916, 923.
Gnostics, 746, 763, 860.
Goah, 488.
Goat, 30f, 33, 98, 104, 159, 162, 188, 197–199, 205f, 210, 212, 238, 243, 266, 303, 364, 421, 446, 529; for Azazel, 104, 204–206.
Goat's hair, 189f, 215.
Gob, 292.
Gobryas, 528.
Gocihar, 934.
God, 8, 107, 585; all in all, 813, 846; and history, 2, 21, 90f, 93–95, 121, 431f, 435, 460–464, 485, 487, 525, 535, 558; and Israel, *see* Yahweh and Israel; and man, *see* Man; and Nature, 2, 12f, 24, 85, 87, 91, 93, 95, 346, 350, 363f, 369, 375, 384, 387, 394, 411, 460, 479, 488, 664, 793, 819, 824; and the Gentiles (the heathen, the nations), 48, 92f, 96, 371, 374, 392f, 396, 432, 438, 458, 460–468, 470f, 473, 475f, 481, 483, 486–488, 502, 513, 516f, 546, 556–558, 561–563, 565, 569, 576, 579, 586, 619f, 624f, 639, 707, 788f, 806, 819–821, 825–827, 831, 864f, 869; and the Logos, 745–747; anger of, 67, 130, 171, 173, 202, 212, 259f, 279, 293, 309, 353–356, 358, 363, 374, 388, 432, 440f, 443–445, 454, 467f, 470f, 473, 479, 481, 494, 497f, 506, 512, 530, 532, 538, 542, 552f, 556f, 563–565, 569, 576, 668, 819–822, 825, 827f, 841, 866, 870, 897, 926, 938f; arm of, 461, 466f; as arbitrator, 354, 438, 561; as shepherd, 460, 467, 516, 561; attributes of, 343, 369, 382, 396, 398, 460, 618; call of, 719, 806, 858, 866, 898; care for His creatures, 340, 372, 390, 395, 498, 558, 577; compassion of, 48, 259, 396, 446, 460, 468, 471, 544, 558, 618, 623, 825, 827; concern for His honour, 502, 506, 511, 516, 564, 618; council of, 137, 146, 304, 347, 356, 370, 441, 485; Creator of the universe, 12f, 125, 149, 334, 377f, 386, 390, 394, 396, 456, 460–462, 464, 466, 479, 481, 486, 551, 554, 556, 558, 618f, 796, 865, 870, 891, 897, 904, 911, 931f; cruelty of, 360f; distinctions within, 344, 745f; dwelling-place of, 64, 75, 86, 122, 131, 262, 298, 303, 368–370, 375, 377f, 390, 394, 470, 472, 504, 518, 538, 546, 548, 577, 618, 620, 705, 835, 864f, 892, 895, 899, 942; enemies of, 93, 105, 473, 564, 618, 623f; eternity of, 354f, 389f, 461, 529, 566, 806, 928; evolutionary idea of, 19; exaltation of, 358, 369, 380, 389, 394, 429f, 438, 458, 461, 469, 472; existence of, 397, 897, 919; eyes of, 352, 362, 369, 395, 406, 554, 566, 577; faithfulness of, 296, 242, 372, 377, 388, 396, 459f, 472, 806, 832, 935; Father of Christ, 711, 745, 808, 863; Father of Israel, 471, 478, 541, 618; fatherhood of, 8, 12, 265, 390, 618f, 637, 641f, 649, 664f, 706f, 745, 747, 806, 808, 810, 821, 865f, 899, 904, 909, 918, 921; fear of, *see* Fear of God; fellowship with man, *see* Fellowship with God; forbearance of, 144, 819f, 841; foreknowledge of, 460, 462–464, 779, 824, 826f; forgiveness of, 199, 306, 352, 378, 388, 394, 458, 488, 494, 499, 545, 618, 623, 640, 732, 808, 821, 866, 869, 892f, 917; fulness of, 865; gentleness of, 377, 460f; glory of, 89, 129, 195, 201, 220, 371, 376f, 384, 388, 396, 414, 440, 465, 504f, 507f, 514, 567, 618f, 622, 625, 638, 643, 706, 743, 755, 784f, 811, 820f, 829, 841, 851, 863, 865, 868, 882, 931, 935; goal of all things, 813, 827, 840; goodness of, 21, 24, 369, 391f, 396, 471, 499, 564, 570, 623, 717, 735, 864, 891; government of the world by, 19, 21, 91–95, 345f, 353, 358–360, 364, 369f, 372, 378, 397, 400, 404, 409, 460, 558, 597, 618, 890; grace of, 2, 8, 10, 91, 463f, 471, 510f, 516, 535, 545, 558, 639f, 727, 736, 752, 806, 808, 811, 821–823, 825f, 831, 833, 846, 850, 853, 856, 863–865, 868, 875, 888, 891–893, 900, 919; head of Christ, 841; Hebrew conception of, 84, 429f; holiness of, 10, 12, 96, 130f, 171, 181, 196f, 202, 214, 277, 389, 427, 429, 436, 440, 501, 514, 516–518, 541, 566, 586, 618, 664, 706,

761, 811, 835, 899, 909, 917; immanence of, 24, 345, 827; immutability of, 587, 904; incapable of pain, 635; incomparableness of, 463; indiscriminate government of, 353; invisibility of, 151, 195, 353, 392, 747, 813, 868, 898, 919; Jewish conception of, 618–625, 637; judge of angels, 358, 391, 914, 924; judge of men, 19, 127, 130, 152, 352f, 355, 428, 433, 482, 529, 585, 629, 820, 825, 861, 899, 909; justice of, 87, 93f, 242, 390; king, 226, 396, 480, 571, 882, 895, 910; kingdom of, *see* Kingdom of God; knowledge of, *see* Knowledge of God; light, 470, 904, 917; localisation of, 141, 171, 556; long-suffering of, 93, 387, 460, 483, 560, 737, 792, 882, 915; love, loving-kindness of, 1, 23, 48, 95, 108, 129, 131, 234, 242, 340, 352, 356f, 369f, 374, 378, 384, 399, 425, 427, 433, 470, 475, 477, 488, 498f, 502f, 510, 535, 537, 541, 558, 563, 570, 585f, 618, 623, 634, 641f, 664, 670, 735, 745, 761, 806–812, 821f, 824, 864, 870, 915, 919; majesty of, 94, 195, 277, 354, 371, 375, 427, 436, 440, 460f, 473, 504, 567, 931; material representation of, sinful, 185, 193, 300f, 391, 539, 618; mercy of, 23, 85, 93, 361, 388, 390f, 394, 429, 456f, 470, 557f, 618, 640, 664, 780, 812, 825, 827, 833, 849, 853, 864, 882, 885, 899, 911, 935; name of, *see* Name of God; oath of, 234, 243, 394, 485, 506, 893f; omnipotence of, 281, 338, 350, 352f, 355, 359, 361, 363, 365, 386, 390, 394, 396, 404, 460f, 466, 471, 504, 553, 618, 897; omnipresence of, 82, 171, 369, 394f, 485, 504, 618, 620; omniscience of, 350, 353f, 361, 369, 394f, 404, 485, 504; perfection of, 2, 132, 281, 429, 665, 707, 819, 917; personality of, 344, 395, 429, 618; power of, 85, 91, 100, 362f, 382, 384, 390–392, 396, 428f, 460f, 479, 481, 502, 511, 516f, 525, 535, 557, 638, 695, 806, 819, 825, 833f, 849, 851, 856, 863, 865, 885, 920; praise of, *see* Praise of God; presence of, 104–106, 125, 131, 189, 518f, 521, 556, 865, 938; present in Sheol, 369, 395; promises of, *see* Promises of God; Providence of, 2, 10, 84, 219, 224, 346, 389, 395, 411, 413, 633f, 664; purity of, 214, 529, 917; purpose (plan) of, 2, 26, 81, 68, 96, 127, 131, 136, 155, 247, 430, 435, 447, 461, 483, 511f, 514, 558, 567, 636, 686, 702, 705, 749, 761, 779, 781, 806, 863–866, 869, 871, 885, 890–892, 897, 915, 939; remoteness of, 414; repentance of, 143, 280, 545; rest of, 135, 138, 384, 394, 891f; righteousness of, 11, 45, 47, 94f, 344, 352, 354f, 358, 362, 364, 369f, 372, 389, 395f, 403, 429, 437, 468, 506, 558, 566, 570, 587, 618, 643, 811, 819–821, 825, 853, 897, 918, 938; right hand of, 180, 376, 462, 740, 779, 782, 824, 870, 890, 894, 896, 898; silence of, 566; source of all things, 827, 840; sovereignty of, 2, 174, 353f, 362, 384, 571, 618, 625, 637, 703, 718, 825; spirituality of, 89, 95, 372, 618, 745, 750, 806; the refuge of His people, 375, 380, 389, 564; the Saviour, 882, 884, 887, 897; the supreme good, 376; throne of, 189, 276, 345, 359, 376, 380, 389, 433, 440, 469, 483, 494, 504f, 529, 705, 863, 904, 931, 933, 942; transcendence of, 46, 95, 345, 398, 429, 434, 475, 503, 525, 746; union with, 761, 863; unity of, 82, 87–90, 128, 334, 344, 368, 583, 618, 625, 821, 831, 840, 866, 882f; unrighteousness of, 355, 362, 501; unsearchable, 363, 395, 416, 433; vengeance of, 30, 208, 394, 438, 458f, 470f, 492, 494f, 498, 506, 513, 546, 553, 564, 618, 737; vision of (seeing), 4, 7, 150f, 157, 164, 171, 188, 193, 267, 355, 365, 371, 376, 379, 388, 436, 440, 503–505, 508, 529, 553, 567, 704, 931; warrior, 84, 99, 105, 114, 180, 256, 445, 457, 462, 470f, 867; watcher of men, 352, 354, 356; will of, 7, 11f, 99, 106–108, 136, 211, 247, 261, 267, 370, 378f, 428, 431f, 435, 505, 557, 562, 585, 623f, 634, 636–638, 640, 643, 664, 666–668, 702, 706f, 727, 745, 752, 756, 783, 788, 792, 805–810, 827, 853, 863, 866–868, 873, 883, 886, 890, 892f, 896f, 899, 903f, 907, 909, 911, 917f, 920, 937; wisdom of, 91, 111, 345, 354f, 414, 464, 525, 812, 827, 831, 833f, 865, 891, 904; word of, *see* Word of God; zeal of, 443, 506.
God of heaven, 78, 325, 525, 556; of Hosts, 554; of Light, 375, 936; of this world, 649, 851; only begotten, 747.
Goddess, 6, 392, 446, 867.
God-fearers, 625, 767, 769f, 788, 791, 795f.
Godliness, 885, 887, 914.
Godly, the, 395, 432.
Gods, 6, 11, 65, 82f, 85, 88, 93–95 133, 135, 142f, 152, 160, 184, 190, 196, 210, 224, 234, 265, 287, 328, 428, 472, 483, 527, 539, 627, 630, 633–635, 755, 775, 838, 867, 876; ancient ideas of, 82f; and kings, 628; of border, 160; of rivers, 160.
Goel, 271f, 365, 462.
Goethe, 271, 361, 418.
Gog, 337, 517f, 939, 941.
Goiim, 148.
Golan, 33.
Gold, 101, 111, 116, 123, 130, 155, 178, 189–194, 238, 293, 299, 317, 360, 393, 407, 420, 422, 432, 458, 461, 470, 499, 504, 506, 525–528, 531, 567, 570, 577–579, 702, 709, 795, 906; mine, 318, 872; plate (high-priestly), 191; ring, 365, 904.
Golden age, 138, 411, 585; bells, 191; calf, 183, 193, 301, 784f; calves (bulls) (of Jeroboam), 67, 73, 128, 193, 300f; candlesticks, *see* Candlestick, the golden; hooks, 191; image (Nebuchadnezzar's), 526; mean, the, 411, 414f; rule, 707, 729, 793f, 910; tiara, 191.
Goldsmiths, 111, 461.
Golgotha, 298, 669.
Goliath, 20, 31, 66, 281, 292, 366, 396; sword of, 100, 282f.
Gomer (Ezek. xxxviii. 6), 517.
—— wife of Hosea, 534, 536f.
Gomorrah, 13, 130, 147, 152f, 243, 357, 437, 446, 484, 541, 550f, 570, 914.
Gong, 844.
Good, the, 822; and evil, 139, 632–635; knowledge of, 139.
Good Shepherd, 754, 759, 765, 910; works, 527, 819, 864, 884f, 888.
Goodness, 622f, 633f, 665, 704, 812, 866; Stoic conception of, 633f.
Gopher, 143.
Gorge, 28, 470.
Gorgias, 387.
Goshen, 63f, 123, 164f, 169, 171, 175f, 178.
Gospel, the, 2, 14, 132, 637f, 682, 691, 713, 728, 736f, 742, 767, 779, 786, 792, 828, 833, 846, 848, 850f, 854f, 858, 861f, 865, 867f, 870, 872f, 882, 885, 887, 908, 914f, 917, 922.
Gospel according to the Hebrews, 595, 657, 661, 685, 693, 765, 846.
Gospel Canon, 595; harmony, 595.
Gospel of the Egyptians, 658.
Gospel of Peter, 741, 763f, 790.
Gospels, the, 7, 122, 587, 594f, 598, 602, 604f, 681f; and oral tradition, 15, 604; as sources of information about Jesus, 14–16, 659, 914; criticism of, 14–16; fragmentary character of, 659; influence of Old Testament prophecy on, 372, 698, 702, 717, 721f, 741, 763; origin of, 14, 604; trustworthiness of, 14–16; uniqueness of, as literary compositions, 604; written sources of, 14, 604.
Gospels, heretical, 596.
Gotama, 122.
Gourd, 558.
Government, 112, 416, 516.
Governments, 643, 646.
Governor, 78f, 124, 328–330, 332, 444, 491, 502, 513, 516, 526, 528, 572, 578f, 585f, 609f, 634, 698, 936.
Grace, 389, 535, 639–642, 717, 727, 736, 752, 808, 818f, 821–823, 826, 829, 850, 859, 861, 864, 867f, 875, 884, 888, 900, 915.
Grace before meat, 883.
Græco-Roman culture, 644, 916; religion, 627–635; world, 435, 768, 819.
Grafting, 826.
Grain, 111, 390, 454, 456, 478, 491, 638, 641; (weight), 116, 194.
Grape gatherer, 479; juice, 111; treader, grape treading, 111, 471, 562.
Grapes, 105, 111, 123, 188, 219, 240, 335, 423, 439, 448, 453, 472, 540, 546.
Grass, 31, 137, 358, 372, 393, 459, 463, 473, 552, 561, 934.
Grasshoppers, 417.
Grave, 75, 110, 154f, 165, 167, 321, 349, 356, 413, 417, 446f, 452, 467, 486, 515f, 519, 565, 720, 756, 846, 878, *see* Tomb; clothes, 756, 763.
Graven image, 84, 185, 260, 269, 461.
Graven in the rock, 357.
Gravitation, 635.
Great deep, 553; king, the, 310; mother, the, 632f; sea, 528; synagogue, the, 37.
Greatness, 668, 694, 717, 739f.
Greece, 61f, 79, 98, 101, 110, 186, 203, 227, 454, 513, 530–532, 591, 627, 629f, 632f, 771, 798f, 832, 854, 876, 878, 939; and Persia, 61f, 531.
Greed, 89, 93, 184, 512, 721.

Greek art, 796; Church, 185, 830; cities, 32, 270, 607, 832; civilisation, dominance of, 607; culture, customs, 374, 385, 415, 433, 819; Empire, 411, 526, 528f, 531, 579; Ezra, *see* Ezra, the Greek; games, 609; influence on Christianity, 745; inscriptions, 386; language, 62, 450, 591–593, 604, 607, 615, 625, 725, 778, 783, 792, 800, 804, 830; law, 186, 824; lectionaries, 601; literature, 6, 18, 20, 22, 24, 62, 265, 591, 602f, 605, 607, 628, 796, 874, 876 period, 44, 117f, 121, 125, 315, 325, 341f, 406, 409, 524, 579; philosophy, 8, 11, 20, 24, 62, 94, 342f, 394, 397, 401, 411, 604, 625, 633–635, 745f, 781, 789, 805, 812, 845, 889f; religion, 11, 105, 203, 216, 299, 428, 607, 616, 627–630, 632, 876, 936; spirit, the 10, 19; words in Daniel, 522.
Greeks, 18–20, 24, 27, 62, 94f, 230, 544, 546, 565f, 579f, 752, 757, 789, 807, 830, 832f, 876; and Jews, 62, 79, 94, 98, 106, 108, 341, 371, 397, 401, 411, 580, 607, 625, 636f, 746, 805.
Green, 931; and the dry, 741; bed, 420; grass, 653, 689; jasper, 191.
Gregory, C. R., 597.
Gregory of Nazianzus, 596.
Gregory (Pope), 601.
Greyhound, 409.
Griesbach, 597.
Griffins, 140, 441.
Griffon-vulture, 560.
Grinding, 218, 240, 660.
Grotius, 877.
Ground, 139.
Groves, 472f.
Guadalquivir, 438.
Guard, 565, 790, 804.
Guardian, 109, 839.
Guard-room, 518.
Gudea, 189.
Gudgodah, 229.
Guerilla warfare, 572, 607f.
Guest, 110, 152f, 178, 209, 278, 305.
Guilt, 101, 139, 152f, 199, 205, 208, 284, 374, 382, 393, 437, 465, 470, 515, 538, 540, 550, 557, 577, 582, 750, 754, 859; offering, 11, 99, 197–201, 204, 208–210, 217, 222, 237, 276, 520; and sin offering, 198–200.
Guilty, the, 440, 509.
Gums, 140, 162, 479.
Guti, 148.
Gyges, 60.
Gymnasium, 62, 523.
Gymnosophist, 844.

H (Pentateuchal document), *see* Law of Holiness.
Habakkuk, 47, 72, 114, 566f.
—— Book of, 88, 566–568; composite character of, 47, 424, 566; contents of, 566; date of, 47, 566; eschatological psalm in, 47, 566–568; problem of, 47, 566f.
Ḥabiri, *see* Khabiri.
Hacaliah, 330.
Hadad, the Edomite, 67, 299.
Hadad-ezer, 298f.
Hadassah, 337, *see* Esther.
Hades, 376, 712, 714f, 736, 742, 910, 929, 941, *see* Sheol; floods of, 715; gates of, 375, 714f.
Hadrach, 579.
Hadrian, 244, 653, 656, 658.
Hadrian's rescript, 658.
Hæmatite, 116.
Hagar, 6, 63, 100, 150f, 153f, 860.
Hagarenes, Hagarites, 151, 387.
Haggadah, 784, 882.
Haggai, 47, 77f, 96, 112, 327f, 367, 572–575, 577; and the rebuilding of the Temple, 572–574.
—— Book of, 77, 92, 323f, 572–574, 575, 578; contents of, 573; historical background of, 572f; relation to sermons of Haggai, 572; religious ideas of, 573; text of, 572.
Haggi, 572.
Haggith, 294, 572.
Hagiographa, 36–38, 314, 411, 418, 522; canonisation of, 38.
Haifa, 28.
Hail, 363, 386, 396, 457, 934, 939; plague of, 13, 123, 174, 176.
Hailstones, 509.
Hair, 105, 204, 208, 211, 216f, 237, 267f, 274, 289, 291, 305, 409, 417, 420f, 423, 480, 494, 506, 519, 730, 799, 842; offering, 99, 110, 208, 217, 267, 797, 799.
Hairy garment, 305, 583.
Ḥajj, 103.
Halacha, 882.
Halah, 555.
Half-nomads, *see* Semi-nomads.
Half-proselytes, 624f.
Half-shekel, the, 116, 192, 194, 334, 616, 694, 715.
Hall of judgment, 297.
Hallel, 697.
Hallelujah, 367, 392, 396, 940.
Hallucination, 846.
Halys, 53, 60.
Ham (*i.e.* Egypt), 387, 390f; (place), 149; son of Noah, 145, 387, 390.
Haman, 22, 104, 336–339, 403.
Hamasa, 381.
Hamath, 35, 63, 71, 219, 229, 260, 288, 309, 313 330, 428, 444f, 494, 534, 552, 554, 579; entering in of, 123, 260, 316.
Hammeah, tower of, 331.
Hammer, 261, 339, 565, 607.
Hammurabi, 44, 51, 53, 112, 119, 148; Code of, 9, 44, 51, 112, 130, 148, 186, 210, 234, 238, 240f; date of, 119, 130.
Hamon, 517.
Hamor, 161, 265.
Hananel, 488, 584; tower of, 331.
Hanani, 76, 301, 315, 330.
Hananiah, opponent of Jeremiah, 72, 475, 487; son of Heman, 317, *see* Shadrach.
Hand, 115, 149, 192, 361, 420, 463, 690, 705, 937; of Yahweh (God), 303, 442, 483, 503, 518, 557.
Handbreadth, 115.
Hand-washing at the Communion, 192.
Handwriting on the wall, 527.
Hanes, 456.
Hannah, 66, 105, 274f; song of, 180, 274–276, 726.
Hannibal, 615.
Ḥanukkah, 104, 339.
Ḥanun, 289.
Happiness, 139, 634, 885.
Happy endings, 48; future, prophecies of, 437, 439, 455f.
Haran (Harran), (place), 34, 146, 158, 513, 554, 567, 784; son of Terah, 146.
Harbour, 28, 612, 786, 803, 813.
Harbours of Palestine, 28.
Harden the heart, 174.
Hardening, 825f; of Pharaoh, 174.
Hardness of heart, 475, 825.
Hare, 788.
Harem, 147, 153, 287, 297, 299, 415, 418, 422, 468, 490.
Harhares, Mt., 259.
Harim, 325.
Harlot, the, *i.e.* Rome, 939f.
Har-magedon, 262, 313, 939.
Harmon, 550.
Harmony, 827, 829.
Harod, 30; spring of, 263, *see* Ên Harod.
Harosheth of the Gentiles, 29, 65, 261.
Harp, 44, 316f, 379, 394, 448, 526, 551f.
Harrowing, 541.
"Harrowing of Hell," 911.
Hart, 379.
Harvest, 13, 28, 101f, 111, 118, 157f, 177, 205, 207, 210, 272, 311, 350, 359, 370, 374, 384, 388, 408, 417, 440, 443, 448f, 452, 479f, 540f, 550, 554, 562, 580, 584, 653, 665, 667, 687, 709, 750, 848, 906, 937f; festival, 188, 520; home, 102, 210, 393, 443; songs, 18.
Ḥasid, 374, 378f, 381.
Ḥasidim, 94, 374, 378f, 381f, 387, 396, 398, 402, 406, 412, 415, 580f, 607.
Hasmoneans, 107, 117, 340, 500, 608.
Hatching, 459.
Hatred, 23, 95, 97, 124, 621, 623f, 706, 760f, 763, 771, 774, 793, 879, 897, 903, 919.
Hauran, 33, 224.
Havilah, 139, 280.
Havvoth-jair, 234, 266.
Hawk, 364.
Hay, 408.
Hazael, 58, 69, 303–309, 548.
Hazar-enan, 229.
Hazazon-tamar, 149.
Hazeroth, 219.
Hazor, 29, 65, 245, 253, 261, 298, 494.
Head, 140, 505, 529, 560, 568, 705f, 842, 868, 892, 907; shaking of, 380; of days, 433; of the corner, 577.
Head-dress, 420.
Healers, 616.
Healing, 223, 469, 520, 809, 812, 843, 879, 910; at a distance, 708, 750; gift of, 804; by suggestion, 663.
Hearers and doers, 904.
Heart, the, 91, 131, 175, 318, 369, 376, 399, 416f, 419, 421, 475, 488, 508, 542, 544, 569, 640, 664, 689, 709, 719, 730, 825f, 851, 853, 861, 864, 866, 870, 892, 904, 906f, 910f, 917, 919; of flesh, 91, *see* New heart; of stone, 91.
Heat, 111, 159, 439, 449, 455, 466, 479, 545f, 558, 583, 939.
Heath, 484, 493.
Heathen, the, 92, 151, 234, 368, 374f, 379, 392–394, 396, 454, 464, 481, 489, 502f, 556–558, 560–563, 582–584, 595, 715, 734, 836–838, 841, 853, 888, 915; and Israel, *see* Israel; and the Messiah, 374; conversion of, 372,

445f, 478, 556–558, 576, 584, 699, 806, 808, 826; excellence among, 557; judgment of, 96, 556, 558, 562, 584; readiness to turn to God, 505, 557f.
Heathen cults, 812, 878; customs, 237; deities, 90, 101, 130, 149, 202, 208, 218, 234, 237, 243, 310, 383, 392, 462–464, 477, 480, 483f, 502, 507, 510, 512, 557, 560, 627, 840, *see* False gods, Idols; priest, 688; religions, 481, 812.
Heathenism, 110, 183, 205, 237, 392, 477, 481, 535, 537, 539, 562, 573, 586, 867, *see* Paganism.
Heave offering, 200f, 216, 220, 222, 237, 587.
Heave thigh, 192.
Heaven, 5, 137, 139, 146, 149, 188, 190, 369–371, 374f, 395, 409, 431f, 434, 446, 458f, 461, 464, 526, 537f, 560, 562, 582, 618, 705f, 720, 727, 733, 736, 738, 741f, 745, 748f, 788, 798, 807, 825, 847, 852, 854, 858, 860, 863–865, 867f, 870, 874, 879, 890, 895, 898f, 931–935, 937f, 940–942; and earth, 125, 136, 138, 535, 537, 574, 705.
Heavenly altar, 938f; beings (powers), 139, 461, 471.
—— bodies, 95, 135–137, 185, 377, 390, 446, 478, 546, 847, 934, *see* Moon, Stars, Sun; creation of, 137, 390; worship of, 74, 95, 129, 137, 185, 311, 361, 569.
—— city, 898–900; council (assembly, court), 137, 146, 304, 347, 356, 370, 441, 485; host, 583; Jerusalem, the, 860, 899, 937; man, 847; ocean (sea), 135, 137, 143, 377, 384, 390, 401, 453f, 931, 938; places, 863; tabernacle, 894f; twins, 759, 804; world, 890f, 893.
Heavens, the, 368, 390, 396, 445f, 461, 464, 466–468, 471, 554, 867, 894, 915.
Heber (Kenite), 261f.
Hebraism, 234, 238, 243, 636, 864f, 878.
Hebrew historical literature, 20, 45, 48f, 122, 244–247; and prophecy, 244, 247; Deuteronomic revision of, 45f, 48, 75; didactic character of, 21, 244; methods of, 20f, 244; miraculous element in, 246f; priestly revision of, 48; purposes of, 21, 244.
—— language, 34–36, 48, 124, 129, 314f, 335, 450, 522, 579, 592f, 700, 786; Canaanite origin of, 34; characteristics of, 35, 593; history of, 35; place among Semitic languages, 34; supplanted by Aramaic, 35.
—— literature, *see* Old Testament; MSS. of Old Testament, 40; poetry, *see* Poetry, Hebrew; religion, origin of, 84; spirit, 19; syntax, 35; the name, 34; wisdom, 93, 341f, 343–345; writing, 36.
Hebrews, 18–21, 26, 34, 55, 58, 82, 119, 145, 147, 149, 163, 276, 555, 841, *see* Israel; *i.e.* Aramaic-speaking Jews, 783.
—— Epistle to the, 6, 16, 25, 96, 594–596, 603f, 641, 772, 817, 889–900, 901, 938; Alexandrianism of, 603, 889f; allegorical method of, 6, 890; and Clement of Rome, 594, 889; and Origen, 595; and the Book of Wisdom, 343; and the two worlds, 6, 890; author of, 592f, 640, 889, 900; authorship, 595, 603, 815, 889; canonicity of, 595f, 889; date, 603, 657, 773, 775, 889, 891, 897; Day of Atonement in, 104, 894–896, 900; destination, 775, 889, 897, 900; literary characteristics of, 595, 603, 724, 889; persecution in, 775, 889, 897; purpose of, 889; readers of, 603, 889, 893, 897, 899f.
Hebron, 30f, 63, 123, 127, 146f, 154f, 160, 219, 223, 233, 249, 253f, 258f, 268, 273, 280, 283f, 286, 290, 296, 315, 484.
Hedge, 348, 350, 439.
Hedge about the Law, 637.
Heel, 140, 156, 379, 541.
Hegesippus, 655, 658, 773, 906, 923.
He-goats (*i.e.* field demons), 206.
Heifer, 492, 540.
Heir, heiress, 109, 149f, 230, 718, 821, 824, 860, 865, 868, 890, 904.
Heirs of God, 824.
Hekal, 297.
Helbon, 513.
Heldai, 578.
Helem, 578.
Heli, son of Matthat, 701.
Heliodorus, 528, 532.
Heliopolis, 156, 163, 450, 491, 514, 548.
Hell, 5, 432, 434, 905, *see* Gehenna, Hades, Sheol.
Hell-broth, 472.
Hellen, 728.
Hellenisers, 582, 585.
Hellenism, 94, 98, 106, 108, 581, 614, 636f, 747, 805; and Hebraism, 18.
Hellenistic age, 591, 697, 808; Christians, 639, 767, 783, 785, 789; Greek, 591, 593; Jews, 6, 385, 582, 603, 625, 640, 767f, 783f, 787, 800; Judaism, 625; party, 382; religion, 644; terminology, 644; thought, 345, 805, 812f, 817.
Hellespont, 795.
Helmet, 867.
Helps, 643.
Heman, 316f, 368.
Hemlock, 480.
Hen, contemporary of Zechariah, 578.
Henadad, 327.
Henna-flower, 420, 423.
Hephæstus, 6.
Hepher, 296.
Heptarchy, 591.
Heracleon, 653.
Heracleopolis Magna, 456.
Heraclitus, 411, 746, 915.
Herald, 325, 546.
Herbs, herbage, 23, 29, 137, 144, 177, 422, 552, 720, 828.
Herculaneum, 657.
Hercules, 221, 267f, 299, 630.
Herd, 32, 98, 111, 147, 156, 179, 218, 284, 459, 538.
Herder, 418.
Heredity, 179, 823, 825.
Herem, *see* Ban.
Heres, Mt., 259.
Heresiarchs, 595.
Heresy, 398, 649, 666, 799, 815, 916, 921, 936, *see* False teaching.
Heretical gospels, 596; teachers, 594, *see* False teachers.
Heretics, 5, 595, 649, 814.
Hermas, 700.
Hermas, Shepherd of, 411, 594–596, 658, 902, 928.
Hermes, 746, 760, 792.
Hermetic literature, 760.
Hermogenes, 885.
Hermon, 26–29, 32f, 219, 227, 234, 258f, 260, 377, 379, 394, 491, 513, 548, 691, 727.
Herod Agrippa I., 368, 609f, 654–656, 768, 790, 801f, 830; II., 610, 656f, 772, 802f.
Herod Antipas, 609f, 654, 656f, 667, 682, 688, 690, 692f, 702f, 711, 713f, 722, 725, 727f, 730f, 734f, 741, 755, 762, 768, 781, 791.
Herod Philip, first husband of Herodias, 609, 654, 656, 688, 727.
Herod, king of Chalcis, 656.
Herod the Great, 30, 116, 411, 416, 433, 608–610, 614, 652f, 656f, 702, 704, 716, 725–727, 748, 786, 865; sons of, 656, 738.
Herod the tetrarch, 33, 609f, 656f.
Herodians, 609, 660, 695, 789.
Herodias, 609, 654, 656, 688, 693, 713, 735.
Herodion, 830.
Herodotus, 20, 99, 208, 218, 297, 311, 337f, 413, 415, 450, 527f, 531, 564, 567, 591, 593.
Herods, the, 117, 297, 499, 734; genealogical table of, 656.
Heroes, heroism, 18, 20, 85, 142, 627f, 665, 698, 897.
Heroes, the, *see* Judges, the.
Heshbon, 224, 229f, 266, 268, 423, 448, 493.
Hesychius, 41, 600.
Heth, 155.
Hewer of wood and drawer of water, 252.
Hexapla of Origen, 41.
Hexateuch, 9, 121, *see* Pentateuch.
Hezekiah, 21, 68, 71f, 74, 76, 79, 109, 211, 227, 238, 246, 294, 296, 301, 310–312, 321, 342, 436f, 486, 536, 559, 569; and Assyria, 59, 71f, 310f; and Isaiah, 71f, 74, 310f; and Merodach-baladan, 71, 310f; and Sennacherib, 71f, 76, 310f, 321, 437, 458; and the Philistines, 71; and the Rabshakeh, 71f, 310f; character of, 310; Chronicler's account of, 76, 122, 321; destroys the brazen serpent, 74, 310; reformation of, 74, 76, 89, 196, 232, 296, 310f; sickness of, 310, 459; song of, 459; the men of, 342, 397, 407.
Hezion, 299, 301.
Hiddekel, 139, 531.
Hide, 200, 220, 222.
Hiel, 99, 251, 302.
Hierapolis, 681, 700, 862, 931.
Hierarchy, 85, 91; heavenly, 864, 868.
Hieratic script, 52.
Hieroglyphics, hieroglyphic script, 51f, 56, 246.
Hieron, 297.
Hifa, 28.
Higgaion, 373.
High Places, 45, 47, 73, 75f, 86, 90, 98, 100f, 128f, 130, 189, 191–193, 204, 212, 229, 231, 233, 236f, 254, 275, 277, 294, 296, 300f, 310–312, 317f, 320f, 469, 472, 493, 506, 510f, 519, 538, 540, 572.
High Priest, 94, 104, 106f, 124, 131, 163, 191–193, 196, 198–200, 205f, 209, 222, 230, 241, 256, 264, 275f,

308, 312, 325, 331, 335, 370, 374, 377, 382f, 385, 388, 391, 523, 531f, 573, 576, 579, 581–584, 607–610, 620, 653, 668, 740, 756, 762, 778, 780–782, 784, 786f, 797, 800–802, 890, 892–896, 942.
High Priest's servant, 721.
High Priesthood, 338, 340, 523, 531, 575, 577, 608f, 756, 894.
Highway, 404, 450.
Highwaymen, 615.
Hilkiah father of Jeremiah, 476; priest of Jerusalem, 45, 75, 128, 209, 232, 312, 476, 573.
Hill country, 232, 248, 261, 270, 484.
Hillel, 38, 41, 411, 624, 716, 753.
Hills, the, 24, 27–30, 65f, 100, 157, 268, 270, 287, 302, 306, 439, 456, 458, 461f, 468, 484, 506, 518, 538, 548, 554, 563, 570, 613, 659, 872.
Hin, 115, 220, 228.
Hind, 364, 369, 379.
Hindus, 163, 206, 209.
Hinges, 317.
Hinnom, valley of, 309, 312, 330, 473, 477, 480, 484, 488, 506, 583f.
Hip, 470.
Hippolytus, 163, 595, 652f.
Hippopotamus, 364.
Hippos, 32f.
Hiram, king of Tyre, 67, 70, 287, 296–298, 319, 548; metal-worker, 297.
Hire, hireling, hired servant, 110, 208f, 351, 448, 704, 906.
Historians, 51, 75, 673f.
Historical books of Old Testament, 9, 244–247; elements in the Bible, 10, 13–16, 20–22, 244–247, 604f; method, 418, 426.
History, 16, 19–21, 48, 82, 89–91, 93–95, 121, 127, 129f, 133, 168, 254f, 314, 431–433, 435, 460–464, 485, 487, 525f, 535, 558, 820, 824, 926; and experience alike essential, 15f; of Gad the seer, 315, 318; of Israel, 63–80; of Jehu, son of Hanani, 315, 518; of Nathan the prophet, 315; of religion, 427; of Samuel the seer, 315, 318; of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer, 315; of the seers, 315; science of, 10.
Hitopadesa, 409.
Hittites, 26, 51–57, 99, 145, 150, 155, 157, 169, 172, 183, 193, 219, 255, 259f, 299, 306, 444, 510; civilisation of, 53, 193; debt to Babylonia, 53; downfall of, 56f; original home of, 53; physical characteristics of, 53.
Hivites, 172, 260, 448.
Hobab, 183, 188, 213, 218, 258.
Hobah, 148f.
Hobbes, 121.
Hodaviah, 327.
Hoe, 111.
Holiness, 130f, 187, 192, 196f, 200, 202f, 206–208, 212, 214, 221, 223, 240, 277, 386, 412, 429, 477, 570, 574, 618, 622, 624, 640, 684, 827, 832, 839, 846, 868, 872, 878, 903, 909; and cleanness, 197, 202; and ritual, 187, 196f, 207f; and taboo, 196, 200, 202, 477, 574; and uncleanness, 131, 202f, 223, 574, 839; ceremonial, 130f; conception of, 101, 130f, 196, 202, 207, 429, 574, 839; dangerous, 200, 429, 697; derivative, 202, 574; ethical, 130f, 187, 196f, 207f, 429, 640; grades of, 202, 574; infectious character of, 192, 196, 200, 202f, 472, 519, 574, 839; non-ethical, 130, 196, 477, 839; of altar, 192, 209; of Israel, 130, 197, 208, 518, 624; of sacrifice, 200, 202; of the land of Israel, 197, 517f; Yahweh the fount of, 196, 202, 574.
Holiness Code, *see* Law of Holiness.
—— of God, *see* God, holiness of.
Holy, the, 520, 707; and the common, the, 512, 570, 689, 897; Apostles, the, 815; City, 317, 518, 521, 722; Convocation, 103–105, 127; days, 131, 553, 828; garments, 191, 389, 519; ground, 171, 785; Land, 26–33, 46, 517, 520, 536, names of, 26; of Holies, 104, 106, 186, 190, 196, 205, 215, 276, 297, 308, 440, 518f, 608, 835, 865, 893, 895f; one, *i.e.* angel, 526f, 583, 864; one of God, 685; persons, 131, 192, 196, 206, 240, 376, 697; place, the, 106, 192, 206, 215, 217, 297, 338, 518f, 895, 933; places, 100, 127, 196f, 200; seasons, 101–105, 131, 210; seed, the, 441.
—— Spirit, the, 3f, 7, 9, 40, 136f, 191, 369, 381f, 396, 471, 475, 595, 637–645, 647f, 682, 701–703, 707, 713, 725–728, 745f, 749, 753, 760, 765–767, 769, 771, 777–779, 781f, 784–789, 791, 793f, 797, 808, 812, 819, 823f, 829, 833–835, 837, 840, 843f, 850–852, 859–861, 863–865, 867f, 874, 883f, 897, 917–920, 928f, 943, *see* Spirit of God, Spirit of Yahweh; and baptism, 639, 728, 779, 787, 789, 843; and Christ (Jesus), 639, 682, 701–703, 726, 728, 745, 747, 749, 753, 760, 769, 779, 788, 808f, 851, 909; and inspiration, 3f, 645, 647, 732, 749, 769, 781, 785, 833f, 844, 883; and spiritual gifts, 638f, 643, 645, 648, 779, 789, 808f, 812; and the Church, 7, 812, 843; and the Divine Wisdom, 808; at Pentecost, 215, 638, 766; gift of, 638–640, 749, 753, 771, 779, 789, 793, 808, 821, 834, 852, 863, 897, 918f; grieving the, 866; in the Messianic age, 638–640, 749, 808f; in the Pauline Theology, *see* Paul, doctrines of; in the Primitive Church, 7, 808; in the teaching of Jesus, *see* Jesus, teaching of; indwelling of, 188, 823f, 843, 918f; Jewish doctrine of 808; law of, 823; principle of the Christian life, 639f, 745, 808, 812, 823, 851f, 859, 861, 865; searches the depths of God, 834; source of power, 808, 865, 890; source of revelation, 834, 863, 865, 895; unity of, 843, 866; witness of, 703, 824, 920.
—— Spirit, meaning of phrase without the article, 638f, 642.
—— things, 131, 192, 196f, 221, 707; water, 216, 223; way, 459.
Home, the, 109.
Home-sickness, 179, 408.
Homer (measure), 115, 212, 219, 440, 520, 537.
Homer (poet), 6, 21f, 161, 186, 208, 225, 297, 396, 428, 431, 565, 591, 593, 628, 634, 876, 936.
Homicide, 113, 186, 229f, 477; accidental, *see* Manslaughter; wilful, *see* Murder.
Homily, 603.
Homœopathic magic, 276.
Homoioteleuton, 42.
Homonadenses, 726.
Honesty, 89, 208, 649, 661.
Honey, 26, 32, 111, 171, 181, 198, 279, 408, 421, 441f, 742.
Hoof, 440, 561.
Hook, 550.
Hope, 2, 91, 96, 356, 371, 378, 739, 806, 821, 824, 827, 829, 832, 844, 852, 863f, 866, 868, 877f, 887, 891, 893, 897, 908–910.
Hophni and Phinehas, 274f.
Hophra, 61, 73, 475, 490, 492.
Hor, Mt., 223f, 236; near Lebanon, 229.
Horeb, Mt., 11, 64, 86, 124, 128, 168, 171, 173, 182–186, 189f, 223, 232–236, 303, 587.
Horemheb, 55.
Hor-haggidad, 229.
Horites, 149, 233.
Hormah, 220, 223, 230, 258.
Horn, 275, 376, 396, 493, 498, 514, 528f, 552, 561, 576, 932; *i.e.* trumpet, 478, 545, 549f; of salvation, 376.
Hornet, 188, 235, 255.
Horns of the altar, 186, 191f, 295, 392, 483, 934.
Horonaim, 448.
Horse, the black, 932; the pale, 932; the red, 932; the white, 932.
Horse gate, 331, 488; shoe, 252, 440.
Horseflesh, 202.
Horsemen, 286, 305, 330, 451, 492, 566, 577.
Horses, 100, 111, 113, 166, 180, 202, 222, 238f, 262f, 296, 303, 307, 364, 378, 416, 420, 438 440, 456 471, 479, 492, 513, 542, 545, 550–552, 565, 576, 578, 580, 582, 584, 631, 660, 905, 932, 934, 940; and chariots of fire, 306; of the sun, 312.
Hort, 597.
Horus, 761, 936.
Hosanna, 641, 694, 718, 738.
Hosea, 19, 45, 68, 70, 74, 87–89, 107f, 127f, 130, 231, 247, 251, 259, 269, 280, 307, 374, 426f, 474f, 477, 534–543, 560; career of, 534, 536f; character of, 88f, 108; conception of God, 11, 89, 108, 185, 425, 427, 475, 535; marriage of, 108, 534–537; personality of 535; teaching of, 21, 74, 87, 89, 108, 130, 259, 427, 477, 535.
—— Book of, 45, 534–543, 825f; character of, 535; Judæan revision of, 534f; origin of, 535; text of, 534f, 538f, 541f; unity of, 425, 534, 542.
Hoshea, 59, *see* Joshua.
—— king of Israel, 59, 68, 70f, 246, 305, 310, 455.
Hospitality, 110, 152, 164, 270, 305, 407, 451, 491, 647, 649, 735, 738, 773, 799, 827, 883, 888, 899, 911, 921f.
Host of God, 864; of Heaven, 138, 311, 458, 480, 530, 569, 864, 890, 911; of the height, 453f.
Hostage, 163.
Hot springs, 931.
Hours, 117, 689, 748, 750f, 760, 763, 798, 939; of prayer, 528, 779, 788, 931.
House, 23, 108f, 111, 114, 128, 177, 184, 202–204, 212, 307, 443, 472, 659, 852; of bondage, 169, 562; of Pharaoh's

daughter, 297; of the forest of Lebanon, 297; of wine, 420.
House-church, 790, 830, 848, 871.
Household deities, 101, 159, 178, 238, 282.
Household of faith, 642; of God, 864.
Householder, 659f, 720.
House-steward, 452.
House-top, 240, 278, 451, 788.
Housewife, 570; the good, 108, 410.
Hozai, 322.
Hugo de S. Caro, 597.
Hugo, Victor, 22.
Huldah, 75, 312.
Huleh, Lake, 29, 32, 148, 261, 298, 608, 620.
Human life, sanctity of, 144, 185.
—— nature, 412f, 892, *see* Man; possibilities inherent in, 371; sinfulness of, 378.
—— sacrifice, 70, 83, 85, 95, 99, 154, 252, 266f, 302, 305, 472, 480, 488, 540, 616, 632, 836; commutation of, 627, 632; replaced by animal, 99, 154; to safeguard buildings, 99.
Humanity, 361, 558, 564.
Humble, the, 275, 456, 472, 571.
Humiliation, 544f, 587, *see* Christ.
Humility, 263, 358, 377, 562, 623, 665, 735, 758, 861, 866, 869f, 873, 904f, 910f.
Hundred and forty-four thousand, the, 933, 935, 937.
Hunger, hungry, 156, 468f, 488, 490, 499, 520, 545, 550, 688f, 703, 706, 729, 750, 803, 842f; for righteousness, 737.
Huns, 263.
Hunter, 145, 156, 365, 483, 562.
Hunting, 101, 157.
Hunting god, 629.
Hunting souls, 509.
Hur, 168, 182, 189.
Huram-abi, *see* Hiram, metal worker.
Husband, 108, 228, 267, 271, 468, 471, 477, 488, 492, 544, 587, 716, 733, 750, 867, 910; and wife, 105, 108, 492, 534, 536f, 587, 650, 838, 840, 867, 910.
Husbandman, 111, 145, 222, 324, 455f, 551, 695.
Husbandry, varied methods of, 455f.
Hushai, 290.
Husks, 735, *see* Carob-pods.
Hut, 439, 453.
Huzzab, 565.
Hyacinth, 934
Hyæna, 158.
Hybrids, 208.
Hydra, 454.
Hygiene, 196, 202–205.
Hyksos, 52, 54, 63, 249, 254, 429, 450.
Hymenæus, 649, 882, 886.
Hymn of the Soul, 713.
Hymns, 37, 51, 131, 366, 525, 602, 647, 725, 866f, 870, 883.
Hypnotism, 174.
Hypocrites, hypocrisy, 441, 456, 544, 550, 622, 666, 706f, 720, 733, 820.
Hyrax, 409.
Hyrcania, 79.
Hyrcanus (brother of Aristobulus II.), 608f; II., 225.
Hyssop, 204, 222f, 343, 382, 763.

"I am Yahweh," 130, 196, 207, 506f, 513.
Ibleam, 30, 259, 309.
Ibn Ezra, 121.
Ibzan, 66, 267.
Ice, 351, 363, 396, 876.
Ichabod, 276.
Iconium, 769, 792–794, 857, 885.
Iddo, 315, 319.
Ideal, the, 904.
Ideal king, 371–373, 385, 390, 396, 404, 406.
Identification with sacrificial victim, 863.
Idle words, 712, 906.
Idol feasts, 650f, 770, 840; maker, 481; sacrifice, 793, 840–842.
Idolaters, idolatry, 10, 31, 65–67, 73–77, 83f, 91, 127f, 130f, 184–186, 193, 207f, 227, 229, 231, 235, 237, 242, 299, 301, 307f, 310–312, 321, 342, 361, 368, 371, 380, 392, 394, 397f, 427, 436, 438, 454, 462–464, 469, 477, 480f, 483f, 491f, 501f, 506–509, 511f, 516–519, 538, 541f, 560, 562, 567, 572f, 582f, 609, 619, 623f, 649, 651, 770, 775, 784, 792, 796, 819, 837, 841, 853, 870, 922, 934, 938f.
Idols, images, 73f, 76f, 83–85, 93–95, 130f, 184f, 193, 207, 211f, 231, 236, 242, 255, 311, 361, 367, 376, 379, 392, 394, 444, 448–450, 457, 460–464, 469, 472, 481, 484, 495, 506, 512, 542f, 557, 560, 562, 580, 650f, 770, 784, 793f, 796, 798, 820, 840f, 877, 930, *see* False gods, Heathen deities; pollution of, 793f.
Idumæa, 499, 585, 608.
Idumæans, 499, 608, 610.
Idyll, 271f.
Ignatius, 594, 646, 658, 700, 744, 773, 930.
Ignorance, 197–199, 220, 413, 760, 780, 796, 825, 845, 866, 882, 909.
Iliad, the, 22, 161, 431.
Illumination, 851.
Illyria, 829.
Ilu-shuma, 53.
Image, 67, 139, 190, 264, 796, 937, *see* Idols; of God, 137, 144, 813, 841f, 868; of jealousy, 507; of Yahweh, 185, 391; vision of, in Daniel, 432, 525f, 528.
Images, graven, 84, 184f, 461; molten, 207, 461, 463; wooden, 185, 461, 463.
Imagination, 501, 520
Imbros, 795.
Imitation of Christ, 910, 917.
Immanuel, 263, 436, 441f.
Immer, 325.
Immorality, 73, 185, 427, 485, 501f, 506, 510–512, 538f, 876, 868, 913, 930, 934, 940.
Immortality, 133, 138–140, 344f, 352, 368, 370f, 378f, 412, 427, 434, 641, 660, 824, 847; doctrine of, 61, 96, 344f, 434; in Apocalyptic literature, 434; in the Psalms, 368, 370f; not physical or metaphysical but religious, 371; of Christ, 838; of the body, 838; of the nation, 381; of the righteous, 381; of the serpent, 138f; of the soul, 345, 625; of the wicked, 381; personal, 88, 94, 96, 371, 378, 381, 385, 399; springs from experience of fellowship with God, 96, 371; usually limited to faithful souls, 371.
Immortals, the, 142, 457.
Impaling, 83, 163, 240, 338f.
Imperial estates, 614; priesthood, 775, 937; year, 652.
Imperialism, 659.
Impiety, 346f, 350, 353, 356, 362, 368, 386, 514, 551.
Imports and exports, 111.
Imprecation, 150.
Imprisonment, 113, 490, 705, 785, 795, 799, 815, 866, 877.
—— Epistles, 812, 862–875.
Impurity, 618–620, 624, 650, 689, 793, 819, 837f, 841, 887, 899.
Imputation, 821f.
Incantations, 106, 631, 682, 785.
Incarnation, the, 2, 188, 210, 345, 354, 412, 442, 746f, 811, 823, 834, 854, 860, 866, 873, 882f, 885, 888, 916, 918–921, 941.
Incense, 76, 79, 100, 104, 192–194, 201, 210, 215, 221, 384, 395, 421, 441, 463, 472, 477, 479, 586, 630f, 850, 932f.
Incest, 153, 208, 240, 629, 649, 832, 836f.
Incestuous person at Corinth, 648f, 850.
Incorruption, 345, 847.
Incubation, 157.
India, 62, 122, 204, 211, 226, 299, 337, 446, 479, 591, 607, 613, 616, 733.
India House inscription, 524.
Indians, North American, 230.
Indians who burnt themselves alive, 844.
Indifference, 585, 931.
Individual, 93, 113, 544; responsibility, 11, 91, 108, 239, 488, 501, 503, 505, 509–512, 515, 805.
Individualism, 11, 90, 108, 170, 345, 358, 406f, 438, 475, 484, 488, 503, 505, 510f, 515, 619.
Indus, the, 58, 140.
Industrialism, 112.
Industry, 400, 416.
Infallibility, 7f.
Infancy narratives, 675, 701f, 725–727.
Infant, 99f, 473, 835, 846; baptism, 639.
Infantry, 114.
Inferno, 434.
Ingathering, 480, 493, 562,
Inheritance, 109f, 227, 240, 365, 413, 704, 821, 824, 860, 863, 868, 870, 895, 932; by daughters, 227f, 230, 254, 478.
Inhospitality, 152, 270, 361.
Initiates, 632, 834, 869f, 874.
Initiation, 83, 151, 631f, 705, 869f; ceremony, 202, 205.
Injuries, 186.
Injustice, 485, 501f, 507, 509f, 513, 520, 550, 559–561, 738, 844, 910.
Inkhorn, 507.
Inn, 127, 615, 726, 922.
Inner light, 7f, 706; shrine, 191.
Inn-keeper, 732.
Innocence, innocent, 139, 163f, 355, 377, 440, 509, 558, 560, 581, 823.
Inscription on graves, 878; on the Cross, 698, 700, 763.
Inscriptions, 33–36, 53, 71f, 75, 115f, 148, 165, 168, 179, 225, 248f, 309–311, 428, 491, 527, 534, 550, 572, 579, 591, 593, 615, 632, 685, 796f, 804, 838, 874, 888, *see* Cuneiform inscriptions.
Insects, 137, 203, 720.
Insignia of royalty, 577.
Insincerity, 509, 514, 586.
Inspiration, 3–5, 16, 37–40, 136, 183,

191, 193, 224, 261–263, 277, 303f, 361, 368, 429–431, 456, 504, 594, 638, 640, 645, 732, 766, 769, 779, 783, 795, 808, 834, 844; and canonicity, 38f; claimed for ethnic Scriptures, 3; of apocalyptic, 431; of Jesus, 686, 728; of prophets, 38, 107, 237, 261f, 277, 304, 343, 428–430, 484, 504, 525, 559, 726, 844, 883; of the Apocrypha, 39; psychology of, 4, 237, 429f, 484, 504, 834, 843.
Inspiration of the Bible, 3–7, 38–40, 247, 689, 886, 895; and revelation, 4; theories of, 3–6, 556, 833; verbal, 3f, 10, 41, 430.
Institutions, 503, 535, 537, *see* Religious institutions, Social institutions.
Intercalary month, 105, 117f, 652; year, 652.
Intercession, 152f, 280, 349, 365, 428, 482f, 490, 544f 553, 824, 867, 872, 894, 896, 910, 917, 920.
Intercommunion of churches, 646f.
Interest, 112, 187, 211, 240, 332, 376, 438, 483, 567, 660.
Interim ethic, 663, 767.
Intermarriage with aliens, 66f, 78f, 85, 92, 157, 161, 200, 210, 227, 260, 268 271, 299, 323f, 328–330, 334f, 585f.
Intermediate state, 811.
Internal evidence of documents, 599; of groups, 599; of readings, 599, 601.
Interpreter, 163, 835.
Interregna, interpolation of, unjustified, 119.
Interrogation, 911.
Intolerance, 92, 557f.
Intoxicants, 216.
Intoxication, *see* Drunkenness.
Intrigue, 456.
Intrinsic probability, 598f.
Inundation, 52, 175.
Inwardness, 488, 503, 664f.
Ionia, 513.
Ionians, 59, 473, 492, 544.
Ionic Greek, 591, 593.
Iphigenia, 154.
Ira, 215, 292.
Iran, 50, 58, 61f, 867.
Irenæus, 586, 594f, 601, 610, 652f, 656, 658, 700, 705, 724, 726, 744, 747, 750, 786, 793, 876, 887, 908, 916, 928.
Iron, 6, 57, 72, 111, 141, 189, 234f, 252, 257f, 261, 317, 360, 432, 470, 477, 481, 483f, 487, 513, 525f, 528, 548, 553, 576; age, 252; gate, 790.
Irony, 262, 264, 508–510, 515, 565, 586, 666, 684, 720, 735, 740, 754, 756, 820, 836, 843, 855f.
Irreverence, 346–349, 352.
Irrigation, 50, 139, 169, 175, 226, 236, 329, 406, 446, 450, 730.
Irvingites, 648.
Isaac, 11, 20, 63, 109, 124–127, 134, 146f, 151–157, 165, 780, 784, 898; a semi-nomad, 156; and Abraham, 108, 151–155, 821, 825, 898, 905; and Esau, 134, 156f; and Ishmael, 63, 154, 860; and Jacob, 134, 156, 225; and Rebekah, 147, 155–157; and the Philistines, 156; birth of, 153, 274, 821, 898; falsehood of, 153, 156; name of, 126; practises agriculture, 156; sacrifice of, 154, 267, 821, 898, 905.
Isaiah, 21, 45, 47, 71f, 74, 88f, 91, 107, 111–113, 124, 128, 131, 196, 255, 280, 301, 310f, 313, 315, 321, 426f, 433f, 436–445, 447–453, 455–458, 460, 475f, 509, 522, 544, 559f, 569, 686, 713f, 747, 826; and Ahaz, 71, 436, 441f; and Assyria, 71f, 113, 130, 247, 310f, 427, 436, 441f, 444, 447–451, 455, 457; and Egypt, 113, 310, 449f, 455–457; and Hezekiah, 71f, 74, 311; and Manasseh, 436; and Sennacherib, 72, 311, 436; and the deliverance of Jerusalem, 89, 130, 427; and the people, 424, 436, 440–443, 451, 455–457; and the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion, 71, 436, 441f; as poet, 25, 437; autobiography of, 441f; call of, 436, 440f, 476, 504, 758; career of, 89, 436; denunciation of women, 439, 457f, 550; disciples of, 74, 424, 436, 442f, 703; doctrine of the future, 89, 436, 455, 457f; doctrine of the Messiah, 436, 443–445, 457; doctrine of the remnant, 89, 427, 436, 441; doctrine of Yahweh, 89, 436–438, 475, 909; failure of his preaching, 45, 71, 424, 436, 441–443, 686; foreign policy of, 71, 113, 310f, 436, 441f, 447, 449f, 452, 455–457; influence of, 89, 455, 569; legend of his martyrdom, 436, 898; reason for writing, 45, 424; social policy of, 88f, 436, 906; sons of, 436, 441–443; style of, 25, 437; teaching of, 74, 88f, 231, 280, 430, 436, 438; vision of, 337, 376, 436, 438, 440f, 476, 504, 703; wife of, 305, 436.
—— Book of, 47, 82, 244f, 294, 311, 321, 436–473, 541, 661, 682, 786, 825, 827; hypothesis of Maccabean elements in, 425; non-Isaianic sections in, 47, 82, 424, 436, 460f.
—— I–XXXIX, 436–459; non-Isaianic sections in, 47, 436.
—— XXIV–XXVII, 48, 436, 453–455; apocalyptic features of, 48, 436, 453–455; characteristics of, 453; composite character of, 48, 453; date of, 48, 453.
—— XL–LV, 47, 91, 460–468, 494, *see* further Second Isaiah; authorship, 47, 91, 460; date, 47, 91, 460; place of origin, 91, 460; teaching of, 91f, 460; unity of, 47, 91.
—— LVI–LXVI, 47, 381, 460f, 468–473; conditions reflected in, 460f; plurality of authors, 47, 461; probable date, 47, 460f.
Iscariot, 685.
Ishbaal (Ishbosheth), 42, 67, 113, 229, 259, 280, 286f, 295, 300, 318, 537; the Hachmonite, 292.
Ishmael, murderer of Gedaliah, 73, 313, 491; son of Abraham, 63, 100, 126, 134, 146, 150f, 153f, 156, 266, 860.
Ishmaelites, 63, 128, 150, 162, 280, 387, 494.
Ishtar, 233, 259, 299, 337, 480, 491f, 507, 631f.
Ishvi, 280.
Isis, 57, 627, 761; and Osiris, 632.
Islam, 239.
Island, 514, 517, 794, 803.
Islands of the Sea, 445, 929.
Isles, the, *see* Coast lands.
Isolation, 413.
Israel (*i.e.* Jacob), 315, 471; origin of the name, 133, 160f.
Israel (nation), 56f, 63, 111, 125, 134f, 145, 157, 168, 224–229, 249, 385, 387, 393, 397, 431f, 460, 462, 477f, 541, 543, 549, 585f, 703, 824–827, 851, 859f, 897, 903, 936, *see* Hebrews; for Israel, *i.e.* Northern Kingdom, *see* below; a church, 487; a holy people, 129f, 183, 197, 208, 518, 624; a modern people, 82; a poetical people, 18; a Semitic people, 82; a virgin, 488; and Assyria, 99, 510; and Babylonia, *see* Babylon, 51, 98, 118, 429, 431; and Edom, 63, 134, 223, 227, 229, 260, 288, 383, 548, 555, 585f; and Egypt, 56, 63f, 67, 111, 246, 256, 295f, 299, 431, 539–542; and kindred peoples, 63; and Moab, 57, 63, 224–227, 260f, 288, 383, 448, 513, 549; and Syria, 134, 246, 288f, 303, 436, 548; and the heathen (the nations), 47f, 92f, 108, 121, 124, 225, 259f, 324, 367, 372, 377, 384, 393, 396, 433, 445f, 454, 460, 462–468, 470, 473, 487, 502f, 516f, 544–546, 554, 556–558, 560–563, 569, 573, 576, 579f, 582, 585f, 623–625; and the Kenites, 84, 170; and the Philistines, 31, 44, 57, 251, 256f, 261, 267–269, 276–288, 513; apostasy of, 131, 386f, 390f, 477f, 481, 502, 506–513, 539–542, 891; Babylonian influence on, 51, 98, 225; bride of the Messiah, 380; bride (wife) of Yahweh, 74, 185, 477, 488, 535, 537, 712, 867; Canaanite influence on, 51, 98; characteristics of, 18–20, 86; conquest of Canaan, 50f, 64, 248–253; creation of the nation, 44, 64; described as a dove, 556; disruption of, 58, 67, 70, 75, 81, 166, 245, 299f; election of, 80, 91f, 129, 131, 394, 428, 436, 511, 517, 535, 549, 586, 719; firstborn of Yahweh, 130, 173, 389, 488; had no philosophy, 19; history of, 63–80; in Egypt, 63, 119, 123, 126, 128, 134, 150, 165, 168–170, 173–178, 213f, 245, 251, 386f, 467f, 511, 541, 784; in the period of the Judges, 65f, 256–270, 273–278; in the wilderness, 32, 64, 127f, 181–183, 213f, 218–220, 223f, 233, 251, 256, 387, 389, 511, 542, 703, 841, 891f, 914, 924; influence of environment on, 26, 50, 98; mentioned in Merenptah inscription, 56, 248; mother of the Messiah, 936; nations contemporary with, 50–62; nomad life of, *see* Nomad life of early Hebrews; organ of Divine revelation, 10f; origin of, 63; origin of name, 160f; racial pride of, 19f; racial psychology of, 19; rejection of, 825f; religion of, 81–97, *see* Religion of Israel; religious genius of, 10, 133, 139; religious institutions of, 98–107; restoration of, 388, 445f, 454, 475f, 483, 485, 487–489, 502, 505, 511, 514, 516f, 559, 561–563, 571; rise of the monarchy, 66, 277f; Servant of Yahweh, 47, 460; settlement in Canaan, *see* Canaan; social institutions of, 108–114; son of God, 372, 374, 381, 488, 541, 703, 824; spiritual

consciousness of, 18; suffering of, 92, 390, 393; the ideal, 376; the new, 901; under David, 67, 287–295; under Saul, 66, 278–286; under Solomon, 67, 295–300.
Israel, *i.e.* the Northern Kingdom (or tribes), 45, 48f, 58, 81, 113, 166, 243, 245, 286f, 291, 294, 387, 422, 448, 458, 475, 477f, 485, 487–489, 505, 517, 534–543, 547–554, 559f; and Assyria, 58f, 68–70, 90, 99, 302, 304, 309f, 436, 440–442, 448, 455, 477, 505, 510, 512, 534, 538–542, 552; and Egypt, 58f, 70f, 74, 301, 310, 539–542; and Judah, 68–71, 86, 111, 162, 286f, 291, 320f, 387, 441, 445, 485, 487, 502, 517, 538; and Moab, 69f, 246, 305, 448, 549; and Syria, 55, 58, 68f, 166, 243, 299, 301, 303–309, 441–443, 448, 534, 548; captivity of, 70, 90, 310, 383, 505; downfall of, 31, 45, 70f, 81, 127, 232, 236f, 245, 310, 474, 505, 509, 512, 534, 559f; kings of, 68, 120; political unrest in, 68, 534, 537–539; religious history of, 73f, 294, 310, 386, 541; social disorder in, 68, 538.
—— and Judah, reunion of, 387, 445, 485, 517.
—— the true, 49, 642, 841, 861, 866, 874, 933.
Israelites, the, 34, 242, 554, 787.
Issachar, son of Jacob, 158, 166; tribe of, 65, 112, 214, 218, 249, 261f, 266, 296, 315, 521.
Issues, 294f.
Issus, 62; battle of, 447.
Isthmus of Corinth, 832.
"It is his angel," 716, 790.
Italian band, 613, 788.
Italy, 387, 513, 605, 612f, 615f, 633, 803f; Christians of, 900.
Ithamar, 194, 222, 295.
Ithran, 34.
Ittai, 290.
Iturræa, 656.
Ivory, 109, 111, 380, 422, 550, 552; palaces, 380.
Iye-abarim, Iyim, 224, 229.
Iyyar, 103–105, 117, 323, 327.

J (Pentateuchal document), 45, 48, 125–128, 130, 133, 168, 175, 213, 336, 346; and D, 126; and E, 126f; characteristics of, 127, 242; combined with E, 126, 128, 168; date of, 45, 127, 213; expansion of, 127; historical value of, 127; legislation of, 45, 127; written in Judah, 45.
J or (J), document in historical books, 246, 257, 273f.
JE, 128, 130, 133, 168, 213; and D, 128, 130; and P, 168; date of compilation, 128, 213; historical value of, 213; legislation of, 130.
Jaazaniah, 507.
Jabal, 141, 145.
Jabbok, 32f, 160, 224, 228f, 234, 264, 493, 549.
Jabesh-Gilead, 66, 114, 270, 278, 286.
Jabin, 65, 245, 253.
Jabneh, *see* Jamnia.
Jachin and Boaz, 105, 297f.
Jacinth, 942.
Jackals, 268, 361, 380, 384, 459, 481.
Jacob, *i.e.* Israel, 226, 456, 541, 552.
Jacob, *i.e.* Judah, 555, 564.
Jacob ben Hayyim, Rabbinical Bible of, 42.
Jacob, house of, 587.
Jacob (son of Isaac), 11, 20, 63, 124–127, 133f, 146, 156–167, 169f, 185, 236, 241, 249, 267, 274, 512, 541f, 585, 748, 750, 780, 784; and angels, 133, 156f, 159; and Benjamin, 161, 164; and Esau, 21, 63, 134, 156f, 159f, 541, 585, 825; and Isaac, 156f, 225; and Joseph, 162–167; and Laban, 134, 157–159; and Leah, 63, 158; and Pharaoh, 165; and Rachel, 63, 157–159, 164f, 170; and Rebekah, 156f, 274; and Shechem, 160f; at Bethel, 125, 133, 157f, 161, 300, 541; at Peniel, 160; blessing of, 20, 165f, 243, 249; birth of, 63, 156, 274; buys the birthright, 134, 156; character of, 156, 185, 585, 748; cheats Esau of his blessing, 134, 157; children of, 63, 133f, 158, 160f, 163–167, 214, 236, 241, 243, 433; concubines of, 63, 158, 162, 241, 249; death and burial of, 166f, 784; election of, 146, 825; faith of, 898; in Egypt, 126, 134, 164–166, 236, 748; in Paddan-aram, 134, 158f, 162; marriage of, 133, 157f; name changed to Israel, 160f, 249; name of, 134, 156; promises to, 126, 157; revelation to, 124f, 151, 157, 161, 541; vow of, 157, 266; wives of, 63, 127, 130, 133, 158–160, 241, 274, 512; wrestling of, 133, 156, 160, 541.
—— son of Matthan, 701.
Jacob-el, 157, 248f.
Jacob's well, 30, 100, 749f.
Jaddua the High Priest, 245, 325.
Jael, 65, 85, 257, 261f.
Jaffa, 28, 176, *see* Joppa.
Jahaz (Jahzah), 224, 448.
Jahaziel, 76, 317, 320.
Jair, 66, 229, 234, 265f, 292.
Jairus, 687, 709, 788; daughter of, 687, 709f, 730f, 788.
James at the Council of Jerusalem, identity of, 790, 793.
James, author of Epistle, 8, 592.
—— Epistle of, 16, 592, 594–596, 603, 773, 901f, 903–907, 908; acceptance in the Church, 595f, 901, 903; authorship, 595, 773, 903; date, 902f; lack of distinctive Christian teaching, 903; language of, 592; literary affinities, 343, 603, 903; quotes many sayings of Jesus, 903; readers, 603, 901, 903; relation to I. Peter, 903; relation to Romans, 903.
—— son of Alphæus, 709, 759.
—— son of Zebedee, 655, 685, 694, 717, 729, 739, 744, 748, 778, 790, 793; martyrdom of, 655, 768, 773, 793.
—— the Lord's brother, 592, 595, 605, 655, 769, 773, 790, 793, 846, 858f, 903, 923, 931; account of in Hegesippus, 773; account of in Josephus, 773; and Paul, 655, 769, 787, 799, 858f, 904f; and the Church of Jerusalem, 655, 773, 790, 858, 903; ascetic life of, 773; at the Council of Jerusalem, 769; called the Just, 773; esteemed by non-Christian Jews, 773; leader of Jewish Christianity, 773; martyrdom of, 610, 655, 657, 773, 903, 906; possibly Bishop of Jerusalem, 646; possibly included among apostles, 646, 769, 858.
Jamnia, 28, 321, 657.
Jamnia, Synod of, 38f, 411, 657.
Jannes and Jambres, 174, 886.
January 6th, Eastern date for birth of Christ, 652.
Japheth, 133f, 145; blessing on, 44, 145.
Jar, 482, 493, 634, 748.
Jareb, 538, 540.
Jared, 141.
Jarmuk, 229.
Jashar, Book of, 9, 18, 45, 226, 246, 253, 257, 286, 298.
Jason (High Priest), 523, 581, 607; (Rom. xvi. 21), 830; of Thessalonica, 795, 830, 876.
Jasper, 931, 942.
Javan, 473, 513.
Javelin, 252, 483, 580, 763.
Jawbone, 151; of ass, 268.
Jaws, 541.
Jazer, 224, 448.
Jealousy, 44, 66, 85, 216, 238, 282, 337, 423, 575f, 586, 609, 835, 844, 873, 905.
Jean le Clerc, 121f.
Jebel Haroun, 223; Madurah, 223.
Jebus, 220, 270, 580.
Jebusites, 31, 67, 150, 172, 219f, 224, 253, 270, 282, 287.
Jeconiah, *see* Jehoiachin.
Jedaiah, 578.
Jedoniah, 79.
Jeduthun, 316f.
Jehoahaz, *see* Ahaziah, king of Judah.
—— king of Israel, 69, 306, 308, 548.
—— (Shallum), king of Judah, 72, 79, 295, 313, 322, 474, 485f, 501, 511.
Jehoash (Joash), king of Israel, 69f, 306, 308.
Jehohanan, 329.
Jehoiachin, 72, 75, 242, 245, 294, 297, 313, 322 474, 482, 485, 490, 495f, 501, 503, 510f, 573f, 577, 701.
Jehoiada, 74, 76, 308, 312, 320f, 573.
Jehoiakim, 46f, 60, 72, 113, 313, 322, 325, 414, 474, 476, 479, 481–484, 490, 501, 524, 701.
Jehonadab, 74, 307, 489.
Jehoram, king of Israel, 30, 69–71, 74, 302, 305–307.
—— king of Judah, 70f, 74, 76, 307, 320.
Jehoshaphat, 67–71, 73, 76, 111f, 299, 302, 304f, 320, 546.
Jehosheba, 74, 308.
Jehovah, 122, 140, 172, 217, *see* Yahweh.
Jehozadak, 325, 327, 573.
Jehu, king of Israel, 21, 30, 58, 69f, 73f, 89, 109, 166, 246, 302–309, 426, 489, 536, 548.
—— the prophet, 76, 302, 315, 320.
Jehucal, 490.
Jehudi, 72.
Jekyll and Hyde, 904.
Jemima, 365.
Jenin, 29f.
Jephthah, 20f, 65, 85, 105, 130, 256, 262, 264, 266f, 271, 549.
Jephthah's daughter, 20, 65, 83, 85, 108, 256f, 266f; vow, 65, 83, 266f, 414.

Jerahmeelites, 65, 285.
Jeremiah, 3, 11, 21, 31, 45–47, 72–75, 90f, 99, 108, 110, 124, 128f, 172, 211, 231, 263, 295, 310–313, 341, 367f, 379, 385f, 424, 427, 436, 444, 474–492, 494f, 498, 501, 508, 511, 522–524, 530f, 534, 555, 558, 560, 564, 566, 569, 572f, 575–578, 714, 722, 753, 894f, 930, 935; and Babylon, 46, 72f, 90, 474f, 477–479, 482, 486f, 489–491, 494f, 498, 508, 530, 576; and Baruch, 46, 72f, 474–476, 489–492; and Deuteronomy, 11, 46, 75, 90, 128f, 131, 231f, 236, 474, 480–482; and Egypt, 73, 90, 475, 491–493; and Ezekiel, 46, 73, 91, 518; and Hananiah, 72, 475, 487; and Jehoahaz, 72, 485; and Jehoiachin, 72, 482, 485, 573, 577; and Jehoiakim, 46, 72, 313, 474, 485; and Josiah, 312, 474, 485; and Judah, 72f, 90, 427, 474–487, 489f; and Nebuzaradan, 73, 313, 491; and Pashhur, 72, 325, 484; and ritual, 379, 475, 479f, 482; and Shemaiah, 72f, 487; and the Book of Lamentations, 47, 342, 496; and the contemporary prophets, 72, 90, 479, 483, 485f; and the Deuteronomic reformation, 46, 75, 90, 474, 478, 481f; and the Exile, 427, 481–483; and the exiles, 72f, 112, 475, 485, 487, 494, 498; and the priests, 479, 485f; and the princes, 72f, 313, 475, 486, 488, 490; and the problem of suffering, 47, 482; and the Rechabites, 307, 489; and the Scythians, 46, 474, 477–479, 566, 569, 576; and the Temple, 90, 427, 474f, 479f, 484–486, 559; and Zedekiah, 72f, 313, 475, 485–490; autobiography of, 90, 475; call of, 172, 474–477, 504; career of, 46, 72f, 90, 474f; carried into Egypt, 73, 75, 79, 90, 313, 475, 491f; denounces idolatry, 99, 129, 368, 477f, 480f, 483f, 491f, 573, 784; destruction and rewriting of the roll, 46, 72, 474, 476, 489f; doctrine of the New Covenant, 90, 131, 427, 475, 488, 894f; foreign policy of, 72f, 474f, 477, 486; individualism of, 90, 108, 475, 488; influence of, 46, 90, 341, 475; legends concerning, 475f; persecution of, 72f, 75, 313, 325, 385, 474f, 482–484, 486, 488, 490, 559; predicts destruction of Jerusalem, 72, 211, 427 475, 477–480, 482f, 485f, 489f, 495, 599; preparation for his ministry, 474, 476; religion of, 46, 90, 475, 478, 483; significance of, 46, 90, 475f; sufferings of, 72f, 90, 427, 474f, 478, 480, 483f; teaching of, 90, 108, 436, 474f, 488; visions of, 474, 476–478, 490, 504.
—— Book of, 46, 90, 244f, 294, 313, 474–495, 827, 855; biographical narratives probably by Baruch, 46, 424, 476, 486, 489, 492; gradual growth of the book, 46, 72, 474, 476; non-Jeremianic elements in, 46, 90, 424, 476; prophecies on foreign nations, 476, 486, 492–495; relation of MT to LXX, 43, 424, 476, 579; text of, 43, 424, 476, 579.
Jericho, 32, 64f, 223, 227, 245, 249–253, 257, 259f, 280, 302, 305, 472, 609, 717, 732, 737, 756; walls of, 64, 250f, 260.
Jeroboam I., 21, 67, 70f, 73, 76, 172, 210, 246f, 294, 299–302, 422; and Abijah, king of Judah, 70, 76; and Ahijah, 67, 300f; and Judah, 67, 70, 73, 76, 294, 300; and Shemaiah, 300, 319; and Shishak, 71, 300; and Solomon, 67, 299f; and the prophet from Judah, 67, 76, 247, 301; arrangements for cultus, 67, 73, 76, 210, 294, 300; becomes king of Northern tribes, 67, 300; builds Shechem, 300; death of his child, 67, 301; flees to Egypt, 67, 300; leads revolt against Rehoboam, 67, 300; migrates to Penuel, 300; overseer of forced labour, 67; sets up Golden Bull at Bethel, 67, 73, 300f; sin of, 67, 294, 300f, 310, 312; story in Chronicles, 76; story in the LXX, 299f; wife of, 300f; withering of his hand, 247, 301, 685.
—— II., 58, 68f, 74, 112, 243f, 308f, 448, 534, 536, 538f, 547, 553, 556.
Jerome, 39, 41, 101, 314, 316, 383, 411, 585, 596, 601, 691, 701, 705, 718, 749, 764, 773, 796, 901, 913, 923.
Jerubaal, Jerubbesheth, *see* Gideon.
Jeruel, 154, 320.
Jerusalem, 5, 20, 31, 55, 67, 70–79, 86, 89–94, 96, 100, 103–107, 111f, 115, 130f, 147–150, 154f, 172, 189, 202–204, 206, 220, 224, 236–239, 245, 251, 253, 257–259, 261, 276, 282, 287f, 293f, 300, 309, 311f, 315–317, 323, 325, 342, 367, 371, 385–388, 411f, 422, 427, 437–441, 444, 447f, 453–458, 460, 472f, 479–491, 498, 501f, 507–510, 512, 518, 521, 523f, 530–533, 544, 548f, 559–561, 569f, 572f, 576–586, 592, 596, 607–610, 616, 625, 646f, 654–657, 662, 667f, 670, 681, 685, 693f, 697f, 700, 705, 727, 729, 731f, 738–744, 748, 752–757, 763f, 766–769, 771–774, 776–778, 783, 786f, 789, 792f, 797–801, 804, 817, 829, 845–848, 850–853, 858–860, 865, 889, 899, 930, 935, 941; and the Jebusites, 31, 67, 150, 172, 220, 224, 270, 282, 287; antiquity of the name, 149, 270; capture by Babylonians, 37, 61, 72f, 131; capture by David, 31, 67, 224, 258, 287, 315f, 412, 438; capture by Pompey, 342, 496f, 608; Church of, *see* Church of Jerusalem; delivered from Sennacherib, 72, 89, 311, 427, 437, 444, 480; destruction of, by Babylonians, 37, 47f, 61, 73, 79, 90f, 93f, 105, 131, 134, 194, 211, 233, 245, 307, 313, 322, 342, 386f, 394, 418, 427, 458, 460, 474–476, 490f, 494f, 501f, 504–510, 512–515, 548, 559–561, 570, 578, 659, 662, 720; destruction of, by Romans, 244, 246, 321, 433, 530, 604, 610, 612, 618, 655–657, 681, 696, 718, 720, 724, 737–739, 773f, 783, 878, 906, 916, 928; gates of, 79, 470, 497, 521; in the Tel el-Amarna period, 148f; inviolability of, 89, 454, 480, 502, 509; military value of, 31, 67, 287; physical exaltation of, 438, 561, 584; priesthood of, 73–79, 94, 106f, 131, 148, 202, 238f, 312, 482, 518–521, 572f; religious importance of, 73, 287, 438; restoration of, 382, 464, 510, 530f; sieges of, 71, 496, 561; siege of, by Babylonians, 60f, 73, 104, 312, 342, 475, 485, 488–491, 496, 501f, 505, 508, 510, 512, 514, 516, 578; siege of, by Titus, 306, 544, 610, 739, 773, 936; true home of all Jews, 370, 388, 393; walls of, *see* Walls of Jerusalem; water supply of, 31.
Jeshanah, 277.
Jeshimon, 31, 224, 284.
Jeshua, *see* Joshua the High Priest.
Jeshurun, 226, 243.
Jesse, 66, 281, 444, 701, 932; sons of, 281, 392.
Jesting, 866.
Jesus, 7, 10, 13, 29, 31, 100, 154, 188, 235, 336, 338–340, 475, 482, 496, 498–500, 505, 576, 592, 604f, 624f, 637f, 659–670, 682–723, 725–765, 777–790, 792, 795–797, 802, 804, 806–812, 814, 818, 833f, 838, 840, 842f, 845f, 852, 856, 858f, 866, 869, 878, 890–894, 896, 899f, 903–907, 909–911, 914, 916–921, 928, 940, *see* Christ; agony of, 668f, 697, 721, 740, 892; and aspirants to discipleship, 708, 731; and Caiaphas, 653, 668f, 721f, 740, 756, 762f, 834; and children, 659, 692f, 715–717, 737; and Christ, 14, 16, 642, 833, 916, 918f, 921; and Christianity, 14; and current beliefs, 8, 663, 687, 696, 703f; and Herod Antipas, 654, 667, 688, 690, 692f, 711, 713f, 722, 731, 734f, 741; and Herod the Great, 652, 702; and His brothers, 686, 688, 701, 713, 752; and His family, 659–661, 685f, 688, 710, 713, 730, 748, 790; and His mother, 660, 686, 701, 726f, 732, 748, 763; and John the Baptist, *see* John the Baptist; and Judaism, 637f, 814; and Judas, 669, 697f, 721, 739f, 752, 757f, 761f; and Lazarus of Bethany, 755–757; and Martha and Mary, 732, 755–757; and Nicodemus, 748f, 753; and Paul, *see* Paul; and Peter, 32, 667, 674, 682, 691, 695, 697–699, 703, 713–715, 717, 721f, 728f, 731, 740f, 748, 752, 762, 764f, 778, 846, 913f; and Pilate, 653, 669, 698f, 722, 740f, 762f, 780–782; and Primitive Christianity, 594, 604f, 638, 667, 766; and prophecy, 605, 668, 682, 700–702, 748, 757f, 761, 763; and the angels, 662, 682, 696, 701–703, 731, 733, 748; and the apocalyptic literature, 661; and the demons, 662f, 666f, 682f, 685–687, 693, 708, 715, 728, 731, 734; and the devil, 666, 668, 682, 685, 702f, 710, 712, 728, 731, 734, 759, 763, 906; and the disciples, 14, 592, 604, 645, 662, 664–670, 681f, 685–690, 692, 697–699, 709f, 714–717, 721, 728f, 739–742, 747–752, 754f, 757–765, 786, 808; and the dying robber, 669, 741; and the Gentiles, 659, 715, 757; and the Greeks, 752, 757; and the Herodians, 695; and the Holy Spirit, 682, 686, 701–703, 712, 726, 728, 747, 749, 753, 769, 779, 788; and the Last Supper, 668, 697, 721,

739, 743, 758, 809, 842; and the Law, 638, 663, 665–667, 683, 689, 691, 693, 700, 704–706, 708f, 715, 719f, 734f, 765, 814, 855, 860; and the Old Testament, 638, 661, 663, 666f, 696, 704–706, 742; and the payment of the Temple tribute, 715; and the payment of tribute to Cæsar, 668, 695, 719, 738; and the Pharisees, 12, 661, 665–668, 683–685, 689f, 693, 695, 705, 714, 719f, 729, 732–738, 749, 753f, 756, 783; and the poor widow, 696, 738; and the rich young ruler, 693, 717, 737; and the Sabbath, 665f, 683–685, 712, 729, 734f, 750, 752, 754; and the Sadducees, 661, 668f, 695, 714, 719, 756, 814; and the Samaritans, 667, 731, 737, 749; and the Sanhedrin, 698, 722, 740; and the sinners, 622, 666, 683f, 701, 709, 716, 730, 735; and the Temple, 694–696, 715, 720, 727, 784, *see* Temple (the Second), cleansing of; and the traditions of the elders, 666, 689, 714, 731; and the woman of Samaria, 30, 749f; and the woman taken in adultery, 666, 765; and the Zealots, 662, 667, 685; and women, 669, 699, 725, 730, 734, 741, 763; and Zacchæus, 669, 738; anointing of, 666, 668, 697, 721, 730, 739, 743, 755, 757; anticipations of, in Old Testament, 11, 13, 475, 661; appearance on the way to Emmaus, 741f; appearance to Paul, 669, 768, 786, 799, 802, 807, 846; appearances in Galilee, 670, 692, 699, 722, 728, 763–765, 845f; appearances in Jerusalem, 670, 742, 763f, 845; appearances of, after Resurrection, 15, 669f, 722f, 741f, 845f; arrest of, 669, 697f, 721f, 740, 761f; as carpenter, 660, 688; as prophet, 2, 659, 666, 682, 718, 741, 750; as Redeemer, 8, 14, 16, 809; as Saviour, 14, 750, 890f; as Servant of Yahweh (God), 13, 460, 641, 670, 712, 728, 780f, 786, 789, 846; as son of David, 694, 696, 701, 709, 714, 719, 738, 747; as Son of God, 2, 8, 661, 681, 685, 691, 702f, 708, 711, 714, 740, 755, 789, 799f, 806–810, 813, 846, 868, 890–894, 897, 918f, 930, 940, *see* Son of God; as Son of Man, 2, 638, 668, 670, 691f, 696, 708–710, 712, 714, 721, 740, 748, 754, 757, 768, 785, 846, 891, *see* Son of Man; Ascension of, 713, 724, 742, 766–768, 781, 864, 894, 913, 936; at Bethany, 668, 694, 732, 742, 755–757; at Cæsarea Philippi, 667, 688, 691, 700, 703, 714f; at Capernaum, 665, 682f, 704, 709, 714, 728, 748, 751f; at Gethsemane, 668f, 697, 721, 740, 761f; at Nazareth, 482, 654, 659–661, 674, 682, 687f, 702, 713, 728; authority of, 8f, 682, 695, 718, 738, 748; baptism of, 652–654, 657, 661f, 681f, 691, 700, 702f, 725, 727f, 747, 763, 792, 916, 920; betrayal of, 117, 667–669, 692, 697f, 721, 739f, 785, 842f; birth of, 15, 442, 530, 652, 654, 657, 659, 670, 700f, 725f; brothers of, 660, 686, 688, 700f, 763, 778, 840, 923; burial of, 668, 699, 722, 741, 763, 809, 812, 822, 846; call of disciples, 662, 682, 700, 704, 709, 728f; chronology of His life, 652–654, 656f, 694, 702, 727f, 734; circumcision of, 727; claims to be King of the Jews, 698; claims to forgive sins, 662f, 666, 683f, 709; compassion of, 622, 664, 688, 708, 713f, 730; committed nothing to writing, 604; consummation of revelation, 8, 10, 12, 637; continues the ministry of John, 662, 667; control of Nature by, 663; coronation of, 375, 891; created no organisation, 645; criticisms made by His opponents, *see* below; crucifixion of, 5, 530, 653–657, 666, 669, 681, 691, 694f, 698, 713, 722, 727, 741, 743, 748, 763, 766f, 774, 781, 788, 806, 808, 810, 814, 833f, 837, 845, 852, 857, 859, 873, 893, 916, 935; date of His death, 653f, 656f, 697, 739, 743; Davidic descent of, 792, 807, 818; death of, 2, 15, 604, 647, 649, 652, 654, 661, 667–669, 681, 684, 698f, 710, 722, 741, 752, 755–757, 760–763, 771, 779–782, 785, 807–810, 821, 828, 838, 846, 911, 920; dependence on God, 662, 703; Divine Wisdom incarnate in, 711f; early life of, 2, 637, 659f, 701f, 726f; education of, 661; elect of God, 747; emotions of, 681, 683f, 688, 690, 692, 708f, 756; endurance of, 898f, 903, 931; enthusiasm evoked by, 665, 667; eschatological discourse, 696, 720, 738f; ethic of, 2, 663–665, 729f; example of, 810, 813, 841, 873, 885f, 898–900, 909; filial consciousness of, 638, 659, 662, 670, 702, 711, 727; Galilean ministry, 662, 665–667, 681–691, 700, 703f, 708–714, 724, 727–731, 743, 748, 750–752, 788; genealogies of, 700f, 728; healing ministry of, 2, 662–664, 683, 685, 689, 700, 704, 708, 710, 712, 714, 722, 728f, 734, *see* below, Miracles of healing; His attitude to His death, 668, 694, 697–699, 739f, 755, 757, 760–763; His charges against the Pharisees, *see* below; His passion for humanity, 664; His use of miraculous power, 662–664, 689, 703; historical existence of, 14f, 340, 814, 834; homelessness of, 708; identified with Jeremiah, 475; in the Upper Room, 653, 668, 697, 721, 739f, 758–761; innocence of, 669, 698, 722, 741, 762f, 774; journey to Jerusalem, 693f, 736; Judæan ministry of, 662, 668, 681, 694–696, 717–721, 728, 737f, 743, 748–758, 788; kingdom of, 762, 774f; Lamb of God, 747f; Lament over Jerusalem, 668, 691, 720, 734; language of, 36, 594, 604; length of the ministry, 653, 661, 667f, 734, 743; life and teaching of, 659–671; light of the world, 753f; limitations of His knowledge, 8, 663, 696; Messiahship of, 637–640, 647, 662, 666, 682f, 700–703, 714, 731, 740f, 743–745, 747–753, 755, 757, 760–762, 771, 774, 779, 781, 787, 811, 833, 920; Messianic claim of, 625, 664, 667f, 670, 683, 691, 694f, 698, 743, 750, 752, 762, 806f, 833; Messianic consciousness of, 662, 670, 702, 727; ministry of, 2, 26, 29, 652, 659, 661–668, 681, 691, 778, 788, 792, 914, 920; miracles of, *see* below; mission of the seventy, 665, 677f, 709, 711, 731; mockery of, 698, 722, 740f, 762; name of, 160, 760, 766, 770, 779–783, 786–788, 797, 837; name used in exorcism and healing, 160, 692f, 707, 780f, 786, 788, 797; neutrality towards, impossible, 712; new ethical demand of, 663–665; not an ascetic, 662; not guided by eschatological programme, 661; numerical value of name, 937; parables of, *see* below; passion of, 372, 667, 674, 700, 721f, 724, 743, 763, 809; patience of, 910, 931; perfection of, 693, 729; Peter's confession of His Messiahship, 667, 691; Peter's denial of, 698, 722, 762; poverty of, 659f, 854; prayers of, 499, 688f, 683, 689, 691, 725, 728f, 731, 741, 756f, 761, 892; preaching of, 662–665, 682f, 865; predicts fall of Jerusalem, 610, 668, 696, 720, 738; predicts His death, 667f, 684, 691f, 694, 715, 717, 731, 734, 737, 757; predicts His resurrection, 667–669, 692; presentation in the Temple, 179, 702, 727; question of His infallibility, 8, 663; record of His life and teaching, 8, 14–16, 572, 592, 594, 604f, 647, 652, 659, 672–678, 681, 700; refuses a sign, 662, 667, 683, 690, 712, 714; refuses political Messiahship, 662; rejection by the Jews, 668, 674, 687f, 713, 728, 785, 826; residence in Egypt, 652, 654, 702; resurrection of, 2, 15, 210, 604f, 639, 641, 645, 647, 649f, 653, 681, 692, 695, 699f, 713, 715, 722, 724, 741–743, 766, 768, 771, 774, 777–782, 788, 792, 796, 800, 802, 807–809, 818, 822, 824–826, 828, 845f, 852, 861, 863f, 874, 883, 885, 900, 911, 913, 929; sayings, discourses of, 8, 14–16, 25, 604, 667, 700, 903f, 909, 913; scourging of, 698, 741, 762; second coming of, 638, 641, 645, 647, 649f, 668, 718, 720f, 723, 737, 740, 767, 774, 778, 807, 811f, 815, 826, 837, 840, 842, 847f, 850, 870, 872–880, 886, 888, 891, 897, 899, 902, 906, 913–915, 918, 926, 942f; sermon on the level place, 677, 729; Sermon on the Mount, 667, 674, 677, 704–706, 714, 728; seven words from the cross, 669; sinlessness of, 661, 702, 810, 818; sisters of, 660; supernatural knowledge of, 684, 748, 750; synagogue ministry of, 665, 682; teaching of, *see* below; temptation of, 31, 661f, 674, 678, 681f, 688–690, 700, 702f, 715, 728; training of the Twelve, 2, 667, 691f, 808; transfiguration of, 29, 32, 667, 691f, 697, 702, 715, 731, 914; trial of, 669, 698, 722, 740f, 748, 762f; triumphal entry, 661, 668, 694, 697, 717f, 738, 743, 757; trustworthiness of Gospel narratives concerning, 8, 14–16, 659, 663, 669f, 699; under the curse of the Law, 814, 859; universalism of, 667; urgency of His message, 665, 667; virgin birth of, 15, 659, 670, 686, 701, 726f, 860; vision at

baptism, 661f, 682, 702, 728; visit of the Magi, 700–702; visit of the shepherds, 702, 726f; visits Jerusalem when twelve years old, 659, 727; visits Jerusalem during ministry, 667, 700, 743, 748, 752; washes the disciples' feet, 758.
Jesus, criticisms made by His opponents, 666, 698; a Samaritan, 754; a sinner, 666, 754; abrogation of the Law, 666; association with sinners, 666, 683f, 735; blasphemy, 666, 684, 698, 751, 754f, 763; claims to forgive sins, 666, 683; disregard of the traditions, 666; Galilean origin negatives Messianic claim, 666, 753; in league with Beelzebub, 666, 685f, 712, 754; lack of Rabbinic training, 666; lowly origin, 752; madness, 753; neglect of fasting, 683f; neglect of washings, 689, 714, 731f; not of Davidic descent, hence not Messiah, 701, 753; possessed by a demon, 666, 755; Sabbath breaking, 666, 684, 754; self-glorification, 751.
—— charges of, against the Pharisees, 12, 666, 719f; avarice, 666, 720; blind leaders, 666, 720, 754; casuistry, 666, 720; display, 666, 705; extortion, 666, 720; hypocrisy, 666, 705, 720, 733; lack of humility, 666; lack of proportion, 12, 666, 720, 732; love of honours, 666; self-righteousness, 666, 737; self-satisfaction, 666.
—— miracles of, 662–664, 743, 766; demonstrate nearness of the kingdom, 664; discredited by Pharisees, 666; evidence for, 663; evidential value of, 664; historicity of, 663; not all equally well attested, 663.
—— casting out of demons, 662f, 682f, 685, 728, 734; blind and dumb demoniac, 712; demoniac boy, 692, 715, 731; dumb demoniac, 709; Gerasene (Gadarene) demoniacs, 663, 687, 708, 730; in the synagogue of Capernaum, 682, 708, 728; Syrophœnician's daughter, 690, 714, 731.
—— miracles of healing, 662–664, 698, 707, 907; blind Bartimæus, 694, 717, 737; blind man of Bethsaida, 690f, 714; centurion's servant, 708, 730; deaf mute, 690, 714; High Priest's servant, 722, 740; leper, 683, 708, 729, 787; man at the pool of Bethzatha, 750; man born blind, 754; man with dropsy, 734; man with the withered hand, 663, 684f, 712, 729, 734; paralytic, 663, 683, 708f, 728, 788; Simon's wife's mother, 683, 708, 728, 780; son of the king's officer, 743, 750; ten lepers, 736; two blind men, 709; woman with issue of blood, 687, 689, 709, 730; woman with spirit of infirmity, 734.
—— nature miracles, 663; coin in fish's mouth, 663, 715; draught of fishes, 728f; feeding of the five thousand, 663, 688f, 713, 731, 751; feeding of the four thousand, 663, 690, 714, 731; stilling of the tempest, 663, 687, 708, 730; turning of water into wine, 748; walking on the sea, 663, 689, 713, 731, 751; withering of the fig-tree, 663, 686, 694f, 718.
Jesus, raising of the dead: Jairus' daughter, 663, 687, 692, 709f, 730f, 757, 788; Lazarus, 663, 668, 730, 755–757; widow of Nain's son, 306, 710, 730, 757.
—— parables of, 25, 604, 660, 666f, 685–687; Dives and Lazarus, 736; the barren fig-tree, 694, 734; the children in the market-place, 413; the friend at midnight, 659, 732; the good Samaritan, 667, 706, 732; the good shepherd, 754, 759; the labourers in the vineyard, 674, 717; the leaven, 177, 678, 713, 734f; the lost piece of silver, 570, 660, 735; the lost sheep, 676, 716, 735; the marriage feast, 402, 735; the marriage of the king's son, 402, 674, 718; the mustard seed, 678, 687, 713, 734f; the net, 713; the pearl of great price, 713; the Pharisee and the publican, 737; the pounds, 718, 737; the prodigal son, 666, 717f, 735, 811; the rich fool, 660, 733, 906; the seed growing secretly, 667, 687, 713, 938; the sower, 686, 713, 730; the talents, 660, 721, 736; the tares, 667, 713; the ten virgins, 720f, 733f; the treasure hid in the field, 713; the two debtors, 730; the two sons, 674, 718; the ungrateful servant, 716; the unjust judge, 737; the unjust steward, 735; the vine, 759f; the wedding garment, 718f; the wicked husbandmen, 455, 668, 674, 691, 695, 718, 738.
—— teaching of, 2, 13, 15, 594, 604f, 700, 707f, 767, 828, 940.
—— *Characteristics:* accepted as final, 594; authoritative character of, 682; danger in systematising, 664; given in Aramaic, 8, 592, 604; implies the passing of Judaism, 767; limitations of, 8, 639; not an interim ethic, 663; parabolic method of, 667, 685f; social background of, 660.
—— *Topics:* adultery, 664, 693, 705, 716; almsgiving, 706, 733, 736, 854; angelic counterparts, 716; angels, 695f, 719, 731, 733; anger, 664, 705; anxiety, 659, 664, 696, 707, 733; baptism, 723, 749; blessedness, 704, 729; ceremonial, 665f; charity in judgment, 665, 707, 730, 734; Church, the, 714–716; circumcision, 752; Davidic descent of Messiah, 696, 719; defilement, 664, 666, 689f, 714, 732; demons, demoniacal possession, 662f, 686f, 731; discipleship, 691, 708, 710, 735; divorce, 587, 666, 674, 693, 705, 716f, 736; duty to parents, 689, 714; eating His flesh and drinking His blood, 752; Elijah, 668, 692, 715; eschatology, *see* Eschatology; exorcism, 662, 686, 692, 712, 731; faith, 663–665, 686f, 695, 715, 718, 730, 736, 748, 751–755, 761, 764, 844; fasting, 662, 666, 683f, 692, 706, 709, 729; Fatherhood of God, 637, 644f, 706f, 810; forgiveness, 661, 665, 669, 686, 695, 706, 716, 730, 732, 736; forgiveness of sins, 8, 662f, 666, 668f, 683f, 686, 697, 706, 709, 716, 730, 732, 735, 742; Gehenna, 661, 693, 705, 736; God, 8, 644f, 732, etc.; God His own Father, 659, 664, 711, 745; Golden Rule, 707, 729, 910; greatest commandment, 661, 664, 695f, 719, 732; His death, 667f, 691f, 695f, 715, 717, 733, 752, 759–761; His own person, 667, 691, 695, 711, 714, 750–755; His own Sonship, 664, 711, 745; Holy Spirit, the, 686, 712, 732f, 749, 759f, 809; humility, 665, 735; inwardness, 664f; judging, 665, 707, 730, 734; judgment, 668, 707, 712, 715, 720f, 733, 736, 749, 751, 754, 758, 760; Kingdom of God, 2, 638, 659f, 662–667, 682, 686f, 692–697, 703–713, 715, 718f, 721, 729–741, 743, 745, 748–750, 810; Last Judgment, 661, 670, 693, 721, 734f, 751; Law, the, 638f, 665–667, 683f, 689, 700, 704–706, 708f, 711, 719f, 734, 751, 765; love, 665, 696, 729f, 732, 734, 759–761; love of enemies, 707, 729f; love of one's neighbour, 665, 695f, 705f, 717, 732; love to God, 664, 695f, 707, 751; marriage, 693, 716f, 838, 840; mercy, 660, 665, 704, 716; nature, 664; new birth, 749; New Covenant, 668, 697, 739; non-resistance, 406, 705, 722, 729; oaths, 235, 705, 720; Paraclete, 745, 758–760; patience, 667, 739; peace making, 704; perfection, 665, 693, 707f, 717; persecution, 686, 693, 696, 704, 710, 714, 729, 739, 760; prayer, 664f, 692, 706f, 716, 718, 732, 737, 759–761; Providence, 664; purity, 664f, 704; reconciliation, 665, 705; repentance, 662–665, 668, 682, 716, 721, 729, 733–735, 742; resurrection life, the, 695, 719, 738; retaliation, 705; rewards and punishments, 665, 693f, 730; riches, 660, 664, 666, 686, 693f, 696, 706f, 717, 729, 733, 736f; righteousness, 664, 702, 704, 706, 709f, 729, 760, 814; Sabbath observance, 665f, 684, 712, 719, 729, 750, 752; second coming, 668, 691, 696, 710, 718, 720f, 733f, 737, 740, 760, 765; second commandment, 664, 695f; sin, 8, 668, 690, 706, 716, 734, 760; sin against the Holy Ghost, 686, 712; sincerity, 664, 705; Son of Man, 661, 668, 670, 683f, 686, 691f, 696, 708–710, 712–714, 721, 729, 733, 737, 740, 748f, 754, 757; suffering and sin, 13, 134, 734, 754; taking up the cross, 691; true greatness, 668, 692, 694, 717, 739f; two ways, the, 707; vows, 689, 714; watchfulness, 696, 733, 739; worship, 664f, 750.
"Jesus anathema," 833f, 843, 848.
Jesus Barabbas, 722.
Jesus (High Priest), *see* Jason.
Jesus Justus, 870.
Jesus of History and the Christ of Faith, 14, 642, 916.
Jesus, son of Sirach, *see* Ben-Sira.
Jether, 290.
Jethro, 64, 168, 170, 172f, 182f, 218, 233, 258.
Jewelry, jewels, 101, 123, 155, 177, 289, 421, 439, 931.
Jewish Christians, Jewish Chris-

tianity, 247, 592, 602, 639f, 773f, 789, 793, 805f, 817, 823, 859, 863, 870, 877, 889, 913, 933, *see* Church of Jerusalem.
Jewish liturgy, 318, 333f.
—— religion in the time of Christ, 618–626, 636f, 660; a legal religion, 620, 636f, 660; a living and developing religion, 618; apocalyptic elements in, 618, 637, 660; associated with politics, 619, 625; casuistry of, 636f; Christian controversy with, 780; defects of, 618–624; emotional intensity of, 619; exclusiveness of, 619, 621, 624, 627; fanaticism in, 619; ideals and achievements of, 618–625; in what sense a priestly religion, 620; inconsistency of, 618, 620; intellectual element in, 620; its ideals the same for all, 624; its monotheism national and political, 619–621; lax adherents of, 621f, 660; leading ideas, 637; monotheism its fundamental doctrine, 618; party tendencies in, 619f, 624, 637; relation to non-Jewish culture, 636f; sources of our knowledge, 618; transitional character of, 620; without sacraments or mysteries, 620.
Jews, 6, 34, 38f, 49, 77–80, 93, 96f, 98, 100, 106, 183f, 310, 325–340, 368–372, 374–382, 387–391, 393–396, 414, 416, 450, 453f, 459, 464, 472f, 496f, 522–525, 528–532, 544, 546, 578–583, 587, 607–610, 615f, 618–627, 650, 660, 696, 698, 701f, 705–713, 715, 717–720, 722, 725, 730–738, 741, 746, 748, 750, 761–763, 765, 767–774, 778–785, 787–802, 804f, 814, 817–821, 824–829, 832f, 837, 843, 862, 864f, 874, 876, 903–906, 930–932; and Christianity, 595, 610, 624–626, 682, 686, 701f, 710f, 717f, 720, 722f, 728f, 736, 767–769, 771–773, 779–783, 790, 792–802, 804, 807, 814, 817, 833, 843, 874, 876, 879, 903, 930f; and Gentiles, 49, 93, 95f, 337, 371, 376, 390, 608–610, 619, 623–625, 637, 640, 660, 689, 707, 728, 733f, 737, 766, 812, 819–821, 825–827, 829, 864f, 894, 906, 942; and Greece, 62, 79, 94, 98, 108, 411, 579f, 607, 625, 637; and military service, 616; and Persia, 61, 77–79, 81, 92, 98, 327f, 339, 353, 368, 411, 572–576, 719; and Rome, 607–610, 612, 615f, 631, 765, 774, 804; and Samaritans, 77–79, 310, 323f, 327, 331f, 386, 575f, 608, 732, 750; and Syria, 62, 94, 387, 450, 580–582, 607f; and the heathen, 96, 393f, 454, 619–621, 624; expelled from Rome, 656f, 818; fanaticism of, 616; in Alexandria, 62, 79, 94, 112, 607; in Babylon, 31, 47, 67, 72f, 75, 77–79, 90, 106, 387, 394, 485, 495, 572, 576f; in Egypt, 73, 75, 79, 94, 98, 106, 311, 324, 387, 450, 475, 485f, 491f, 533, 572, 702, 808; in the Dispersion, 80, 94, 100, 106, 112, 368, 372, 388, 391, 445, 454, 460, 468, 473, 546, 561–563, 576, 578f, 586, 608f, 616, 618, 625f, 770, 906; money lenders, 616; monotheism of, 608, 616, 618–621, 623–625, 627, 637, 879; nationalism of, 616, 619–621, 624; rejection of, 728, 731, 824; religious parties among, 94f, 624, 637; religious persecution of, 62, 97, 367f, 371, 379, 386, 433, 522–524, 529–532, 580f, 607f; return from exile, 37, 61, 77f, 92, 323–326, 329, 393, 445, 585; toleration of their religion, 607–609, 616; under Herod, 608f; under the Hasmoneans, 107, 608; under the Maccabees, 94, 607f; under the procurators, 609f; under the Ptolemies, 94; unpopularity of, 607f, 616, 627, 775, 795; war with Rome, 610, 616, 656f, 660, 773, 939.
"Jews, the," in the Fourth Gospel, 747–750, 752–756, 761–763.
Jezebel, 73f, 112, 302–304, 307, 414.
Jezebel (of Thyatira), 651, 930.
Jezer, 227.
Jezreel (in Judah), 284; (in N. Israel), 29f, 70, 74, 112, 294, 303–305, 307, 422, 536; Plain of, 65, 70, 72; Vale of, 29, 259, 263; name of new Israel, 537; son of Hosea, 536f.
Jinn, 208.
Joab, 67, 114, 285, 287, 289–296.
Joan of Arc, 171.
Joanna, 725, 730.
Joash, king of Israel, *see* Jehoash.
—— king of Judah, 69, 74, 76, 295, 308f, 320.
Job, 47, 93, 108, 271, 346–365, 385, 392, 399, 411, 479, 509, 702, 740, 903, 906; and Elihu, 342, 361–363, 399; and God, 47, 93, 346–365, 479; and his three friends, 342, 347, 349–361, 365, 399; and his wife, 348–350; and posterity, 357; and the Satan, 346–349; children of, 347f, 352, 357, 365; daughters of, 347f, 648, 843; disease of, 203, 348, 361; expects vindication after death, 357, 385; his oath of clearing, 360; his vision of God, 355, 357, 365, 385; impatience of, 350f; innocence of, 47, 351, 353, 355f, 358, 360f, 364; lamentation of, 349; patience of, 346, 348f, 903, 906; problem of, 271, 346, 349, 351, 357, 363, 365; restoration of, 365; sins of his childhood, 355; speeches of, 90, 349, 351–361, 364f; sufferings of, 346, 348–352, 354–358, 360–363; testing, 346–349; to be avenged by God, 357; tortured by God, 351f, 354, 356; wealth of, 347.
—— Book of, 9, 13, 18–21, 24f, 47, 92, 94, 96, 299, 304, 341–345, 346–365, 395, 397–399, 411f, 419, 459, 509, 827, 836; and Greek thought, 94; attacks current doctrine of sin and retribution, 21, 92, 94, 345f, 402, 405, 754; author of, 47, 94, 345f, 411; behemoth and leviathan, 342, 347, 364f; date, 342, 346, 509; dislocations in, 342, 359–361, 365; dramatic element in, 20; epilogue of, 342, 346, 349, 365; interpolations in, 9, 342, 347, 355, 358f, 361, 364; literary characteristics of, 13, 18, 20; poem on wisdom, 342, 347, 359f, 401; problem of suffering in, 47, 93, 345, 411, 754; prologue of, 342, 346–349; prose story, 342, 346f, 349, 353, 365; purpose of, 47, 94; speeches of Elihu, 9, 342, 347, 361–363; speeches of Yahweh, 342, 361, 363–365; structure of, 342, 346f; teaching of, 94, 96, 345–347.
Job's friends, 20, 342, 346–361, 365.
Job's wife, 342, 348–350.
Jochebed, 170, 174.
Joel (prophet), 275, 544–546, 826; probably a priest, 544.
—— Book of, 48, 176, 544–546, 555, 779; apocalyptic elements in, 48, 432, 544–546; date, 424, 544; debt to earlier literature, 544; description of locusts, 176, 544–546; occasion of, 544; style, 544; theology of, 544; unity, 48, 424, 544.
Jogbehah, 229.
Johanan, contemporary of Jeremiah, 73, 79, 491.
Johanan (High Priest), 79.
Johannine School, 595, 604, 744, 747.
John, associate of Caiaphas, 781.
—— author of Apocalypse, 595, 834, 927, 929, 942.
—— kinsman of Annas, 781.
—— of Asia, 595f, 604, 773, 790.
—— of Gischala, 610.
John Hyrcanus, 386, 608.
—— Mark, 790f, 794, 927, *see* Mark.
—— son of Zebedee, 8, 646, 655, 685, 692, 717, 721, 729, 739, 743f, 748, 763–766, 772, 780, 782, 786, 790, 793, 902, 921, 927, 931; alleged martyrdom of, 694, 744, 764, 790; and Cerinthus, 916, 921; and John of Asia, 744, 916; and the Johannine Epistles, 902, 916, 921, 929; connexion with Asia, 646, 744, 772, 916, 929; probably to be identified with the beloved disciple, 744, 763, 765; relation to Apocalypse, 744, 916, 927; relation to Fourth Gospel, 743f, 764f, 916, 929.
—— the Baptist, 31, 305, 587, 609, 637f, 661f, 664f, 667, 676, 678, 681f, 695, 700, 702, 710–713, 718, 720, 724–728, 731, 736, 743, 746–749, 751, 755, 771, 777f, 781, 792, 833; and Elijah, 305, 661, 668, 682, 692, 715; and Herod Antipas, 609, 667, 688, 693, 703, 713; and Herodias, 609, 688, 713; and Jesus, 413, 661–663, 682, 692, 695, 702, 710f, 728, 730, 743, 746–749, 751, 755, 760, 777; and the Essenes, 624; and the people, 702, 710, 730, 751; and the Pharisees, 702, 728, 730, 747; and the Sadducees, 702, 728, 747; ascetic life of, 661, 682, 710f, 725; baptises Jesus, 661f, 682, 702, 728, 747; baptism administered by, 661, 663, 665, 682, 702, 728, 747, 749, 755, 788f, 797; birth of, 726; disciples of, 662, 684, 709, 711, 713, 729f, 746–749, 771; executed, 25, 609, 654, 667, 688, 713, 728; forerunner, 638, 663, 682, 725f, 746f, 749; Gabriel predicts his birth, 725; imprisoned, 662, 667, 682, 703, 728, 749; in the Fourth Gospel, 662, 711, 746, 749, 792; influence with the people, 661, 682, 710, 751; Josephus' account of, 661, 688; name of, 726; performs no miracles, 661, 663, 755; prophetic ministry of, 652, 661f, 682, 695, 702, 710, 728; source of his authority, 695.
—— the Presbyter, 596, 604, 657, 744, 921, 927.

John, Epistles of, 16, 592, 603f, 744, 765, 901f, 916–922.
—— 1st Epistle of, 595f, 603–605, 744f, 758, 901f, 916–920, 921; and II. John, 921; authorship, 765, 902, 916, 929; canonicity, 595f, 901; date, 658, 916; false teachers attacked in, 916; object, 916; recipients, 901, 916; relation to Fourth Gospel, 605, 758, 916.
—— 2nd Epistle of, 595f, 603f, 901f, 921f; and I. John, 921; and III. John, 921f; authorship, 765, 902, 921, 929; canonicity, 595f, 901; date, 658; object, 921; to whom written, 901, 921.
—— 3rd Epistle of, 595f, 603f, 901f, 921f; and II. John, 921f; authorship, 765, 902, 922, 929; canonicity, 595f, 901; date, 658, 922; object, 922; recipients, 901, 922; situation, 922.
—— Gospel of, 122, 592f, 595, 604f, 646, 743–765, 890, 927; allegorical explanation of, 750, 757, 763; and Asia Minor, 605, 744; and Gnosticism, 746, 763; and the Samaritans, 749f; appendix, 763–765; attitude to John the Baptist, 662, 711, 746–749, 751, 792; authorship of, 743f, 765, 916, 929; chronology of, 652f, 748, 750f, 757, 762; date, 658, 744; date of crucifixion in, 653, 743; dialogues in, 604f; duration of the ministry, 653, 743; Greek influence on, 25, 604f, 745f; historical difficulties in, 743f, 747, 751, 756; historical value of, 743f, 748–751, 754, 759, 762, 764; in the early Church, 743f; miracles in, 743, 748, 750f, 754–757; not written by author of Rev., 927; place of composition, 605, 744; presupposes Synoptic tradition, 605, 743, 762; prologue to, 745–747, 917, 940; relation to I. Jn., 605, 758, 916; relation to Paul, 809; relation to Synoptic Gospels, 604f, 711, 743–745, 747–752, 755–757, 762f; Sabbath observance, 750, 752, 754; scene of ministry, 728, 743; style of, 592; symbolism in, 697, 743, 748, 750, 753f, 758f, 764f; teaching of Jesus in, 25, 743; the spiritual Gospel, 743; transpositions in, 748, 751f, 754, 758, 762.
—— Gospel of, its theology, 744–746; Christology, 743–747, 752–756, 758f, 764; death of Christ, 748, 752, 755–757, 759, 761; eschatology, 759f, 765, 809; faith, 748, 755, 759, 761, 764; God, 744–747, 761; judgment, 749, 751, 754, 757f, 760; kingdom of God, 748–750; life, 745–757, 750–752, 755, 759; light, 745f; love, 745, 759; love of God, 745, 760; Messiahship of Jesus, 743–745, 747–755; regeneration, 746, 749, 751; revelation, 744–747, 758; sacraments, 749, 751f, 754, 758, 765; salvation, 747–750, 752, 755f, 758; sin, 745f, 748, 750, 753f, 760; Son of Man, 748f, 754; sonship, 746f; spirituality of God, 745, 750; the Son, 743–745, 747, 749, 751–753, 755, 759, 764; the Spirit (Paraclete), 745–747, 749, 753, 758–760, 809; the Word (Logos), 745–747, 756, 758, 761, 890; truth, 745, 759f, 762; union with Christ, 745, 759, 761.
Joint, 866, 869.
Jokneam, 30.
Joktheel, 309.
Jonadab, friend of Amnon, 289; son of Rechab, *see* Jehonadab.
Jonah, 48, 309, 484, 505, 712, 753; sign of, 712, 714, 732.
—— Book of, 20, 22, 48, 92, 309, 544, 556–558; date, 48, 556; historicity of, 556; literary qualities of, 48, 558; object, 48, 92, 556, 558; parabolic character of, 48, 556f; unity of, 556.
Jonathan, grandson of Moses, 149, 269, 300; High Priest in 36 A.D., 610, 653; son of Abiathar, 290, 295; son of Saul, 18, 66, 279, 282f, 286, 292, 341; the Maccabee, 391, 580, 608; the Scribe, 490.
Joppa, 28, 77, 110, 229, 269, 297f, 472, 548, 608, 767, 787–789.
Jordan, 26f, 29–34, 53, 63–65, 98, 124, 147–149, 160, 167, 213, 220, 224f, 228f, 231–236, 239, 241, 248–251, 253–257, 259–264, 266f, 269, 279, 284, 290f, 296, 300, 302, 305, 308, 365, 384, 493, 520f, 549, 552, 583, 608, 662, 682, 691, 693, 703f, 737, 920; jungle of, 482, 494, 581; plain of, 29, 147, 331; valley of, 26–30, 32f, 122, 147, 172, 220, 259, 297, 302, 305, 482, 581.
Joseph (*i.e.* Northern Kingdom), 551f, 555.
Joseph, husband of Mary, 659, 686, 701f, 726–728, 903.
—— of Arimathea, 699, 722, 741, 763, 789.
—— son of Jacob, 22, 30, 63, 127f, 134, 158, 162–167, 169, 236, 258, 274, 300, 488, 522, 784, 898; and Benjamin, 163f; and his brothers, 22, 128, 162–165, 167, 785; and his master's wife, 163; and Jacob, 162–167; and Judah, 162, 164, 258; and Pharaoh, 163–166, 414; and Reuben, 162f; buys the property of the Egyptians and reduces them to serfdom, 134, 165; birth of, 158; bones of, 167; coat of, 162, 289; cup of, 164; death of, 167, 898; dreams of, 162; faith of, 898; grave of, 160, 300; in Egypt, 134, 162–167, 784; interprets Pharaoh's dreams, 163; interprets the officers' dreams, 163; kidnapped by Midianites, 128, 162; made Viceroy of Egypt, 63, 163, 784; sold into slavery, 63, 163, 784; sold to Ishmaelites, 128, 162; song of, 165; steward of, 164; story of, 22, 63, 126f, 134, 162.
—— tribe of, 65f, 161, 166, 243, 245, 249, 253f, 257, 299, 517, 521, 933; tribes, 301.
Joseph Barsabbas, 731.
Joseph-el, 248f.
Josephus, 28f, 34, 37–39, 79, 112, 115–117, 121, 153, 169f, 178, 185, 235, 244, 246, 279f, 296–299, 301f, 306–308, 310, 330, 339, 491, 495, 499, 514, 525, 530, 547, 581–583, 610, 624, 652, 654f, 657, 661, 669, 685, 688, 699, 702, 717, 727, 734, 739, 741, 750, 763f, 773, 777, 783f, 790, 800, 803, 903.
Joses, *see* Barnabas.
Joshua, son of Nun, 20, 44, 64f, 86, 106, 124, 128, 168, 182, 193, 219f, 228–230, 233, 242–245, 247–255, 258f, 299f, 302f, 383, 390, 607, 841, 892, 905; and Achan, 64, 252, 303, 754; and Ai, 64, 245, 252, 270; and Caleb, 219f, 233, 841, 892; and Jericho, 64, 245, 251f, 302; and Moses, 124, 193, 219; and the altar of witness, 254f; and the cities of refuge, 230, 253; and the Gibeonites, 64, 252; charge to Israel, 245, 249, 255; command to sun and moon, 44, 253; conquest of Canaan, 64f, 244f, 248, 253, 784, 892; crosses the Jordan, 64, 250f; custodian of tent of meeting, 106, 124, 193; death of, 110, 229, 245, 255; defeats Jabin, 65, 245, 253; division of the land, 65, 229, 245, 253f; Ephraimite, 106; espial of Canaan, 219f, 233; institutes circumcision, 251; name of, 219; priestly functions of, 106; successor of Moses, 64, 228, 242, 245; victory over Amalek, 182.
—— Book of, 64, 121, 126, 129, 232, 244f, 248–255, 257; its historical value, 64, 248f, 255.
—— the High Priest, 77f, 323, 325, 327, 334, 531, 573, 575–579, 935.
Josiah, 45f, 72, 74–77, 90, 128f, 231f, 241, 247, 294–296, 300f, 308, 311–313, 322, 333, 427, 474, 476f, 481, 485, 501, 506f, 566, 569, 572f, 701; abolishes idolatry, 128, 231, 312, 507; and Hilkiah, 75, 128, 312; and Huldah, 75, 312; and Jeremiah, 312, 485; and Pharaoh-Necho, 30, 60, 72, 77, 312f, 477; and Shaphan, 75, 128, 507; and the disobedient prophet, 247, 301, 312; and the Temple, 75, 77, 128, 131, 311f; defeat and death at Megiddo, 30, 60, 72, 75, 90, 312f, 427, 474, 477, 481, 485, 501; destroys the altar of Bethel, 247, 301, 312; his reformation, 45, 67, 73–75, 77, 89f, 92, 100f, 103, 106, 128f, 189, 212, 231, 237, 301, 308, 311–313, 322, 427, 436, 443, 474, 478, 480–482, 492, 501, 506f, 510, 519, 569, 573; lamentation for his death, 77; law-book of, 45f, 75, 89f, 128, 231f, 312, 322, 333; makes a covenant with Yahweh, 308, 312; Passover of, 77, 102, 129, 312, 322; suppresses the high places, 45, 75, 90, 128, 231, 296, 312, 474, 506.
—— son of Zephaniah, 578.
Jot, 704.
Jotapata, 29, 610.
Jotham, king of Judah, 71, 74, 76, 309, 321, 436, 536, 559; son of Gideon, 265; fable of, 44, 265, 397.
Joy, 8, 131, 370, 376, 382, 412–414, 443, 544, 639, 725, 731f, 760f, 808, 812, 821, 828f, 849f, 853, 868f, 871f, 874, 891, 898f, 903, 909, 917; of the commandments, the, 622, 625.
Jubal, 141, 145.
Jubile, 102, 109, 196, 205, 211f, 764.
Jubilees, Book of, 35, 433f.
Judæa, 28, 30–33, 66, 77, 79, 89, 94, 271, 555, 559, 609, 613f, 616, 637, 653, 656f, 696, 698, 701f, 716, 725–729, 734, 738, 744, 749, 769, 778, 785, 787, 789f, 800, 850, 857, 878; wilderness of, 31, 702.

Judæans, 73, 474, 555; attitude to Galileans, 660.
Judah (after downfall of the monarchy), 544, 555, 572f, 575–577, 579f, 582–585.
Judah (country), 63–66, 702.
—— (kingdom), 45, 49, 58–61, 69, 81, 94, 100, 111f, 127, 245, 294, 300f, 308–313, 319–322, 367, 436–438, 447f, 455, 474–490, 501, 503, 505f, 510, 534, 538f, 541, 547–550, 553, 560, 564, 569f, 575; and Assyria, 59, 71f, 130, 135, 247, 309–311, 313, 427, 436f, 440–442, 444, 450f, 455–458, 474, 477, 500, 512; and Babylonia, 60f, 72f, 77, 310f, 313, 323, 386, 394, 431, 445, 451, 474f, 477–479, 486–491, 495f, 501f, 506–513, 516, 524, 555; and Edom, 71, 76, 307, 309, 448, 510, 513, 546, 555; and Egypt, 30, 58–61, 70–73, 79, 112, 310–313, 449f, 455–457, 474f, 477, 500–502, 514, 546; and Israel, 49–58, 68–71, 86, 111, 162, 286f, 291, 301, 305–309, 320f, 387, 436f, 441, 445, 485, 487, 502, 517, 538; and Syria, 58, 301, 308f, 320f, 436f, 441; and the nations, 449, 476f, 481; and the Philistines, 447; daughter of Yahweh, 478.
—— son of Jacob, 127, 133f, 158, 162–166, 936; takes the name Israel, 387.
—— tribe of, 48, 64–67, 96, 102, 110, 114, 123, 174, 214f, 218–220, 223, 226f, 230, 243, 245, 248f, 253f, 257–259, 278, 280, 285–287, 291, 296, 300, 315, 384, 386f, 392, 445, 497, 499, 517, 521, 932f.
Judaisers, 650, 817, 833, 850, 855, 857, 859–861, 873f, 880, 905.
Judaism, 38, 48, 61f, 78, 81, 83, 91f, 94–96, 98, 108, 131, 157, 368–372, 401, 431–435, 503, 556–558, 579, 607–609, 616, 618–626, 636f, 661, 694, 701, 736, 755, 757, 834, 858, 862, 864, 870, 884, 889, 900, 910; a legal religion, 620–622, 666, 805f; a licensed religion, 616, 775; and Christianity, 6, 618, 625f, 636–640, 666, 684, 711, 747, 773, 814, 817, 903; and Zoroastrianism, 867; Christian controversy with, 776; debt to Persia, 61, 98; exclusiveness of, 48f, 79, 92f, 95, 98, 556–558, 619, 621, 624, 627; Greek influence on, 62, 94, 98, 108, 371, 397, 401, 411, 607, 625, 636f, 805; missionary character of, 93, 371f, 556–568, 608, 624f; monotheism of, 92, 95, 368f, 556f, 608, 616, 618–621, 624f, 627; nationalism of, 92, 95, 371f, 556–558, 616, 619–621, 624f; of Palestine, 618, 625; of the Dispersion, 92, 94, 372, 572, 607, 618, 625f; post-exilic, 61, 78, 92–95, 556–558; religion *sub specie legis*, 636; rise of, 10, 48, 81, 91f, 131, 503; ritual subordinated to ethical, 92, 370, 372; theology of, 37, 93–96, 368–372, 401, 434f, 618–625, 660; theory of Scripture in, 39f.
Judas, brother of Jesus, 923.
—— Iscariot, 647, 669, 697f, 702, 709, 721f, 739f, 752, 757–759, 761–763, 778; and the priests, 697, 721, 778; avarice of, 721, 757; betrays Jesus, 669, 697f, 721, 739f, 752, 758, 761f; censures the anointing of Jesus, 721, 757; death of, 669, 704, 722, 778; dishonesty of, 757; in the Upper Room, 697, 721, 739, 758; possessed by Satan, 739, 758; the son of perdition, 761.
Judas Maccabæus, 31, 49, 104, 299, 339f, 377, 380, 384–387, 475, 607f.
—— not Iscariot, 759, 923.
—— of Damascus, 787; of Galilee, 657, 777, 783; son of James, 685, 709, 729, 923; the prophet, 794.
—— Thomas, 759.
Jude, 591, 903, 923; grandsons of, 923.
—— Epistle of, 16, 591, 595f, 603, 901f, 913–915, 923–925; authorship, 902, 923; canonicity, 595f, 901; date, 902, 923; external evidence, 595, 923; false teachers attacked in, 902, 913, 916, 923f; internal evidence, 923; place of composition, 923; readers 603, 901f, 923f; relation to II. Peter, 603, 902, 913–915, 923f; use of the Apocrypha in, 914, 923f.
Judges, 10, 76, 106, 112f, 168, 172, 187, 233, 238, 242, 275, 317, 353, 383, 395, 438, 444, 549, 561f, 740, 781, 904, 906.
—— the, 10, 44f, 65f, 85, 98, 112f, 119, 127, 165, 256f, 259–262, 265, 267, 270f, 274, 277, 300, 304, 320, 341, 387, 426, 791, 898; conditions in the time of, 85, 112, 127, 256f, 259, 270.
—— Book of, 21, 45f, 65f, 85, 119, 232, 244–246, 256–270, 274, 386; Deuteronomic revision, 46, 129, 246, 257, 259, 277; sources, 246, 257; theory of the history, 85, 119, 245, 257, 259f, 386; title, 256f; value, 257.
Judging, 707, 828, 836f.
Judgment, 23, 45, 88–91, 96, 152, 345, 373, 390, 404, 412, 427, 436, 439, 441, 446, 453–458, 476f, 481, 494, 501, 509, 517, 541, 546, 553, 555f, 560, 564, 569f, 580, 585, 587, 661, 668, 682, 694, 702, 705, 707, 712, 715, 720f, 733, 736, 745, 749, 751, 754, 758, 760, 773, 801, 807, 843, 845, 893, 911, 914, 935; *i.e.* condemnation, 538, 905f; *i.e.* court of judgment, 529; *i.e.* Divine deliverance, 438; *i.e.* justice, 485.
—— the, 94, 398, 417, 510f, 528f, 532f, 570, 720f, 730, 733–735, 737f, 751, 754, 758, 809, 819f, 832, 835, 840, 877, 896f, 906, 938, *see* Day of Judgment, Last Judgment.
—— of the world, 398, 453f, 555, 585, 720, 757, 819; seat of Christ, 852.
Judgments, the (section of the Law), 128f, 184, 186f, 189.
Judith, Book of, 20, 95.
Julian Calendar, 652, 654.
Julius Africanus, 652f.
Julius Cæsar, 608, 612, 615, 630, 656, 684, 724, 832, 936; deification of, 630.
Junias, 643, 646, 830.
Junilius Africanus, 901.
Juniper tree, 303, 484.
Jupiter, 628–630; before the city, 792; Capitolinus, 532, 616.
—— (planet), 225, 652, 701.
Jurisprudence, 148.
Justice, 88f, 97, 208, 238, 350, 444, 458, 479f, 485, 547, 551, 562, 566, 587, 623, 629, 812, 911; administration of, 50, 112f, 128, 187, 233, 387.
Justification, 150, 466, 640, 737, 792, 808, 811, 819–824, 828, 837, 846, 852, 861, 888, 901.
Justin Martyr, 122, 411, 586f, 594f, 601, 658, 701f, 706, 724, 740, 744, 747, 752, 785, 845, 847, 870, 877, 927f.
Juvenal, 657.

Ka, 166.
Kab, 115, 306.
Kaddish, 706.
Kadesh (Kadesh-barnea), 32, 64, 84, 96, 123, 149, 151, 168f, 179, 182f, 219, 223, 229, 233, 261, 309, 567.
Kadesh, on the Orontes, 54, 56.
Kadesh-Naphthali, 28f, 261, 298.
Kadmiel, 327.
Kadmonites, 150.
Kaldu, 485.
Kanatha, 33.
Kapitolias, 33.
Karians, 548.
Karkar, 58f, 69, 119, 264.
Karnaim, 552.
Karnak, 56, 301, 565.
Kasdim, 566.
Kassites, 52–54, 57.
Keats, 272.
Kedar, 156, 393, 419, 451, 462, 470, 477, 494, 513.
Kedesh-barnea, *see* Kadesh.
Kedesh-Naphthali *see* Kadesh-Naphthali.
Keilah, 31, 283.
Kemarim, 312.
Kenites, 11, 63–65, 84, 109, 141, 150, 170, 219, 227, 248, 258, 280, 285, 489.
Kenizzites, 65, 150, 260.
Kenosis, 813, 873.
Kepler, 652, 701.
Keren-happuch, 365.
Keriyyoth, 549.
Kernel and husk, 638.
Kethib, 42.
Kethubim, *see* Hagiographa.
Keturah, 63, 155.
Kêwān, 551.
Key of David, 930; of the kingdom, 715.
Keys, 113, 260, 452, 929, 931, 941; gift of, 715.
Keziah, 365.
Khabiri, 34, 55f, 248.
Khabor, 155.
Kham, 390.
Khammurabi, *see* Hammurabi.
Khatti, 53.
Khattusil, 56.
Khuzistan, 494.
Kibroth-hattaavah, 219.
Kid, 103, 157, 177, 188, 198, 209, 238, 420, 440.
Kidnapping, 128, 162, 186.
Kidney fat, 198, 243.
Kidneys, 198, 482, *see* Reins.
Kidron (Kedron), 31, 290, 294f, 297, 312, 330, 508, 583, 697, 761.
Kikia, 53.
Kikuyu, 179.
Killing the god, 631; the king 631f.
Kinahki, 26.
Kindness, 110, 379, 399, 562, 721, 728,

735, 812, 866f, 870f; to enemies, 408, 827.
Kine, 31, 550, *see* Cow.
King, 10, 61f, 64, 75, 85, 87, 90, 93, 101, 106f, 118, 122, 145, 148f, 151, 162, 166, 171f, 193, 199, 201f, 207, 209, 226, 238f, 245f, 253, 256, 258, 260f, 275, 277f, 280, 283, 289, 294, 300, 303, 362, 368, 370, 373f, 377, 380, 383–385, 388, 390f, 394, 403–407, 409, 412–416, 421, 429, 446–448, 450, 452f, 457f, 460, 464–466, 470f, 477f, 482, 485, 496, 498f, 510f, 514–517, 519f, 528f, 535, 537–542, 549, 552, 557, 560f, 565f, 573–575, 579f, 608, 628f, 632, 660, 701, 732, 787, 789, 898, 905, 929, 934, 936, 939f; *i.e.* bridegroom, 418–421; of kings, 940; of terrors, 357; with the crown of thorns, the, 698; worship, 607.
King Archons, 209.
Kingdom, 459, 936; of Christ, 868, 886, 935; of God, 2, 13, 89, 94–96, 371, 373, 385, 402, 412, 427, 431f, 435, 604, 625, 637–639, 641, 643, 659–667, 682f, 686f, 692–697, 700, 702–713, 715, 717–719, 721, 725, 729–741, 743, 745, 748–750, 752, 767, 774, 777, 786, 804, 810, 812, 821, 826, 828, 836–838, 904, 927, 930, 932, 941; of Heaven, *see* Kingdom of God; of the saints, 433, 637f, 926, 941.
King's friend, 296; garden, 584, 754; pool, 330; servant, 113; son, 718; vale, king's dale, 149, 291; week, 342, 418–420; winepress, 584.
Kings, Books of, 3, 9, 13, 20f, 45f, 75, 122, 129, 244–247, 294–313, 315, 318f, 373; contents, 294; date, 294; object, 294; sources, 294; standpoint, 294, 298–300, 310.
Kings, divine right of, 630; divinity of, 629–631.
Kingship, 265, 278, 280f.
Kingu, 364.
Kinship, 50, 108.
Kinsman, 109, 216, 271.
Kir, 309, 448, 451, 548, 554; of Moab, 33.
Kir-haresheth, Kir-heres, 70, 305, 448.
Kiriathaim, 149, 229.
Kiriath-arba, 63, 258.
Kiriath-huzoth, 225.
Kiriath-jearim, 31, 269, 276f, 288, 316, 394, 486.
Kiriath-sannah, 258.
Kirjath-sepher, 34, 249, 258.
Kish, 277, 280.
Kishon, 28f, 110, 261f, 303.
Kislev, *see* Chislew.
Kiss, 158, 421, 698, 740; of homage, 361; of love, 912; the holy, 830.
Kissing the calves, 301, 542.
Kitchen, 520.
Kition, 227, 477.
Kitron, 259.
Kittim, 227, 452, 477, 513, 532, 566.
Klaros, 870.
Kneading-trough, 175, 178, 241.
Knees, taking upon the, 349.
Knife, 173, 892.
Knights (equites), 613.
Knossos, 56.
Knots, 106, 527.
" Know Christ after the flesh," 852f.
Knowledge, 93, 133, 138f, 412, 641, 651, 760, 825, 832, 840, 843f, 855, 863, 865f, 868–871, 904f, 916; of Christ, 874; of God, 8, 48, 107, 398f, 427, 431f, 445, 454, 481, 483, 488, 500, 535, 538, 556, 558, 664, 697, 759, 761f, 819, 827, 833, 840, 844, 847, 850, 863, 868, 873, 892, 894, 917–919.
Kodrantes, 117.
Kohath, 170, 174.
Kohathites, 215, 217f.
Korah (opponent of Moses), 123, 201, 220f, 227f, 236, 914, 924.
—— Dathan, and Abiram, 123, 382, 391.
—— sons of, 227, 366–368.
Koran, 3, 188, 353, 587.
Krenides, 872.
Kudurlagamar, 148.
Kudurmabug, 148.
Kullani, 552.
Kurdistan, 36, 53.
Kurnub, 149.
Kyria, 921.

Laban, 130, 134, 155, 157–159.
Labour, 393, 642, 929.
Labourer, 79, 174, 687, 733, 932.
Lachish, 28, 71f, 310, 489, 560.
Lachmann, 597.
Lactantius, 653.
Lad with the barley loaves, 751.
Ladder of Tyre, 28.
Ladder, to heaven, 133, 157.
Lænas, C. Popilius, 532.
Laish, 149, 219, 243, 269.
Lake, 27, 33, 495, 938; of fire, 941f; of Tiberias, *see* Galilee, Sea of.
Lake Urmia, 58.
—— Van, 58.
Lamb, 101, 103, 154, 166, 179, 198f, 201, 203f, 209f, 238, 326, 440, 448, 461, 475, 482, 520, 552, 727, 748, 765, 799, 932; (of God), the, 631, 747, 775, 929, 931f, 937f, 940; the Paschal, *see* Paschal Lamb.
Lame, the, 287, 459, 780.
Lamech, son of Methuselah, 141, 145.
—— son of Methushael, 141; song of, 9, 44, 141.
Lamentation, 110, 287, 387, 418, 545, 553, 560, 906, *see* Dirge, Elegy.
Lamentation rhythm, 438, 446, 493, 551.
Lamentations, Book of, 47, 342, 496–500; alphabetic arrangement of, 496–500; and Jeremiah, 47, 342, 496; authorship of, 47, 342, 496; date of, 47, 342, 496.
Lamp, 105, 190, 192, 210, 320, 360, 377, 394, 403, 406, 417, 486, 569f, 577, 659, 730, 914; the holy, 210.
Lampadephoria, 320.
Lampstand, 190, 194, 217, 306, 577, 929, *see* Candlestick.
Lance, 546, 763.
Lancets, 303.
Land, 135, 137, 390, 440; flowing with milk and honey, 26, 171, 235; laws, 109, 211; of Humri, 302; tenure, 88, 134, 165; grabbing, 88, 358, 440, 538.
Landlord, 736.
Landmark, 407, 416.
Landslip, 250, 538.
Language, of the New Testament, 591–593.
Languages, 143, 145, 648, 844; origin of their diversity, 134; of the Old Testament, 34–36; of the Roman Empire, 615.
Laodice, 531.
Laodicea, 771, 862, 869, 871, 928, 931.
Laotse, 376f.
Lapis lazuli, 191, 360, 942.
Larnaka, 298.
Larsa, 148.
Last Judgment, 5, 435, 567, 569, 624, 637, 661, 670, 693, 721, 879, 933, 941, *see* Day of Judgment, Judgment, the.
Last Supper, 632, 653, 668, 674, 688, 697, 721, 724, 739, 758, 762, 809, 842, *see* Lord's Supper.
Last trump, 847.
Latin, 18f, 615; literature, 602f; version, 595, 599.
Latter days, the, 166, 438.
Lattice, 109, 400, 420f, 470.
Laughter, 151–153, 374, 404.
Laurel, 222f.
Lava, 33.
Laver, 192, 194, 197, 215, 298.
Law, 50, 910f, 913.
—— the, 10–12, 21, 37–40, 48, 78f, 90–97, 107f, 112, 121, 131, 169, 184, 245, 314, 316, 318, 320, 329, 341, 343f, 368f, 374, 376–380, 383, 385, 392f, 397, 399, 418, 432, 434, 437, 469, 522, 524f, 529, 538, 540, 549, 566, 580, 583f, 586, 607, 619–626, 636–641, 649, 660f, 665–667, 683f, 689, 691, 699f, 704–706, 708f, 711f, 715f, 718–720, 734f, 751, 765, 769–771, 774, 784f, 791–793, 797, 799, 805–808, 810f, 817, 819–823, 825, 833f, 836, 840, 851, 859–861, 864f, 869f, 874, 882, 890, 892–897, 899, 903f, 906, 917, 920; a shadow of the Gospel, 890; and death, 822; and grace, 639f, 821, 823; and Jesus, *see* Jesus; and Moses, *see* Moses; and Paul, 95, 639–641, 769–772, 792f, 799, 800–802, 804–808, 810f, 814, 817, 819–823, 836, 847, 857, 859–861, 864f, 869f, 874, 882; and primitive Christianity, 638–641, 667, 769–772, 774, 793, 799, 806, 811, 817–823, 857, 859, 894; and promise, 805f, 821, 859f; and sin, 639f, 806f, 820–823, 847, 859; and Stephen, 639f, 784f; and the angels, 784, 834, 859f, 890, 892; and the Covenant, 859; and the Epistle to the Hebrews, 640f, 890, 894–897; and the flesh, 806, 823, 847; and the Gentiles, 640, 647, 767, 769f, 772, 793, 817; and the historical records, 314; and the Pharisees, *see* Pharisees; and the prophets, 40, 106, 131, 329, 370, 594, 661, 691, 704, 826; canonisation of, 37f; ceremonial injunctions in, 621f, 665, 860; codification of, 37, 46, 92; created before the world, 401; curse of, 641, 810, 833, 859; difficulties of observance, 372, 621f, 639f, 806; disciplinary character of, 806, 836; effects of, 620–623, 639, 806; ethics of, 621f, 640, 665; fulfilment of, 641, 691, 704f, 729; given to conquer the evil inclination, 622f; giving of, 64, 169, 183, 784f, 899; imperfections of, 621–623, 792, 806, 811, 819, 836, 859f; in Judaism, 620–625, 805; incapable of giving righteousness, 649, 792, 811, 859; inspira-

tion of, 39; intrinsic excellence of, 806; its observance an end in itself, 621f; link between God and Israel, 620, 640; oral explanation of, 620; perpetuity of, 705; reading of, by Ezra, *see* Ezra; ritual elements in, 11f, 437, 525, 620f, 626, 637, 641, 655, 806f, 860; solidarity of, 861, 905; spirituality of, 823; study of, 96, 107, 373, 620, 624; temporary and preparatory character of, 806, 836, 894; the gift of God, 369, 389, 620f, 785; the hedge of, 108, 637, 666; theory of its perfection, 621, 623; theory that it was an intolerable burden, 621; transfigures and sanctifies natural instincts, 622; translation into Greek, 94.
Law in the heart, 819.
—— of Holiness, 46, 48, 77, 129–131, 174, 184, 196, 206–212, 399; and the Priestly Code, 48, 130, 196, 209; date of, 77, 196; leading characteristics of, 130, 196, 207; relation to Deuteronomy, 196; relation to Ezekiel, 129f, 196, 209, 211f; revision of, 196; structure of, 130f, 196.
—— of liberty, 904f; of Nature, 607.
Law courts, 361, 438, 614, 705, 716, 730, 801, 832, 837, 905.
Lawgivers, 10, 83, 618f, 906.
Lawless one, the, 879.
Lawsuit, 705, 729.
Lawyers, 636, 666, 719, 730, 888.
Laying on of hands, 104, 192, 197, 199, 206, 210, 643, 767, 771, 783, 786f, 791, 804, 884, 893.
Layman, 620f.
Lazarus of Bethany, 668, 730, 736, 755–757; the beggar, 725, 729, 756.
Lead, 479, 553.
Leaf, 438, 454, 458, 471, 526, 718.
Leah, 63, 65, 158f, 214, 249, 274.
Learning, 624.
Lease, 109, 212.
Leather girdle, 682; worker, 111.
Leaven, 102f, 177, 188, 198, 200, 210, 660, 713f, 733f, 737, 837, 910.
Leavened bread, 188, 550f.
Lebanon, 26–28, 32, 53, 69, 77, 172, 219, 233, 236, 250, 260, 265, 297, 309, 327, 343, 378, 390, 421, 438, 444, 461, 470, 484f, 515, 527, 543, 548, 564, 577, 580; symbol of Assyria, 444.
Lebanons, the, 110.
Lebbæus, 709, 729.
Lechæum, 832.
Lectisternia, 210, 472.
Lectures, lecturers, 616f.
Leeks, 218.
Lees, 111, 569f.
Lefthandedness, 260, 270.
Leg, 220, 417, 550.
Legal descent, 701; fiction, 130, 254.
Legalism, 81, 103, 112, 344, 373, 415, 620–622, 638, 640, 660, 806–808, 811, 817, 833.
Legatus, 613, 726f.
Legend, 1f, 5, 10, 19–21, 127, 130, 133, 142, 152, 154, 168, 224, 255, 475f, 556, 627f, 632, 648, 659, 669, 687, 702, 713, 744, 772f, 784f, 841, 882, 887, 898, 939; and myth, *see* Myth and Legend.
Legions, 610, 613, 630, 633, 804.
Legislation, 19, 21, 44f, 46, 84, 90, 103, 110, 121, 123, 126f.
Lehi, 44, 268, 292.
Lehi-roi, 151.
Leja, 33.
Lekton, 798.
Lemuel, 397, 409.
Lentils, 156.
Leontopolis, 106, 449f; temple at, *see* Temple at Leontopolis.
Leopard, 479, 528f, 936.
Lepers, 69, 192, 203f, 306, 382, 388, 392, 467, 499, 683, 708, 736.
Lepidus, 612.
Lepraria, 203.
Leprosy, 21, 76, 99, 173, 203, 209, 216, 306, 309, 321, 348, 439, 467, 683, 729, 787.
Lepton, 117.
Lesbos, 798.
Letter, 72, 76, 78, 323, 327f, 487, 602, 832, 837f, 840f, 843, 845, 853–855, 861, 864, 901, 903, 921, 929; and spirit, 636, 638–640, 705, 718, 729, 823.
Letters of the alphabet, 496–499, 861, 869.
—— of authorisation, 786f; of commendation, 647, 848, 851f; to the Churches in Gaul, 928; to the Seven Churches, 927–931, 942.
Lettuce, 103.
Leucoderma, 203.
Levant, 111, 803.
Levi (son of Jacob), 150, 158, 161, 165, 174, 586, 735; tribe of, 47, 64f, 106, 124, 126, 161, 170, 173f, 214f, 221, 229, 232, 243, 248, 250, 258, 289, 315, 520, 894, *see* Levites.
—— (tax gatherer), 684f, 729, 738, 764, *see* Matthew.
—— house of, 582.
Leviathan, 347, 349, 359, 364f, 386, 390, 454.
Levirate marriage, 109, 163, 196, 207, 227, 241, 271, 695, 701.
Levite, priest of Micah, *see* Jonathan, grandson of Moses.
Levites, 11, 20, 47, 49, 75, 77–79, 106, 114, 121, 124, 126–129, 131, 165, 168, 173, 179, 183, 193f, 197, 209, 211, 214f, 217f, 221f, 228f, 231f, 236–239, 241, 250, 254, 269f, 275f, 292, 296, 298, 300, 308, 314–317, 319f, 325–330, 332f, 368, 394, 519–521, 575, 586, 620f, 624, 732, 747, 786, *see* Levi, tribe of, Priests and Levites.
Levitical cities, 124, 222, 229, 254, 315; dues, 222; law, 650.
—— priesthood, 124, 236, 250, 300, 473, 518, 893f; abrogation of, 893f; inferior to Melchizedek priesthood, 893f.
Leviticus, Book of, 121, 196–212; leading ideas and institutions of, 196f; structure of, 196.
Levy, *see* Forced labour.
Lex talionis, 112, 186, 210, 239, 705.
Liar, 156f, 392, 406, 464, 753, 820, 887, 917.
Libation, 104, 161, 190, 265, 456.
Liberality, 369, 403, 623, 853f.
Libertines, 783.
Liberty, 87, 616, 649f, 828, 851, 904, 915, 929.
Libnah, 71.
Libraries, 417, 617.
Libyan Ammon, 630.
Libyans, 565, 783.
Lice, plague of, 13, 174f.
Licentiousness, 914f, 924, 930.
Life, 150, 222, 399, 413, 416f, 509, 707, 745f, 751f, 754f, 759, 824, 835f, 850–852, 905–907, 910, 914, 916f, 942; after death, 331, 352, 356, 370f, 374, 376, 379, 388, 395, 399, 403, 407, 413, 433f, 439, 622–624, 629, 694, 701, 845, 873f, 879; and death, 640, 824, 835, 850, 852, 873; brevity of, 378, 390, 417; God's plan of, 411, 413; resident in the blood, 144, 188, 206.
Lifting the hand, 149, 174, 243, 391, 396.
Light, 136f, 195, 349, 359, 362f, 369, 395, 403, 417, 423, 429, 454, 462, 470, 482, 545, 570, 577, 583, 642, 732, 745f, 749, 786f, 795, 851, 866–868, 904, 916f; and darkness, 136, 363, 386, 395, 551, 583, 632, 706f, 732, 746, 828, 867, 916f; at the baptism, 702; of the eyes, 404, 513; of the world, 704, 753.
Lightning, 145, 172, 176, 183, 218, 261, 348, 350, 360, 362f, 386, 396, 423, 441, 457, 482, 504, 565, 568, 720, 939; God's arrows, 145, 568.
Lights, 798.
Lign aloes, 226.
Likeness of God, 137; of sinful flesh, 823.
Lilith, 459.
Lily, 422, 542, 707; of the valley, 420.
Lime, 549.
Limestone, 26f, 439.
Limitations of Hebrew genius, 20.
Line, 455, 463, 576; and plummet, 311, 455, 458f.
Linen, 101, 104, 111, 190f, 200, 208, 215, 326, 450, 482, 507, 519, 938.
Lintel, 177, 217.
Linus, 887.
Lion, lioness, 32, 158, 166, 243, 268, 292, 301, 310, 350, 364, 369, 377f, 416, 440, 445, 457f, 478f, 486, 494, 498, 504, 511, 515, 517, 528, 542, 544, 546, 548, 550, 562, 565, 581, 931f, 936.
Lion of the tribe of Judah, 932.
Lions (images), 300.
Lips, 236, 361, 417, 423, 440f, 476, 504, 507, 567, 571.
Litany (river), 27f.
Literary types in Old Testament, 19; value of the Bible, 18.
Literature, 18–25, 44, 57, 62, 602–606.
Litigation, 405, 409, 705, 837.
Little Book, the, 934.
—— Hermon, 29, 264.
—— Horn, the, 522, 528–530.
Liturgy, 104, 130, 317, 330, 507, 781, 829.
Liver, 198, 512; inspection of, 512.
Living, the, 459, 828.
Living water, 484, 583, 750.
Livy, 225, 488.
Lo-ammi, 536f.
Loans, 112, 178, 187, 211, 238, 240, 483.
Loaves, 210, 306, 674, 841.
Local Council, 112, 705, 778, 790; deity, 82, 84, 87, 160; government, 112, 612; ministry, 643; sanctuaries, *see* High Places; suppression

of, 45, 47, 74f, 90, 98, 103, 128f, 131, 231, 236f, 239, 310–312, *see* Josiah, reformation of.
Locusts, 13, 174, 176, 263, 391, 409, 458, 495, 544f, 550–553, 565, 587, 934.
Lodebar, 552.
Log, 115, 204.
Logia, 593, 672, 700.
Logos, the, 6, 401, 642, 745–747, 756, 758, 761, 813, 890, 909, 917, 940, 942, *see* Christ, Son of God; and Wisdom, 401, 746; cosmic functions of, 401, 745f, 812f; God, 746f; identified with Christ, 642, 745–747, 890; in Greek philosophy, 401, 745f, 813, 890; in Philo, 6, 401, 745f; in the Fourth Gospel, 745–747, 890, 909, 940, 942; in the Old Testament, 745f; incarnation of, 745–747, 756, 758; personification of, 745–747; pre-incarnate life of, 747, 761, 917; revelation of God, 642, 745–747.
Loins, 493, 565.
London, 591.
—— papyri, 761.
Long life, 376, 399, 405, 414f.
Longsuffering, 812, 870, *see* God.
Loom, 268, 423, 459.
Loosing the shoe, 113, 241, 272, 414.
Lord as title of Emperors, 789, 795, 802; of glory, 834, 904; of heaven, 428; of Hosts, 105, 370, 906, *see* Yahweh of Hosts; of Spirits, 864.
Lord's Day, the, 5, 647, 847, 929.
Lord's Prayer, the, 641, 647, 665, 695, 706f, 732, 880, 903, 906, 909.
—— Supper, 586, 647, 651, 668, 707, 739, 751f, 758, 765, 790, 798, 809, 812, 830, 832, 841–843, 866, *see* Last Supper; and faith, 812, 860; and the New Covenant, 668, 697, 721, 739, 809, 842; celebrated in memory of Jesus, 647; communion with body and blood of Christ, 812, 841; communion with the living Lord, 647, 651; connected with lovefeast, 647; desecration of, at Corinth, 842; in the Fourth Gospel, 751f; incompatible with idol feast, 651, 841; institution of, 668, 739, 790, 812, 842; no magical efficacy in, 812, 860; repeated till the Second Coming, 647, 842; representation of Christ's death, 647, 812, 842; symbolism of, 647, 812; worshippers realise unity in, 647, 841.
Lordship (angelic order), 864; (*i.e.* Christ or God), 924.
Lo-ruhamah, 536f.
Lot, 63, 134, 146f, 149, 151–153, 162, 233, 737, 914; children of, 387.
Lot's daughters, 152f, 163, 233; wife, 152f, 737.
Lots, 66, 100f, 104, 106, 191, 205, 227, 229, 245, 249, 253f, 258, 275, 278–280, 338, 351, 405, 429, 512, 557, 698, 778.
Love, 19, 23, 89, 108, 131, 158, 163, 234, 236, 402, 419–423, 487, 499, 535, 539, 642–644, 651, 665, 696, 708, 721, 729f, 732, 734, 745, 758–761, 807f, 810–812, 827f, 840, 843f, 848, 855, 861, 863, 865–871, 873, 877, 879, 882, 885, 897, 899, 904, 909, 911, 917, 919, 921, 929, 932; to Christ, 730, 759, 848, 868, 911, 922; of enemies, 361, 499, 707, 729f; of (*i.e.* to God), 128f, 131, 185, 262, 374, 396, 539, 621f, 625, 664, 695f, 703, 707, 751, 824, 840, 906, 917–919, 929; of man, 633, 665; of neighbour, 131, 539, 621, 665, 695f, 705, 717, 732, 917f.
Love lyrics, 18, 418f, 421.
Lovefeast (Agape), 647, 758, 842, 867, 914f, 934.
Lover, 420, 583.
Lovers, *i.e.* false gods, 478.
Lovingkindness, 468, 621, 623, 743.
Lower Zab, 57.
Lowland, the, 233, 258, *see* Shephelah.
Lowlands, 65.
Loyalty, 50, 54f, 85, 87, 128, 130, 188, 278, 284, 286, 389, 419, 421, 535, 537, 539, 631, 640, 649, 686, 699, 703, 740, 774f, 827–829, 836, 849f, 853f, 856, 866, 868f, 871, 879, 884–886, 904, 921, 937.
Lub, 514.
Lubim, 565.
Lucania, 724.
Lucian, 299, 684.
—— of Antioch, 41, 596, 901.
Lucilius, 603.
Lucius (Rom. xvi. 21), 830.
—— of Cyrene, 724, 789, 791.
Luck, 83, 252; (object), 159.
Lud, 513f.
Ludim, 145.
Luhith, ascent of, 448.
Luke, 8, 591–593, 599, 604f, 646f, 651, 724, 742, 767, 769–772, 776f, 795, 798, 830, 854, 856, 858, 870, 887, 889; a Gentile, 592, 724; a physician, 724f, 728, 769f, 776f, 787; and Theophilus, 725, 776; author of Acts, 16, 724, 742, 776f, 870; author of Third Gospel, 16, 724, 742, 776, 870; companion of Paul, 16, 724, 742, 769–771, 887; connected with Antioch, 724; death in Bithynia, 724; identification with the man of Macedonia, 770, 795; interests of, 605, 678; suggestion that he was brother of Titus, 724, 856; traditions concerning, 724; use of his sources, 3, 122, 592, 742.
—— Gospel of, 14f, 592f, 604f, 646, 652, 672–678, 700, 724–742, 776f, 799, 814; acquaintance with Herod's court, 725; authorship, 16, 724, 742; characteristics, 605, 725; contents, 724; date, 14, 658, 724, 742, 777; dependence on Mark, 14, 122, 672–675, 724, 776f; dependence on Q, 14, 122, 672, 675–678, 724, 776; infancy narratives, 724–728; Irenæus' statement as to origin, 724; may embody narrative by Joanna, 725; method of reproducing Mark, 604f, 674; mutilated by Marcion, 814; order of incidents and discourses, 673f, 676f; passion story in, 673, 724, 739–741; portrait of Jesus, 725; preface to, 3, 604, 724f; resurrection narratives in, 724f, 741f; sections found also in Matthew, 675f; sections peculiar to, 680; some peculiar sections in, possibly derived from Q, 677, 724; sources, 672–678, 724f, 776; statement in Muratorian Canon as to origin, 724; style of, 592, 605, 724f; sympathy with women, 725, 732; text of, 599; universalism of, 725, 727f; written by a physician, 724f; written by author of Acts, 16, 724, 776.
Lunar calendar, 653.
Lunation, 117.
Lust, 664, 866, 870, 886, 915, 924, 934.
Lustrations, 219, 223f, 812.
Luther, 121, 185, 873, 889, 905, 937.
Luxor, 565.
Luxury, 18, 30, 54, 61, 67f, 72, 84f, 88, 109, 256, 409, 439, 494, 547, 550, 552, 711, 796, 832, 940.
Luz, *see* Bethel; in Northern Syria, 259.
Lycanthropy, 527.
Lycaonia, 613, 792–794, 857.
Lycia, 613, 908.
Lycus, the, 936.
—— valley of, 862, 867, 872.
Lydda, 28, 332, 767, 787f, 801.
Lydia (country), 60f, 77, 795.
—— convert of Paul, 795.
Lye, 354, 477, 587.
Lying, 185, 648, 866, 870, 887.
—— spirit, 281.
Lyre, 430.
Lyric poetry, 19, 25.
Lysias (Syrian general), 31, 607.
Lystra, 614f, 769, 780, 792–794, 857, 884, 886.

Maacah, daughter of Absalom, 290; mother of Abijah, 301, 319.
Maachah, 289; (place), 491.
Maccabean dynasty, 608f; High Priests, 608; period, 49, 94f, 319, 366f, 371, 374, 376, 379f, 383–386, 388, 396, 407, 425, 453, 499, 522–524, 526f, 529, 579, 585; rulers, 341, 370, 384f, 388; struggle, 10, 62, 81, 94, 383, 396, 433, 522, 524, 530, 580, 582f, 607f, 637, 898.
Maccabees, 48, 94, 229, 299, 337–339, 374, 377, 391, 499, 582, 637, 755.
—— Books of, 343, 522, 582, 603, 605.
Macedonia, 51, 60, 62, 530, 591, 613f, 633, 655, 771f, 794f, 798f, 829, 836, 848–850, 853–855, 857, 872, 876, 881f, 922.
Macedonians, 337, 339.
Machir, 167, 229, 254, 262.
Machpelah, cave of, 154f, 160, 165; 167, 784.
Madagascar, 446.
Madeba, 33.
Madmen, 493.
Madness, 216, 281, 283, 487, 526–528, 629; attributed to inspiration, 216, 283.
Magadan, 714.
Magdala, 29, 32, 699, 714, 730.
Magi, the, 337, 464, 491, 507, 700–702.
Magic, 51, 82, 84, 88f, 106, 170, 172, 174, 185, 187f, 204f, 208, 214, 228, 240, 285, 296, 369, 371, 405, 408, 429, 455, 482, 524f, 616, 627, 690, 702, 707, 709, 775, 785f, 797, 886, 934, 942; and religion, 174, 187; sympathetic, 221–223, 252, 303, 308, 629.
—— bands, 509.
Magical books, 797; texts, 648; trees, 133, 139.
Magicians, 106, 163, 168, 174–176, 463, 525f, 617, 629, 886.
Magistrates, 792, 795f, 909f.

Magnesia, battle of, 62.
Magnificat, 726f.
Magog, 517, 941.
Magophonia, 337.
Mahalath, 373.
Mahanaim, 67, 133f, 159, 286, 290f, 422; dance of, 422.
Mahaneh-dan, 267, 269, *see* Dan, Camp of.
Mahazioth, 317.
Maher-shalal-hash-baz, 436, 442.
Maiden, 418, 565.
Makmal, 28.
Maktesh, 268, 570.
Malachi, 373, 573, 585–587, 710, 725; and Deuteronomy, 129, 587; and divorce, 108, 586f; and Edom, 585; and Ezra-Nehemiah, 585; and marriages with foreign women, 586; and the Gentiles, 585; and the Priestly Code, 585, 587; and tithes, 585, 587; message of, 585.
—— Book of, 47, 78, 92, 585–587, 661; anonymity of, 585; background of, 78, 585; date, 47, 585; style, 92, 585.
Malachite, 191, 360, 468.
Malaria, 613, 769, 856, 860.
Malatia, 58.
Malcam, 569.
Malchus, 722, 740, 762.
Male children, destruction of, 169f.
Malefactors, the two, 725, 741.
Malice, 19, 705, 904.
Malta, 25, 614, 803f.
Mammon, 664, 707, 733, 736, 906.
Mamre (person), 148; (place), 147f.
Man, 135, 350, 360, 504, 931; and animals, 140, 144, 413; and God, 2, 7, 12, 94, 346, 369–372, 375, 464; and Nature, 3, 12f, 24, 351, 364, 369, 375, 537, 819, 824; and the angels, 375; and woman, 140, 415f, 419, 693, 841f, 883; brief life of, 356, 389f; creation of, 119, 121, 125f, 133, 135, 137–140, 143, 693, 840; formation of, 354, 395; frailty of, 350, 390, 461; futility of his life, 412; glory of God, 842; God's vicegerent, 375; greatness of, 375, 381; his longing for God, 369; image of God, 137, 642, 842, 905; insignificance of, 352, 375; lord of creation, 2, 352, 375, 842; lord of the world to come, 375; made of dust, 350, 847; mortality of, 381; offspring of God, 796; origin of, 796; responsibility of, 397, 402; sinfulness of, 2, 144, 350f, 356, 359, 389; sorrowful lot of, 351f, 356; spirit of, 362; the first, 137–141; worth of, 642.
—— blind from birth, 13, 754; of Macedonia, 770, 795, 872; of sin, 877, 879f; of the Lord's fellowship, 583; with the pitcher, 721; working on the Sabbath, 729.
Mana, 629, 631.
Manaen, 791.
Manahath, 34.
Manasseh (king), 45, 72, 74, 76, 89, 129, 131, 232, 238, 269, 309, 311f, 321f, 427, 436, 443, 477, 483, 510, 559, 562, 569.
—— son-in-law of Sanballat, 79.
—— son of Joseph, 134, 165.
—— (tribe), 65, 76, 161, 214, 228f, 249, 253f, 257f, 262f, 266, 383, 521, 933; half-tribe of, 64f, 228f, 234, 253–255, 315.
Manassites, 65.
Mandaic dialect, 36.
Mandrakes, 158, 423.
Mane, 364.
Manger, 545.
Mankind, unity of, 796.
Manna, 181, 218, 235, 386, 751f, 841, 930; pot of, 930; the heavenly, 751f; the hidden, 930.
Mannai, 59.
Manoah, 160, 267f; wife of, 267.
Manor-house, 660.
Mansion, 420, 440.
Manslaughter, 230.
Manslayer, 124, 254.
Mantle, 178, 303, 348, 438, 526; of Elijah, *see* Elijah, mantle of.
Mantlet, 565.
Manumission of slaves, 128, 178, 186, 211, 238, 489, 838, 871.
Manuscripts, 40, 42, 598–600; of Greek Testament, 598–601.
Maon, wilderness of, 284.
Maonites, 266.
Maoris, 240.
Mara, 271.
Marah, 168, 181.
Maranatha, 641, 848.
Marathon, 61.
Marcellus, 656.
Marchesvan, 105, 117.
Marcion, 594, 658, 706, 776, 814, 860, 862, 876, 885; Canon of, 658, 776, 814, 862.
Marcus Ambivius, 656.
—— Antonius, 630.
—— Aurelius, 628, 656, 658.
—— the Valentinian, 937.
Marduk, 137, 326, 337, 339, 401, 429, 494, 524; birth of, 936.
Mareshah, 32, 76, 560.
Mariamne, 609.
Mariners, 949, *see* Sailor.
Maritime plain, 26–28, 30, 220, 233, 256f, 268, 472.
Mark, 8, 592, 604f, 681, 698, 769f, 791f, 841, 885, 887, 927; and Barnabas, 791, 794, 840f, 912; and Paul, 14, 681, 769f, 790f, 794, 841, 859, 870, 885, 887, 912; and Peter, 14, 592, 681, 790, 912; and the Book of Revelation, 927; author of Second Gospel, 681, 870, 927.
—— Gospel of, 14f, 122, 593, 600, 646, 652, 672–678, 681–699, 700, 744, 912, 914; a source of Matthew and Luke, 14, 122, 605, 672–675, 681, 724; alleged Jewish Apocalypse in, 696; alleged Pauline tendency in, 681, 686, 690–694; alternative endings of, 699; and Peter, 681, 912, 914; and the miraculous, 681; and the Twelve, 681; appendix to, 15, 699; Aramaic background, 592f, 681; authorship, 14, 681, 912, 927; date, 14, 657, 681, 724; editions of, 14, 672, 674f; eschatological discourse in, 696, 906; exhibits development in the ministry of Jesus, 681; its order preserved by Matthew and Luke, 673; lost ending of, 669, 699; Papias' statement as to origin, 592, 594, 681; Petrine material in, 681; relation to Q, 672, 678; reproduction of, by Luke, 674f, 681; reproduction of, by Matthew, 604, 673–675, 681, 700; table of parallels in Matthew and Luke, 679.
Mark of the beast, 926, 938, 940; on the forehead, 507, 933, 937f, 941f; on the hand, 937, 942.
Market 694f, 926, 937.
Market place, 270, 659, 689.
Marriage, 77, 100, 108–110, 114, 155–158, 161, 170f, 173f, 185, 187, 207, 209, 239f, 258, 268, 271f, 282, 284, 418f, 439, 519, 534, 536, 545, 586f, 622, 650, 693, 716f, 748, 823, 832, 838–840, 867, 878, 883, 938, *see* Bride, Bridegroom, Husband, Wedding, Wife; by capture, 85, 270; by purchase, 108, 155, 272, 282; institution of, 108, 140; of first cousins, 158, 207; of heiresses, 109; of widow, 109, 284, 650, 840; origin of, 140; sanctity of, 185, 938; symbolism of, 6, 108, 418, 535f, 867; with a half sister, 153; with aunt, 174; with deceased brother's wife, 719; with deceased wife's sister, 207; with sister, 287; with slave, 108, 110; with stepmother, 207, 240; with foreign women, *see* Intermarriage with aliens.
—— (metaphorical), 510, 535f, 823, 867, 906, 940.
—— ceremony, 108, 155, 419, 721; day, 544; feast, festivities, 158, 418, 422, 718, 733, 739, 748; gift, 155, 187; price, *see* Bride price; song, 18, 342, 380, 420–423; of the Lamb, 940.
Mars (god), 630; (planet), 225, 701.
Marseilles tariff (table), 99, 200, 212, 401.
Marsh, 32f, 446, 520.
Marshal's staff, 383.
Martha, 725, 732, 755–757.
Martial, 657.
Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas, 595.
Martyrs, martyrdom, 5, 45, 74, 92, 96, 131, 267, 365, 432, 454, 523, 532f, 607, 616, 632, 691, 694, 710, 720, 722, 731, 738f, 765, 767f, 772–775, 783, 785, 793, 824, 844, 897f, 903, 926, 929f, 932, 935–941.
Marullus, 656.
Mary (Rom. xiv. 6), 830.
—— mother of James and Joses, 701, 722.
—— mother of Jesus, 162, 418, 660, 686, 701f, 724, 726f, 748, 763, 778, 790, 903, 936; and Gabriel, 726; and Jesus, 660, 686, 701, 726f, 732, 748, 763; and the Magnificat, 726f; betrothed to Joseph, 701, 726; home of, 702; perpetual virginity of, 701, 727, 903; visits Elisabeth, 726f.
—— mother of John Mark, 767, 790; house of, 767, 790.
—— of Bethany, 668, 721, 725, 732, 755–757.
—— Magdalene, 699, 722, 730, 763–765.
Mas'a, 410.
Masada, 610.
Maschil, 373, 381.
Mashal, 344.
Mason, 75, 326, 685.
Massa, 410.
Massacre, 74, 87, 265, 275, 283, 285,

292, 307, 337–339, 382, 523f, 536f, 607, 609f, 633, 734; of the Innocents at Bethlehem, 609, 652, 702.
Massah, 168, 181f, 235, 243, 389.
Massébah, *see* Pillar (sacred).
Massora, 35f, 40, 42.
Massoretes, 35f, 40, 42.
Massoretic text, 125; and the versions, comparative value of, 43.
Massôth, *see* Feast of Unleavened Bread, Mazzoth.
Mast, 407, 458, 803f.
Master, 541, 586, 660, 867, 910; of the bedchamber, 790; of the tribute, 292.
Masters and slaves, 128, 649, 867, 885.
Mastic, 480.
Mater dolorosa, 632.
Materialism, 807.
Matgen, 302.
Matriarchate, 207.
Matrites, 278.
Mattan, 308.
Mattanah, 224, 841.
Mattaniah, *see* Zedekiah, king of Judah.
Mattathias, 523, 607f.
Matter, 644, 916; evil of, 806.
Matthew, 8, 615, 684f, 700; and the Logia, 592f, 700; call of, 684, 709; identification with Levi, 685, 709.
—— Gospel of, 14f, 122, 592, 604f, 646, 652, 672–678, 700–723; aim of, 605, 700; authorship, 700; characteristics of, 700; contents, 700; date, 14, 657, 700; dependence on Mark, 14, 604, 672–675, 700; dependence on Q, 14, 672, 675–678, 700; Irenæus' statement as to origin, 700; method of reproducing Mark, 674; not a translation, 700; not the work of Matthew, 700; order of incidents and discourses, 673f, 676f; Papias' statement as to origin, 592–594, 700; sections found also in Luke, 675f; sections peculiar to, 679; some peculiar sections in, possibly derived from Q, 677f; sources, 672–678, 700; universalism of, 678; use of Book of Testimonies, 700; use of Old Testament 700f, 817.
Matthias, 731.
Mattock, 111.
Maturity, 844, 869.
Mauretania, 613.
Mazzaroth, 363.
Mazzebah, *see* Pillar (sacred).
Mazzoth, 168, 176–179, 188, *see* Feast of Unleavened Bread.
Meadow, 167, 587.
—— saffron, 420.
Meal, 152, 198, 204, 306, 520, 660, 734.
—— offering, 98, 103, 197–201, 204, 222, 237, 317, 484, 586; accompanied by frankincense, 479, 484; kinds of, 198; material of, 198; ritual of, 198, 200; sanctity of, 202; the daily, 200.
Measure, 454, 738, 827, 855, 866.
Measures of capacity, 115f, 284, 306, 520, 562, 932; of length, 115.
Measuring, 505, 518, 576, 935, 942.
Meat, *see* Flesh as food; not to be eaten with milk, 621.
—— market, 650f, 841.
Meats offered to idols, 650f, 770, 832, 840f, 930.
Mecca, 173, 393, 551, 553.
Medeba, 224, 305.
Medes, 58–61, 72, 77, 445f, 474, 495, 526–528, 565; and Assyria, 58–60, 72, 474, 565; and Babylonia, 60, 72, 77, 445f, 474, 495; and the Gimirrai, 59; and the Persians, 61, 77, 446, 527; and the Scythians, 60; empire of, in Daniel, 526, 528f; migrations of, 58; organisation, 58, 60; race, 58.
Media, 60–62, 450f, 494.
Mediation, 619, 640.
Mediator, 365, 619, 632, 640, 859f, 868, 883, 890, 892.
Medical language, 866; in Lucan writings, 724, 777.
Medicine, 170, 405, 492, 663, 720.
—— man, 583.
Medinah, 325, 496f.
Meditation, 93, 374.
Mediterranean, 26f, 53, 56f, 60, 63, 106, 110, 227, 229, 236, 250, 299, 372, 387, 438, 445, 486, 488, 492, 513, 520f, 528, 533, 545, 583, 591, 615f, 773, 803.
Medium, 285.
Meek, the, 94, 96, 131, 377, 396, 704, 737.
Meekness, 812, 888, 905.
Megara, 62.
Megasthenes, 246, 527.
Megiddo, 29f, 54, 60, 72, 75, 99, 110, 259, 262, 298, 304, 307, 312f, 384, 427, 474, 477, 485, 492, 501, 939.
Megilloth, 37, 271, 411, 418.
Meir Rabbi, 410.
Melancholia, 66, 85.
Melancholy, 85.
Melchizedek, 6, 9, 34, 147–149, 391, 859, 892–894; allegorical interpretation of, 6, 893; and Abraham, 149, 893f; historicity of, 148; name of, 34, 149, 893; priest after the order of, 892–894.
Melech, divine title, 283.
Meliorism, 411.
Melita, *see* Malta.
Melite, 614.
Melito of Sardis, 39, 653, 775, 928.
Melkart, 299, 513, *see* Baal of Tyre.
Melzar, the, 525.
Members (of the body), 812, 823, 843, 905; of the Church, 812, 843; *i.e.* vices, 870.
Memnon, 616.
Memorial, 198, 469; before God, 788.
Memory, 904.
Memphis, *see* Noph.
Memra, 398, 401, 746.
Men, the brethren of Christ, 891.
Menahem, 68, 70, 309, 512, 534, 538.
Menander (poet), 847, 887; of Ephesus, 246, 297.
Mene, 527.
Menelaus (High Priest), 338, 523, 581, 583f, 607.
Meneptah, *see* Merenptah II.
Menes, 450.
Mephibosheth, *see* Meribaal.
Merab, 282, 292.
Merarites, 215, 218.
Mercenaries, 114, 289f, 308, 386, 415, 492, 513, 565.
Merchandise, 116.
Merchants, 51, 452, 570, 581, 616, 736, 940.
Mercury (planet), 225.
Mercy, 23, 95, 370f, 388, 390, 456f, 481, 660, 665, 704, 743, 833, 882, 885, 899, 905, 911, 924f, 935.
Mercy seat, 104, 190f, 205, 895.
Merenptah II., 56, 63, 119, 246, 248.
Meri, 170.
Meribaal, 42, 229, 287, 289–291.
Meribah, 168, 181f 223, 243, 389.
Merit, 811, 826, 864; of the fathers, 623.
Merneptah, *see* Merenptah II.
Merodach-Baladan, 59, 71, 310f, 446.
Merom, waters of, *see* Waters of Merom.
Meroz, 262.
Merriment, 544.
Mesha, 233, 246, 305, 448, 547, 549; inscription of, *see* Moabite stone.
Meshach, 525.
Meshech, 57, 393, 473, 513, 515.
Mesopotamia, 28–30, 34, 36, 56–58, 60, 62f, 110, 135, 155, 260, 428, 459, 462, 492, 513, 548, 554, 784f.
Messenger, 403, 566, 868; of God, 587; of the Covenant, 587.
Messiah, Messianic king, 89, 94, 96, 113, 166, 226, 239, 275f, 368, 371–374, 389, 396, 429, 433–436, 439, 443–445, 457, 485, 512, 529f, 561, 594, 609, 624f, 637–641, 661, 670, 682, 696, 698, 701–703, 715, 720, 731, 743, 747, 751–753, 757, 767f, 778, 782, 805, 807, 828, 864, 930, 936; a second David, 96, 444; and the heathen, 96, 372, 374; as judge, 445, 670, 682, 720, 749, 751; as mediator, 96; as the branch, 485, 702; birth of, 226, 560f, 624, 666, 701, 883; bridegroom of Israel, 380; Christian, 374, 637–641, 670, 682f, 696, 698, 701–703, 714f, 720, 731, 743, 747, 751–753, 757, 760–762, 767f; comes from heaven, 96, 434, 624, 703, 720, 731, 753, 757, 767, 778, 807; conqueror, 96, 372, 434, 436, 443; coronation, 374; crucified, 594, 806–808, 814, 833f; Davidic sonship of, 372, 561, 624, 666, 696, 701, 738, 753, 807; death of, foretold, 741; equipped with the Spirit of God, 445; expected by Samaritans, 750; heavenly origin of, 96, 434, 624, 703, 807; ideal king, 96, 371–373, 385, 390, 396; immortality of, 385; Jewish doctrine of, 371f, 556, 624f; in the Book of Enoch, 433–435, 670, 747; king spoken of as, 92, 106, 275, 295, 308; names of, 443; not used in technical sense in Old Testament, 371; of unknown origin, 666; organ of revelation, 445; pre-existence of, 385, 624, 747; reign of, 94, 372, 385, 435f, 443, 638; Son of God, 372–374, 751; son of Joseph, 372; Son of Man, 433f, 529, 661, 670, 683; sudden appearance of, 752f, 757; suffering, *see* Suffering Messiah; superhuman, 96, 372, 807; wisdom of, 443, 445; woes of, 696.
Messianic age, 25, 351, 371f, 378, 381, 387f, 390, 438f, 457, 516, 519, 537, 554, 561, 624f, 638, 708, 711, 726, 780, 808f, 811, 870; banquet, 708, 733, 735, 739; claimants, 226, 625, 751,

754; doctrine, 96, 166, 275, 344, 371f, 385, 443–445, 561, 660, 749, 774, 779, 807, 853; hope, 94, 275, 288, 368, 371f, 375, 387, 389, 396, 402, 411, 429, 535, 560, 577, 624f, 636, 640, 703, 726f, 749, 764, 774f, 805, 807, 809; kingdom, 407, 525f, 528f, 555, 638, 640, 739, 748, 759, 769, 800, 941; proof texts, collection of, 682, 700, 703, 909; prophecy, 96, 140, 166, 275, 351, 436, 478, 742, 932; prophecies, date of, 89, 166, 275, 436, 443; prophet, 637; psalms, 371–374, 896; salvation, 556, 637; secret, 683, 697; spirit, 638–641.
Messina, 615.
Metal, 111, 173, 185, 189, 194, 212, 463f, 585.
—— worker, metal working, 54, 98, 134, 463; origin of, 141.
Metamorphosis, 628.
Metaphor, simile, 93, 353, 437.
Metaphysics, 429, 808, 810.
Metatron, 398, 401.
Meteor, 446, 934.
Metheg-ammah, 67, 288.
Methodius, 747.
Methuselah, 141, 414.
Metre, Hebrew, 372f, 398, 411, 424, 498, 547, 579.
Metroon, 633.
Meunim, 326.
Mezuzah, 235.
Micah (Ephraimite), 106, 269, 301.
—— (prophet), 32, 45, 107, 109, 438, 475, 486, 559–562; background of his prophecies, 559; contemporary of Isaiah, 424, 559; date of, 559; house of, 559; predicts destruction of Jerusalem, 72, 438, 486, 559, 561; teaching of, 280, 426, 559f.
—— Book of, 559–563; composite character of, 424, 559.
Micaiah, son of Imlah, 69, 107, 281, 304, 561.
Mice, 276, 706.
Michael, 531, 914, 924, 933, 936; his controversy with Satan, 924, 936.
Michal, 85, 101, 282, 284, 287f, 292.
Michmash, 31, 66, 279, 444; valley of, 31.
Michtam, 367, 373, 382.
Midas, 684.
Middle wall of partition, 865, 935.
Midian, 64, 156, 168, 170, 182, 225, 443f, 470, 784f, 898.
Midianites, 27, 30, 63, 65, 128, 162, 166, 213, 218f, 227f, 256, 258, 263–266, 387.
Midrash, 35f, 75, 78, 254, 259, 314–316, 319–321, 579, 604, 702; of the prophet Iddo, 315, 319.
Migdol, 79, 492, 514.
Migdol-Shechem, 265.
Migration, 50; of birds, 364, 420, 480.
Migron, 279, 444.
Milcom, 266, 289, 299, 493, 549.
Mildew, 203, 550.
Mile, 115, 615.
Miletus, 771f, 798f.
Militarism, 633, 932, 940.
Military service, 113f, 545, 615f.
Milk, 26, 32, 152, 166, 171, 188, 198, 220, 235, 347, 422, 442, 554, 835, 909.
—— skin, 261.
—— spiritual, 835, 909.
Milk (deity), 569, *see* Molech.
Mill, 177, 361, 465, 660.
Mill, John, 597.
—— J. S., 19.
Millenarianism, 932, 940.
Millennium, 941f.
Millo (at Jerusalem), 287, 298; (at Shechem), 265, 287.
Mill-stone, 218, 240f, 265, 439, 486.
Milton, 136, 434, 841, 904.
Mime, 698.
Mina, 116f, 520, 527.
Minæans, 326.
Mind, 318, 408, 719, 734, 810, 827, 835, 864, 869, *see* Reason.
Mine, mining, 360, 577, 795.
Minerva, 628.
Mingled people, 486, 492, 495.
Ministers, 421, 518, 545, 855.
Ministry, Christian, 643, 645–648, 851–853, 866, 871f, 878, 881–884, 887; charismatic, 643, 645–648; of administration, 643, 645f; of teaching, 643, 645f; support of, 840; types of, 643, 645.
—— Hebrew, 124, 127, 129–131, 851, *see* further, Levites, Priest, Priesthood.
Minnith, 266, 513.
Minor prophets, 37, 579, 587.
Minstrel, 439.
Mint, 12, 720.
Minuscules, 601.
Miracles, 175, 178, 219, 223f, 235, 246f, 301f, 305f, 320, 432, 441–443, 460, 462, 465f, 471, 561, 661–664, 681–685, 688–690, 692, 694, 698f, 703, 708–715, 717, 722, 728–731, 734–737, 743, 748, 750f, 754–757, 762, 780–782, 785f, 788, 791f, 795, 797, 804, 859, 880, 890, *see* Signs; classification of, 246; evidential value of, 664; grades of credibility, 663; of Elijah, *see* Elijah, miracles of; of Elisha, *see* Elisha, miracles of; of Jesus, *see* Jesus, miracles of; of Moses, 173–175, 182, 223, 471; of the apostles, 780, 782, 788, 791f, 795, 797, 804; of the prophets, 301, 664; of the Rabbis, 664; spurious, 937, 940.
Miraculous, the, in Hebrew history, 246f.
Mirage, 459, 466.
Mire (mud), 174, 353, 365, 915.
Miriam, 168, 170, 174, 181, 213, 219, 223f, 266; song of, 9, 180.
Mirrors, 194, 363, 811, 844, 904.
Miser, 414.
Misgah, 493.
Mishael, 525, *see* Meshach.
—— son of Uzziel, 202.
Mishnah, 35, 39, 104, 212, 315, 411, 418, 615, 689, 778.
Mishneh, 570.
Mishor, 33.
Mission of the Seventy, 677f, 709, 711, 731; of the Twelve, 677f, 709, 731.
Missionary, 643, 910.
Missionary elements in Judaism, 93, 556–558, 624f.
Mist, 139, 363, 791.
Mitanni, 53–55, 57.
Mites, 117, 696.
Mithraism, 435, 617, 632f; a military religion, 632; and Christianity, 632f; ethics of, 632f; exclusion of women, 633; monuments of, 632f; religious equality of its adherents, 632; rites of, 632f.
Mithras, 325, 628, 632, 701; Dec. 25th his birthday, 632; Sunday his holy day, 632.
Mithredath, 325, 327.
Mithridates, 608.
Mitre, 576, 584.
Mitylene, 798.
Mixed epic, 22, 24; marriages, 92, 210, 650, *see* Intermarriage with aliens; multitude, 178f, 218; multitude (in the time of Nehemiah), 334.
Mixture (textual), 599.
Mixtures, 208, 386, 505.
Mizar, 379.
Mizmor, 366.
Mizpah (Gen. xxxi. 49), 134, 159.
—— home of Jephthah, 266, 538.
—— (Jos. xi. 3), 253.
—— (near Jerusalem), 66, 73, 277f, 313, 491.
Mizpeh, 283.
Mizraim, 145.
Mnason, 799.
Moab, Moabites, 11, 33f, 63–65, 67, 69–72, 76, 99f, 102. 111f, 134, 148f, 153, 163, 177, 184, 224–227, 233f, 240, 245f, 260f, 266, 271, 280, 283, 288, 299, 305f, 320, 383, 387, 431, 445, 447f, 450, 454, 482, 493, 513, 533, 547–549, 569f.
—— Land of, 121; mountains of, 271; plains of, 124, 213.
—— and Ammon, 57, 63, 153.
Moabite stone, 34–36, 69, 99, 224, 233, 246, 281, 299, 305f, 448, 549.
Moat, 531.
Mob, 836.
Mockery, 78, 762.
Moderate drinking, 622.
Moderation, 411, 909.
Modern Greek, 591, 593.
Modesty, 827, 883.
Modin, 607.
Mo'edh, 496–498.
Moesia, 613.
Mohammed, 27, 109, 188, 937.
Mohammedan conquest, 607.
Mohammedanism, Mohammedans, 82, 95, 107, 171, 173, 296.
Mohelim, 203.
Mole built at Tyre, 514.
Molech, Moloch, 74, 207f, 299, 312, 457, 469, 480, 484, 488, 569, 693, 784.
Molten image, 269, 461; metal, stream of, 835; sea, 192, 297f.
Monarchical Episcopate, 646.
Monarchy, 44, 66, 85, 98, 106, 110, 118, 127, 130f, 165, 172, 238f, 245, 249, 264f, 273–275, 277f, 296, 325, 406, 426, 428, 443f, 455, 502, 508, 510f, 516, 519, 535, 541, 577f; benefits of, 66, 113, 127, 274, 277; disadvantages of, 66, 86, 113, 274, 277; double account of origin, 66, 122, 274, 277f; downfall of, 61, 73, 98, 129, 131, 444, 511; hereditary, 113, 294; hostility to, 66, 86, 113, 238, 264, 274, 277, 535; rise of Hebrew, 57, 66, 81, 85, 245, 277f, 541.
Monasteries, 20.
Money, 77, 79, 113, 116f, 163–165, 187, 192, 308, 320f, 329, 351, 365, 380, 415f, 467, 510, 520, 523, 688, 709, 736, 786, 798, 854, 871f, 877, 883, 885f, 922, *see* Riches, Wealth; changers, 695, 748; lenders, 616; love of, 883, 885, 887.

Monogamy, 108, 419, 838.
Monolatry, 64, 67, 85, 87f, 128–130, 183–185, 231, 250, 266.
Monotheism, 19, 51, 54, 64, 67, 77, 82, 89f, 95, 128, 130, 134–136, 231f, 235, 250, 266, 348, 353, 367–369, 375, 392, 419, 429, 477, 484, 527, 535, 556f, 563, 586, 608, 616, 618–620, 623–625, 627, 630, 634, 695, 879.
Monster, 353, 458, 466, 515.
Montanism, 595, 658.
Monte Nuovo, 180.
Month, 117f, 572.
Monument, 468.
Monuments, the, 51, 53, 169, 173, 632f.
Moon, 23, 44, 74, 101, 117, 225, 372, 417, 422, 432, 445, 453, 457, 470, 480, 567f, 627, 635, 847, 904, 936; god, 525; worship, 146.
Moral distinctions, 139; government of the world, 343, 353, 360, 364, 370, 378, 397, 399–401, 404f.
Morality, 11f, 89, 196f, 200, 207, 209, 361, 428, 437, 458, 480, 684, 888; and religion, 11f, 185, 194, 502.
Mordecai, 22, 104, 336–340, 403.
Moreh, 146, 236, 263f.
Moresheth-Gath, 486, 559f.
Moriah, 154, 318.
Morning, 117, 135–139, 158, 292, 332, 359, 376, 380, 393, 443, 451, 551, 706, 779; prayer, 779; star, 138, 363, 446, 930, 942; watch, 278.
Morris, William, 22.
Mortar, 169, 204, 491; and pestle, 218.
Mortgage, 332, 400.
Mosaic Law, 9f, 21, 144, 245, 312, 751, 793, 851; period, 83–85, 123, 127, 148.
Moserah, 223, 229, 236.
Moseroth, *see* Moserah.
Moses, 6, 9f, 13f, 21f, 37, 44, 47, 63f, 66, 83f, 86, 90, 95, 97f, 105, 107, 121–130, 143, 150f, 165, 168–176, 178, 180–184, 188f, 191, 193–195, 201f, 213–223, 227–236, 239, 241–243, 245, 249f, 252–254, 256, 269, 275, 300, 303, 310, 312, 366f, 382, 384, 389, 391, 432, 471, 483, 497, 542, 587, 637, 660, 691, 693, 703, 714, 716, 731, 735f, 742, 747, 751f, 754, 759, 780, 783–785, 793, 799f, 802, 825, 841, 851, 891f, 898f, 924, 935; and Aaron, 170, 173f, 182, 189, 191, 193. 201f, 213, 219, 221, 223; and Babylonia, 84; and Egypt, 84, 168–180; and Jethro, 64, 170f, 182f, 218, 233; and Joshua, 124, 219, 228, 231, 234, 245; and Pharaoh, 170, 172–176, 178, 180, 784, 898; and Pharaoh's daughter, 64, 170; and the angels, 784f, 857; and the Ark, 123, 189f; and the Book of the Covenant, 44, 186–189; and the brazen serpent, 74, 310; and the Decalogue, 44, 123, 184f; and the Kenites, 63f, 84, 170f; and the Law, 9, 44, 64, 84, 90, 121, 130, 168, 213, 312, 411, 418, 530, 637, 693, 751, 784, 851, 859, 899; and the magicians, 174–176, 886; appoints assistant judges, 112, 182, 218, 233; as intercessor, 193, 221, 236, 483; as judge, 64, 182; as prophet, 84, 107, 243, 382, 542, 759, 784; at Sinai, 64, 123, 183–186, 188f, 193f, 784, 898; at the burning bush, 64, 171–173, 784; at the inn, 127, 173; at the Transfiguration, 691, 731; birth of, 64, 170; call of, 21f, 64, 170f, 174, 784; character of, 168, 172, 182, 213f; contention for his body, 924; covenant with, 825; creates religion of Israel, 10, 44, 64, 84, 121, 213f; creates the Israelite nation, 10, 44, 84, 213; crosses the Red Sea, 64, 179–181, 471, 898; death of, 128, 231, 243, 245; early life of, 63f, 170, 784; excluded from Canaan, 223, 233f; faith of, 898; flight to Midian, 64, 168, 170f, 784f, 898; hesitates to accept mission, 172–174; in what sense founder of Israelite law, 44, 64, 84, 168, 213; inflicts the plagues, 174–177, 935; institutes covenant, 64, 84, 188f, 891; institutes Passover, 177–179, 898; leads Israel from Egypt, 63f, 179f, 214, 542; learning of, 170, 784; meekness of, 213, 219; name of, 170; not author of Pentateuch, 10, 44, 84, 121–124, 213, 231, 242f, 312; opposition to, 218–221, 924; preserved in ark of papyrus, 64, 168, 170, 471, 898; recognises Yahweh as Israel's sole deity, 64; rejected by Hebrews, 170, 174, 784f; returns to Egypt, 173, 784; rod of, 168, 172f, 175f, 180, 182, 252, 444; slays the Egyptian, 170, 784; song at Red Sea, 44, 180f, 938; song of, 47, 231, 242f, 890; speeches of, 19f; threatened with death by Yahweh, 127, 173; war with Amalek, 182; wife of, 63f, 168, 170f, 219; work of, 44, 84f, 213; grandson of, 269, 300, 318; parents of, their faith, 170, 898.
Mosque, 155, 388.
Most High God, 429, 687.
Mote, 707, 716, 730.
Moth, 350, 359, 378, 466.
Mother, 109, 139, 206f. 262, 394, 422f, 466, 469, 473, 483, 498f, 877; earth, 630; of sorrows, 632f; the, and the youth, 631.
Mother-in-law, 202, 836, 850.
Mound, 487, 489, 493, 526, 566.
Mount of Anointing, 299; of Corruption, 299; of Offence, 312; of Olives, 115, 290, 297, 299, 312, 508, 583f, 694, 697, 778, 800; of Transfiguration, 29, 32, 667, 691, 697; of User, 248.
Mountain gods, 303.
Mountain of God, 171, 384; of the house, 486.
Mountains, 24, 26–31, 50, 143f, 147–149, 152, 159, 183, 220, 228, 233, 243, 250, 258, 262, 353, 356, 359, 365, 369, 375, 380f, 386, 389, 401, 420f, 438f, 445f, 449, 457f, 466–468, 471, 478f, 482, 484, 499, 506, 511, 515, 517, 525, 533, 545, 550, 555, 561–565, 567, 576, 583, 607f, 628, 641, 691, 703f, 714, 722, 735f, 899, 934, 939, 942; as pillars (of heaven), 353, 359, 380; of brass, 577; Palestinian system of, 26–31, 258, 506; removal of, 695, 844; roots of, 353, 359, 380, 401, 557, 562; sacred, 243.
Mourner, 110, 166, 204, 217f, 417, 450, 453, 469f, 480f, 540, 545; uncleanness of, 166.
Mourning, 79, 110, 155, 157, 202, 209, 237, 239, 276, 349, 376, 415, 439, 448, 451, 457, 470, 472, 479f, 483f, 491, 493, 497, 506, 513, 515, 544, 551, 553, 560f, 565, 582, 711, 782, 788, 840; customs, 237, 239, 349, 513; for dead god, 628, 631; mother, the, 632.
Mouth, 421, 476, 825, 905; covering the, 204.
Mowings, 113, 552.
Muhrakah, 303.
Mulberry, 736.
Mules, 111, 189, 208, 285, 291, 294, 378, 416, 545.
Mummius, 832.
Mummy, 167, 450.
Municipia, 614.
Muratorian Canon, 595, 724, 744, 772, 776, 876, 901f, 908, 923, 928.
Murder, 68, 73, 113, 141, 166, 188, 223, 230, 238, 287, 337, 381f, 409, 491, 516, 539, 578, 581–583, 608f, 612, 629, 651, 664, 705, 720, 752, 771, 905f.
Murderer, 141, 924.
Murrain, plague of, 13, 174, 176.
Mursil, 56.
Mushki, 57, 59.
Music, 66, 70, 76, 106, 130, 134, 157, 245, 278, 281, 305, 373, 381, 396, 844, 866; origin of, 141.
Musical instruments, 106, 367, 373, 528, 844.
Musicians, 316, 448, 616.
Musri (North Arabia), 151, 296, 299.
Must, 554.
Mustard seed, 713, 734.
Mutallu, 56.
Mutilation (ritual), 83, 209, 240, 632.
Mutilations, 209, 240, 286, 609.
Muzrites (of Cappadocia), 306.
Muzzle, 378.
Myra, 799, 803.
Myrrh, 111, 420, 698, 702, 722.
Myrtle rods, 507; tree, 104, 222, 468, 576.
Mysia, 794.
Mysteries, the, 632, 834, 869f; the Greek, 385, 867, 874.
Mystery, 141, 504, 627, 635, 711, 713, 826f, 831, 834, 844, 863–865, 867, 869f, 879, 883, 909, 916, 929; (*i.e.* symbol), 939; of God, 935; of lawlessness, 879f; the Christian, 686.
—— religions, 631–633, 746, 805, 860, 863.
Mystic, 349, 660.
Mystical sense of Scripture, 6; union, 838.
Mysticism, 7, 16, 418, 631f, 916.
Mystic rites, 472f.
Myth, 1f, 5, 9f, 133, 138, 255, 349, 356, 390, 551, 628, 669, 682, 685, 884, 887, 910, 942; and legend, 133.
Mythology, 77, 133, 135–137, 142, 170, 220, 368f, 386, 398, 514, 557, 627f, 939; and religion, 627f; Greek, 627.

Naamah, 301.
Naaman, 21, 69, 189, 203, 285, 306, 728, 737.
Nabal, 280, 284, 306.
Nabatæan dialect, 36.
Nabatæans, 33, 156, 448, 555, 585, 858.
Nablus, 30, 33, 267, 269, 749, *see* Shechem.
Nabopolassar, 60, 72, 313, 446.
Naboth, 30, 87, 109, 112, 304, 306f, 361, 440, 520, 562.

Nabu, 464, *see* Nebo.
Nabu-na'id, 61, 77, 522f, 527f.
Nadab, king of Israel, 68, 301.
—— and Abihu, 168, 188, 191, 201.
Nahaliel, 224.
Nahalol, 259.
Naharaim, 155.
Nahash, king of Ammon, 66, 278.
Nahor, 154f.
Nahum, 25, 46, 60, 72, 564f, 753.
—— Book of, 88, 564f; attitude to Nineveh, 46, 60, 72, 556, 564f; composite character of, 564; date, 46, 564; style of, 25, 564.
Nail, 329, 417, 452, 869.
Nain, 30, 306, 730; widow of, *see* Widow of Nain.
Naioth, 280, 282.
Nakedness, 141, 161.
Name, 158, 160, 172, 185, 263, 414, 419, 442f, 472, 525, 565, 704, 726, 919; a part of the personality, 160, 419; above every name, the, 813; change of, 151, 160f, 219, 313, 471f, 525, 748; expressive of nature, 140, 172, 704; good, 415; hidden, 160; on the forehead, 937, 942; taboo on use of, 202; the ineffable, 160; used as a spell, 160, 185; wonder working power of, 160, 813.
—— of Christ, *see* Christ, name of; of God, 105, 168, 172, 174, 185, 267, 374, 405, 509, 511, 516f, 552, 706f, 931; of Jesus, 160, 701, *see* Jesus; of Yahweh, 160, 172, 174, 185, 210, 454, 457, 489.
—— the, 210, 217, 382, 405, 457, 687, 710.
Names of blasphemy, 936, 939.
Naomi, 48, 271f.
Naos, 297.
Naphthali, son of Jacob, 158, 166; tribe of, 29, 65, 114, 161, 214, 249, 257, 259, 261f, 296f, 309, 315, 318, 521, 704, 933.
Napoleon, 694, 880, 937.
Narcissus (flower), 459.
Narcissus (person), 830.
Nard, oil of, 697.
Narrative, 19–21.
Nathan, 20, 67, 86, 107, 288f, 294, 315f, 318, 389, 426f, 439; house of, 582; son of David, 701, 728.
Nathanael, 660, 748.
Nathan's parable, 289.
National literature, 18f; monotheism, 619–621; songs, 18.
Nationalism, 11, 92, 95, 384, 396, 475, 517, 555, 619f.
Nations, the, 80, 92f, 96, 112f, 131, 374, 379, 392, 432, 438, 445–447, 457f, 460–463, 465–468, 470f, 473, 475–477, 481, 483, 486–488, 490, 492, 513, 516, 544–546, 549, 554f, 560–562, 564–567, 569, 571, 575f, 579f, 582, 584, 619, 625, 721, 826, 829, 831, 935f, 941f, *see* Gentiles, Heathen, the.
Natural and supernatural, 82.
Natural body, 847; man, 834f; religion, 83, 411.
Nature, 2f, 12f, 24, 85, 87, 90f, 93, 95, 133, 346, 350f, 363f, 369, 375, 384, 394, 411f, 422f, 458, 460, 479, 488, 537f, 561, 633, 663f, 689, 696, 698, 793, 812, 819, 824, 938; treatment of, 12f, 24, 369.
Nature miracles, 246f, 663, *see* Jesus, miracles of; psalms, 369, 375, 377; religion, 540, 629–632; worship, 30, 84, 427, 632, 860.
Navigation, 54, 803.
Navy, 111, 532.
Nazara, 779.
Nazarenes, 702, 774.
Nazareth, 29, 267, 309, 482, 497, 659–661, 674, 682, 687f, 702f, 713, 726–728, 730, 748.
Nazirite vow, 105, 216f, 267, 771, 799.
Nazirites, 103, 105, 211, 216f, 222, 267f, 274, 308, 549.
Nazoreans, 779, 802.
Neapolis, 30, 795.
Nebaioth, 156, 470.
Nebo, 228f; (god), 229, 525, *see* Nabu.
Nebuchadrezzar (Nebuchadnezzar), 36, 60f, 72f, 77f, 131, 245f, 313, 342, 446, 474, 482, 489, 491f, 494–496, 498, 501f, 510–516, 522–528, 555, 573; and Arabs, 494; and Daniel, 524–527; and Egypt, 60f, 72f, 313, 474, 491f, 501, 510, 514f, 523; and Judah, 60f, 72f, 131, 246, 313, 342, 474, 482, 489, 495f, 498, 501f, 510, 512, 555; and Tyre, 61, 452, 513f; dreams of, 523, 525–528; fiery furnace of, 526; golden image of, 526; madness of, 526–528; reign of, 60f, 72f, 313, 523.
Nebuzaradan, 73, 313, 490f.
Necho, *see* Pharaoh Necho.
Neck, 421, 444, 497, 540f, 560, 892.
Necromancer, necromancy, 106, 239, 285, 443, 456.
Nedarim, 414.
Nedebæus, 800.
Needle's eye, 693.
Negeb, the, 28, 31f, 34, 63–66, 146–150, 153, 182, 219, 233, 258, 261, 285f, 393, 451, 456, 482, 484, 555, 578, 580.
Neginoth, 373.
Negro, 145, 490.
Nehemiah, 21, 35, 78f, 92, 103, 110, 119f, 129, 131, 192, 199, 244f, 320, 323–325, 328, 330–335, 461, 585; and Artaxerxes, 61, 78f, 330; and Ezra, 78; and his opponents, 78f, 330–333; and marriages with foreign women, 79, 299, 328, 334f; autobiography of, 49, 78, 324f, 331, 334; governor of Judah, 78f, 323f, 330–332, 334f; rebuilds the walls of Jerusalem, 78f, 330–332; reforms social and religious abuses, 48, 79, 103, 110, 245, 320, 332, 334f.
—— Book of, 20, 368, 525, *see* Ezra-Nehemiah.
—— contemporary of Zerubbabel, 325.
Nehiloth, 373.
Nehushta, 482, 485.
Nehushtan, 74, 310.
Neighbour, 208, 621, 732, 905.
Neith, 163.
Neolithic period, 52, 263.
Neophytes, 863.
Nephilim, 142, 220.
Nephisim, 326.
Ner, 280.
Nērab, 35.
Nergal-sharezer, *see* Neriglissar.
Neri, 701.
Neriglissar, 77, 523.
Nero, 610, 612, 616, 630f, 655–657, 681, 701, 772, 774f, 802, 830, 897, 928, 936–940; expectation of his return, 774; identification with the beast, 612, 774.
Nero redivivus, 937, 939; legend of, 928.
Neronian persecution, *see* Persecution under Nero.
Nerva, 656, 658, 936.
Nest, 387, 444, 485, 555, 567.
Nestorians, 596.
Net, 398, 467, 515, 520, 538, 555, 566–568, 713, 764.
Netaim, 111.
Nethinim, 77, 326, 329.
Netophah, 491.
Netophathites, 334.
Nettle, 468, 570.
Neutral text, 600.
New man, 866, 870; Babylonian Empire, 61, 446; birth, 746, 749, 811, 918, 920, *see* Regeneration; bottles, 851; cloth on old garment, 638, 659, 684, 709, 729; commandment, 917f; covenant, 14, 90, 131, 189, 427, 468, 475, 537, 636, 639f, 668, 697, 739, 809, 825, 842, 851, 859, 891, 894–897, 899f; creature, 807, 810, 852; flesh, 469, 481, 489; heart, 131, 381, 503, 511, 516; heaven and new earth, 13, 432, 473, 915, 941f; heavens, 473, 915; Hebrew, 35; Jerusalem, 431, 468, 470, 931, 940–942; life, 16, 810, 812, 859, 866, 870; moon, 101, 104f, 117, 282, 306, 326, 387, 437, 469, 473, 520, 573, 647, 652f; name, 472, 930; song, 92, 389, 932.
New Testament, 14; and the Old, 636; criticism of, 14–16; Greek influence on, 25; literary aspects of, 25; quotations from Old Testament, 4; survival of a larger literature, 602; canon, *see* Canon of New Testament; grammar, 592, 598; literature, development of, 602–606; vocabulary, 592.
New wine, 111, 684, 729, 851.
New year, 104f, 118, 205, 210f; the Babylonian, 118, 387; the old Hebrew, 118, 387.
New Year's Day, 123, 144, 177, 205, 380, 387, 389, 518.
Next-of-kin, 109, 488; marriage of, 158.
Nicanor, 104, 337–339, 392, 607.
Nicanor's gate, 780.
Niceta of Remesiana, 726.
Nicodemus, 748f, 753.
Nicolas, 783.
Nicolaitans, 930f.
Nicopolis, 657, 881, 887f.
Nietzsche, 176.
Night, 27, 111, 135–137, 149, 153, 158f, 332, 349, 369, 377, 417, 451, 482, 491, 551, 583, 758.
—— demon, 459; monster, 459; watchman, 359.
Nightmare, 456.
Nile, the, 52, 124, 130, 140, 143, 147, 150, 169f, 173–176, 236, 354, 356, 365, 449f, 452, 471, 492, 514f, 553, 565, 730.
Nimrah, 229.
Nimrim, 448.
Nimrod, 145, 561, 702.
Nina, 189.
Nineveh, 36, 46, 60, 72, 428, 474,

484, 556–558, 564f, 570, 712; destruction foretold, 556–558, 564f; fall of, 311, 313, 474, 564f; size of, 557; spared, 557f.
Ninevites, 557.
Nippur, 77, 494.
Nirab, 553.
Nisan, 101–103, 105, 117f, 177, 210, 316, 323, 329f, 387, 652f, 697.
Nitre, 23, 408.
Nizir, Mount, 142.
No, *see* Thebes.
Noadiah, 332.
Noah, 122, 125, 134, 141–145, 151, 246, 468, 509, 737, 897, 910f, 914; a culture hero, 145; and his family saved in the ark, 125, 143f, 914; blesses Shem and Japheth, 133, 145; covenant with, 11, 22, 143–145, 453; curses Canaan, 5, 133, 145; descendants of, 125, 143, 145f; drunkenness of, 145; faith of, 897; his name, 134, 141, 145; introduces vine culture, 141, 145; makes wine, 141, 145; preacher of righteousness, 914; righteousness of, 125, 143, 145, 509, 897; sacrifice of, 144; sons of, 142f, 145.
No-amon, 72, 564f.
Nob, 100, 229, 275, 283, 294, 444, 474.
Nobah, 229.
Nobles, 79, 188, 362, 405, 458, 499, 506, 565, 581, 608, 620, 624.
Nohah, 270.
Noked, 305, 547, 553.
Nomad life of early Hebrews, 32, 34, 63, 80, 83, 96, 98, 103, 105, 108, 184, 188, 213, 220, 256, 261, 266, 477.
Nomadic religion, 81, 86, 96, 216, 307, 489.
Nomads, 31f, 34, 50, 63, 141, 146, 198, 219, 260, 263f, 280, 399, 419, 440, 446, 451, 462, 470, 478, 482, 489, 494, 513, 547.
Non-canonical, Christian books, 773.
Non-resistance, 406, 705, 722, 729.
Noon, noon-day, noontide, 117, 393, 420, 459, 553, 570, 763, 788, 800.
Noph, 52, 79, 450, 477, 492, 514.
Nophah, 224.
Noricum, 613.
North, the, 359, 363, 446f, 474, 477–480, 482, 492, 515, 517, 546, 576, 578.
North Africa, 778.
—— Galatian theory, 769f, 857.
—— wind, 408.
Northern kingdom, *see* Israel; largely ignored in Chronicles, 75.
Northerner, the, 546.
Nose, 423, 507.
Nose-ring, 155, 403.
Nosri, 779.
Nous, 760.
Novatian, 601.
Novice, 632, 883, 887.
Nowairi, 250.
Nubia, 54.
Nuceria, 613.
Numa, 630.
Numbers, Book of, 121, 213–230; contents, 213; date, 213; historicity, 213; scene of the history, 213; structure, 213; title, 213; value of, 213f.
Numidia, 613.
Nunc Dimittis, 727.
Nuptial bath, 867; chamber, 268, 369, 545.
Nuts, 111, 525.
Nymphas, 871.

Oak, 100, 224, 236, 265, 291, 438, 538, 580.
Oar, 803.
Oasis, 27, 33, 50, 82, 181f, 469.
Oath, 79, 112, 149, 154–156, 167, 174, 179, 186f, 199, 216, 233–235, 242f, 284, 306, 329, 334, 348, 351, 359, 376, 391, 394, 396, 409, 416, 479, 485, 510, 553, 698, 705, 720, 722, 762, 893f, 906; of clearing, 361; of Yahweh, 187.
Obadiah (prophet), 555.
—— Book of, 48, 493, 555; composite character of, 555; date, 555; occasion, 555; place in Canon, 555; relation to Book of Jeremiah, 493f, 555.
—— steward of Ahab, 73, 302f.
Obed, 272.
Obed-edom, 276, 288, 316, 321.
Obedience, 7, 93, 95f, 128, 131, 139, 154, 186, 188, 211f, 231, 234–236, 238, 241, 278, 280, 345, 365, 372, 387, 399, 414, 417, 472, 475, 479f, 483, 489, 503, 511, 557, 576, 622, 642f, 649, 693, 703, 708, 754, 759f, 765, 792, 805f, 811, 820, 822f, 826, 831, 867, 871, 888, 892, 894, 898, 909–911, 917, 919f.
Obelisk, *see* Pillar (sacred).
Oblation, 526.
Obol, 116.
Oboth, 224.
Obstinacy, 763, 905.
Occult arts, 312, 443, 450.
Occultism, 617.
Ocean, 27, 137, 380, 395, 401, 409, 449, 466, 628; the heavenly, 137, 363, 377, 401.
Octavian, Octavius, *see* Augustus.
Ode on the king of Babylon, 445–447.
Oded, 76.
Odes of Solomon, 766, 910.
Odysseus and the Sirens, 6.
Œcumenius, 783.
Offerings, 76, 127, 130, 141, 329, 468, 479, 491, 520, 571f, 586, 620; to the dead, 101, 208.
Officers, 163, 607, 612, 753; in the church, 643, 645f, 884, 887.
Officials (State), 414, 616, 882.
Og, 64, 128, 224, 232, 234.
Oholah, 512.
Oholiab, 193f.
Oholibah, 512.
Oil, 82, 98, 111, 115, 124, 157, 161, 166, 189, 191–194, 198–200, 204, 216–218, 220, 222, 235, 265, 286, 295, 297, 302, 305, 359, 369, 389, 394, 408, 437, 468, 520, 536, 541, 544, 562, 577, 659, 688, 864, 907.
Ointment, 331, 415f, 419, 552, 697, 741, 931.
Old age, 351, 395, 415, 417, 578; covenant, 488, 636, 639, 851, 859, 891, 894–897, 899; gate, the, 331; Latin version, 41, 601, 747; man, the, 866, 870; men, 544, 888; Syriac version, 41, 601.
Old Testament, 9–14, 18–25, 44–49, 97, 809, 845f, 865, 868, 897f; a collection of books, 18; a national literature, 18f; a prophetic book, 13f; absence of drama, 20; absence of epic, 22; absence of philosophy, 20, 429; and contemporary documents, 428; and Jesus, *see* Jesus; and Nature, 12, 24, 369; and New Testament, 95; and Paul, *see* Paul; and the ancient East, 428; apologetic for, 81; authority of, 805, 889; biography in, 21f; Canon of, 37–40; character of, as historical narrative, 10, 20–22, 247, 255; composite structure of, 9; culminates in Christ, 10, 13f; development of, 11f; discrepancies in, 9f; diversity of, 19, 244; editorial work in, 3, 9; ethical character of, 11f; historical value of, 10; in the Christian Church, 594; interpretation of, 805; interpretation of Hebrew history in, 13, 244, 247; languages of, 34–36; large proportion of, narrative, 20; literary types in, 9, 19–25; not to be isolated from other sacred literature, 9; proof of Christianity from, 805, 809; prophetic and priestly narratives in, 21; reading of, 96; religious interest controlled compilation of, 18; religious interest of its writers, 10f, 244, 246f; religious value, of 10–14, 886; scepticism in, 21; speeches in, 20; survival of a larger literature, 9, 18, 44, 246, 426; translated into Greek, 62, 97; text of, 36, 40–43; triple division of, 37; unity of, 13, 18f; versions of, 36, 40f, 43.
Oleander, 32.
Olive, 28f, 144, 188, 218, 222f, 243, 265, 290, 382, 393, 448f, 453, 482, 543, 550f, 562, 826; berries, 448f, 454; branches, 104, 826; garden, 545; trees, the two, 577, 935.
Olive-yard, 102.
Olivet, 718, 778.
Olympus, 876; gods of, 936.
Omar Khayyam, 412, 415.
Omen, 226, 305, 429, 464, 544.
Omer, 103, 105; (measure), 115, 181.
Omnipotence, 281, 762, *see* further, God, omnipotence of.
Omnipresence, 395, *see* further, God, omnipresence of.
Omniscience, 395, *see* God, omniscience of.
Omri, 30, 68–70, 166, 244, 246, 302f, 305, 307, 422, 549; dynasty of, 69f, 307, 562.
On (person), 220; (place), *see* Heliopolis.
Onan, 162f.
Onesimus, 649f, 862, 870f.
Onesiphorus, 885.
Onias II., 338, 497; III., 523f, 531, 581–583; IV., 106, 450, 581.
—— contemporary of Hyrcanus II., 225.
Onions, 218.
Only begotten, 741, 747.
Ono, 332.
Onyx, 101, 140, 191, 360, 942.
Opal, 931, 942.
Ophanim, 864.
Ophel, 297, 306, 458.
Ophir, 111f, 145, 299, 304, 446, 481, 531.

Ophrah, 263–265, 279.
Ophthalmia, 235, 769, 860f.
Opis, 61.
Opportunism, 612, 616.
Oppression, 67f, 72, 87, 93, 97, 113, 119, 184, 200, 206, 259f, 277, 342, 346, 375, 398, 413f, 429, 436, 439, 466f, 469f, 509, 512, 520, 538, 546f, 550f, 560, 566f, 706, 904, 906.
Oppressor, 88f, 94, 257, 261–263, 351, 362, 386, 389, 393f, 413f, 423, 437, 439, 443–447, 450, 454, 456, 458, 466f, 501, 516, 544, 546, 560f, 563f, 566f, 572, 576, 624, 820.
Optimism, 397, 411f, 432, 485, 509, 625.
Oracle, 24, 85, 101, 114, 146, 156, 182, 193, 225–227, 236, 239, 257f, 260, 269, 278f, 283, 285, 292, 304f, 326, 383f, 391, 410, 424, 428, 456, 464, 485, 491, 495, 512, 538, 561, 566f, 592, 773; in Baal temple, 308; the, *see* Holy of Holies.
Oracles of God, 820.
Oral tradition, 86, 142, 168, 282, 314, 579, 594, 604f, 675, 724f, 756.
Orator, oratory, 19, 801.
Orchard, 33, 99.
Ordeals, 112, 187, 216, 400, 632.
Order, 136f, 845.
Ordinances, 865, 870.
Ordination, 643, 884f.
Oreb, 171; rock of, 302.
Orestes, 21.
Organisation, 61, 77, 90, 92, 94, 107, 329, 334, 503, 517f.
—— of the Church, 604, 645–647, 766, 773, 778, 783, 872, 876, 881–884, 887, 902; development not deliberately planned, 645; difficulties of the problems concerned, 645; fluid character of, 645, 827, 848; in the Pastoral Epistles, 816, 881–884, 887; Jewish and Gentile influence upon, 645, 766; not created by Jesus, 645; provisional character of, 645.
Orgiastic religion, 616, 789.
Oriental sore, 348.
Orientalism, 916.
Orientals, 19f, 24.
Origen, 6, 37, 41, 231, 297, 373, 411, 595f, 599–601, 653, 687, 692, 701, 705, 717f, 747, 835, 886, 901, 908, 913, 915f, 923f, 928.
Origin of evil, 346.
Original sin, 139, 144, 382, 433f, 864.
Orion, 353, 398, 446, 551; bands of, 363.
Ormuzd and Ahriman, 632.
Ornament, 193, 407, 466.
Ornan, *see* Araunah.
Orontes, 28, 54, 61, 72, 260, 309, 330, 444, 506, 552.
Orpah, 271.
Orphan, 102, 128, 187, 236, 241, 272, 351, 428, 438, 494, 621, 884.
Orthodoxy, 342, 344f, 355, 370, 373, 397, 402, 412f, 416, 432, 556, 596, 640, 660, 663, 901, 905, 919.
Osiris, 57, 130, 444.
Osnappar, 310, 328, *see* Ashur-banipal.
Ostanes, 79.
Ostia, 633.
Ostracism (social), 926.
Ostrich, 364, 459, 499.
Othello, 266.
Other-worldliness, 435.
Othniel, 66, 249, 257f, 260.
Otho, 612, 656, 936.
Outcasts, 2, 206, 348, 356, 358–360, 454, 586, 632, 649, 669, 706, 717, 721, 735, 738.
Outer darkness, 659, 708, 719.
Outlaw, outlawry, 66, 113, 315.
Oven, 175, 378, 539.
Overseers, 67, 643, 910.
Ovid, 628.
Owl, 458, 570.
Ox, 23, 98f, 186, 201, 206, 217, 235, 238, 241, 274, 293, 317, 347, 393, 404 437, 457f, 472, 479, 504, 508, 540f, 552, 558, 571, 735, 840, 931; goad, 261.
Oxen, the twelve, 105, 297, 310.
Oxford, 591.

P, *see* Priestly Code.
Pacific Islands, 629.
Paddan-aram, 134, 161f.
Padi, 71.
Pagan religion, 627–635, 701, 876.
Paganism, 75, 877f, 889, 908, 910f, 920, 930, 934, 936–938, 942, *see* Heathenism.
Paidagogos, 836, 860.
Pain, 82, 139, 354, 377, 408, 414, 467, 483, 633f, 930.
Painful letter to Corinth, 849f, 853–856.
Painting, 565; the eyes, 307, 479, 512.
Palace, 30, 67, 73f, 114, 169, 311, 318, 338, 396, 439, 458, 485, 487, 490, 493, 519, 524, 529, 546, 548f, 553, 609, 698, 763; the heavenly, 368, 471.
Palanquin, 421.
Palate, 355, 423.
Palestine, 26–34, 42, 45, 50–53, 55–62, 79, 81f, 86, 98, 110, 116, 134–136, 140, 148, 151, 243f, 257, 406, 414, 432f, 440, 443–445, 447, 450, 459, 479, 489, 523f, 529f, 532f, 535, 540, 559f, 570, 572, 592, 601, 605, 608–610, 615, 700, 702, 710, 742, 744, 749, 759, 785, 800, 832, 904, 916, 924, 936.
Palimpsest, 601.
Palisade, 495.
Pallas (brother of Felix), 610, 655.
Pallas Athene, 21, 628.
Palm, 100, 112, 260f, 284, 422f, 518; branches, 103f, 356, 443, 718, 757.
Palm of the hand, 466, 527, 690.
Palmerworm, 544.
Palmists, 582.
Palmyra, 299.
Pamphylia, 613, 791, 908.
Pan (god), 32.
Panias, 28, 32, 609.
Pannag, 513.
Pannonia, 613.
Pantheism, 11.
Paphos, 230, 791.
Papias, 592–595, 653, 658, 699f, 700, 744, 765, 790, 927–929.
Papyri, 36, 429, 591–593, 694, 697f, 705–707, 730, 736–739, 761f, 784, 797, 864, 904.
Papyrus, 32, 170, 353, 700, 887, 931; boats 354, 449.
Parable of the thankless vineyard, 439.
Parables, 133, 254, 289f, 309, 341, 397, 455, 476, 484, 510, 512, 536f, 556, 567, 674, 677, 686, 707, 713, 736, 743, 754, 898, 938; in prophetic literature, 25; of Jesus, *see* Jesus, parables of; purpose of, 667, 686.
Paraclete, 745, 758–760, 917.
Paradise, 88, 138f, 370, 381, 433f, 478, 514, 736, 738f, 741, 753, 856; flower, 420.
Paradise Lost, 18.
Parah, 482.
Parallelism, 23f, 372, 398, 424, 498, 706f, 937.
Paralytic, 683, 708f, 729, 788.
Paran, 154, 182, 219, 284; wilderness of, 123, 213, 218, 284.
Parapet, 109, 240.
Paraphrase, 125.
Parasitic soul, dangers of invasion by, 144.
Parbar, 317.
Parchment, 719.
Pardon, 454, 906, *see* Forgiveness.
Parents, 186, 563, 621, 707, 714, 839, 867; and children, 108f, 111, 121, 240, 867; duty to, 689, 714; respect for, 93, 184f, 235, 240.
Parilia, 222.
Paring the nails, 239.
Paris, 601.
Parousia, 649, 710, 713, 715, 720f, 733f, 737–739, 760, 765, 809, 872–874, 876–880, 913, 924, 930f, 938, *see* Second Coming.
Parsis, 507.
Parthia, 454, 608, 701, 934.
Parthians, 608f, 934.
Particularism, 91.
Partnership, 112.
Partridge, 268, 483.
Party spirit, 93, 832f, 835, 903, 905.
Parvaim, 318.
Paschal full-moon, 652, 698; lamb, 100, 102f, 105, 177, 179, 653, 697, 739, 747, 757, 837.
Pashhur (ancestor of returned exiles), 325; son of Immer, 72, 325, 484f, 487; son of Malchiah, 485.
Pass, 30f, 565.
Passing between the pieces, 150, 489; through the fire, 207, 310.
Passion, 19, 870, 906.
Passion, the, 724, 756, 763.
Passion narratives, 669, 673–675, 694, 697–699, 721f, 739–741, 758–763, 842.
Passions, 416, 916.
Passover, 21, 30, 76f, 83, 100–103, 108, 117f, 127, 129, 168, 176–179, 209f, 217f, 238, 251, 312, 317, 321–323, 326, 328, 390, 392, 418, 457, 520, 542, 584, 610, 653, 668, 694, 696–698, 715, 720, 727, 734, 739–741, 743, 748, 751, 756–758, 762, 837, 898, 909; the second, 103, 105, 217.
—— cup, 739.
Passports, 615.
Pastor, 503, 505, 643, 866, 900.
Pastoral Epistles, 595, 603, 772, 805, 881–888, 901, 923f; authenticity of, 603, 772, 805, 815f, 881; authorship of, 603, 805, 881; bearing on question of second imprisonment, 772, 881; date, 658, 881; external evidence for, 815, 881; false teaching attacked in, 815, 881; moralistic tone in, 815; movements of Paul implied in, 772, 881; Pauline material in, 772, 805, 816, 881; personal details in, 815, 881; stress on or-

ganisation, 815; teaching of, 881; unity of, 772, 881, 887; vocabulary and style of, 815, 881.
Pastoral life, 88, 111, 134, 184, 488; people, 206.
Pastorals of Theocritus, 591.
Pasturage, pasture, 31, 33, 50, 124, 147, 165, 170, 214, 225, 228f, 266, 408, 448, 457, 481, 546, 548, 553, 563, 570, 629, 735.
Patara, 799.
Path of life, 370.
Pathros, 79, 445, 492, 514.
Patience, 378, 404, 649, 667, 739, 829, 844, 861, 868, 877, 879, 899f, 906, 929, 931.
Patmos, 926f, 931, 934.
Patria potestas, 867.
Patriarch of Alexandria, 685.
Patriarchal history, 119, 133; narratives, 122; period, 127, 428.
Patriarchs, 10, 20, 30–32, 63, 111, 124f, 127f, 133, 146, 156, 171f, 174, 300, 329, 390, 429, 432, 563, 701, 722, 738, 784, 898, 931; historicity of, 133f; national interpretation of, 63, 134; theories concerning, 133f.
Patriot, 77, 564, 898.
Patriotism, 85, 244, 486, 556, 660.
Patristic quotations, 598f.
Patroclos, 21.
Pausanias, 216, 796.
Paul, 8, 15f, 83, 139, 174, 177, 185, 220, 242, 369, 475, 499, 533, 586, 591–593, 595, 602, 604f, 638–651, 653, 661, 669f, 681, 691–694, 705, 714f, 717, 719, 739, 745, 747, 749, 766–777, 783–804, 814–849, 856–863, 865, 867–889, 901f, 906, 908–910, 912, 918, 935, 940; a Pharisee of Pharisaic parentage, 768, 802, 874; and Agrippa, 772, 802f; and Ananias, 768, 787, 800, 802; and Apollos, 771, 797, 832f, 835f, 848, 854, 888; and Aquila and Priscilla, 771, 796f, 817, 830, 848; and asceticism, 642, 644, 649f, 828, 869, 883f, 887; and Barnabas, 647, 768–770, 776, 782, 787, 789–794, 840f, 858f; and Claudius Lysias, 800–802, 804; and Eutychus, 302, 771, 798; and Felix, 655, 772, 801; and Festus, 772, 801f; and Gallio, 771, 797; and Gamaliel, 768, 800; and James, 769, 771, 787, 790, 793, 799, 854, 858f, 904f; and Jesus, 15f, 669, 747, 768, 786, 792, 806–810, 833, 840, 842, 844–846, 852, 854, 878; and Luke, 16, 724, 742, 769–771, 776f, 795, 854, 870, 887; and Mark, 14, 681, 769f, 790f, 794, 841, 859, 870, 885, 887, 912; and marriage, 650, 705, 832, 838–840, 867, 878, 883; and meat offered to idols, 651, 770, 832, 840–842; and Onesimus, 649f, 862, 870f, 912; and Peter, 691, 741, 769f, 773, 787f, 793, 832f, 858f, 924; and Philemon, 649f, 862, 871; and Sergius Paulus, 768, 791; and Silas, 770, 794–797, 836, 877f, 912; and Simon Magus, 785; and slavery, 649f, 839, 867, 870, 884f, 888; and spiritual gifts, 643, 647f, 832, 834f, 843–845, 866, 879; and Stephen, 639f, 767f, 783, 785, 806; and the apostles, 640, 646, 681, 686, 692f, 769f, 786f, 809, 815, 846, 851, 858; and the Church of Antioch in Syria, 647, 769f, 789–791, 793f, 797, 858f; and the Church of Colossæ, 602, 862, 868–871; and the Church of Corinth, 602, 771, 797f, 832–848, 849–851, 853–856; and the Church of Ephesus, 602, 797–799; and the Church of Jerusalem, 647, 785, 787, 789f, 793f, 797, 799, 853, 858; and the Church of Philippi, 602, 795, 872–875; and the Church of Rome, 602f, 774, 804, 817–819, 828–831, 887; and the Church of Thessalonica, 602, 771, 795, 876–880; and the Churches of Galatia, 602, 769–771, 792–794, 857; and the Council of Jerusalem, 646f, 651, 769f, 793f, 817, 858f; and the Cross, 641, 777, 802–812, 822, 828, 831, 833f, 859, 861, 873; and the Gentile problem, 640, 646f, 769f, 772, 791–794, 858f, 864, 869; and the incestuous person, 648f, 832, 836f, 850; and the Jewish Christians, 640, 769–772, 793, 799, 806f, 811, 817, 823, 857, 861, 873, 880; and the Jews, 768f, 771f, 777, 783, 787, 791–802, 804, 807, 811, 819–821, 840, 874, 879; and the Law, 639f, 647, 769–772, 792f, 799f, 802, 804–807, 814, 817, 823, 882; and the legalist controversy, 640, 646, 806f, 811, 817, 857; and the Messianic hope, 640, 805, 807, 828, 831; and the ministry, 643, 645–648; and the mission to the Gentiles, 605, 768–770, 772, 777, 787f, 791–797, 800, 802, 804, 806–808, 817, 819, 829, 858f, 865, 876f; and the Old Testament, 6, 791, 805f, 808f, 818–822, 825–829, 831, 833–836, 840f, 845–847, 851, 859f, 886; and the Resurrection of Jesus, 641, 653, 741, 768, 777, 792, 796, 800, 802, 804, 807, 821f, 824–826, 828, 840, 845f, 852, 863f, 874, 883, 909; and the Roman authorities, 649, 769, 771f, 774, 791, 795, 797, 800–804, 812, 827f, 877, 879, 882, 909f; and the Sanhedrin, 800–802; and the Three, 770, 790, 858f; and Timothy, 770, 794, 796–798, 815, 830, 836, 848–850, 857–859, 861, 868, 871–873, 876–878, 881–887, 912; and Titus, 646, 794, 849f, 853f, 858, 881, 887f, 912; and women, 650, 795f, 832, 839–842, 845, 867, 876, 883f, 886, 888; apostleship of, 646, 817f, 829, 840, 849, 856–858, 868, 882f, 885f; arrest of, 602, 790, 799f, 804; at Antioch in Pisidia, 769f, 791f, 857; at Athens, 769, 771, 776f, 796, 876, 878; at Berœa, 771, 795f, 876, 878; at Cæsarea, 655, 777, 797, 799, 801–803, 863, 872; at Corinth, 655, 771f, 776, 794, 796–798, 817, 830, 832, 835, 848–850, 876, 878; at Damascus, 655, 690, 768, 787, 802, 856, 858; at Derbe, 792f, 857; at Ephesus, 639, 655, 771f, 776, 797–799, 830, 832, 847–849, 862f, 870, 929; at Iconium, 792, 885; at Lystra, 792f, 857, 886; at Philippi, 771, 776, 795, 872, 876f; at Tarsus, 768f, 787, 789, 791, 805; at Thessalonica, 771, 795, 874, 876–878; at Troas, 770–772, 794f, 798, 850, 872, 887; attacks on his character, 849–857, 876f; authority of, 647, 649, 836, 855f, 883; autobiography of, 823, 858, 874; baptism of, 768, 787; charges against, 783, 795, 797, 800–802, 804; chronology of his life, 652, 654–657, 772, 787, 789f, 793f, 797, 832, 858, 872; churches of, 602f, 643, 646f, 770f, 792–799, 829; collection for the saints, 647, 771, 777, 798f, 801, 817, 829, 832, 847f, 850, 853f, 859; conversion of, 638, 652, 654–657, 767–769, 776, 786f, 800, 802, 805–811, 817, 857f; death of, 652, 655–657, 724, 772–774, 804, 828, 887; doctrines of, *see* below; education of, 639f, 661, 768, 800, 805, 887; ethics of, 640, 642–644, 649–651, 715, 717, 812, 818, 827–829; Epistles of, *see* Pauline Epistles; exegesis of, 6, 154, 558, 805, 826, 840, 859, 860, 866f; exorcism at Philippi, 795; experience of, 369, 639–641, 768, 800–809, 817, 823, 858; gift of psychological analysis, 640; gospel of, 807, 819, 831, 865; Greek influence on, 644, 768, 805, 812, 860; heals cripple at Lystra, 780, 792; heals father of Publius, 804; ill-health of, 769, 855–857, 860, 878; imperialism of, 772, 910; importance of, 16, 766, 772; imprisonment at Cæsarea, 655, 724, 742, 772, 800–803, 862, 872; at Rome, 655, 815, 818, 830, 862, 865, 870–873, 881, 885; in Arabia, 33, 768, 787, 858; in Cyprus, 655, 769, 791; in Galatia, 655, 769–771, 792–794, 857; in Macedonia, 655, 771f, 795f, 798, 829, 848–850, 853, 881f; in Malta, 803f; in Rome, 616, 655, 700, 724, 742, 772f, 777, 804, 818, 829f, 863, 870–872, 881, 887, 924; in Syria and Cilicia, 769, 787, 794, 858; independence of, 646, 840, 857f; Jewish influence on, 768, 805, 807, 812f; language of, 592f, 800; life and work, 16, 768–772, 812; lost letters of, 602, 832, 837, 849f, 853f, 862, 874; martyrdom of, 772f, 804, 872f, 935; ministry of, 819, 851–853, 855, 865, 868, 872–874, 877f; missionary call of, 768, 787, 800, 802, 806–808, 858, 865; missionary journeys of, 16, 614, 742, 769–771, 782, 791–799, 829, 877; Nazirite vow of, 771, 799, 801; originality of, 809; persecutes the Christians, 768, 785–787, 802, 806, 833, 846, 858, 874, 882; persecution of, 777, 792f, 795, 799f, 829, 836, 847, 849, 861, 873, 876f, 886; personal appearance of, 768, 792, 846, 851, 855f; plots against, 768, 771f, 787, 798, 800f, 804, 829; preaching of, 591, 768f, 771, 777, 787, 791f, 795–797, 802, 806, 829, 833f, 840, 850, 858, 865, 869f, 873, 877f; pre-Christian theology of, 805–807; relatives of, 768, 772, 800, 805; Roman citizenship of, 768, 771f, 791, 795, 800–802, 847, 886, 910; Roman name of, 768, 791; Saul his Hebrew name, 786; second imprisonment, 655, 772, 815, 881, 885; shipwreck of, 614, 772, 803f; slave of Christ (or God), 868f, 872, 887; speeches in Acts, 25, 769, 771f, 791f, 794, *see*

below; spurious Epistles attributed to, 595, 603, 815, 879f; sufferings of, 849, 851, 855f, 865, 869, 874; supports himself by manual labour, 795–797, 840, 877; taken for a god, 792, 804; tent-maker, 768, 796; theology of, *see* Pauline theology; theology revolutionised by conversion, 805–808; trials of, 771f, 795, 797, 800–804, 871f, 887; universalism of, 372, 806f; visions of, 768, 771, 787, 792, 795, 800, 856, 872; visits to Jerusalem, 654–656, 768–772, 787, 789f, 793f, 797–801, 817, 829, 848, 857f; visit to Spain, 772, 799, 817, 829, 881; voyage of, 616, 655, 772, 803f.

Paul, doctrines of: Abraham and Moses, 640, 806, 821; Adam and Christ, 822, 846f; adoption, 808, 811, 824; angels, 220, 647f, 650, 824, 834, 836f, 841–844, 851, 858–860, 864f, 868–870, 878, 883; anger of God, 819–822, 825, 827f, 866, 870; atonement, 809–811, 820–824, 838, 846, 853, 857, 859, 863, 868, 870, 888; baptism, 639, 812, 822, 826, 833, 837, 841, 843, 847, 850, 860, 866f, 869f, 885f, 888; Christ, 15f, 640–644, 787, 806–813, 815, 818–831, 834–843, 846, 849, 851–856, 858, 862–870, 873, 878, 882f, 886, 888, 910; Christian conduct, 812, 827–829, 861, 866f, 870, 873f, 878–880, 883–888; Church, 641, 643, 812, 815, 828, 831, 843, 860, 862, 864–869, 886; circumcision, 770, 788, 793f, 799, 820f, 829, 839, 858, 860f, 864f, 869, 874; conscience, 642, 651, 819, 827f, 840f, 882f; cosmic functions of Christ, 812f, 868; death as penalty of sin, 810, 822, 843, 850; death of Christ, 807–813, 820–824, 828, 834, 838, 840, 846, 851f, 859, 863–865, 868, 873, 886, 888; deliverance from sin, 639, 649, 807, 811f, 861; demons, 83, 651, 812, 840–843, 867, 870; election, 806, 824–827, 834, 863, 880; eschatology, 650, 807, 809, 811f, 819, 823f, 826, 828, 834, 840, 846f, 860, 862, 864, 877–880; faith, 640–642, 792, 810–812, 819–823, 825–829, 831, 834f, 844–846, 850, 852, 859–861, 863f, 874, 877, 882, 884–887, 901, 905; flesh, 639f, 649, 806, 811f, 823f, 847, 861, 864, 869, 879; forgiveness of sins, 792, 808, 811, 820, 822, 846, 863, 868f, 882; freedom, 649, 807, 810f, 825, 828, 838f, 860, 862; God, 792f, 796, 806, 808, 810–813, 819–828, 831–835, 840f, 845f, 849, 852, 858, 863–865, 868f, 873, 880, 882–885; grace, 639f, 806, 808f, 811, 818–823, 825–827, 829, 831, 833, 846, 850, 853, 859, 861, 864f, 875, 882, 884, 888; holiness (sanctification), 640, 822–824, 827, 832, 834, 837–839, 846, 868, 878; holiness of God, 811, 835; Holy Spirit, 639f, 642–645, 648, 745, 808–812, 821, 823f, 829, 834f, 837f, 840, 843f, 850–852, 859–861, 863–868, 874, 879, 884, 910; judgment, 796, 801, 809, 819f, 825, 832, 837, 840, 843, 852, 861, 879; justification, 640, 792, 808, 811, 819–824, 828, 837, 846, 852, 861, 888, 901; letter and spirit, 639; Lord's Supper, 647, 651, 809, 812, 830, 832, 841–843, 865; love, 643, 651, 808, 811f, 827f, 840, 843f, 848, 861, 863, 865–870, 873, 877–879, 882, 885, 909; mind, the, 810, 823, 827, 864; new relation to God, 806–808, 810–812, 852; Parousia, 649f, 809, 811, 826, 835, 837, 840, 842, 846–848, 850, 870, 872–874, 876–880, 886, 888; pre-existence of Christ, 813, 841, 868, 873, 882f; promise, the, 806, 821, 859f, 864; redemption, 16, 641, 694, 811f, 815, 820, 826, 829, 838, 840, 851, 868, 888; regeneration, 807, 810–812, 866, 888; resurrection, 670, 796, 800, 807, 809, 824, 826, 832, 845–847, 852, 878, 886, 918; righteousness, 811, 819–826, 828, 833f, 851, 855, 866f, 874; righteousness of God, 811, 818–821, 825, 853; sacraments, 644, 812, 841, 860, 863, 888; Satan, 649, 830, 838, 850f, 853, 855, 864, 866f, 878, 880, 883, 886, 888; sin, 639f, 806, 810f, 819–824, 826–829, 847, 859, 864, 866, 888; sinlessness of Christ, 810f, 853; sonship of Christians, 806–808, 810–812, 824, 860, 863; the Law, 95, 639–641, 792, 806, 810f, 814, 819–823, 825, 833f, 836, 840, 847, 851, 859–861, 864f, 869, 874, 882; union with Christ, 640–642, 810–812, 822, 836–838, 846, 849, 851, 859, 870, 874, 888; works, 640, 819–821, 825f, 859, 864, 877, 885, 888.

Paul, speeches of: at Antioch in Pisidia, 769, 791f; at Athens, 769, 784, 792f, 796; at Lystra, 769, 792f; at Miletus, 798f; before Agrippa, 802; before Felix, 801; to the elders of Ephesus, 689, 771, 798, 929; to the Jews, 800.

—— Acts of, 596.

Pauline Epistles, 16, 25, 247, 594–596, 598, 602–605, 618, 644–647, 768, 770–772, 780, 791f, 794–796, 798, 807, 814–816, 818, 865, 872, 901, 903, 908, 910, 912f, 913, 915; and the Acts of the Apostles, 16, 639, 724, 734, 766, 769–771, 776f, 787, 791, 799, 802, 857–859; as literature, 603; authenticated by autograph signature, 861, 880, 912; authenticity of, 814–816, 832, 857, 862, 872, 876f, 881; collection of, 594f, 598, 872, 901; dictated, 592, 602, 848, 871, 880f; Greek influence on, 25, 644; interchange of first person singular and plural in, 816; Marcion's collection of, 594, 814, 862; origin of, 602f; style and language of, 592f, 862.

—— theology, 724, 772, 805–813, 868, 905, 908; a mission theology, 807; a product of experience, 772, 800–809, 817; apocalyptic elements in, 876–880; fundamental conceptions of, 811–813; presuppositions of, 805–807; relation to early Christian thought, 809f; relation to life and teaching of Jesus, 810–812; revolutionary character of, 640.

Pavement, 518.

Pax Romana, 630f.

Peace, 8, 18, 44f, 54, 56f, 66, 69, 84f, 96, 103, 114, 166, 260, 277, 317, 371, 388, 412, 436, 438, 443, 445, 454, 458, 469f, 561, 571, 577, 583, 630f, 668, 726f, 759, 812, 827–829, 839, 845, 864–868, 870, 874, 905f, 942; of God, 103; with God, 643, 808, 811, 821f, 852, 868; maker, 704.

Peace offering, 79, 98, 101, 176, 188, 192, 197f, 200f, 207, 209, 217, 222, 237, 278, 296, 385, 401, 437, 480, 484.

Peacocks, 111.

Pearls, 707, 713.

Peasant, peasantry, 419, 423, 572; proprietor, 559; religion, 427.

Peg, 509.

Pekah, 68–71, 76, 246, 309, 441f, 534.

Pekahiah, 68, 70, 309, 534.

Pekhah, 326, 329.

Pekod, 512.

Peleponnese, 832.

Pelethites, 56, 114, 289, 296, 308.

Pelican, 390, 458.

Pella, 33, 610, 655, 773, 936.

Pelusium, 514, 532.

Pen, 484, *see* Stylus.

Pencil, 463.

Pendant, 100.

Pene-Rimmon, 444.

Peniel, 134, 156, 160.

Peninnah, 274.

Penitence, 92f, 96, 191, 362, 477, 488, 494, 506, 510, 538, 633, 649, 704, 884, 893, 906.

Penitent robber, 669, 725, 741.

Penny, 117, 689, 717, 932.

Pentateuch, 11, 37f, 40f, 48, 51, 82, 84, 105, 107, 121–132, 168, 184, 213, 231, 245f, 312, 314, 319, 340, 366f, 374, 399, 480, 497, 519, 620–622, 695, 750, 806; an epitome of the history of Israel's religion, 130; and Ezra's Law-book, 37, 48; attributed to Moses, 121, 312; canonisation of, 37f, 107, 319, 522; characteristics of constituent documents, 124–131; chronological order of documents, 127, 518; composite character of, 9, 37, 82, 122–130, 134, 231, 246, 340; date, 37, 48, 126–129, 480, 519; discrepancies in, 123–126, 133, 231; grounds of analysis, 123–127; history of criticism, 121f, 126; introduction to, 121–132; literary analysis of, 13, 82, 122–130, 246; methods of composition, 122; not written by Moses, 44, 84, 121, 123, 168, 231; possible Mosaic elements in, 44, 168; Samaritan, *see* Samaritan Pentateuch; text of, 40f, 125; title, 122, 231; translated into Greek, 40f, 62, 79.

Pentecost, commemoration of law-giving, 648; Day of, *see* Day of Pentecost; Feast of, 105, 211, 418, 584, 648, 798, *see* Feast of Weeks.

Penthouse, 565.

Penuel, 264, 300.

People of God, 46f, 85, 94, 126f, 212, 433, 436, 439, 442, 454, 462–466, 468, 472, 488f, 500, 506, 515, 518, 529, 535–537, 555, 561, 563f, 566, 576, 578, 638, 642, 733, 819, 863–871, 874, 890–892, 895, 898, 900, 904, 926, 930, 935, 940; of the land, 92, 326f, *see* 'Am ha'aretz.

Peoples of the Sea, 56.

Peor, 226–228.

Peræa, 33, 609f, 655f, 688, 693, 734, 749, 755.
Peres, 527f.
Perez, 133f, 162.
Perez-uzzah, 288.
Perfect, perfection, 390, 393, 665, 693, 707f, 717, 745, 811f, 844, 869f, 874, 893f.
Perfume boxes, 439.
Perfumers, 277, 331, 337, 416.
Perfumes, 111, 193, 419–422, 439, 469, 479, 526, 940.
Perga, 791, 793.
Pergamum, 532, 607, 775, 796, 921f, 928, 930f.
Pericles, 417.
Pericope Adulteræ, 753, 765.
Peridot, 360.
Perils at sea, 391.
Periodic enrolments, 727.
Peripatetics, 634.
Perizzites, 147, 150, 172, 258.
Perjury, 184f, 208, 216, 409, 577, 629.
Persecution, 72–75, 97, 367f, 376f, 380, 386, 391, 398, 427, 430, 433, 436, 466, 504, 526, 528, 530, 532, 540, 553, 581, 604, 607f, 612, 616, 624, 686, 693, 696, 704, 710, 714, 721f, 729, 735, 739, 760, 767f, 774f, 792, 795, 799, 836, 853, 858, 861, 873, 876–879, 889, 897–899, 908, 912, 926, 928–931, 935–937; by Antiochus Epiphanes, *see* Antiochus Epiphanes; by Manasseh, 45, 74, 89, 232, 312, 436; for the Name, 616, 774, 908; of Christians, 616, 631, 767f, 774f, 781–783, 785–787, 790, 806, 908, 928; of Jeremiah, *see* Jeremiah; under Ahab, 73f; under Domitian, 631, 655f, 775, 908, 928; under Nero, 102, 612, 616, 631, 655–657, 772, 774, 897, 908, 928, 939; under Trajan, 616, 775, 908.
Persephone, 349.
Perseus, 170.
Persia, Persian Empire, Persians, 50, 60–62, 77–79, 244, 310, 323, 325, 327f, 330, 336–339, 387, 445, 447, 453f, 464, 494, 513, 522, 526–529, 531, 533, 565, 573–577, 579, 586; and Greece, 61f, 79, 227; and Media, 60f, 77; and the Jews, *see* Jews; downfall of, 48, 61f, 79, 227, 368, 453, 573f, 576; influence on Judaism, 9, 61, 98, 317, 362, 404, 464; organisation of, 61; *see* Babylonia, Egypt.
Persian Gulf, 50, 53, 58, 111, 126f, 143, 146, 348, 494, 513, 529; monuments, 587; period, 44, 315, 324, 341f, 397, 406, 453, 523f, 526, 555, 561, 585; words, 317, 411; words in Daniel, 522, 526.
Persis (place), 62.
—— (woman), 830.
Persius, 657.
Personality, 344f, 429.
Personification, 344f, 745f.
Peshitta, 41, 596, 601, 901.
Pessimism, 47, 94, 96, 342, 354, 411–413, 415, 432.
Pestilence, plague, 10, 13, 67, 72, 76, 178, 212, 220f, 227, 243, 276, 293, 298, 311, 353, 386, 389, 483f, 506, 509, 516, 542, 550, 552, 567, 610, 629, 905, 932, 934, 938f.
Peter, 16, 586, 592, 602f, 605, 640, 655, 667, 681–683, 685, 690f, 693, 695, 697–699, 714, 716–718, 721f, 728f, 739–741, 748, 752, 758f, 762–770, 772–774, 776–782, 786–795, 826, 832f, 835, 858f, 902, 906, 908, 911–915, 924, 931, 935; and Ananias, 767, 782; and Cornelius, 767, 770, 776, 788f; and Dorcas, 788; and Mark, 592, 681, 790, 912; and Paul, 691, 741, 769f, 773, 787f, 793, 832f, 858f, 924; and Silas, 794, 912; and Simon Magus, 785f, 791; and the beloved disciple, 758, 762–765; and the Church of Corinth, 773, 832f, 835, 913; and the Gentile Mission, 728; and the Gospel of Mark, 681, 691, 912–914; and the High Priest's servant, 698, 721, 740, 762; and the Temple tribute, 715; angel of, 716, 790; appearance of Jesus to, 699, 741, 764f, 778, 846; apostleship, 709, 911; at Antioch, 790, 794, 859; at the Council of Jerusalem, 773, 793; at the transfiguration, 691, 913f; call of, 674, 682, 913; chief steward in the Kingdom, 715; confesses Jesus to be the Messiah, 32, 667, 691f, 703, 714f, 731, 752; connexion with Rome, 700, 773, 790, 818, 913, 924; denies Jesus, 698, 713, 722, 740, 762; double Jewish name of, 709; Galilean dialect of, 592, 722; gift of the keys, 715; healing ministry of, 780, 782, 788, 797; heals Æneas, 788; heals lame man, 780f; imprisonment of, 768, 790; in Samaria, 786, 791; knowledge of Greek, 592; martyrdom of, 655f, 765, 773f, 913; not author of 2 Peter, 902, 913; party of, 832f, 835; preaching of, 647, 658, 681, 777, 786; prediction of violent death, 765, 913f; primacy of, 715; prominence in primitive Church, 766, 770, 778, 859; receives name Peter, 714, 748; release from prison, 790, 795; repentance of, 713; restoration of, 713; speeches of, 16, 778–782, 788f, 791, 793, 809, 908, 910; vision of, 163, 767, 788f; walking on the water, 713; wife of, 912.
Peter, Acts of, 777.
—— Apocalypse of, 434, 595f, 658, 913f, 927.
—— First Epistle of, 16, 592, 594–596, 641, 773f, 901f, 908–912; authorship, 16, 773, 902, 908, 911, 913; circumstances, 908; date, 657, 789, 902, 908; external evidence, 594–596, 908; language of, 592; origin of, 603, 908; persecution in, 604, 774, 908; place of writing, 773, 908; purpose, 908f; recipients, 901, 908f; relation to Pauline Epistles, 902, 908; relation to 2 Peter, 603, 908, 913, 915; theology of, 641.
—— Gospel of, 595, 658, 741, 763f.
—— Second Epistle of, 16, 592–596, 901f, 908, 913–915; and the Second Coming, 902, 913, 915; authorship, 594, 902, 912f, 915, 924; canonicity of, 595f, 901; connexion with Apocalypse of Peter, 913; date, 592–594, 603, 658, 906, 913; dependence on Epistle of Jude, 902, 913–915, 923f; external evidence, 595f, 902, 913; false teaching attacked in, 913; language of, 592; nationality of readers, 913; place of origin, 913; pseudonymous, 603, 913; purpose of, 913; recipients, 901; reference to Pauline Epistles, 594, 913, 915; relation to 1 Peter, 603, 908, 913, 915; silence on Resurrection and Ascension, 913; style, 592f, 913; use of Apocrypha, 914.
Peter's wife's mother, 683, 708, 728, 780.
Pethor, 225.
Pethuel, 544.
Petra, 33, 181, 223, 259, 266, 309, 555, 608.
Petrine literature, 908.
Petrograd, 601.
Petroleum, 33, 149.
Petronius Arbiter, 657.
Petronius, governor of Judæa, 609.
Phædra, 163.
Phædymia, 337.
Phalti, 284.
Phantom, 385.
Pharaoh, 119, 420, 450, 456, 514f.
—— contemporary of Abraham, 133, 147, 153, 390.
—— contemporary of Joseph, 63, 163–166, 414.
—— father-in-law of Solomon, 67, 295, 299; daughter of, 295, 299.
—— of the Exodus, 13, 63, 119, 126, 172–176, 178, 180, 394, 825.
——of the oppression, 10, 63, 119, 169f, 702, 784; daughter of, 64, 170.
—— of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, 34.
—— patron of Hadad, 299.
—— Hophra, 73, 475, 490, 492.
—— Necho, 30, 60, 72, 75, 77, 79, 312, 474, 477, 485, 492.
Pharisaism, 535, 636f, 660, 666, 696, 720, 733.
Pharisees, 12, 94, 409, 415, 608–610, 620, 624, 637, 665–668, 677, 683f, 689, 693, 695f, 702, 704–706, 709, 712, 714, 719f, 728–730, 732–738, 747, 749, 752–754, 756, 768, 773, 783, 793, 800–802, 805, 820, 874; and ceremonial defilement, 689f, 709, 714, 732; and divorce, 693, 716; and fasting, 683f; and Jesus, *see* Jesus; and John the Baptist, 695, 702, 730, 747; and sinners, 624, 666, 683f, 709, 735, 737, 820; and the Canon of Old Testament, 38f; and the Hasmoneans, 340, 608; and the Herods, 609f; and the Law, 624, 636f, 666, 689, 805; and the people, 608f, 624; and the Psalter, 341, 367, 389, 395; and the Sadducees, 411, 608, 624, 800; and tribute to Cæsar, 695, 719; and vows, 689, 714; casuistry of, 637, 666, 720; demand a sign, 690, 703, 712, 714; derivation of name, 333, 684; exegesis of, 805; faults of, 666, 705f, 719f, 733; leaven of, 690; 714, 733; love of learning, 624; religious experience of, 620, 805; righteousness of, 12, 402, 415, 624, 666, 706, 718f, 805; theology of, 409, 624, 637, 666, 802, 811; types of, 622, 637.
Pharpar, 33.
Pharsalia, battle of, 608.
Pharwardigan, 339.
Phibion, 762.

Philadelphia (Asia), 928, 930f; (Palestine), 33.
Philanthropy, 642, 721.
Philemon, 649f, 862, 871.
—— Epistle to, 595, 602–604, 649, 772, 862, 871f; authenticity of, 815, 862; date of, 657, 772, 862; occasion, 862, 871; place of writing, 772, 862.
Philetus, 886.
Philip, first husband of Herodias, 609, 688.
—— of Macedonia, 62, 872.
—— of Macedonia (contemporary of Antiochus III.), 532.
—— one of the seven, 605, 767, 770, 783, 785f, 788f; and the eunuch, 767, 770, 788, 799; and the Third Gospel, 799; appointed one of the seven, 767, 783; at Cæsarea, 876, 799; at Samaria, 767, 785f; daughters of, 799.
—— the apostle, 708f, 748, 751, 757, 759, 783, 799.
—— the tetrarch, 33, 609f, 657, 727.
Philippi, 594, 608, 614, 646, 771, 776, 795, 797, 800, 813, 872, 874; battle of, 608.
Philippian gaoler, the, 795.
Philippians, Epistle to the, 594, 772, 872–875; authenticity, 815, 872; date, 657, 772, 872; occasion, 872; place of writing, 772, 872.
Philippus of Side, 790.
Philistia, 26, 28, 56–58, 71, 110f, 233, 304, 441, 445, 448, 450, 484, 492f, 513, 548, 569f, 580, 582f, 659.
Philistines, 26f, 31, 44, 56f, 65–67, 71, 76, 100, 114, 145, 151, 153, 156, 179, 233, 244f, 256–258, 260f, 266–269, 276–289, 292, 296, 299, 304f, 387, 447f, 492f, 548, 554, 560, 570, 579–581; and Assyria, 71, 447f; and the Hebrews, 31, 44, 66f, 71, 76, 85, 114, 156, 244f, 256–258, 261, 267–269, 274, 276–288, 292, 302, 316, 387, 443, 445, 447, 455, 480, 513, 546, 580; culture of, 56f, 257, 296; did not practise circumcision, 100, 151, 251; five lords of, 260, 268; fortunate geographical position of, 56, 267; origin of, 26f, 56, 145, 179, 233, 257, 267, 493, 513, 554, 570.
Philo, 6, 37–39, 84, 121, 169f, 185, 343, 371, 390, 401, 411, 657, 698, 701, 717, 745f, 752, 759f, 784, 841, 847.
Philosophers, 1, 6, 12, 405, 628, 635, 771, 836; expelled from Rome, 615, 657.
Philosophy, 2, 11, 20f, 24, 62, 85, 93f, 342–345, 397f, 402, 429, 524, 617–619, 625, 627, 631, 633–635, 745f, 781, 789, 805, 812, 832–834, 869, 872, 889; of history, 21, 259, 344.
Philostratus, 604f, 687, 699, 796.
Phinehas, son of Eleazar, 227; son of Eli, *see* Hophni and Phinehas.
Phlegon, 653.
Phœbe, 829f, 883.
Phœnicia, 28, 54–56, 58f, 110f, 166, 259, 299, 381, 385, 426, 438, 452, 460, 493, 579, 711, 729.
Phœnician Baal, 97, *see* Baal of Tyre; cosmogony, 135; inscriptions, 34, 36, 99f, 117.
Phœnicians, 27, 53–55, 63, 99, 105, 111, 139, 145, 230, 256, 258, 260, 269, 297–299, 493, 546, 548, 560; and the Hebrews, 67, 73, 105, 111, 135, 139, 191, 256, 287, 296–299, 548; commerce of, 54f, 63, 111, 256, 297, 546; culture of, 53f, 297; industries of, 54, 105, 111, 191, 297; language of, 34, 53, 298, 376; original home of, 27, 53; race, 53; religion, 87, 99, 230, 239f, 375f, 429, 569.
Phœnix (person), 161; (harbour), 803.
Phœnix, the, 360.
Phraortes, 60.
Phrygia, 555, 632, 792, 794, 857, 862, 870.
Phrygian and Galatian land, the, 794, 857.
Phrynichus, 687.
Phusis, 633.
Phygelus, 885.
Phylacteries, 235, 719.
Physicians, 76, 101, 110, 411, 683, 687, 724, 804.
Physics, 5, 635.
Physiology, 354.
Piankhi, 59.
Pi-beseth, 514.
Pictographic writing, 51–53, 56.
Picts and Scots, 658.
Pictures, 628.
Piety, pious, 19, 355, 360, 373, 378, 385, 410f, 413, 466, 469, 472f, 884, 904f.
Pig, *see* Swine.
Pigeon, 150, 197, 199, 203, *see* Dove.
Pi-hahiroth, 229.
Pilate, 609, 653f, 656f, 660, 669, 698f, 722, 727, 734, 740f, 745, 762f, 780–782, 834.
Pilate's wife, 722.
Pilgrim, 93, 369, 381, 387f, 392–394, 459, 491, 493, 496, 539, 616, 659, 694, 717, 734, 742, 757, 771.
Pilgrimage, 87, 103, 173, 179, 188, 210, 303, 388, 551, 553, 561.
Pilgrim's Progress, 349, 575, 909.
Pillar, 191, 269, 297, 308, 396, 402, 449f, 481, 518, 553; in Egypt, 449f; of cloud, 124, 168, 180, 188, 218, 389f; of fire, 168, 171, 753; of salt, 152f.
—— (figurative), 438, 450, 477, 931.
—— (sacred), 98f, 105, 125, 128, 131, 157, 159, 161, 172, 188, 212, 235, 251, 265, 291, 297f, 301, 310, 312, 392, 449f, 477, 491, 513, 537, 562.
Pillar apostles (the Three), 770, 859.
Pillars of heaven, 359; of society, 438, 450; of the earth, 353, 380.
Pillow, 157, 282, 509.
Pilot, 407.
Pindar, 591.
Pinnacle, 468; of the Temple, 703, 773.
Pipe, 577.
Pipes, 493, 514.
Piracy, pirates, 615, 629, 801.
Pirke Aboth, 343.
Pisces (sign of the Zodiac), 701.
Pisgah, 224, 226, 243.
Pishon, 140.
Pisidia, 613, 791, 794.
Pistacia Terebinthus, 697.
Pit, 162, 291, 305, 389, 409, 446, 453, 483, 491, 511, 538, 633, 934; the, *see* Sheol.
Pitch, 170, 458.
Pitcher, 264, 284, 417.
Pithom, 168f, 173, 178.
Pits of darkness, 914.
Place (*i.e.* sanctuary), 146.
Plague, *see* Pestilence.
—— boils, 276.
Plagues of Egypt, 13, 63, 123, 173–178, 234, 276, 386, 934f, 938.
Plains, 27–30, 32, 65, 110, 234, 258f, 261, 263, 276, 304, 445, 466, 548, 584, 872.
Planets, 5, 225, 701.
Plants, 45, 138f, 353, 422, 440, 566.
Plaster, 492.
Platæa, 61.
Plate, 349.
Platform, 98, 308, 333, 504.
Plating with metal, 461, 481.
Plato, 6, 185, 591, 593, 630, 633f.
Platonic Schools, 6, 806.
Platter, 732.
Play on words, 388, 415, 419, 439, 453, 477, 493, 553, 560, 865.
Players, 616.
Playing, 578, 711.
Pleasure, 411–417, 633–635, 886.
Pledges, 187, 200, 240, 400, 549, 567, 863.
Pleiades, 551.
Pleroma, 866, 916, *see* Fulness.
Pliny (the elder), 615, 617, 633, 657, 931; (the younger), 616, 658, 775.
Plot, 67, 79, 482, 484, 540, 562, 685, 771f, 800f, 829.
Plough, 111, 393, 660.
Ploughing, 101, 208, 211, 238, 347, 393, 439, 455, 541, 552, 736.
Ploughman, 393, 455, 554.
Plucking the ears of corn, 653, 684, 712.
Plummet, 311, 455, 459, 553, 577.
Plunder, 157, 166, 562, 565.
Plutarch, 657, 763.
Pluto, 349.
Poet, 1, 10, 35, 51, 418, 579, 634, 796, 876.
Poetical form of earliest Hebrew literature, 44; literature, 48, 341f.
Poetry, 35, 44f, 572; Hebrew, 1, 9, 18f, 22–24, 93f, 133, 372f, 501, 547; characteristics of, 24; treatment of Nature in, 24.
Poison, 242, 306, 399f, 552, 905.
Poland, 387.
Pole, sacred, 100, 301, *see* Asherah.
Politarchs, 795, 876.
Politician, 440, 455, 457, 508.
Politics, 84, 86, 89.
Poll tax, 79.
Pollution, *see* Defilement.
Polyandry, 241.
Polybius, 266.
Polycarp, 594f, 657f, 744, 874, 877, 908, 929; Epistle of, 658.
Polycrates (of Ephesus), 744.
Polydæmonism, 348.
Polygamy, 67, 108, 237, 274, 299, 621, 883.
Polytheism, 51, 82, 134f, 137, 152, 527, 619, 932; of Israel's ancestors, 130.
Pomegranates, 100, 123, 191.
Pompeii, 613, 657, 783.
Pompeius, *see* Pompey.
Pompey, 342, 368, 496f, 608, 632, 704.
Pool, 32, 286, 388, 423, 459, 565, 750; of Siloam, 104; the lower, 451; the old, 451f.
Poor, the, 2, 67f, 79, 88f, 94, 104, 112, 131, 199, 206, 208, 211, 238, 271, 332,

340, 351, 362, 369, 372, 375, 377–379, 393, 395, 406–408, 436, 439, 444, 447, 456, 549–553, 559, 568, 571, 580, 621f, 629, 637, 649, 659, 693, 696f, 704, 710f, 717, 729, 732, 735f, 796, 842, 904–906; in spirit, 660, 704, 737.
Pope (poet), 24.
Pope, the, 8.
Poplar, 100, 394, 472.
Poppæa, 655.
Popularity, 413f.
Porch, 297, 698, 755, 780, 782.
Porcupine, 447.
Porphyry, 522, 682.
Porpoise, porpoise skins, 189f.
Port, 29, 299, 791, 793, 796.
Portents of the end, 696, 739.
Porters, 325f, 332.
Portico, 106, 269.
Porus, 844.
Poseidon, 6.
Poseidonios, 633.
Posterity, 150, 390.
Posts, 61, 337, 339, 354.
Pot, 306, 383, 415, 508, 512, 584; of manna, 181.
Potash, 354.
Pothinus, 595.
Potiphar, 162f.
Potsherd, 365, 484.
Potter, 111, 139, 176, 464, 482, 484, 581, 825.
Potter's field, 722, 778; wheel, 484.
Pottery, 36, 98, 484, *see* Earthenware.
Pouch, 101, 191, *see* Breastplate.
Pound, 116f, 738.
Poverty, 31, 199, 203f, 212, 377, 393, 402f, 447, 531, 536, 688, 696, 736, 836, 842, 853.
Power, 638, 786, 885, 907.
—— (angelic order), *see* Principalities and powers.
Powers of the age to come, 893.
Præfect, 613.
Prætorian guard, 804, 872f.
Prætorium, 698, 762, 872; of Herod, 801, 872.
Prætors, 614, 795.
Prairie, 587.
Praise of God, 96, 106, 180, 316f, 329, 333, 370, 384f, 418, 440f, 459, 462f, 470, 586, 643, 780, 789, 808, 829, 900.
Praise of Wisdom, the, 341, 397–402.
Prayer, 51, 72, 76, 78, 93, 96, 100, 106, 131, 159f, 172, 174, 187, 193, 206, 240, 272, 274, 280, 311, 316–319, 330, 333f, 348, 357, 370, 377f, 381f, 393, 414f, 418, 437, 448, 454, 463, 469, 472, 498–500, 505, 507f, 524, 528, 530f, 557f, 567, 586, 620, 623, 631, 641, 643, 647f, 650, 664f, 669, 683, 692, 695f, 706f, 715f, 718, 721, 729, 732, 737, 740, 759–761, 763, 773, 778, 781, 783, 788, 791, 793, 804, 819, 824f, 827, 829, 838, 842, 844f, 849, 859, 863f, 865, 867f, 870–875, 878–880, 882f, 892, 900, 907, 910, 920, 932–934.
Preaching, 634, 704, 783, 812, 826, 833f, 840, 850, 870, 873, 879, 907, 929; in Hades, 910f.
Preaching of Peter, 595, 658.
Precious stones, 111, 189, 191, 360, 468, 930, 934, 938, 942.
Predestination, 404, 406, 476, 484, 824, 858, 863, *see* Foreordination.
Prediction, 48, 89, 460, 462–465, 470, 501, 509, 515, 523, 557, 577, 587, 606, 647, 684, 694, 701, 721, 725f, 731, 734, 739–742, 757, 759, 762, 780, 793, 799, 802, 914, 936.
Predictive prophecy, *see* Prophecy, predictive element in.
Pre-existence of Christ, *see* Christ, Pre-existence of; of the Messiah, 743; of the soul, 754.
Prefect, 526.
Prenatal sin, 754.
Preparation for the Passover, 103, 105, 653; for the Sabbath, 117, 699, 741.
Pre-prophetic religion, 81.
Presbyters, 646, 653, 798, 858, 881, 911, 929.
Presence of God (of Yahweh), 104–106, 125, 131, 189, 193, 276, 518f, 521, 556, 865, 938.
Present, *see* Gift.
Present, the, 835.
Press, 545f, 562, *see* Winepress.
Presumption, 703, 790.
Prey, 166, 546, 548, 550, 562, 565f.
Pride, 227, 358, 362, 409, 438–440, 493f, 506, 514, 526f, 538, 552, 564f, 567, 610, 629, 827, 861, 883, 902, 905, 924.
Priene, 798.
Priest soothsayer, 100, 106.
Priest, the anointed, 192, 199.
Priestess, 216, 876, 930.
Priesthood, 47, 85, 107, 126, 129f, 148, 165, 191–193, 195, 215, 221, 232, 237, 254, 275, 289, 294f, 300, 346, 535, 538, 572, 577, 586f, 725, 773, 892–894, 909.
Priest-king, 113, 148f.
Priestly blessing, 149, 201, 217, 370, 374, 394.
Priestly Code, 37, 47f, 78, 103, 109, 112, 116, 118, 125–127, 129–131, 133, 135, 168, 175, 213, 245f, 289, 293, 295, 312, 336, 341, 473, 480, 518f, 585, 587; and Deuteronomy, 47, 129, 341; and Ezekiel, 47, 129, 341, 518f; and Ezra's Reformation, 37, 48, 78, 129; and the Law of Holiness, 48, 130, 196; characteristics of, 48, 125f, 135, 138, 143, 145, 151, 154; composite character of, 48, 129; date of, 48, 126f, 129, 213, 480; ecclesiastical interests of, 131, 213; fundamental ideas of, 131, 168; historical value of, 168, 213; introduction of, 48, 129; origin of, 48, 129; style of, 35, 48; value of, 213.
Priests, 20, 57, 67, 73–78, 82, 84–86, 88, 94, 99–101, 103–109, 112f, 121, 124, 127, 131, 149, 168, 170, 173, 179, 182–184, 188f, 191–193, 195–206, 209f, 212, 215–217, 222, 229, 232, 238f, 241, 245, 251, 269, 274f, 277–279, 283, 288f, 292, 296, 308, 310, 312, 314–317, 319–321, 325–327, 329f, 332, 334, 343f, 368, 389f, 392, 395, 397, 399, 405, 414, 427, 455, 467, 469f, 474, 479, 482, 485f, 496–499, 501, 503, 512, 518–521, 534f, 538–540, 544f, 547, 553, 559, 561, 570, 572, 574f, 578, 583–587, 607–609, 620f, 624, 683, 694, 708, 718, 725, 732, 747, 752, 754, 761, 781, 783, 788, 829, 893, 896, 900, 910, 929; Aaronic, 106, 124, 126, 129, 191, 193, 215, 275, 289, 292, 316, 586; and Levites, 47, 75f, 79, 106, 124, 127, 129, 131, 209, 215, 217, 221f, 250, 288, 308, 314, 316f, 319f, 326, 473, 519, 586; and prophets, 85, 202, 427, 479; consecration of, 124, 191–193, 196, 201, 204f, 209, 215, 277, 318; dress of, 100f, 104, 191, 194, 200f, 205f, 217, 326, 368, 519, 545; dues of, 99, 105, 124, 179, 197f, 200–202, 209f, 216, 222, 228, 237f, 274, 306, 488, 520, 620–622; duties of, 75, 85, 100, 105–107, 109, 129, 173, 192, 197–206, 209, 278f, 343, 392, 405, 520, 570, 712; estates of, 124, 229, 520f; holiness of, 192, 200, 202, 209, 518; legal and ritual decisions of, 121, 203f, 212, 238, 399, 455, 497, 520, 538, 572, 574, 578; Levitical, 106, 124, 129, 215, 232, 238, 250, 269, 289, 292, 319, 326f, 518f, 586; maintenance of, 99, 127; massacre of, 283, 382, 474, 498; mourning of, 202, 209; non-Levitical, 67, 76, 106, 108, 193, 215, 269, 289, 292, 296, 316; of High Places, 75, 129, 239, 275, 312, 519; restrictions for, 202, 209, 519; unholiness of, 209; Zadokite, 129, 191, 202, 209, 215, 482, 518f, 572, 575.
Priests, heathen, 51, 57, 73f, 163, 165, 171, 191, 239, 308, 312, 450, 507, 509, 630–632, 635, 792, 867, 937.
Primæval man, 356, *see* First Man, the.
Primitive religion, 82f, 389, 628–632.
Prince, 72, 76, 78, 113, 147, 201, 214, 221, 228, 252, 285, 289, 362, 387, 392, 405, 409, 416, 420, 422, 438f, 446, 450, 456f, 459, 463, 467, 496, 498f, 502, 512, 519f, 524, 528, 534, 537, 539f, 542, 559, 566, 569, 571, 660, 738; of the power of the air, 851; of the sanctuary, 317; of this world, 759; the (*i.e.* the Messiah), 530; the (in Ezekiel), 96, 502, 519–521.
Princes, *i.e.* angels, 453, 531, 716; of the congregation, 123f; the, 475, 486, 488, 490f.
Princess, 170, 296, 491, 499, 628.
Principalities and powers, 453, 824, 834, 851, 864f, 867, 870, 911.
Principality, 924.
Printing, 6, 42; invention of, 596.
Priscilla, 796f, 818, 830, 848, 889.
Prison, 72, 76f, 163, 310, 391, 395, 459, 462, 776, 782, 790, 795, 815, 830, 871, 897, 900.
Prisoner, 110, 163, 356, 488, 512, 519, 613, 698, 721f, 795, 800, 802, 804, 899.
Private letter, 603, 901, 921f.
Prize, 841, 874, 885.
Problem of evil, 395; of suffering, 45, 47, 93, 344f, 349f, 358, 413, 623.
Procession, 104f, 288, 334, 377, 392, 457, 464, 468, 481, 850.
Proconsuls, 613, 630, 655, 769, 791, 796f, 801.
Procurators, 117, 609f, 613f, 653, 655–657, 741, 774, 786, 801.
Prodigal son, 438, 592f, 735, 824.
Profanation, 129, 519, 523, 527.
Promise, 96, 151, 179, 441, 489, 502, 781, 784, 788, 821, 864, 867, 891, 894f, 897–899.
Promised Land, 892.

Promises of God, 126, 129, 144, 146f, 149f, 156f, 316, 369, 375, 380, 388, 390, 468, 472, 554, 563, 567, 662, 781, 805–807, 821, 850, 859f, 893, 897f, 900, 905, 915.
Proof texts, 4.
Property, 112f, 185f, 227, 230, 405, 413, 646–648, 705, 767.
Prophecy, Christian, 595, 645–648, 789, 809, 812, 827, 842–845, 866, 884, 919, 928, 940.
—— Hebrew, 1, 11, 19, 24f, 38, 45–48, 82, 85–92, 96, 100, 108, 130f, 426–430, 508f, 523, 547, 561, 691, 726, 763f, 896, 908f, 914f, 934; a spiritual interpretation of history, 11, 25; a vision of disaster and deliverance, 427–429; achieves its own fulfilment, 308; and apocalyptic, 10, 46, 48, 431; and divination, 239, 428f, 561; and eschatology, 89, 91f, 96, 427–429; and history, 11; and idolatry, 130f; and patriotism, 85; and politics, 25, 45; and revelation, 426–430; and ritual, 11, 45, 89, 92, 95, 107, 131; and the monarchy, 426; cessation of, 38; change effected in, by the destruction of Jerusalem, 91, 424; committed to writing, 45, 424, 489f, 547, 572; conditional character of, 557; consummation in Christ, 430; contagious character of, 282; declaration of God's will, 11, 19, 24, 107; editorial expansions of, 48, 424f; ethical character of, 11, 19, 45, 88f, 99, 427f; fulfilment of, 11, 429, 432, 702, 737, 758, 763, 779; in the Northern kingdom, 45, 426f; in the Southern kingdom, 45f, 427; innovating character of, 427; inspiration of, 19, 427, 429f, 909; interpretation of, 427, 914; non-fulfilment of, 11, 514; of judgment, 45, 96, 424, 427, 569–571; of restoration, 46, 89, 96, 424; of the happy future, 424, 431; oral, 45, 424; poetical elements in, 25, 424, 579; predictive elements in, 11, 19, 45, 89, 247, 427, 456, 523, 557; prevision of judgment based on ethical convictions, 45, 89, 428; psychology of, 428, 430, 451, 475f, 478, 483–485, 487; rise of, 107, 127, 426; social teaching of, 45, 88f, 108; source of, 550; truth of, 430.
Prophesying, 650, 842.
Prophet, the, 751, 753, 784.
—— the old, 301.
Prophet's staff, 306.
Prophetess, 75, 112, 181, 261, 291, 305, 312, 332.
Prophetic consciousness, 430, 451, 475f, 484f, 487f, 647.
—— ecstasy, 24, 66, 70, 85, 107, 157, 219, 277f, 429f, 442, 462, 478, 483, 503–505, 507, 516, 518, 546, 583, 805; induced by food, 157; induced by music, 66, 70, 157, 278, 305.
—— guilds, 69, 74, 107, 109.
—— literature, 19, 45–48, 424f, 579; anonymous, 48, 424; authenticity of, 426; canonisation of, 38; composite character of, 9, 48, 424; corruption of text, 426; literary characteristics of, 24f; post-exilic revision of, 48, 424, 555, 559; produced in ecstasy, 24; spirituality of, 25; theory of Maccabean elements in, 424, 458.
Prophetic movement, 83, 88f, 97, 107f.
—— order, 107, 427, 576; origin of, 426.
—— party, 45, 97, 312.
Prophetic perfect, 35, 443.
Prophetism, 81.
Prophets, Canaanite, 107.
—— Christian, 605, 643, 645–648, 710, 789, 791, 794, 799, 834, 845, 864–866, 883, 919, 922, 926f, 935, 940.
—— (of Israel), 10f, 13, 19, 24, 31, 38, 40, 45–48, 51, 66, 71–73, 75f, 83–93, 95–97, 99, 101, 106f, 109–114, 121, 127, 135, 153, 166, 183, 192, 196, 221, 237–239, 245, 247, 257, 263, 275, 277f, 282, 288, 296f, 300, 302, 304–307, 317, 320f, 329, 332, 341, 343–345, 361, 370, 380, 386, 388f, 410, 418, 424–432, 436f, 440, 443, 455f, 462–464, 474, 478–480, 483, 485f, 489, 497, 499, 501–503, 505, 508f, 517, 523, 535, 538, 542, 546–550, 557, 559, 561, 572f, 576, 578, 582f, 607, 618f, 624, 637, 639, 660f, 683, 686, 704, 710f, 718, 720, 722, 728, 731–733, 742, 752f, 759, 761, 780–782, 784f, 791, 801–805, 826, 831, 896, 898, 906, 930, 935; and Christ, 11, 13f, 429f, 442, 460, 605, 661, 704, 736, 780f, 785, 789, 802, 846, 896; and history, 11, 46, 96, 247, 427; and kings, 69, 71–76, 332, 426, 535, 608; and music, 66, 70, 157, 278, 305, 317; and priests, 85, 202, 427, 479; and prophets of neighbouring nations, 428; and sacrifice, 95f, 99, 379, 414, 437, 479f, 550, 562, 573, 714; and seers, 107, 277, 428; and the cultus, 45, 74f, 89, 107, 475, 480, 518–520, 544, 550f; and the Law, 45, 106, 131, 329, 370, 594, 661, 691, 704, 826; as watchmen, 451, 563, 567; call of, 476; Canon of, 38, 579; conservatism of, 88; courtier, 69; degeneracy of, 455, 463, 479, 485; disciples of, 74, 424, 436, 442f, 490, 572f; doctrine of a Messiah, 89, 96, 166, 380, 443, 445, 485, 561, 577, 688, 736, 780f; doctrine of God, 11, 19, 45, 87–92, 95, 107, 427, 429f, 440, 475, 502–504, 535, 556–558; dress of, 305, 450, 583, 682; eschatology of, 89, 96, 166, 427–429, 582; false, 11, 485, *see* False prophets; in the time of Saul, 66, 85, 107, 277f, 426, 428; individualism of, 11, 475, 488, 501, 503, 510f, 515; individuality of, 426, 430; inspiration of, 19, 237, 239, 343, 378, 429f, 431, 504, 559, 686; literary character of, 18, 24f, 437, 501, 535, 547; message of, 11, 19, 24, 45, 88–92, 431, 460, 474–476, 501–503, 535; monotheism of, 19, 89, 97, 429, 477, 556, 618; nationalism of, 11, 555; optimism of, 432; pastoral functions of, 503, 505; patriotism of, 25, 85, 277; persecution of, 72f, 427, 436, 720, 785; personality of, 430; pessimism of, 432, 483, 487; predict Christ, 668, 802; professional, 277, 305, 427, 553, 582; psychical characteristics of, 277f, 428–430, 476–478, 483, 487, 546; record their message in writing, 45, 424, 431, 489f, 547, 572; schools of the, *see* Prophetic guilds; social teaching of 11, 45, 88f, 97, 113, 187, 208, 361, 389, 431, 559–561; statesmen, 25, 45, 71–73, 89, 113, 426, 436, 474f, 486f, 489–491; symbolic actions of, 72, 300, 450, 482, 484, 491, 495, 504–506, 508; teaching of, 99, 121, 259, 399, 424f, 436, 440f, 475, 502f, 535, 572, 930; universalism of, 89, 91f, 475, 624; vehicles of Divine revelation, 239, 247, 343, 399, 426, 431, 550, 935.
Prophets of the Tyrian Baal (Melkart), 30, 74, 302f.
—— the, *i.e.* second division in Old Testament, 37f, 121, 522.
—— former, 37f, 121; latter, 37, 42, 121.
Propitiation, 708, 810, 820f, 917.
Pro-Samaritans, 461, 469, 471.
Prose and verse, 22f.
Proselytes, 210, 218, 220, 233, 446, 468, 616, 621, 624f, 641, 701, 764, 770, 778, 783, 792, 817f, 861, 889; of lions, 310.
Prosperity, 88, 96, 153, 225, 235, 259, 321, 351, 374, 377f, 394, 408, 415, 436, 463f, 467–470, 473, 478–480, 488f, 491f, 510f, 514, 516f, 540, 545f, 554, 560f, 573, 575, 582, 622f, 660, 704; of the righteous, 257, 345, 351, 353, 369f, 376, 384, 389, 399, 401, 413, 428, 437; of the wicked, 47, 345, 355–359, 385, 389, 482, 587.
Prostitution, 242, 538, 541, 549, 560, 770.
Protectorates, 614.
Proud, the, 275, 393, 395, 571.
Provender, 457.
Proverbs, 45, 93, 224, 341f, 348, 353, 355, 381, 397f, 405, 408, 412, 416, 455, 510, 707, 884.
—— Book of, 19, 24f, 93, 341–345, 397–410, 543; aim of, 93; analysis of, 9, 93, 341f, 397; authorship of, 341f, 397; conditions presupposed in, 341f, 397f; contents of, 93; date of, 93, 341f, 397f; general character, 93, 342, 344, 397; language of, 398; literary characteristics of, 24, 344, 398; possible Greek influence on, 341f, 397, 407; relation to Solomon, 9, 45, 341f, 397, 407.
Providence, 96, 219, 224, 343, 346, 348, 357f, 360, 363, 365, 389, 394f, 417, 433, 634f, 664.
Province, 61, 71, 77, 328, 330, 412, 712.
Proving the spirits, 645, 834, 843, 845, 919.
Prudence, 407f, 710.
Pruning, 420, 758f.
Psalm, 316, 362, 366, 559, 562, 870; in Book of Jonah, 556f; in Habakkuk, 566–568; in Nahum, 564.
—— the twenty-second, 377; influence on Gospel narrative, 372, 698, 722, 763; not Messianic, 372; quoted by Jesus, 372, 698f.
Psalmists, 51.
Psalmody, 106, 316.
Psalms, Babylonian, 51.
Psalms, Book of, 9, 44, 93f, 316, 341, 366–396, 397f, 402; a prayer book of humanity, 93; and David, 9, 44, 341, 411, 418, 432, 779; and the

Pentateuch, 366f; and the prophets, 93, 341; and the Psalms of Solomon, 368; Aramaisms in, 367, 376, 395; arrangement of, 366; attitude to Gentiles, 369, 371f; attitude to sacrifice, 370, 374, 379, 381f; collections in, 44, 367f; date of, 44, 341, 368; division into five books, 366; doctrine of God in, 93f, 367–370, 376, 389f, 394–396; doctrine of immortality in, 94, 369–371, 376, 378f, 381, 385f, 392, 395; doctrine of man in, 369–371, 375, 395; doxologies in, 366, 379, 385, 396; ethics in, 369f; imprecations in, 93, 370, 377, 391; its place in worship, 93, 106; Messianic doctrine in, 94, 372f; musical terms in, 367, 373; nationalism of, 93f, 371f; permanent value of, 93, 368; precipitate of experience, 93; problem of suffering in, 47, 93, 369; resurrection in, 94; theology of, 44, 93f, 368–373; title of, 366; translation into Greek, 366; universalism of, 371f, 378, 380.
Psalms, Christian, 602; in Christian worship, 647; in the sense of Hagiographa, 742; of Solomon, 35, 368, 391, 411, 434f.
Psalms, 93f, 131, 180, 340f, 397, 522, 660f, 805; acrostic, 375, 377f, 391f, 396; and Nature, 13, 369, 375, 377, 384, 389f; and the Law, 40, 131, 341, 377, 392f; collective theory of, 368; composite, 366, 374, 377–379, 382–384, 387, 391, 393; dates of, 44, 93, 341; Davidic, 44, 341, 366–368, 381, 696; Elohistic, 366f, 375, 379, 391; eschatological, 94, 371; for the chief musician, 373; imitative character of, 341; in what sense secondary literature, 93, 341; language of, 341; literary character of, 18; liturgical alterations in, 368; Maccabean, 341, 366, 368, 374, 376f, 379f, 383–386, 390–392, 396, 579; Messianic, 94, 371–374, 380, 385, 387, 392; number of, 366; numeration of, 366; of Asaph, 21, 366f; of Ascent, 367, 393f; of sons of Korah, 366f; orphan, 366, 379; penitential, 93, 378, 381f; pilgrim, 367, 381, 387, 393f; pre-exilic, 341, 368; post-exilic, 44, 93, 341, 367f; relation to prophecy, 46, 93; religious experience reflected in, 46, 93, 131, 341, 372; religious value of, 93, 368; royal, 341, 367f; titles of, 341, 366f, 373.
Psalter, *see* Psalms, Book of.
Psaltery, 316, 366, 526.
Psammetichus, 60, 79.
Pseudepigrapha, 603, 618.
Pseudo-Aristeas, 79.
Pseudo-Methodius, 711.
Pseudonymity, 432, 603, 606.
Pseudonymous literature, 603, 661.
Psychic powers, 428, 430.
Psychology, 205, 309, 345, 353f, 421, 428, 430, 451, 476, 478, 482, 488, 630; of prophecy, 428, 430.
Ptolemais (Accho), 28f, 560, 682, 799.
Ptolemies, the, 62, 79f, 94, 116, 496, 500, 526, 531, 614.
Ptolemy (geographer), 170.
Ptolemy and Cleopatra, 340.
Ptolemy I. (Soter), 62, 79, 524, 531; II. (Philadelphus), 40, 62, 79, 524, 531; III. (Euergetes), 62, 79, 524, 532, 740; IV. (Philopater), 62, 79f, 414, 416, 524, 532; V. (Epiphanes), 80, 414, 416, 524, 532; and Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, 532; VI. (Philometor), 524, 532f; VII. (Euergetes II.), 524, 528, 740.
Ptolemy Eukairos, 388; Lathyrus, 608; Physcon, 532; son-in-law of Simon Maccabæus, 608.
Puah, 266.
Public buildings, 614; works, 612.
Publicans, *see* Tax-collectors.
Publius, 804.
Puhru, 339.
Pukudu, 494.
Pul, *see* Tiglath-Pileser.
Pul (Is. lxvi. 19), 473, *see* Put.
Pulasati, Purusati, 26, 56, 267, *see* Philistines.
Pulpit, 129, 333.
Pulse, 525.
Punishments, 46, 75–77, 80, 113f, 150, 153, 231, 245, 247, 252, 263, 275, 315, 320, 346, 355, 369, 393, 398, 427f, 432–434, 437, 440, 454, 456, 461f, 467, 472f, 479–483, 487, 494, 505f, 511, 530, 538–541, 544, 546, 548–552, 554, 559f, 562, 576, 584, 587, 618, 629, 693, 765, 802, 820, 850, 853, 897, 914, 919, 940.
Pur, 338.
Pure in heart, 188, 664, 704.
Purgatory, 431, 835.
Purification, 161, 177, 204, 206, 222, 228, 250, 283, 305, 316, 334, 337, 354, 382, 436, 439, 441, 479, 513f, 517, 582, 584, 587, 622, 633, 642, 693, 727, 747–749, 895, 929.
Purim, *see* Feast of Purim.
Puritans, 14.
Purity, 188, 664f, 682, 704, 745, 887, 895, 897, 899, 904, 909f, 930; ceremonial, 130, 240, 518, 582, 618, 621, 624, 704, 895; sexual, *see* Chastity.
Purple, 54, 189–191.
Put, 473, 513f, 565, 571.
Puteoli, 615, 804.
Putting the branch to the nose, 507.
Pygmalion, 302.
Pyramids, 52, 146, 169, 349, 616.
Pyre, 457.
Pyrenees, 615.
Pyrrhus, 798.
Pythagoras, 6, 729.
Pythagoreans, 603.
Python, 459.
Python (spirit of divination), 795.

Q, *i.e.* non-Marcan source used by Mt. and Lk., 14, 592, 672, 675–678, 700; an early Palestinian document, 678; and the Logia of Mt., 672, 700; contents of, 675–678; date of, 14; impossibility of reconstruction, 677; mainly composed of sayings of Jesus, 14, 672, 700; order of sections best preserved in Lk., 677; relation to Mk., 672, 678; reproduction of, by Mk., 676–678, 686; reproduction by Mt., 14, 592, 676–678, 700; reproduction by Lk., 14, 592, 700, 724.
Qahal, 714.
Qarqar, *see* Karkar; battle of, 304.
Qarqara inscription, 246, 303f.
Qerē, 42.
Qiddush, 653.
Qina rhythm, *see* Lamentation rhythm.
Qoheleth, 411–413, 415–417, *see* Ecclesiastes.
Quadratus, Apology of, 658.
Quails, 181, 213, 218f.
Quakers, 177, 638, 705.
Quarry, 260, 326, 466, 582.
Quarryman, 416.
Quartodeciman controversy, 653.
Quartus, 830.
Quartzite, 116.
Quaternion, 790.
Quatrain, 23, 406–408.
Quattuorviri, 614.
Que, 58.
Queen, 466, 565, 801; *i.e.* bride, 419; of heaven, 99, 311, 480, 491f; of Sheba, 299, 319.
Queen-mother, 72f, 295, 301, 482, 527.
Quenching the spirit, 645, 879.
Quiet in the land, the, 378, 637.
Quietism, 406.
Quince, quince tree, 420.
Quini-Sextine Council, 596.
Quinquennium Neronis, 612.
Quintilian, 657.
Quirinius, 702, 726f; census under, 612, 654, 657, 726f, 783.
Quirinus, 630.
Quiver, 393, 465, 567f.
Quotations from Old Testament, 40f; from the Old Testament in the New Testament, 4, 351, 372, 374f, 379, 452, 455, 532, 542, 587, 661, 682, 689, 693–696, 698f, 700–703, 705f, 708f, 712, 714, 717, 722, 725f, 728, 748, 753, 755, 757f, 760f, 763, 778–781, 784, 786, 792f, 804–806, 809, 817, 819–821, 823, 825–827, 829, 833–836, 840f, 845–847, 851, 853–855, 859f, 866f, 889–900, 904–910, 915, 929, 931.

Ra, 163.
Raamah, 513.
Raamses (Rameses), 168f, 178, 245.
Rabba, 448.
Rabbah (capital of Ammon), 149, 224, 266, 289, 493, 512, 549.
Rabbinic literature, 618; schools, 805; theology, 3, 401, 754; exegesis, 6, 805, 859; tradition, 805, 808.
Rabbinism, 91, 705, 841.
Rabbis, 121, 169f, 405, 500, 620f, 624f, 637, 696, 698, 701, 705–707, 710–712, 715f, 719, 721, 729, 732.
Rabbula, 596, 601.
Rab-mag, 491.
Rabsaris, the, 310.
Rabshakeh, 71, 310f, 441.
Raca, 705.
Races, 841, 898.
Rachel, 63, 65, 130, 156, 158f, 161, 164f, 214, 274, 488; sepulchre of, 161, 165, 278, 488.
—— tribes, 161, 166, 248f.
Racial characteristics of the Hebrews, 19; pride of the Hebrews, 19.
Racing, 841.
Rætia, 613.
Rafts, 297.
Rags, 490.
Raguel, *see* Reuel.
Rahab (chaos monster), 353, 359, 388f, 400, 456f, 466; helpers of, 353; (Egypt), 388, 456f, 466.

Rahab of Jericho, 250, 701, 905.
Raid, raiders, 266, 414, 555.
Raiment, 157, 733, 836, *see* Clothes, Garments.
Rain, 13, 27, 29, 31, 78, 118, 125, 137, 139, 142, 144, 147, 166, 172, 236, 242, 292, 298, 302f, 329, 360, 362f, 372, 384, 390, 393, 405, 408, 417, 439, 463, 468, 516, 545, 550–552, 561f, 580, 584, 706, 730, 907, 934; former, 111, 236, 388, 405, 457, 473, 479, 546, 906; latter, 111, 236, 405, 478f, 552, 906.
—— charm, 292, 303.
Rainbow, 134, 145, 504, 931.
Rainy season, 27f, 111, 329, 420.
Raisin cakes, 99, 420, 448, 537.
Raising from the dead, 247, 302, 305f, 309, 687, 709, 730, 755–757, 788.
Raisins, 420.
Ram, 24, 52, 95, 104, 154, 159, 189–192, 200f, 211, 217, 238, 243, 280, 529, 560, 562, 799.
Ram and the he-goat, vision of the, 432, 529.
Ram's horn, 183, 211, 316, 327; skin, 215.
Ramah, 31, 66, 70, 261, 274f, 277, 282, 284, 444, 488, 491.
Ramathaim Zophim, 274.
Ramath-lehi, 268.
Rameses II., 56, 63, 105, 119, 169–171, 245, 248 450; III., 56f.
Ramman-Nirari III., 69.
Ramoth Ammon, 33.
Ramoth-Gilead, 69–71, 76, 304, 307.
Rampart, 565, 738.
Ransom, 351, 361f, 463, 467, 471, 542, 661, 668, 694, 820, 838, 883.
Rape of the Sabine women, 270.
Raphael (painter), 692.
Raphia, 59, 62, 71, 310, 449.
Rashi, 172.
Ravens, 142, 144, 302, 364, 458, 570, 733.
Raw flesh, 103, 177.
Razor, 71, 505.
Reader, the, 928.
Reading, 170, 456, 490, 497; and writing, 617.
Reaper, 272, 449, 554, 750.
Reaping, 272, 311, 413, 448f, 458, 539–541, 684, 712, 750, 840, 861.
Reason, 823, 827, *see* Mind.
Rebekah, 21, 147, 153, 155–157, 274.
Rebellion, rebels, 54, 56, 59f, 62, 67, 70f, 73, 79, 148, 265, 280, 354, 391, 405, 415, 472, 511, 523, 532f, 540, 783.
Rebuke, 415, 423, 551, 576, 884, 886f, 924.
Rechab, 307.
Rechabites, 74, 108f, 216, 307, 477, 489.
Reconciliation, 160, 665, 705, 854; of Jew and Gentile, 815, 864f; with God, 192, 811, 813, 815, 822, 826, 852f, 865, 868.
Recorder, 113, 288, 296.
Records, 113.
Red coral, 360; garnet, 191; heifer (cow), 204, 222f; jasper, 191.
Red Sea, 50, 64, 71, 111, 149, 170, 179f, 220, 232f, 266, 299, 307, 309, 384, 388, 391, 444f, 463, 466, 471, 841, 898; crossing of, 64, 169, 180; tongue of, 445.
Redaction of early prophecy in post-exilic period, 48.
Redactor, 128.
Redeemed, the, 933, 937f, 941.
Redeemer, 272, 407, 462, 470f.
Redemption, 8, 16, 91, 96, 128, 171, 174, 211f, 222, 272, 430, 433, 517, 537, 633, 641f, 789, 809, 811f, 820, 824, 828, 834, 840, 860, 863, 895, 909f, 917–920, 932; of Israel, 94, 96, 128, 433, 463, 571, 860; of the body, 824, 828; of the world, 430, 571; universality of, 827, 829, 891, 896, 932.
—— at the Jubile, 211; from slavery, 186, 211; money, 215 222, 537; of firstborn, 215, 222, 511, 727; of land, 212, 272, 488; of persons or things devoted, 105, 212; right of, 211, 488.
Reed (measure of length), 115.
Reed grass, 542.
Reeds, 115, 170, 180, 459, 502, 712, 935.
Refectory, 519.
Refining, 407.
Reformation, the, 37, 311.
Reformers, 196, 211, 416.
Refrain, 373, 379f, 387, 440.
Refuge, 380, 383, 389, 453, 455, 493f, *see* Cities of refuge.
Regeneration, 542, 639, 888, *see* New birth; and baptism, 639, 749, 812, 888; the, 717.
Regent, 74, 416.
Regicide, 337f.
Rehob, 219, 269.
Rehoboam, 67, 70f, 75f, 79, 113, 296, 300f, 314, 319.
Rehoboth, 156.
Rehoboth-Ir, 565.
Rehum, 328.
Reins, 376, 395, 399, 482.
Rejoicing, 874, 879.
Release, 698, 762.
Relief, administration of, 647.
Religion, 3, 7, 11f, 37, 68, 84, 93, 95, 107, 130, 134, 174, 344, 346, 350–352, 356, 353, 362, 372f, 393f, 426, 456, 461, 466, 468, 471, 474f, 478–480, 488, 501–503, 517f, 524, 550, 557–560, 562, 585–587, 614, 627–629, 631–633, 635, 637–639, 666, 684, 784f, 811, 859, 885, 893f, 897, 917, 922; aim of, 893; ancient, 82f, 627–635; and authority, 7; and magic, 174; and morality, 11f, 107, 185, 194, 370, 372, 428, 488, 502f, 512, 550, 560, 562, 564, 917; and mythology, 627f; and philanthropy, 642, 904; and philosophy, 633; and ritual, 372, 461, 480, 501–503, 517f, 550, 562, 637, 666, 784f, 894, 904; and theology, 3, 627; definition of, 627; false, 437, 456, 469, 472, 477, 479f, 502, 535, 537–542, 547, 549–551, 558, 562, 666, 811, 917, 922; illegal, 795, 797; inwardness of true, 488, 503, 894, 904; nature of, 3, 7, 37f, 84, 88, 107, 174, 346, 350, 372, 393f, 475, 478, 488, 503, 562, 564, 897, 904; social character of, 11, 88, 98; value of, 3, 885.
Religion of Israel, 10–14, 73–75, 81–97, 129–131, 134, 146, 213f, 300f, 343–345, 368–372, 426–435, 556; a preparation for Christianity, 81; and Baal worship, 85, 87; and Babylon, 82, 98, 100f; and Christianity, 95; and Deuteronomy, 45, 74f, 89f, 100, 102f, 106, 128f; and Egypt, 82; and Elijah, 73f, 86–88; and Ezekiel, 46f, 91, 96, 129, 131, 502f; and Greek influence, 94, 98, 397f, 411; and Jeremiah, 46, 90, 475f; and other religions, 11, 82, 95, 98, 428; and Semitic religion, 82, 98–101; and the Babylonian exile, 1, 46, 81, 90f; and the Canaanites, 86f, 98–100; and the disruption of Israel, 67, 73, 86; and the Priestly Code, 48, 78, 103, 129, 131; and the prophets, 45–48, 74, 85–93, 107, 130f, 427, 436, 535; and the Second Isaiah, 47, 91f, 460, 556; and war, 84, 99, 114, 256; created by Moses, 44, 64, 84; David's contribution to, 86, 287; development of, 10–12, 81, 95–98; divergent tendencies in, 427; Divine guidance of, 81; ethical character of, 11f, 64; exclusiveness of, 48, 81f, 92, 556–558; historical setting of, 81f; in its primitive period, 82–85, 98–103; in the Maccabean period, 94f; in the period of the Judges, 65f, 85; in the post-exilic period, 47f, 78f, 92–95; nationalism of, 92f, 96; periods in, 81; sources of our information, 81f; survivals in, 81, 98–103; universalism of, 92f, 556–558.
Religious associations, 808; background of New Testament, 636–644.
—— institutions of Israel, 98–107, 121, 126, 213, 620; growth of, 98; influence of environment, 98.
Remaliah, 441.
Remarriage, 284, 650, 839f, 883f.
Remission of sins, 721, *see* Forgiveness of sins.
Remnant, 427f, 436, 439, 441, 443–445, 447f, 453, 455, 478f, 486, 491, 493, 506–509, 554, 561, 570f, 573, 585, 820, 825f.
Remorse, 139.
Remphan, 784.
Renaissance, 121.
Rending of garments, 110, 286, 306, 348, 544.
Repentance, 11, 76, 89, 200, 211f, 245, 260, 266, 277, 321f, 352, 354, 362, 369, 427, 436, 478, 486, 490, 497, 506, 511, 539, 542, 545, 557, 578, 582, 623, 625, 639, 661–665, 667f, 682, 684, 691, 702, 709, 716, 721, 727–730, 733–735, 742, 767, 779f, 782, 786, 811, 853, 893, 911, 915.
Rephaim, 101, 149f, 233, 359, 398, 402, 446; valley of, 31, 287, 449.
Rephidim, 168, 182f.
Reproach of Christ, 898.
Research, 617.
Resentment, 665, 866.
Reservation, the sacred, 521.
Reserve, 869.
Resident alien, *see* Stranger.
Resignation, 90, 345, 348, 365, 370, 377, 892.
Resin, 100, 481, 697.
Respect of persons, 208, 355, 362, 438, 586, 788, 867, 904, 925.
Responsibility, 108, 503, 719, 721, 850.
Rest, 479, 711, 879, 941; of God, 135, 138, 384, 394, 891f.
Restitution, 110, 186f, 197, 200, 216, 400, 738.
Restoration, 211f, 388, 429, 446, 475f,

483, 485, 487–489, 492, 494, 500, 502, 505, 511, 515, 534–536, 554, 557, 558–561, 569, 579, 582, 584.
Resurrection, 96, 275, 411, 432–434, 453f, 516f, 533, 622, 624, 631, 637, 695, 719, 721f, 735, 738, 751, 753, 781, 800–802, 804, 807, 826, 874, 893, 898; bodily, 331, 433f, 719; disbelief in, 411, 624, 695, 719; first, 846, 941; of Christ, *see* Jesus, resurrection of; of Israel, 91, 96, 516f, 533; of Tammuz, 631; of the dead, 96, 433f, 453f, 637, 738, 751, 800, 832, 845–847, 852, 878, 930, 941; of the righteous, 432–434, 454, 533, 637, 695, 735, 738, 874; of the wicked, 432, 434, 454, 533; rise of the doctrine, 96, 275, 432, 434, 453f, 533, 719; second, 846; spiritual, 434, 719, 751, 826, 886, 941; to new life, 811, 864, 870; universal, 434, 533, 721, 846.
—— body, 845, 847, 852; life, the, 695, 719, 738; narratives, 15, 675.
Retaliation, 705, 827, *see* Lex talionis.
Retribution, 49, 94, 163, 258, 341, 346, 355, 362, 373, 398, 400, 402f, 411, 433, 458, 477, 481, 483, 503, 510–512, 555f, 622f, 649, 805, 938.
Return from exile, 10, 47, 61, 75, 77f, 92, 108, 119f, 199, 234, 242, 245, 323–326, 329, 342, 388, 391, 393, 424, 445, 460, 463, 465, 485–489, 541, 546, 556, 572, 578, 585, 717.
Returned exiles, list of, 325f, 333f.
Returning Nero, legend of, *see* Nero Redivivus.
Reuben, son of Jacob, 134, 158, 161–165; tribe of, 64f, 123, 158, 161, 165, 214, 218, 220f, 228–230, 234, 245, 248, 255, 262, 315, 521.
Reuel, 171, 218.
Reunion of Israel and Judah, 445, 487, 516f, 554f.
Revelation, 4–10, 12, 16, 39f, 80, 83, 89, 91, 94f, 97, 126, 129, 133, 157, 171f, 187, 225f, 267, 274, 352, 354, 358, 360, 363, 427–432, 440f, 449, 451, 475, 485, 491, 517, 535, 567, 570, 586, 633, 636f, 639, 641f, 646, 648, 660, 744–747, 758f, 785, 793, 800, 805–807, 809, 811f, 819f, 824, 831, 834, 844f, 851, 856, 858, 863–865, 867, 883, 897, 906, 916, 920, 928.
Revelation, Book of, 16, 25, 100, 414, 431, 433–435, 592f, 595f, 602, 605f, 612, 631, 635, 641, 646f, 744, 772–775, 876, 908, 926–943; aim of, 433, 605, 926; an apocalypse, 16, 25, 431, 433, 605, 926; and the Apostle John, 744, 916; and the Fourth Gospel, 592, 744, 927–929; attitude to Roman Empire, 605, 631, 774f, 928, 930, 936–940; author, 592, 595f, 605f, 631, 635, 744, 927f; canonicity, 595f, 927f; contents, 927; date, 605, 655, 658, 774f, 927f, 932; drama, 927; hymns in, 647; interpretation, 926; Jewish element in, 774, 926f; language of, 592f; literary character of, 605f; message of, 605f, 775, 926; originality of, 433f; persecution in, 604, 744f, 926, 928–931; place of origin, 744, 927; situation, 605, 774f, 926, 932; sources, 433f, 606, 926–928, 935f; symbolism in, 433, 435, 605, 932f, 938–942; unity of, 926–928, 935f, 942; value of, 16.
Reveller, revelry, revelling, 68, 416, 440, 451, 453, 455, 841, 940.
Revenues, royal, 113.
Reverence, 168, 171, 346, 504.
Revival of learning, 596.
Revivalist movements, 648.
Revolt, 94, 574–576, 660, *see* Rebellion.
—— of Northern tribes, 67, 300, *see* Disruption of the kingdom.
Revolution, revolutionary, 54, 74, 407, 426, 534, 783.
Reward, 150, 346, 353, 357, 621, 693, 706, 717, 721, 730, 735, 835, 867, 887, 911.
Rewards and punishments, 11, 343, 346, 352, 358, 397, 622f, 665, 693f, 704, 730.
Rezin, *see* Rezon, contemporary of Ahaz.
Rezon, contemporary of Ahaz, 70f, 76, 309, 441–443, 534, 548; contemporary of Solomon, 67, 69, 299.
Rhegium, 804.
Rhine, 613.
Rhoda, 790.
Rhodes, 607.
Rhyme, 23, 453.
Rhythm, 424.
Rib, 133, 140, 529.
Riblah, 61, 72f, 313, 506, 508.
Rice, 175.
Rich, riches, 67f, 79, 109, 238, 340, 362, 367, 377, 407, 443, 516, 538, 549f, 552f, 660, 664, 666, 686, 693f, 696, 706f, 717, 725, 729, 733, 736–738, 796, 842, 904–906, *see* Money, Wealth,
Rich fool, 660, 733.
—— young ruler, 685, 693, 717, 737, 749.
Riddle, 44, 268, 397f, 510, 527, 567.
Rider, 576, 582.
Right hand, 364, 394; *see* God.
Right of life and death, 108.
Righteous, the, 23, 45, 47, 152, 358, 362, 371, 373–376, 379, 381, 389, 397, 402f, 408, 416, 434, 454, 512, 567, 587, 637, 701, 709f, 822, 932.
Righteousness, 11, 13, 19, 46, 89, 94, 99, 121, 130, 150, 344, 350, 352–354, 362, 371, 374, 388f, 392, 398, 401f, 405f, 412, 427f, 433, 438, 443, 445, 454f, 457f, 462, 464f, 471, 527, 537, 541, 546f, 551f, 571, 585, 587, 621, 625, 637, 640, 643, 660, 664, 685, 702, 704, 706, 710, 718, 729, 760, 788, 811, 814, 819, 821–825, 828, 833f, 851, 853–855, 866, 874, 887, 899, 926.
—— of God, *see* God.
Rimmon (god), 306.
—— (place), *see* En Rimmon; Rock of, 270.
Rim-Sin, 148.
Ring, 190, 550, 735, 824.
Ringworm, 203.
Ritual, 11, 19, 46, 77, 82–85, 87–90, 92, 95–97, 103f, 106f, 130f, 150, 168, 173, 191, 197f, 214, 216, 232, 245, 274, 368, 374, 461, 468f, 475, 482, 501–503, 507, 517f, 544, 551f, 562, 573, 585, 627f, 632, 636f, 639, 641, 720, 783, 889f, 900, 904; and ethics, 196f, 372, 461, 503, 621f, 624f, 734f; laws, 48; religion, 370.
Rivals, 207, 239f, 274.
River, 32, 50, 100, 139, 170, 216, 373, 380, 449f, 458, 463, 520, 531, 533, 553, 564f, 568, 628, 938; (symbolical), 370, 380, 583; of Egypt, 553; of God, 384; of Life, 520, 942; of Yahweh, 458; the, *i.e.* the Nile, 356; gods, 160; turned to blood, 174f, 631.
Rizpah, 287, 292, 295.
Roads, 28–30, 32, 61, 98, 110, 306, 565, 612f, 615, 659, 718, 791f, 797.
Roast, roasting, 103, 238, 464.
Roasting of sacrifice, 177.
Robbers, robbery, 178, 187, 375, 398, 416, 478, 480, 583, 610, 705, 729, 791, 873; crucified with Jesus, 725, 741.
Robbing of temples, 798.
Robe, 101, 131, 205, 284, 438, 452, 557, 790, 852, 940.
Robigalia, 222.
Robinson Crusoe, 218.
Rock, 26f, 29–31, 82, 111, 166, 182, 223f, 233, 263, 357, 377, 379, 395, 438, 452, 457, 477, 484, 513, 552, 555, 566, 568, 707, 803, 841, 909f, 924; (*i.e.* deity), 242f, 545; (title of Yahweh), 242, 275, 442, 454, 463; of ages, 865; on which the Church is founded, 714; the water-bearing, 841.
Rock-badger, 409.
Rock-crystal, 191, 931.
Rod, 100, 106, 111, 174, 221, 263, 377, 443f, 447, 449, 456, 506; of iron, 936, 940.
Roe, 400.
Rogelim, 290.
Roll, 46, 72, 328, 379, 476, 489f, 492, 504, 674, 700, 851, 896, 931, 934.
Roman authorities, 616, 769, 771, 774, 791, 800, 804, 827f, 909f; citizens, citizenship, 609, 613–616, 630, 724, 768, 771f, 791, 795, 800, 802, 847, 874, 886f; civil wars, 609, 616.
—— Emperors, 117, 612–614, 616, 630f, 669, 698, 726f, 763, 795, 879, 905, 909, 936–939, 941; deification of, 630f, 789, 795, 879, 939, *see* Emperor worship; list of, 656; powers and constitutional position of, 612.
—— Empire, 62, 612–617, 739, 772, 774f, 778, 827, 876f, 879, 908f, 934, 936, 939; administration of, 612–614; and Christianity, 2, 612, 616, 631, 649, 741, 771, 774f, 827f, 879, 882, 886, 908–910; and the Jews, 609f, 612–616, 625, 774; constitution of, 612f; destruction of, foretold, 434; history of, 612; life in, 616f; local government of, 613f; opportunism of, 612f, 616; provincial system of, 613; religion of, 616f; tolerance of, 609, 612, 616.
—— games, 609; garrison, 610, 800; historians, 20; law, 8, 186, 772, 801f; protectorates, 614; provinces, 29, 62, 609f, 612–616, 630f, 704, 726f, 818, 829f, 848, 908; religion, 616, 630f; republic, 62, 523, 528, 607f, 612–615; symbol, 658.
Romans, 27, 62, 190, 222, 340, 372, 496, 499, 532, 544, 607, 609f, 734, 756, 781, 832.
Romans, Epistle to the, 25, 602f, 771, 774, 804, 811, 817–831; and the government, 774, 827f; and the legalist controversy, 817; authenticity of, 815; date, 657, 771, 817f, 857;

editions of, 818, 857; historical background of, 811, 817f; object of, 602, 817; plan of, 818; readers of, 603, 804, 817; relation to Galatians, 817f, 857; theology of, 643f; unity of, 818; xvi. 3–16, destination of, 602, 818, 830, 848.
Rome, (city), 202, 372, 393, 525, 591, 595, 601, 608f, 612–616, 629–631, 646, 653, 655–658, 669, 681, 738, 744, 771–775, 778, 785, 790f, 798, 800, 803f, 817–819, 827–830, 848, 862, 871f, 881, 887, 889, 897, 908, 912, 924, 928, 931, 935, 939f; as goddess, 630f; burning of, 616, 656f, 774; Christianity in, 602, 773f, 804, 817–819; Church of, *see* Church of Rome; destruction of, 624, 939f; drunk with the blood of the saints, 774; fall of, predicted, 939f; fortune of, 630; Jews in, 372, 608.
Rome (in political sense), 227, 431, 434, 610, 612–616, 633, 667, 719, 774f, 863, *see* Roman Empire, Roman republic.
Romulus, 170, 221, 630.
Roof, the, 104, 109, 240, 269, 393, 484, 684, 788; chamber, 260.
Root, 353, 357, 403, 440, 445, 447, 467, 510, 543, 549, 826, 885; of David, 942; of Jesse, 13, 932.
Rope, 360, 364f, 439, 458, 490, 693, *see* Cord; and bucket, 749.
Rose, 459; of Sharon, 420.
Rosh, 473.
Royal law, 906.
Rubellius Geminus, 653.
Rubies, 360, 468.
Rudder, 905.
Rudiments, 869f, *see* Elemental spirits.
Rufus, 698, 830.
Rug, 261.
Ruhaibeh, 156.
Ruins, 29, 380, 573; haunted by wild or uncanny creatures, 380, 446, 481, 570.
Rule, rulers (angelic order), 864, 869; of faith, 901.
Ruler of the feast, 748; of the synagogue, 106, 687, 709.
Rulers, 88, 101, 187, 199, 224, 328, 331, 387, 389, 415, 437f, 457–459, 464, 468f, 481, 485f, 494, 497, 516, 529, 538, 548, 552, 559–561, 569f, 581, 741, 828, 868, 939; of Judæa in the first century A.D., 656; of the world, 834, 867.
Runner, 841, 874, 898, *see* Posts.
Rushes, 353, 443, 459.
Russia, 203.
Rust, 512f, 706, 906.
Ruth, 22, 48, 260, 271f, 283, 701.
—— Book of, 20, 22, 48, 92, 207, 245, 271f, 418; date of, 48, 271; liberal temper of, 48, 271; literary qualities of, 22, 271; position in Hebrew Bible, 271.
Rutherford, Samuel, 499.

Saba, *see* Sheba.
Sabæans, 34, 156, 171, 299, 348, 464, 479, 546.
Sabako, 310.
Sabbath, 5, 21, 74, 90, 101–106, 117, 135, 138, 177, 181, 184f, 188, 193f, 206, 210, 212, 235, 254, 306, 326, 334f, 395, 437, 469, 473, 484, 498, 511, 520, 553, 607, 615, 620–622, 632, 666, 682–684, 708, 712, 720, 722, 734f, 741, 763, 791f, 828, 869, 876, 892; and the full moon, 101; and the new moon, 101, 306, 437, 469, 473, 520, 647; and the Law, 101f, 135, 181, 184f, 188, 193, 210, 235, 395, 620f, 734; and the prophets, 101, 437, 469; Babylonian, 101, 185; day of rest, 101f, 110, 135, 184f, 188, 193, 206, 210, 395, 469, 620; healing on, 683f, 708, 712, 734, 750, 754; in the Christian Church, 647, 720, 729, 869; Jesus and the, 665f, 683–685, 712, 729, 734f, 750, 752, 754; observance of, 79, 92, 101f, 106, 184f, 193, 334f, 386, 468, 484, 520, 523, 607, 620f, 624, 647, 665, 684, 712, 719f, 729, 750, 752; origin of, 21, 101, 135, 138, 181, 185; Paul's attitude towards, 647, 791, 828, 869; Rabbinical regulations on, 620f, 712; restrictions connected with, 101, 184f, 193f; sanctity of, 138, 185, 193, 210, 469, 520, 763; the monthly, 101; the weekly, 101, 185, 188.
Sabbath breaker, the, 102, 254; breaking, 79, 94, 102, 184, 193, 210, 220, 335, 484, 511f, 754; day's journey, 101 115, 720; lights, 741; rest of God, 135, 138, 892.
Sabbath (Rabbinical tract), 752.
Sabbatical year, 79, 101f, 210f, 237, 652.
Sacæa, 698.
Sack, 164.
Sackbut, 526.
Sackcloth, 110, 304, 439, 450, 506; and ashes, 338, 587.
Sacraments, 620, 644, 780, 812, 821, 841, 863, 920.
Sacred dues, 130; literature, 3; marriage, 867; meals, 812; name, 185; pole, 100, *see* Ashera; springs, 100, 216, 428; stones, 98, 265, 276, 298, 428; tent, 180; trees, 100, 125, 130, 146, 222, 236, 263, 428.
Sacrifice, 66, 73, 76, 78, 83, 85, 89, 91f, 95f, 98–101, 103–105, 108, 113, 127–131, 140–144, 154, 159, 172f, 176, 179, 182f, 186–188, 191–193, 196–210, 212, 215, 220, 222f, 225f, 231–233, 236f, 241, 255, 259, 263, 270, 274–282, 288, 293f, 298f, 312, 326f, 334, 344, 346–348, 365, 370–372, 374, 377, 379, 381f, 384f, 388, 390, 392, 405f, 414, 437, 450f, 458, 461, 463, 470, 472, 477, 479f, 483, 489, 492, 516f, 519f, 523, 529–531, 535, 537–542, 544f, 550f, 557, 562, 566f, 569, 572–574, 586, 608f, 619–621, 629, 651, 665, 705, 734, 748, 755, 760, 784, 788, 792f, 840f, 843, 875, 890, 892, 895f, 900, 909, 935; a living, 827; and morality, 99, 381, 437, 562, 705; and obedience, 95f, 370, 379, 414, 479f; and sin, 96, 99, 192, 197–200, 347, 406, 896; animal, *see* Animal offering; as communion feast, 83, 95, 98, 188, 192, 198, 651; as food for the deity, 98f, 197f, 220, 370, 381; as gift, 95, 98, 198, 237; at inauguration of war, 99, 114, 239, 279, 445, 479; atonement made by, 99, 197, 199, 201, 203–206, 228, 347, 562, 620, 624; attitude of prophets to, 95f, 99, 379, 414, 437, 479f, 550, 562, 573, 714; buildings safeguarded by, 99; chief elements in, 98, 197; Christian, 642; conceptions of, 95f, 197; consumed by fire, 99, 192, 198–200, 206, 237, 263, 274, 562, 900; cooking of, 192, 198, 200, 520, 584; depreciation of, 379, 381f, 437, 479f, 665; eating of, 95, 98f, 101, 159, 179, 182f, 192, 198, 200–202, 209, 237, 241, 274f, 277–280, 511, 540; ethical significance of, 11f, 96; family, 101, 108, 122, 274, 282; for the dead, 320; God's indifference to, 379, 437, 479f, 540, 665; heathen, 198, 299, 379, 386, 483, 523, 629, 651, 793, 840f; holiness of victim, 197f, 200, 202; human, *see* Human sacrifice; in ratification of covenants, 64, 99, 188, 312, 895, 900; laying out of, 197, 374; laymen and, 186, 188, 192, 197–200, 207, 209, 215, 586; motives of, 95f, 98f, 197f; not available for wilful sin, 197–199; of broken spirit, 91, 370, 382; of children, *see* Child sacrifice; of cock or hen, 100; of dog, 222, 472; of firstborn, 98f, 179, 187, 215; of forbidden animals, 472; of praise, 370, 384, 900; of swine, 472, 523; of the will, 96; offered to Yahweh by Gentiles, 371, 586; piacular, 104; priesthood and, 127, 129, 131, 197–202, 205f, 209, 212, 215, 222, 274, 312, 346, 519f, 572, 620, 892, 895f, 900; propitiatory, 67, 83, 99, 809; restricted to central sanctuary, 96, 100, 128, 131, 231f, 236, 255, 282, 294, 346, 370, 372, 450, 573, 619f; restricted to domestic and clean victims, 197, 212; ritual of, 197–206, 209, 274f, 374, 437, 480; silence at, 569; smoke of, 188, 193, 243, 384, 866; suspension of, 382, 523, 529–531, 544f, 572, 755, 935; the daily, 200f, 326, 544, 620, 894, 900; the evening, 326, 395, 748, 780; the morning, 104, 326, 374, 748; theory of, 95f, 197, 910; to demons, 651, 841; to the dead, 101, 222, 241; types of, 98–100, 186, 191f, 197–201, 222, 237; vicarious, 92, 197f; women and, 200, 203; wood for, 334, 374.
Sacrificial system, 11f, 77, 95f, 98–100, 197–201, 323, 326, 714, 773, 809, 863; victim, 99, 105, 131, 140, 144, 150, 154, 176, 197–200, 209f, 215, 331, 374, 385, 392, 458, 461, 519f, 620, 651, 694, 698, 761, 836, 868, 892, 895, 900, 910.
Sacrilege, 164, 497, 523, 527, 532 629, 792, 820.
Sadducees, 94, 383, 389–391, 409, 411, 499f, 608f, 619f, 624, 637, 668f, 684, 695, 714, 719, 728, 747, 756, 781f; and Jesus, *see* Jesus and the Sadducees; and the Hasmoneans, 340, 608; and the Messianic hope, 94; and the Pentateuch, 695; and the Psalter, 341, 389–391; and the resurrection, 94, 624, 695, 719, 781, 800; disbelief in angels, 695; political power of, 94, 608, 620, 624, 637, 781f; religious attitude of, 94, 624, 637, 719.
Safed, 28.
Saga, 18, 168.
Sages, 450.
Sagur, 492.
Sahara, 612, 934.
Sahidic Version, 599.

Sail, 458, 470, 803f.
Sailor, 28, 513, 557, 866, *see* Crew.
St. Paul's Bay, 803f.
Saints, 92, 95f, 131, 389, 392, 396, 528f, 788, 818f, 824, 827, 832, 837, 865, 871f, 875, 878, 899, 924, 932–934, 938; kingdom of the, 528f; (*i.e.* Christians at Jerusalem), 787, 829.
Sakkuth, 551.
Sakkuth-melech, 552.
Sakrah, 297.
Salamis (Greece), 61.
—— (port of Cyprus), 791.
Salem, 149, 386, 893.
Salim, 749.
Sallustius, 628.
Salma, 420.
Salmon, Mt., 384.
Salmone, 803.
Salmonetta, 804.
Salome, daughter of Herodias, 654, 656, 688; sister of Herod the Great, 609; wife of Zebedee, 699, 717, 722, 763.
Salonika, 795.
Salt, 27, 32, 198, 222, 265, 305f, 457, 520, 570, 704, 713, 729; covenant of, 222; eating the, 328; of the earth, 704, 735.
Salutation, 306, 709.
Salvation, 16, 92, 96, 445, 564, 567, 649, 701, 713, 727, 739, 746, 750, 755, 758, 802, 806, 809–811, 817–822, 25f, 828, 831–833, 835f, 839, 841, 845f, 850–852, 863f, 867f, 873, 880, 882–886, 888, 891, 893f, 897, 910f, 916.
Samaria, 28–30, 33, 72, 77, 79, 130, 182, 300–302, 311f, 330, 441f, 450, 474, 534, 539f, 542, 550, 552f, 559, 573, 576, 584, 608, 653, 693, 737, 749f, 767, 776, 785f, 789; fall of, 21, 89, 119, 246, 300, 309f, 505, 512, 534, 559.
—— (city), 30, 36, 59, 68–70, 74, 86, 103, 300, 302–304, 306–308, 422, 439, 454f, 505, 512, 550, 559f, 785f, 789; siege of, by the Assyrians, 59, 70, 310, 534.
Samaritan language, 36; Pentateuch, 38, 40–42, 125; temple, 30, 79, 300, 386, 608.
Samaritans, 30, 38, 40, 70, 77–79, 92, 177, 245, 310, 323, 327f, 331, 377, 386f, 461, 575f, 578, 609, 639, 719, 725, 732, 737, 750, 754, 785f, 789; and the Jews, *see* Jews and Samaritans; and the Pentateuch, 38, 40, 750, 785; existing community, 30; Messianic doctrine of, 750, 785; origin of, 70, 77, 310, 327f; Passover of, 30, 177; religion of, 70, 89, 310, 327, 331, 386f, 576, 719, 750.
Samos, 798.
Samothrace, 795.
Samson, 20f, 31, 44, 66, 85, 216, 257, 266–269, 277, 286, 303, 397.
Samsu-ditana, 52.
Samuel, 20f, 45, 66, 83, 85f, 100, 107, 112, 122, 127, 153, 245f, 252, 267, 273–282, 284f, 300, 315, 389, 392, 426, 428, 483, 727, 780, 791; a priest, 85, 100; a prophet, 66, 85, 107, 245, 277, 426, 428; a seer, 66, 277, 428; and Agag, 83, 280; and David, 66, 280, 282, 307; and Eli, 66, 274, 276; and Saul, 66, 245, 277–280, 282, 285, 307; and the monarchy, 66, 86, 245, 264, 277f, 281, 426; and the prophets, 66, 107, 277f, 780; and the witch of Endor, 66, 83, 85, 285; birth and childhood of, 66, 100, 245, 273–275; call of, 276; dedication of, 66, 274; judge, 66, 112, 277f; name of, 275; not a Levite, 275.
Samuel, sons of, 277.
Samuel, Books of, 9, 13, 20, 46, 65, 75, 122, 244–246, 273–293, 294, 314, 318, 673; and Chronicles, 9, 13, 122, 673; appendix to, 292f; composition, 9, 273f; contents of, 245; Deuteronomic editor, 246, 273–278, 288; growth of, 46, 273; sources, 122, 246, 273f; teaching of, 245, 274; title, 273.
Sanballat, 78f, 330–332.
Sanctification, 476, 640, 761, 822–824, 834, 839, 896; ritual, 76, 184, 277, 281, 316, 347; of the Name, 625.
Sanctuary, 45, 63, 85, 87, 98f, 105, 108, 112, 124, 127–130, 144, 146f, 149, 155–157, 164, 171, 173, 179, 187, 189, 192, 225, 230, 239, 259, 267, 269, 274, 278, 280, 291, 300, 317, 369, 415, 463, 530, 553, 573, 835, 894–896; the heavenly, 396, 890, 894, 896, 900.
—— knocker, 239.
Sand, 28, 112, 176, 305, 459, 489, 499, 546, 566, 934.
Sandals, 171, 177, 272, 422, 549, 688, 709, 867.
Sandstone, 26, 28.
Sanhedrin, 29, 117, 616, 657, 698, 722, 734, 740f, 753, 756, 767f, 772f, 782f, 786, 790, 800–802.
Sannin, 28.
Santorin, 934.
Sapphire, 360, 422, 468, 504, 942.
Sappho, 591.
Sarah, wife of Abraham, 133, 146f, 150–156, 158, 274, 725, 898, 910.
—— wife of Tobias, 163.
Sarai, 151.
Sarcophagus, 234.
Sardinia, 381, 613.
Sardis, 77, 775, 928, 930f.
Sardius, 931, 942.
Sardonyx, 191, 942.
Sarduris III., 59.
Sareisa, 300.
Sarepta, *see* Zarephath.
Sargon II., 58f, 70f, 310, 444, 447–450, 456, 534, 552, 559.
Sargon of Accad, 170.
Sash, 191, 477.
Satan, 5, 48, 61, 140, 293, 317, 346, 434, 623, 649, 668, 685f, 702f, 710, 712, 726, 728, 731, 734, 739f, 753f, 758–760, 763, 782, 830, 837f, 850f, 853, 855, 867, 878, 880, 883, 886, 888, 891, 906, 912, 914, 918, 920, 924, 929f, 936f, 939, 941; fall from heaven, 731, 936; god of this world, 649, 851; possesses the power of death, 649, 850, 891; throne of, 930, 934.
—— the, 346–349, 353, 576.
Satire, 19, 24, 567.
Satrap, satrapy, 61f, 79, 329, 414, 526, 528, 939.
Saturn (god), 551, 784; (planet), 225, 652.
Satyrs, 76, 312, 446, 458f.
Saul, 18, 30, 44f, 66f, 75, 85f, 100, 113f, 119, 122, 144, 226f, 245f, 265f, 270–273, 275, 277–289, 292, 295f, 303f, 307f, 315f, 318, 337, 791f; and David, 18, 20f, 31, 44, 66, 244, 281–286; and Jonathan, 44, 66, 279, 282, 286; and Samuel, 66, 245, 277–280, 282, 285, 307; and the Amalekites, 66, 182, 226f, 241, 280, 304; and the Ammonites, 66, 278, 280; and the Gibeonites, 252, 292; and the Philistines, 30, 66, 244f, 278–282, 284–286; and the prophets, 85, 277f; and the witch of Endor, 30, 66, 85, 285; David's elegy on, 18, 44, 286, 341, 367; death of, 30, 66, 75, 245, 285, 286, 300; delivers Jabesh Gilead, 66, 85, 114, 278; descendants of, 108, 113, 287, 289, 292; first king of Israel, 66, 245, 277f; impaling of his seven sons, 83, 292, 295; length of reign, 279, 791f; massacres the priests of Nob, 283, 382, 474; rejection of, 66, 122, 245, 279f; sons of, 30, 66f, 113, 286, 292, 295; troubled by evil spirit, 85, 265, 281; uncle of, 278, 296.
Saul, *see* Paul.
Savages, 151, 160, 217.
Saviour of the world, 750.
Saw, 289.
Saxons, 202, 217.
Saying and doing, 707, 905.
Scales, *see* Balances.
Scales (on eyes), 787.
Scapegoat, 205f, 641; *see* Goat for Azazel.
Scarecrow, 481.
Scarlet, 189f, 410, 437, 565; anemone, 420; thread, 222; woman, 631, 939; wool, 204.
Scaurus, 608.
Scent, 697.
Scepticism, 11, 94, 342, 344f, 405f, 409, 566, 569, 585, 587, 616.
Sceptre, 511, 514, 548, 552.
Sceva, 797.
Schism, 300, 413.
Scholasticism, 92, 97.
Schools, 109f, 617, 660; of philosophy, 617, 789, 796; of the prophets, 107, 109, *see* Prophetic guilds.
Science, 2f, 8, 12, 136, 789.
Scimitar, 567.
Scipio, Lucius Cornelius, 532.
Scoffers, 402, 440.
Scorn, scornful, 23, 226.
Scorners, 362, 373, 399, 455.
Scorpion, 235, 702, 707, 934.
Scourge, 455, 538.
Scourging, 698, 741, 762, 800, 877.
Scribe, 46, 78, 86, 113, 138, 269f, 273, 279, 288, 292, 296, 359f, 373, 379, 391f, 402, 410, 419, 480, 498, 565, 577, 582, 585, 598–600, 674, 715, 801, 871, 912.
Scribes, the, 34–40, 42, 92, 97, 107, 131, 189, 329, 337–341, 379, 402, 608, 620, 624, 637, 661, 682, 684–686, 688f, 692, 696, 701, 704–706, 708, 712–715, 718–720, 727, 732f, 738, 740, 773, 783.
Scripture, 121, 689, 750f, 755, 758, *see* Bible; read in worship, 100, 106, 497, 647, 791, 884.
Scroll, 458, 494f.
Sculpture, 53.
Scythians, 46, 60, 337, 474, 477–479, 517, 566f, 569, 576.
Scythopolis, 30, 33, 704.

Sea, the, 27f, 34, 110, 137, 140, 176, 180, 272, 298f, 352, 359f, 362f, 377, 390f, 412, 438, 452, 454, 462, 466, 469, 479, 494f, 498, 501, 514, 528f, 533, 552, 554, 556f, 562–564, 574, 687, 708, 764, 798f, 803, 936, 938, 942; as God's enemy, 352, 359, 466, 942; (*i.e.* the Nile), 356, 365, 449f, 471, 565; of Galilee, *see* Galilee, Sea of; voyage, 615.
Sea-coast, 384.
Sea-country, 494.
Seah, 115, 212, 284.
Seal, 36, 334, 361, 423, 456, 638, 821, 829, 890, 926f, 931–934, 942.
Sealing, 113, 850, 863, 886, 927, 933–935, 942.
Sealskin, 215.
Sea-monster, 137, 352, 390, 495.
Sea-serpent, 554.
Sea-shore, 570, 685.
Seasons, 24, 144, 390; sacred, *see* Sacred seasons.
Seaweed, 557.
Seba, 385.
Second causes, 352.
—— Coming, 638, 649f, 668, 691, 718, 720f, 723, 737, 740, 774, 778, 807, 811f, 815, 826, 837, 840, 842, 847f, 850, 870, 872–874, 876–880, 886, 888, 891, 897, 899, 902, 906, 913–915, 918, 926, 942f, *see* Parousia.
—— death, 930, 941f.
Second Isaiah, 47f, 77, 91f, 95f, 113, 346, 388, 424, 460f, 487f, 502, 526, 556, 558, 561, 819; and Cyrus, 47, 77, 388, 460–462, 464f; and idolatry, 91, 460–464, 481; and the mission to the heathen, 48, 367, 438, 460, 462, 465, 566; doctrine of election, 91f, 462–466; doctrine of redemption, 47, 91f, 463–465, 467; doctrine of the Servant, 47, 91f, 96, 460, 462, 465–468; doctrine of vicarious suffering, 2, 460, 467f; eschatology of, 92, 113, 373; nationalism of, 91, 464; predicts return from exile, 47, 77, 388, 460–468; residence of, 460; theology of, 91f, 460; universalism of, 92, 427, 460, 465, 475.
Second man, the, 847; marriage, 840, 883f; priest, 489; repentance impossible, 893, 897, 899; sight, 503, 507f, 512.
Secret society, 385, 632.
Secretary, 72, 75, 328, 452, 489f.
Secrets of Elijah the Prophet, 835.
Secrets of Enoch, Book of the, 433f, 657, 931, 941; date, 433; description of the seven heavens, 433.
Secundus, 798.
Sedition, 13, 762, 800f.
Seduction, 187, 208.
Seed, 137f, 156, 165, 188 203, 393, 440, 456, 470, 546, 574, 580, 586, 633, 746, 757, 784, 847, 859; of the woman, 13, 140; the, 821.
Seedtime, 13, 554.
Seer, 31, 66, 85, 107, 225f, 274, 277, 315, 322, 428–430, 456, 553.
Seir, 156, 160, 162, 182, 227, 262; Mount, 76, 233, 516, 555.
Seirah, 261.
Sela, 71, 259, 309, 448, 462.
Selah, 373, 380.
Selahammahlekoth, 284.
Seleucia, 532, 791, 793.
Seleucidan era, 118.
Seleucids, 62, 80, 116, 340, 500, 526, 531, 614.
Seleucus I., 62, 524, 528, 531.
—— II. (Callinicus), 524, 528, 532.
—— III. (Ceraunos), 524, 528, 532.
—— IV. (Philopator), 62, 524, 528, 532, 581.
Self-complacency, 369, 376, 396.
Self-confidence, 848.
Self-control, self-discipline, 93, 622, 812, 840f, 861, 884f, 904–906.
Self-deception, 835, 861, 904, 917.
Self-denial, 706, 829.
Self-examination, 843.
Self-indulgence, 93, 651.
Self-restraint, 373, 398, 828.
Self-righteousness, 409, 640, 666, 861.
Self-sacrifice, 415, 419, 642, 668, 808, 886, 919.
Selfishness, 361, 904, 918.
Seller, 113, 506.
Semi-nomad, 63, 147, 156.
Semi-proselytes, 624–626.
Semiramis, 170.
Semites, Semitic peoples, 34, 36, 50f, 53, 58, 82f, 98f, 100f, 106f, 117, 224, 236, 248f, 263, 267; migrations from Arabia, 51, 53, 63.
Semitic historians, verbal reproduction of sources, 673; idioms, 592; languages, characteristics of, 34f, 592f; religion, 82f, 98–100, 265, 429.
Semitisms in New Testament, 592f.
Senate, 612f.
Seneca, 11, 603, 657, 797, 836.
Seneh, 279.
Senir, 234, 513.
Sennacherib, 58f, 71f, 76, 309–311, 380f, 449, 456, 480, 559, 565; invasion of, 310f, 321, 436f, 444, 447f, 451f, 455.
Senses, the, 355.
Sensuality, 899, 902, 918.
Sentius Saturninus, 727.
Sepharad, 555.
Sepphoris, 29.
Septimius Vegetus, 762.
Septuagint, 4, 36, 39–43, 97, 121, 450, 476, 592, 724, 784, 808, 836, 896; legend as to its origin, 40f, 79.
Sepulchre, *see* Grave, Tomb.
Seraiah, brother of Baruch, 495, 573; father of Jehozadak, 325, 573.
Seraphim, 157, 440f, 864, 931.
Serapis, 630.
Seren, 260, 268.
Serfs, serfdom, 165, 211.
Sergius Paulus, 655, 768, 791.
Sermon, 19, 24, 884; on the Mount 15, 661, 674, 677, 704–708, 714, 716, 728, 734; on the plain, 677, 729f.
Seron, 299, 607.
Serpens, 454.
Serpent, 13, 138–140, 166, 174f, 223, 225, 243, 330, 356, 398, 416, 441, 447, 454, 469, 472, 492, 710, 841, 855; (*i.e.* Satan), 936; charming, 174, 416, 480; worship, 223, 930; the old, 941; the swift, 359.
Serpentine, 360.
Serpent's stone, 330.
Servant, 586, 719, 735; hired, 110, 208, 448.
—— of Yahweh, 11, 13, 46f, 91–93, 96, 365, 460, 462, 465–468, 475, 641, 670, 708, 712, 786, 809f, 829, 846; identification with the Messiah, 712.
Servant passages, 11, 47, 91, 96, 460, 462, 465–468, 470, 498f, 846.
Service, 620, 665, 668, 866, 880, 910.
Servility, 904f.
Setebos, 354.
Seth, 134, 141, 174.
Sethite genealogy, 141.
Sethites, 142.
Seti I., 55f, 248.
Settler, 621.
Seven, 154, 225, 268, 347, 719, 927; sacredness of, 101, 225, 268; the, 645, 647, 767, 776, 783, 785, 799; angels of the presence, 928; brothers (martyrs), 738, 898; churches, 916, 928–931; eyes, 577, 932; golden candlesticks, 929; heads, 936, 939; heavens, 433–435, 863, 866, 892; hills, 939; seals, 927, 931–935, 938; spirits, the, 928, 930; thunders, 934; trumpets, 927, 933–935, 938f; years, 158, 489, 530.
Seveneh, 514.
Seventh month, 102, 205, 210, 228, 326, 333, 520; year, 101, 187f, 210f, 237, 334.
Seventy disciples, 665, 724; mission of, 731.
—— nations, the, 665; weeks, 530; years, 325, 453, 486f, 523, 530, 572.
Several house, 309.
Sex, origin of, 139.
Sexes, change of dress by, 240; creation of, 125, 138; relation between the, 139f, 621, 650.
Sextarius, 115.
Sexual abstinence, 99, 316.
Shaalbim, 259.
Shaalim, 277.
Shabaka, 59, 70, 310.
Shaddai, 271, 351, 545, *see* El Shaddai.
Shade, 462.
Shades, the, 149, 269, 359, 395, 402, 446, 454, 480.
Shadow, 543, 797, 870, 904.
Shadrach, 525.
Shaft, 360.
Shakespeare, 20, 693.
Shaking of the house, 638, 781.
Shalisha, 277.
Shallum, king of Israel, 68, 70, 309; king of Judah, *see* Jehoahaz.
Shalman, *see* Shalmaneser, successor of Tiglath-Pileser IV.
Shalmaneser I., 57; II., 225, 246, 307; III., 58, 69; successor of Tiglath-Pileser IV., 58f, 70, 310, 447, 452, 455, 534, 541.
Shame, 399, 404, 423; origin of, 139f.
Shamash, 130, 186, 373, 587.
Shamgar, 66, 261f.
Shammah, 292.
Shammai, 38, 411, 693, 716.
Shamshi-Adad VII., 58.
Shamshi-ramman, 69.
Shapattu, 101.
Shaphan, 72, 75, 128, 490, 507.
Shapir, 560.
Shark gods, 628.
Sharon, 30, 459, 472; Plain of, 28, 304, 788.
Sharuhen, 249, 254.
Shaveh, 149.
Shaving, 71, 204, 217, 268, 442, 481, 506, 560; of the head, 110, 239, 348, 452.

Shealtiel (Salathiel), 327, 573, 701.
Shear-jashub, 436, 441, 561.
Sheath, 529.
Sheaves, 272, 359, 549.
Sheba (country), 111, 156, 299, 348, 351, 385, 463, 470, 479, 513, 546; Queen of, 299.
Sheba, son of Bichri, 67, 273, 291, 295, 300.
Shebat, 105, 117.
Shebna, 311, 452, 931.
Shecaniah, 329.
Shechem (place), 30, 63, 66, 103, 122, 146f, 160–162, 165, 236f, 244f, 248, 258, 263, 265, 287, 300, 383f, 539, 749, 784f.
Shechem, son of Hamor, 134, 160f.
Shechemites, 161, 244, 265.
Sheep, 30f, 33, 98, 101, 141, 158f, 186, 197f, 212, 224f, 237f, 266, 274, 278f, 347f, 460f, 467, 489, 493, 511, 516, 547, 550, 553, 580f, 714, 721, 735, 755, 765, 906, 931.
Sheep-folds, 262.
Sheep-gate, 331, 750.
Sheep-pool, 750.
Sheep-shearing, 101, 159, 238, 284, 289, 465, 552.
Shekel, 79, 105, 116f, 155, 162, 186, 192, 200, 212, 215, 277, 281, 290, 293, 317, 334, 442, 520, 527, 537, 748; the Babylonian, 116; the gold, 116; the Phœnician, 116; the sacred, 116.
Shekinah, 199, 205, 469, 497, 624, 716, 723, 726, 824.
Shelah, 331, *see* Shiloah; Pool of, 754.
—— son of Judah, 162f.
Shelemaiah, 79.
Shell fish, 243.
Shem, 50, 134, 145; blessing on, 44, 133, 145; descendants of, 146.
Shema, the, 235, 695, 791, 905.
Shemaiah, contemporary of Jeremiah, 73, 487; contemporary of Nehemiah, 79, 332; contemporary of Jeroboam, 76, 300f, 315, 319.
Shemer, 302.
Shemini, 373.
Sheminith, 316.
Shemir, 266.
Shemoneh-'Esreh, 317, 706.
Shen, 277.
Sheol, 88, 96, 150, 156, 221, 243, 275, 331, 349, 352, 354, 356f, 359, 363, 368–370, 374, 376, 381f, 388, 395, 398, 401f, 404, 409, 411, 413, 416f, 440, 445f, 455, 459, 469f, 480, 513, 515, 557, 567, 715, 934, *see* Hades; gates of, 375, 714f.
Shephelah, 31, 258f, 484, 555, 559f, 578.
Shepherd life, 159; lover, 419, 422; maiden, 418; of Israel, 560; the great, 516.
Shepherds, 111, 123, 127, 156, 158, 165, 172f, 177, 220, 256, 263, 342, 348, 417, 420, 446, 457, 460f, 464, 466f, 471, 478f, 481f, 484–486, 491, 494, 502, 511, 516, 547f, 553, 563, 565, 570, 581, 726, 735, 924; the, 25, 702, 726; the three, 581.
Sheshbazzar, 77, 325, 328, 573.
Sheshonq, *see* Shishak.
Shewbread, 106, 190, 210, 222, 283, 472, 519; table of, 106, 190, 215, 297, 519, 895.
Shibah, 156.
Shibboleth, 267.
Shield, 114, 308, 451, 495, 515, 565, 609, 867.
Shields of gold, 301.
Shiggaion, 373, 567.
Shiggionoth, 567.
Shihor, 316, 452.
Shiloah, 71, 331, 442, 753; waters of, 442.
Shiloh, 66, 103, 105, 166, 254, 269f, 274f, 277, 283, 300, 387, 394, 480, 486.
Shimei, 249, 260, 290f, 295; (ruler of Benjamin), 296.
Shimshai, 328.
Shinar, 146, 445, 524, 577.
Ship masters, 803, 940; owner, 803.
Shipbuilding, 54.
Ships, 28, 70, 142, 166, 262, 304, 320, 381, 409, 438, 446, 452, 458, 470, 501, 513f, 532, 557, 615, 646, 771, 798, 803f, 907.
Shipwreck, 414, 514, 772, 803.
Shishak, 58, 71, 76, 79, 246, 300f, 319.
Shittim, 227, 250, 538, 546, 562.
Shobal, 34.
Shobi, 290.
Shocoh, 31.
Shoe, symbol of possession, 272.
Shoes, 113, 383, 735; removal of, 161, 171, 241, 383, 414.
Shomron, 754.
Shoot, *i.e.* Messianic king, 485, 489, 577f.
Shophet, 256.
Shoulders, 198, 217, 421, 443–445, 452, 571, 583.
Shrub, 154.
Shual, 279.
Shubbiluliuma, 53, 55f.
Shulammite, 421–423.
Shunammite, the, 294, 305–307; son of, 302, 305.
Shunem, 29, 285, 294, 305, 422, 730.
Shur, 151, 181, 280.
Shushan, *see* Susa.
Shuttle, 352.
Shylock, 19.
Sibmah, 229, 448.
Sibyl, 930.
Sibylline oracles, 522, 658, 937.
Sicarii, 610, 800.
Siccuth, 551.
Sicilian Vespers, 267.
Sicily, 513, 613, 615.
Sickle, 102, 938.
Sickness, 76, 93, 147, 377, 391, 444, 458f, 467, 843, 874.
Sicyon, 62.
Siddim, Vale of, 148.
Sidiq, 149.
Sidon, *see* Zidon.
Siege, 29, 54, 212, 381, 451f, 455f, 479, 485, 488–490, 494, 496, 505f, 508f, 512–514, 528, 536, 544, 552, 565f, 570, 578, 582, 608.
Sieve, 457, 554.
Sign from heaven, 662; of the cross, 507; of the Son of Man, 720.
Signal, 218, 251f, 327, 332, 449.
Signet, 485, 577.
Signs, 137, 246f, 311, 441–443, 508, 690, 703, 712, 714, 728, 733, 737, 743, 748, 751, 757, 770, 779, 782, 784, 792, 833, 879f, 940, *see* Miracles; (*i.e.* stars), 864; of heaven, 481; of the times, 714, 733.
Signy, 153.
Sihon, 44, 64, 128, 149, 172, 213, 224, 228, 232–234, 266, 493.
Silas, 643, 646, 770, 794–797, 836, 858, 877f, 889, 908, 912.
Silence, 413, 503–505, 567, 569, 933, 935; in heaven, 933.
Siloam, 36, 294, 311; aqueduct, 109, 115; inscription, 109, 115, 311; Pool of, 104, 109, 330, 452, 743, 754.
Silvanus (god), 630.
—— *see* Silas.
Silver, 85, 111, 115f, 123, 130, 153, 155, 178, 189, 191, 212, 238, 276, 293, 306, 317, 360, 375, 407, 420, 438, 458, 470, 479, 504, 506, 525–528, 567, 570, 578, 587, 735, 790; cord, 417; pieces, 721, 735, 797; shrines, 798; trumpets, 218.
Silversmiths, 798.
Simeon, Aramaic name of Peter, 793.
—— contemporary of Jesus, 722, 727; utters the *Nunc Dimittis*, 727.
—— son of Jacob, 158, 161, 163–165; tribe of, 64f, 158, 161, 174, 214, 218, 220, 223, 230, 243, 248, 258, 315, 517, 521.
Simon, *see* Peter.
Simon bar Giora, 610.
—— Maccabæus, 104, 113, 117, 391, 580, 608.
—— Magus, 785f; and Gnosticism, 785f; and Peter, 785f; and Philip, 786; and the Samaritans, 786; caricature of Paul, 785; historical existence of, 786; in the Clementine writings, 785; Justin Martyr's account of, 785.
—— of Cyrene, 698, 741, 763; the Benjamite, 581; the Cananæan, 685; the leper, 697, 730, 757; the Pharisee, 730; the tanner, 788.
Simony, 786.
Simple, 398, 401.
Sin, *i.e.* Pelusium, 514.
Sin, 1, 8, 93f, 96, 99, 104, 131, 139, 196–199, 204–206, 208, 212, 231, 236, 241, 243, 245, 289, 293, 345, 350–352, 354, 356f, 361, 368, 381f, 401, 406f, 414, 433f, 437f, 440f, 463, 467, 469, 475, 479, 483, 488f, 494, 496f, 500, 502, 506–517, 527, 544, 548–550, 557, 559, 561–563, 569f, 577, 618–620, 622f, 625, 629, 634, 637, 639–641, 649, 689, 706, 711, 716, 748, 760, 806–812, 819–829, 837, 846f, 853, 861, 863, 866, 870, 888, 891, 894–897, 899, 905–907, 910f, 914, 916f, 920, 940; a state, 205, 917; against the Holy Ghost, 686, 712; and calamity, 292f, 623, 734; and death, 351, 451, 820, 822f, 847, 904; and penitence, 93, 266, 362, 623, 625, 906; and sacrifice, *see* Sacrifice and sin; and suffering, 93, 266, 346, 350f, 354, 369f, 379, 391, 413, 467, 544, 622f, 709, 754; and the Law, *see* Law, the; confession of, 104, 159, 199, 212, 361f, 378, 388, 483, 542, 907, 917; death to, *see* Death to sin; forgiveness of, *see* Forgiveness of sins; law of, 823; lawlessness, 918; meaning of, in ritual law, 99, 197–199; mother of death, 904; non-ethical, 99; of ignorance, 197–199, 220, 780; of Israel, 45, 131, 243, 245, 437, 548f,

620; origin of, 125, 139, 350, 433f, 806; prenatal, 754; prophetic teaching on, 99, 437f, 479, 906; punishment of, 45, 75, 93f, 199, 208, 245, 351, 354, 357, 369, 427, 433, 440f, 445, 451, 467, 472, 483, 496, 506, 544, 550, 577, 623, 819f, 826, 853, 914, 940; racial, 822; salvation from, 7, 16; secret, 369; sense of, 92f, 640, 668; slavery to, 753f, 823, 863, 910, 915; universality of, 143f, 150, 623, 820, 822, 829; unto death, 920; wages of, 823; wilful, 197–199, 350.
Sin offering, 11, 99, 104, 192, 197–206, 222f, 228, 237, 520, 538, 748, 756, 809f, 836, 866, 910.
Sinai, Mt., 26f, 64, 123f, 168f, 171, 173, 177f, 180–183, 188, 190, 194, 201, 214, 218, 229, 231f, 243, 303, 384, 488, 510f, 566f, 587, 601, 764, 784f, 860, 899; wilderness of, 213, 218f, 258, 387, 784.
Sinaitic covenant, 64, 488, 860; peninsula, 63f, 170f, 214, 219, 233, 260; Syriac, 600f, 701, 713.
Sincerity, 664, 837, 850f, 873, 906, 911.
Sinew of the thigh socket, 134, 160.
Sinfiotli, 153.
Singers, 316, 325, 329f, 332, 377, 392, 417, 481, 518.
Singing, 76, 100, 106, 278, 844, 866f.
Singing women, 316, 553.
Single and plural, interchange of, 816.
Sinim, 466.
Sinnabris, 32.
Sinner punished in his children, 358.
Sinners, 5, 23, 199, 369, 503, 621–623, 639, 666, 683f, 701, 709, 716, 730, 735, 754, 820, 859, 882, 907, 911.
Sippar, 77, 141; tariff of, 200.
Sirach, *see* Ecclesiasticus.
Sirah, 287.
Sirion, 234f, 377.
Sirius, 551.
Sirocco, 27, 176, 363, 454, 466, 478, 484, 904.
Sisera, 29, 65, 253, 261f, 270; mother of, 262.
Sister, *i.e.* bride, 421.
Sittakenians, 548.
Sivan, 102f, 105, 117.
Six days' work, 135–138.
Six hundred and sixty-six, 936f.
Sixty-two weeks, 531.
Skin, 140, 186, 192, 348, 357; disease, 202–204; of the teeth, 357.
Skins, 157, 189f, 200, 204, 393.
Skirt, 272, 284.
Skull, 417.
Sky, 135, 137, 166, 353, 396, 458, 478.
Slander, 187, 208, 285, 393, 395, 405, 481, 484, 836, 850, 854, 857, 870, 906.
Slaughter, 144, 206, 562, 906, 932, 934.
Slave dealers, 380, 517, 546; trade, 548.
Slavery, 5, 73, 79, 82, 108, 110, 128, 145, 164, 186, 332, 466, 489, 500, 537, 546, 642, 649f, 753f, 823, 830, 833, 836, 838f, 860, 867, 910, 940.
Slaves, 44, 51, 65, 73, 101–104, 108, 110, 128, 145, 149, 155f, 162–164, 170, 178f, 185f, 196, 209, 211, 235, 238, 240f, 277f, 284, 289, 305, 326, 338, 351, 361, 380, 383, 405, 409, 489, 537, 548, 581, 610, 613, 632, 638, 649f, 660, 682, 707, 735f, 738, 753, 758, 760, 800, 811, 838–840, 860, 862, 867, 870, 875, 884f, 888, 910.
Sleep, 136, 157, 159, 261, 284, 287, 352, 354, 374, 386f, 393, 406, 414, 416f, 459, 544, 557, 709, 790; (*i.e.* death), 565, 843, 878, 941; after death, 852, 878, 941.
Sling, 66, 114, 281f, 284, 408.
Slinger, 270.
Sluggard, 402f, 408.
Smell the odour of satisfaction, 144.
Smerdis, 77.
Smith, 111, 468, 576.
Smoke, 153, 180, 378, 393, 421, 432, 440f, 546, 866, 933f, 938, 940.
Smyrna, 775, 928–931.
Snake, 459, 702, 804, *see* Serpent; gods, 628.
Snare, 442, 538.
Snares of death, 376.
Snow, 27f, 32, 50, 52, 351, 363, 384, 408, 437, 468, 484, 876.
Snuff-dishes, 190.
So, king of Egypt, *see* Shabaka.
Soap, 477, 587.
Social conditions, 85–88, 559f; institutions of Israel, 108–114; life, 108, 111, 344, 562; morality, 11, 89, 108, 196, 200; problems, 88, 649.
Socoh on the Philistine border, 296; south of Hebron, 296.
Socrates, 25, 409, 417, 604, 729, 781, 796, 840.
Soda, 408.
Soden, von, 597.
Sodom, 13, 130, 147, 149, 151–153, 243, 270, 357, 437f, 446, 484, 499, 509f, 541, 550f, 570, 737, 914; (*i.e.* Jerusalem), 935.
Sojourner, 110, 124, 171, 179, 218, 233, 236–238, 241f, *see* Stranger.
Solar disc, 54, 587; year, 118, 652.
Soldiers, 51, 55, 72, 86, 114, 266, 351f, 514, 616, 722, 728, 741, 761f, 788, 873, 886.
Solemn assembly, 129, 497, 544.
Solidarity, 92, 108, 239, 292, 436, 440, 487f, 509f, 641, 822.
Solomon, 20f, 25, 44f, 48, 57, 67, 69–71, 75, 81, 86, 105, 108f, 111, 113, 127f, 135, 165f, 169, 180, 184, 191, 245f, 252f, 255, 294–300, 302, 304, 308–310, 312, 314, 317–319, 326, 328, 330, 333, 341f, 366f, 372, 380, 397, 411f, 418–423, 510, 519, 609, 712, 728, 784; administration of, 67, 296; alliance with Hiram, 67, 287, 296–298, 302, 319, 548; and Abiathar, 275, 295, 519; and Adonijah, 67, 294f, 318, 519; and Bathsheba, 289, 294f, 318; and David, 67, 75, 289, 294f, 317f; and Ecclesiastes, 18, 341f, 411f, 417, 432, 522; and Hadad, 67, 299f; and Hebrew Wisdom, 341, 397, 411; and Jeroboam, 67, 299f; and Joab, 295; and Rezon, 67, 69, 299; and Shimei, 295; and the Book of Proverbs, 9, 45, 341f, 397, 407; and the Canaanites, 67, 252, 259, 299; and the Queen of Sheba, 299, 319; and the Song of Songs, 18, 341f, 418–423, 432; coronation of, 294f; death of, 21, 67, 86, 111, 119, 319; empire of, 127, 188, 296; idolatry of, 299, 312; judgment of, 296; legends concerning, 296; marries Pharaoh's daughter, 67, 295f, 299; palace of, 67, 297f, 300; polygamy of, 67, 299; prayer of, 20f, 298, 691; proverbs of, 45, 296, 341; son of God, 372; songs of, 45, 296; temple of, *see* Temple, Solomon's; trading expeditions of, 67, 70, 111, 297, 299; tyrannical rule of, 67, 113, 169, 252, 298; wealth of, 67, 111, 113, 299, 318f; wife of, 67, 295–297, 319; wisdom of, 296, 341, 343.
Solomon's porch, 755, 780, 782.
Solomonic literature, 45, 341f, 411.
Solon, 413.
Son, 109–111, 128, 262, 414, 442, 511, 586, 733, 735; the, and the angels, 696, 890f.
Son of (Hebrew idiom), 577.
Son of David, 372, 434, 694, 696, 709, 714, 718f, 738.
—— of God, 2, 8, 10, 95, 137, 178, 188, 372–374, 642, 685, 691, 702f, 708, 714, 722, 726, 728, 740, 743, 745, 755, 761, 787, 806–812, 813, 824, 853, 860, 930, *see* Jesus, Logos.
—— of His love, 868.
—— of Joseph, 372.
—— of Man, 2, 637f, 661, 668, 670, 683f, 686, 691f, 696, 708–710, 712, 714, 721, 729, 733, 737, 740, 748f, 754, 757, 768, 785, 846, 891, 929, 938; and the angels, 733, 748, 891; coming of, 665, 696, 710, 737, 740, 757; equivalent to "Man," 375, 503f, 529, 684, 708f, 846; in apocalyptic literature, 375, 637; in Daniel, 96, 520, 529, 661, 929, 938; in Enoch, 433f, 637, 661, 670, 864, 929, 938; in Hebrews, 375, 891; in the eighth Psalm, 375, 846, 891; in Revelation, 929, 938; in the Gospels, 529, 661, 691, 729; in the New Testament, 375; Jesus as, *see* Jesus; Judge of men, 433, 670, 691, 721, 785; Messianic significance of title, 434, 670, 683f, 691, 712, 729, 738; pre-existence of, 864; resurrection of, 692; self-designation of Jesus, 670, 691, 754; suffering of, 668, 670, 691f, 891; whether distinguished from Jesus, 710, 733.
—— of perdition, 761.
Soncino edition of Old Testament, 42.
Song, 23, 45, 81, 86, 93, 102, 127, 282, 366, 388, 396, 445, 553, 866f, 870; of Deborah, *see* Deborah; of Hezekiah, 459; of Moses, 47, 242f; of Moses at the Red Sea, 44, 180f, 938; of Solomon, *see* Song of Songs.
—— of Songs, 5, 18, 108, 294, 341–343, 418–423; a collection of love lyrics, 18, 108, 342, 418f; age and authorship of, 341f, 418; and Solomon, 18, 341f, 418–423, 432; canonicity of, 18, 38f, 411, 418; interpretation of, 18, 342, 418f; linguistic characteristics of, 418; not a drama, 342, 419; not an allegory, 418; place in Old Testament, 418; place of origin, 418; secular character of, 418; Yahweh not named in, 418.
—— of the Lamb, 938; of the sword,

512; of the three children, 526; of the well, 44, 841.
Songs in the night, 362; of Zion, 394.
Son-in-law, 100, 152, 608.
Sons of flame, 350; of God (*i.e.* angels), 138, 142, 304, 347, 363, 377, 389, 730, 842; of God (good men), 705, 730, 863, 891; of the bridechamber, 709; of the prophets, 304; of thunder, 685.
Sonship, 620, 642, 747, 807, 810–812, 824, 860, 919, *see* Adoption.
Soothsayers, soothsaying, 11, 100f, 106, 429f, 464, 525, 562, 798.
Sopater, 796, 798, 830.
Sophists, 110, 343, 405, 440, 877.
Sophocles, 20, 414.
Sorcerer, sorceress, 106, 525, 791, 942, *see* Magician, Witch, Wizard.
Sorcery, 187, 438, 443, 562, 934.
Sore, 408.
Sorek, valley of, 31, 267f.
Sorrow, 305, 413f, 453, 906.
Sosipatros, 830.
Sosthenes, friend of Paul, 731, 797, 832.
—— ruler of synagogue, 797, 832.
Soul, 137, 237, 240, 269, 356, 377f, 417, 529, 710, 739, 851f, 879, 892, 904f; boxes, 439; capture, 509.
Sound doctrine, 882, 885, 887.
Sour grapes, 47, 91, 501; milk, 262.
South, the, *see* Negeb.
South Galatian theory, 769f, 857, 859.
Sower 713, 730, 750.
Sowing, 111, 211, 236, 311, 413, 455, 457, 537, 539–541, 562, 580, 840, 861, 906; with salt, 265.
Spain, 385, 438, 513, 607, 613f, 772, 799, 817, 829, 881.
Span, 115, 281.
Sparks, 350, 438, 905.
Sparrow, 387.
Sparta, 565.
Spear, 114, 282–284, 308, 332, 565, 568.
Speckled bird, 482.
Speech, 133, 225, 402–405, 407f, 413, 415, 904f, 910.
Speeches, 24f; composition of, by historians, 20f.
Speed of travel, 615.
Spell, 160, 527, 562.
Spelt, 176.
Spices, 100, 111, 189, 420, 422, 434, 440, 489, 552, 940.
Spider, 353, 359, 469.
Spies, 163, 250, 412, 738, 905; the, 32, 123, 213, 219f; narrative of, 123, 126, 213, 219f.
Spikenard, 697, 751.
Spinal column, 417.
Spinoza, 121, 340.
Spirit (apparition), 350; of Christ, 639, 767; of God, 135f, 260, 343–345, 369, 396, 414, 427, 429, 462f, 470f, 517f, 546, 561, 574, 578, 586, 637, 642, 710, 712, 733, 745f, 747, 823, *see* Holy Spirit, the, Spirit of Yahweh; of infirmity, 734; of Jesus, 15f, 769; of prophecy, the, 940; of truth, 919; of Yahweh, 66, 76, 85, 92, 184, 218f, 260, 262f, 267, 277f, 281, 285, 303, 317, 445, 462, 471, *see* Holy Spirit, Spirit of God; regarded as finer form of matter, 350.
Spirits, 82f, 95f, 101, 160, 216, 296, 570, 844; *i.e.* evil spirits, 708; in prison, 910f; of the dead, 110, 208, 216, 221f, 443, 687, 756.
Spiritual body, 670, 719, 812, 847, 852, 933.
—— gifts, 643, 645–649, 827, 832, 834f, 843–845, 866, 893, 919; criteria of value, 645, 647f, 843–845; regulations for exercise, 645, 648, 843–845.
—— Israel, 935; man, 834f; marriage, 650, 839.
Spirituality, 835, 870.
"Spirituals," the, 638.
Spittle, 690.
Spoil, 66, 85, 114, 228, 233f, 254, 264, 286, 288, 339, 442f, 458, 461, 464, 494, 514, 517, 532, 873; division of, 286.
Spoiling of the Egyptians, 178.
Spring (of water), 27, 29–32, 149, 181f, 214, 216, 222, 258, 268, 330, 353, 388, 421, 438, 442, 459, 469, 477, 546, 583, 750, 872, 938.
—— (season), 18, 27, 50, 52, 118, 127, 135, 177, 205, 210f, 219, 262, 289, 419f, 422f, 480, 520, 572, 628f, 689, 797, 817.
—— god, 628; death and resurrection of, 628; wailing for, 628.
Springs, sacred, *see* Sacred springs.
Sprinkling, 197, 199f, 204, 206, 217, 222, 519, 863, 895.
Square, 531.
Square character, 36.
Stable, 726.
Stadia, 115.
Staff, 263, 377, 493, 581, 688.
Stairs, 331, 333.
Stake, 388, *see* Gallows.
Stall, 587.
Standard, 124, 445, 471, 478, 494, 499.
Standing army, 124, 289, 291.
Star in the East, 652, 701f.
Star-god, 552.
Star-worship, 129, *see* Heavenly bodies, worship of.
Stars, 5, 74, 137f, 150, 226, 228, 252, 262, 274, 332, 349, 353, 363, 417, 445, 454, 458, 461, 464, 480, 489, 530, 551, 577, 628, 634, 701, 803, 847, 864, 869, 934, 936; personality of, 137f, 363, 461, 934.
State, the, 684, 812, 909f; religion, 443, 616, 630f, 775, 926, 928, 930, 936–938.
Statesmen, 25, 110, 508, 635.
Statues, 628, 937.
Stealing, *see* Thief.
Steel, 553.
Steersman, 905.
Step-chains, 439, *see* Ankle chains.
Stephanas, 646, 833, 848.
Stephanus, 597.
Stephen, 170, 605, 638–640, 669, 739, 767f, 770, 783–785, 787, 789, 806, 932; a Hellenist, 639, 767, 783; and Paul, 639f, 767f, 783, 785, 806; and the Law, 639f, 806; and the Temple, 639, 783–785; appointed one of the seven, 783; burial of, 785; conception of Christianity, 639f, 767, 770; martyrdom of, 669, 767, 783, 785, 793, 932; prayer of, 669, 768, 932; speech of, 169, 768, 780, 783–785, 791, 800; trial of, 783–785.
Steppe, 32, 50, 258, 384, 545.
Steps, 518, 790, 800; to the altar, 186, 519.
Stern (of boat), 674.
Steward, 113, 164, 302f, 713, 720, 730, 733, 735.
Stewardship, 836, 840, 869, 906.
Sticks, 102, 174, 254, 417, 517, 804.
Still small voice, 303.
Sting of death, 369, 847.
Stocks, the, 72f, 113, 325, 356, 474, 484.
Stoicism, 345, 411f, 415, 633f, 789, 793, 805, 812.
Stoics, the, 6, 607, 635, 746, 796, 835.
Stone age, 251.
Stone at the tomb of Jesus, 699, 741, 763; circle, 251; of Israel, 166, 442.
Stonehenge, 616.
Stones, 51, 66, 76, 82, 109, 111, 116, 157–159, 182, 185f, 189, 191, 204, 212, 241, 250f, 255, 276, 279–284, 290, 294, 297, 326f, 351, 353, 356, 404f, 408, 413, 439, 441, 443, 446, 454f, 471, 484, 491, 495, 518f, 525, 539, 542, 548, 567, 574, 577, 582, 703, 707, 755f, 903, 906, 909, 940; Sacred, *see* Sacred stones.
Stoning, 76, 102, 129, 208, 210, 220, 237, 240, 475, 510, 762, 773, 785, 792f, 800.
Store, 150, 255.
Store cities, 111.
Store-house, 545.
Stork, 364, 480.
Storm, 70, 82, 84, 87, 303, 363, 377, 389 391, 396, 417, 438f, 449, 453, 501, 545, 548, 557, 564f, 715, 718, 730f, 899.
Storm-cloud, 190, 215, 219, 473, 568.
Stormy season, 615f.
Story, 19–22, 81, 86, 127.
Strabo, 297, 507.
Straight Street, 787.
Strange gods, 127, 130, 796; woman, 398–400, 406.
Stranger, 85f, 102–104, 124, 128, 150, 179, 187, 206, 208, 210f, 217, 220, 233, 242, 270, 272, 286–289, 298, 376, 378, 480, 521, 544, 557, 722, *see* Sojourner.
Strategi, 795.
Stratopedarch, 804.
Straw, 173, 454, 707; for bricks, 173.
Streams, 28, 337, 369, 408f, 412, 422, 449, 458f, 463, 465f, 470, 473, 483f, 520, 546, 552.
Street, 69, 111, 531, 565, 578, 659, 706, 718, 801.
Strife, 395, 469, 873, 904.
Strike hands, 112, 407.
Stringed instruments, 316, 366, 373, 526, 567.
Stroke, 284.
Strong, the, 650, 828f, 840f.
Strong drink, 453.
Stronghold, 564.
Strophe, 180, 373, 375, 387, 392, 440.
Stubble, 440, 545, 564.
Students, 616.
Study, 91, 417, 620, 624.
Stumbling, 705, 825f.
Stumbling-block, 705, 716, 736, 825 828, 833.
Stump, 356, 441, 444, 526.
Stylus, 51, 357.
Sub-apostolic age, 766; literature, 766.
Subject, 412.
Subliminal consciousness, 150, 430, 648.

Substitution, 154, 197f, 467f, 632, *see* Vicarious suffering, etc.
Subtilty, 398.
Succoth, 134, 160, 178, 264, 297, 383.
Suetonius, 658, 818.
Suez, 180; Canal, 181; Gulf of, 445, 580.
Suffering, 361f, 365, 370, 374, 555, 634, 694, 760f, 763, 787, 874, 898f, 908–912, 937; disciplinary character of, 345, 350f, 353, 356, 358, 361f, 370, 374, 399, 623, 899; due to sin, 263, 266, 271, 391, 544, 709; for the name, 974; of the righteous, 47, 345f, 357, 368, 824, 874, 886f, 898, 910, 937; of the world, 358; problem of, *see* Problem of suffering; retributive character of, 346, 350, 354, 369f, 374, 379, 544.
—— Messiah, 372, 667f, 780, 792, 802, 809, 834; no doctrine of, in Old Testament, 372.
Suffet, 256.
Suicide, 286, 290, 413, 753, 795.
Sukkiim, 319.
Sulla, 790.
Sulphur, 934, *see* Brimstone; springs, 27.
Sulpicius Severus, 610.
Sumer, 51, 148.
Sumerian language, 51, 525.
Sumerians, 51, 193.
Summer, 27, 29f, 117, 187, 351, 543, 739, 753; fruit, 102, 477, 553.
Summum bonum, *see* Chief good.
Sumu-Abu, 53.
Sun, 23, 30, 44, 54, 74, 117, 135, 150, 152, 154, 166, 259, 267, 292, 298, 333, 353, 369, 383, 404, 412, 417, 419, 422, 445f, 453, 457, 459, 463, 466, 470, 480, 506f, 545, 553, 558, 565, 567f, 587, 627–629, 632, 635, 654, 698, 706, 741, 783, 790, 795, 803, 847, 864, 890, 904, 936, 939; chariot of, 412, 628; images, 319, 449, 454, 506; pillars, 319, 449, 506; worship, 235, 267, 311, 502, 506f, 548.
Sun and moon standing still, 253.
Sun of righteousness, 726.
Sunday, 4, 764, 847, *see* Lord's Day.
Sun-god, 141, 162, 186, 587.
Sunrise, 117, 616, 904.
Sunset, 105, 117, 149f, 177, 185, 272, 528, 653, 683, 708, 722, 741, 750, 938.
Sunstroke, 389.
Supernatural, the, 82, *see* Miracles.
Superstition, 5, 7, 83, 96, 99f, 170, 190, 295, 338, 369, 371, 406, 408, 443, 446, 459, 473, 498, 509, 512, 557, 569, 573, 578, 584, 620f, 627, 629, 631, 663, 763, 769, 771.
Supper, 842.
Suppression of the local sanctuaries, 74f, 90, 98, 103, 128f, 131, 231, 236f, 239, 310–312.
Surety, 187, 400, 405, 409, 459, 876.
Survivals, 83, 196, 213, 627.
Susa, 59, 78, 130, 330, 337–339, 529.
Susanna, 296.
Susiana, 330.
Suttee, 616.
Swallow, 142, 144, 387, 459, 480.
Swan, 628.
Swarming things, 137, 169, 473, 567.
Sweet savour, 144, 197.
Sweetness, 504, 935.
Swift (bird), 480.
Swiftness, 549.
Swimming, 454, 764.
Swine, 202f, 438, 472, 523, 707f, 730, 735, 788, 915; herd of, 687; (figurative), 707.
Swine's flesh, 607.
Swineherd, 165.
Sword, 23, 100, 141, 212, 264, 269, 275, 282, 286, 351, 376, 437, 462, 473, 475f, 483, 486, 492, 495, 499, 502, 505f, 508, 511f, 514f, 539, 541, 548, 553f, 580, 595, 632, 698, 710, 892, 929f, 937, 940; dance, 422; of the Spirit, 476, 867; of Yahweh, 458, 493, 502; the fiery, 133, 140.
Sycamine tree, 718, 736.
Sychar, 30, 749.
Sycomore, 443, 553.
Syene, 232, 466.
Syllæus, 609.
Symbol, symbolic actions, symbolism, 25, 82–84, 88, 96, 98, 100, 108, 111, 150, 171, 180, 188f, 192–195, 205, 210, 228, 252, 264, 272, 308, 418–420, 422, 432f, 449f, 482, 484, 486f, 489, 491, 495, 503–506, 508, 512f, 516f, 521, 536, 545, 552, 581, 630, 632, 637–639, 660, 690, 697, 699, 728–730, 739, 743, 753f, 758, 779, 809, 853f, 889f, 893–895, 899, 931–933, 935, 937f, 940–942.
Symmachus, 41.
Sympathetic magic, *see* Magic.
Sympathy, 168, 351f, 827, 861, 892, 911; of the universe, 634.
Synagogue, 35, 97, 100, 106, 131, 210, 329, 372, 386, 411, 414, 482, 497, 579, 608, 616, 620, 649, 660, 665, 682, 684f, 687, 714, 716, 724, 728, 737, 768, 786–788, 792, 795–797, 801f, 805, 851, 866, 876, 904; of Satan, 930f; of the Libertines, 773, 783; worship, 106, 131, 620, 728, 791.
Synchronisms, 70, 119, 654.
Syncretism, 474, 481, 535, 616, 862, 868, 916.
Synod of Carthage, 596.
Synoptic Gospels, 8, 122, 402, 405, 579, 587, 595, 604f, 618, 672–680; and the Fourth Gospel, 743; as historical sources, 14f, 605, 659, 663, 669f; close resemblance of wording, 672; criticism of, 14f, 122, 579; diagram to illustrate independence and overlapping, 680; discrepancies in, 8, 15; doublets in, 405; literary characteristics of, 25, 604f; Marcan matter in Mt. and Lk., 604, 672–675, 679, 700; Marcan order preserved in, 673; non-Marcan source used in, 672, 674–678; sources of, 604f; table of parallel sections, 679.
—— problem, 14, 122, 672–680, 700; Mt. and Lk. depend on Mk., 122, 672–675, 700; nature of the problem, 672; oral tradition theory, 672; relation of Mk. and Q, 678; relation of Mt. and Lk. to Q, 675–678, 700; theories of documentary dependence, 672; two-document theory, 122, 672–678.
Syntyche, 874.
Syracuse, 804.
Syria, 26f, 30, 35f, 50f, 54–62, 67f, 72, 78f, 110f, 116, 134, 148, 159, 246, 256f, 259f, 298f, 303, 305f, 308f, 313, 320, 330, 337, 347, 380, 387, 414, 419, 431, 436, 441–445, 448–450, 454, 477, 500, 513, 523f, 526, 529, 531f, 534, 548, 552f, 580, 607–610, 613, 629f, 641, 704, 726f, 769f, 776, 787, 789, 794, 797, 803, 908; Greek kings of, 374.
Syriac, 36; Version, 595f, 599, 601; Church, 913.
Syrian text, 599.
Syrians, 30, 36, 53, 63, 99, 166, 230, 240, 288f, 296, 301, 303f, 309, 321, 340, 482, 515, 544, 548, 554.
Syro-Ephraimitish coalition, 70f, 76, 309, 321, 436–438, 441–443.
Syrophœnician woman, 689f, 708, 714, 731, 750.
Syrtis, 803.
Systematic giving, 848.
Syzygus, 874.

Taanach, 30, 51, 65, 100, 110, 259, 262, 302.
Tabæ, 533.
Tabal, 58.
Tabeel, 441.
Taberah, 218.
Tabernacle, 5, 104, 123f, 180f, 183, 189–195, 199, 201f, 212, 214–219, 221f, 255, 276, 294–298, 388, 475, 784f, 893–896, 938; construction of, 194, 201, 784; contents of, 189–194, 215, 217f, 221, 295, 895; erection of, 194f, 214, 217; heavenly pattern of, 189, 784f, 894–896, 933; materials for, 189, 194; not historical, 189; structure of, 190f, 297, 895f; symbolism of, 5, 189, 893, 895, 938; *i.e.* the body, 852.
—— of God, 937; of the Testimony, 938.
Tabernacles, 691.
Tabitha, 788.
Table, 518, 841, 940; of Christ, 651; of demons, 651; of nations, the, 145; of shewbread, 191, 519; the Lord's, 841.
Tables of stone, 123, 183, 189f, 193, 234, 236, 276, 488, 851; of the Law, 895.
Tablet, 442, 456, 567.
Tablets of destiny, 326.
Taboo (Tabu), 83, 99, 134, 160, 183, 188, 196, 198–200, 202–209, 223, 233, 240, 279, 445, 472, 477, 629, 697, 828; and uncleanness, 202–205.
Taboos on warriors, 99, 240, 445.
Tabor, Mount, 29f, 261, 538, 691.
Tabret, *see* Timbrel.
Tabrimmon, 299, 301.
Tacitus, 604, 610, 657f, 690, 939.
Tadmor, 299.
Tahpanhes, 73, 79, 230, 477, 491f.
Tahtim-hodshi, 293.
Tail, 365, 408, 934.
Take the flesh in the teeth, 355.
Take the life in the hand, 355, 393.
Tale of the two brothers, the, 163.
Talebearing, 400, *see* Slander.
Talent, 116f, 660, 738, 939.
Talfiath, 421.
Talisman, 276, 289f, 842.
Tallith, 240.
Talmud, 36f, 41f, 254, 392, 622, 624, 702, 716f, 732.
Tamar, daughter-in-law of Judah, 162f; daughter of David, 67, 289; as woman's name, 423.
—— (in Judah), 299.
Tamarisk, 100, 181, 218, 286.

Tambourine, *see* Timbrel.
Tammuz, 448, 502, 507, 532, 631f; (month), 104f, 117.
Tanis, *see* Zoan.
Tapestry, 410.
Tares, 713.
Targum of Jonathan, 36; of Onkelos, 36, 224.
Targums, 41, 307, 392, 398, 401, 585, 712, 746, 847, 866.
Tarichеæ, 32.
Tariff, 111, 200.
Tarshish, 145, 299, 381, 385, 438, 452, 470, 481, 513, 556–558; ships of, 112, 299, 381, 438, 452.
Tarsus, 36, 299, 607, 724, 768f, 787, 789, 791, 794, 802, 805.
Tartan, the, 71, 310, 450.
Tartar, 393.
Tartarus, 731.
Tartessus, 299, 381, 438, 481.
Taskmaster, 170, 173f, 298.
Tassels, 220, 240, 709, 719.
Tatian, 122, 595, 653, 658, *see* Diatessaron.
Tattoo marks, tatooing, 179, 208, 463, 583.
Tattenai, 77.
Taunt song, 311, 446, 465, 567.
Taurobolium, 633.
Taurus, Mount, 26, 615, 726, 791.
Tavern songs, 415.
Tax-collector, 458, 615, 666, 684, 706, 709, 711, 730, 735–737.
Taxes, taxation, 61, 67, 79, 86, 113, 212, 277, 281, 318, 408, 496, 513, 520, 580f, 609, 613–615, 704, 715f, 828, *see* Customs, Dues, Tribute.
Taylor Cylinder, 246.
Teachers, 109, 621, 624, 643, 646, 729, 733, 791, 861, 866, 883, 900, 905.
Teaching, 91, 443, 647, 783, 827, 844, 870, 882, 886, 888, 893.
Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, *see* Didache.
Tears, 382, 453, 498, 544, 698, 730, 799, 849, 885f, 899, *see* Weeping.
Tebeth, 105, 117, 323, 330.
Teeth, 47, 91, 166, 186, 417, 421, 423, 499, 544.
Tegea, 230.
Tehom, 135, 298.
Teima, 410.
Teispes, 494.
Tekel, 527.
Tekoa, 31, 289, 331, 479, 547f, 553; widow of, 289, 296.
Tel-abib, 77, 505.
Telam, 285.
Telepathy, 837.
Tell, 253.
Tell el-Amarna, 26, 34, 36, 54, 148; tablets, 34, 36, 51–55, 110, 124, 135, 149, 172, 186, 235, 248, 259, 268, 270f, 296, 299.
Tema, 36, 156, 351, 451.
Teman, 182, 494, 513, 548, 555, 567.
Temperance, 624, 801.
Tempest, 383, 389, 455f, 481, 549; stilling of the, 663, 687, 708, 730f.
Temple, 102, 154, 212, 217, 241, 276, 288, 297, 344, 367, 370–374, 376f, 382–385, 390, 392–397, 414, 438, 441, 450, 457–460, 464, 469, 472, 475, 482–484, 488, 497, 504, 540, 553, 557, 561, 583f, 618, 620, 637, 639, 689, 695, 703, 767, 785, 799, 840, 865, 879, 895, 899, 909, 931, 938; centre of unity for Jews, 370, 378f; dwelling-place of God, 75, 370, 374f, 436, 518f, 561, 567, 618, 835; gates of, 479, 519f, 782; inviolability of, 75, 90, 474, 479f, 486, 502, 507; sanctity of, 389, 584; veil of, 741.
Temple (Herod's), 297, 609, 653, 865, *see* Temple, the second.
—— (Solomon's), 45, 47, 49, 67, 73–77, 89–91, 103, 105f, 114f, 128f, 131, 189f, 192, 231, 243–246, 252, 254f, 277, 288, 293–298, 300f, 308–314, 316–321, 367f, 388, 437, 440f, 474f, 479f, 485f, 490f, 501f, 504, 506–508, 559–561, 703, 784; building of, 67, 73, 105, 115, 128, 244–246, 252, 293, 297, 314, 318, 368; centralisation of worship at, *see* Centralisation of cultus; cleansed by Hezekiah, 76, 310f; cleansed by Josiah, 128, 131, 311f, 474; date of, 297; dedication of, 20, 45, 135, 245f, 293, 298, 319, 427; desecration of, 74, 76, 129, 131, 480, 502, 506f; destruction of, 47, 73, 97, 131, 232, 245, 310, 312f, 319, 368, 386f, 467, 474, 480, 485, 494, 501, 508, 559–561, 572, 578; dimensions of, 106, 297; its building a mistake, 288, 784; organisation of its worship, 75, 106, 317, 368; plan of, 105f, 297, 318; plundered by Shishak, 71, 301; preparation for building, 296f, 317f, 394; purification of, 76, 104, 301; repaired by Joash, 74f, 308, 320f; repaired by Josiah, 75, 77, 128; rivalry at Bethel, 67, 73, 300, 312; site of, 293, 297f, 317, 491.
—— (the second), 75, 92–94, 103f, 106, 112, 129, 174, 189–191, 264, 270, 319, 323, 331, 368, 460, 468, 470–473, 497, 523, 531f, 544–546, 575, 610, 620f, 662, 668, 694f, 698, 702f, 715, 720, 725, 738, 742, 752, 755, 762, 778, 780–783, 785, 788, 790, 799–801, 865, 928, 935, 942; and the Samaritans, 77, 245, 327f, 387; building of, 10, 77f, 92, 180, 245, 333–328, 544, 572–577, 585, 748; burning of, 472; captain of, 781f; captured by Pompey, 497, 608; Christian meetings in, 647, 778, 780; cleansing of, 662, 668, 694, 718, 738, 743, 748, 757, 781; completion of, 323, 329, 573; dedication of, 78, 329, 377, 755; desecration of, by Antiochus Epiphanes, 104, 339, 377, 379f, 386f, 433, 523f, 527, 529f, 532, 607, 668, 755, 935; destruction of, by Romans, 97, 100, 610, 616, 618–620, 623, 715, 720, 928; laying of foundation-stone, 77, 323, 326f, 573f; plundered by Crassus, 608; profanation of, 335, 471f, 694–696, 748, 800, 879; purification by Judas Maccabæus, 339, 377, 386f, 523f, 607, 755; rebuilt by Herod, 609, 748; turned into Temple of Zeus, 607.
—— chambers, 79, 334f, 518; courts, 72, 74, 79, 104f, 131, 191f, 194, 311, 319f, 382, 385, 388, 468, 489, 501f, 518–520, 734, 761; dues, revenue, tax, tribute, 79, 192, 308, 320, 326, 334, 615f, 694, 715, 748; furniture, 105f, 192, 297f, 300, 310, 314, 318f, 518; hill, 458, 518f, 583; hymns, songs, 106, 373, 459, 539; inscription, 800, 935; liturgy, 318; music, 49, 106, 314, 316, 367f; musicians, 316f, 368; officials, 72, 316, 321, 414, 484, 487, 519; porch, 106, 297f, 312, 518, 545; records, 45, 244, 246, 308f, 312, 324, 334; servants, 252, 326, 840; service, 78, 368, 385; singers, 49, 316f, 325f, 367f, 518; threshold, 440f, 507, 519f; treasure, 308–311, 321; treasury, 523, 587, 734; vessels, 77, 297f, 310, 321, 325, 467, 486f, 524, 527, 546; worship, 92–94, 97, 103, 131, 189, 192, 314, 329, 368, 385f, 394, 471–473, 475, 585, 620, 773, 799, 895.
Temple at Elephantine, 79, 106, 486; at Leontopolis, 106, 449f, 581; heathen, 53, 74, 105, 189, 218; 266, 269, 491, 493, 565, 609, 651, 792f, 798, 840f, 930; of Bel, 532.
—— of Ezekiel, 129, 131, 189, 367, 502f, 517–521, 942; dwelling-place of Yahweh, 129; measurements of, 519.
—— of Jupiter Capitolinus at Antioch, 532; of Melkart, 308, 513; of the Holy Ghost, 838; of Zerubbabel, *see* Temple, the second; rival, 106, 472; the heavenly, 375, 377, 397, 895f, 935; Zoroastrian, 507.
Temple Bar, 339.
Temples of Babylon, 524.
Temples, the, 421.
Temptation, 317, 649, 693, 706, 714, 841, 892, 898, 900, 904, 908, 918f.
Tempter, 855.
Tempting God, 182, 235, 441, 703, 793.
Ten commandments, ten words, 183–185, *see* Decalogue.
—— horns, the, 528f, 936, 939.
Tenant, 735f.
Tenderness, 866.
Tenedos, 794f.
Tennyson, 24, 267, 345, 420, 903, 910.
Tenses, 35, 593.
Tent, 109, 127, 145, 150, 152, 155, 168, 177, 184, 217, 226, 256, 261f, 264, 276, 282, 288, 307, 320, 350, 368, 393, 420, 458, 461f, 468, 489, 494, 512, 568, 796, 852.
—— of meeting, 123f, 210, 275, 318; in E, 105, 123f, 128, 168, 188f, 193; in P, 104, 123, *see* Tabernacle; sanctuary, 295.
Tent-cord, 350, 468.
Tent-hangings, 468, 494.
Tent-maker, tent-making, 768, 796, 830.
Tent-pin, 261f, 329, 468.
Terah, 148; sons of, 146.
Teraphim, 100f, 159, 186, 269, 280, 282, 367, 537, 580.
Terebinth, 100, 146f, 161, 166, 226, 236, 263, 377, 438, 470, 538.
Terminus, 239.
Terraces, 31.
Terror, 161, 457f, 517, 933, *see* Fear.
Tertius, 830.
Tertullian, 411, 594f, 601, 635, 652f, 727, 747, 773f, 786, 862, 876, 889, 908, 916, 923, 927f.
Tertullus, 801.
Terumah, 587, *see* Heave offering.
Testament, 895; of Job, 844; of Judah, 882; of Naphtali, 838; of the Twelve Patriarchs, 35, 433f. 522, 661, 878, 931, 936.

Testimonia, *see* Testimonies, Book of.
Testimonies, Book of, 682, 700, 703, 712, 909.
Testimony, 123, 308, 386, 443, 926; of Jesus, 927f, 940.
Tetrarch, 609, 684, 688, 702, 741.
Tetrarchy, 33, 609f.
Text of New Testament, 596, 598–601; of Old Testament, 40–43, 92, 125.
Texts as charms, 5.
Textual corruption, causes of, 42f, 375, 598; criticism and inspiration, 4; criticism of New Testament, 598–601; criticism of Old Testament, 40–43, 125; criticism, principles of, 43, 125, 598f.
Textus Receptus, 597.
Thaddæus, 685, 709, 729.
Thank offerings, 209, 280, 484, 550f.
Thankfulness, 131, 870f.
Thanksgiving, 93, 129, 200, 316–318, 329, 370, 372, 377, 379, 381f, 390–392, 445, 459, 471, 557, 756, 832, 844, 849f, 854, 863, 866, 868–870, 872, 877, 879f, 882, 885, 909, 911.
"That which restraineth," 774, 877, 879.
Thaw, 351.
The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, 429.
Theatre, 798.
Thebais, 79.
Thebes (in Egypt), 72, 492, 514, 565.
Thebez, 30, 265.
Theft, *see* Thief.
Theism, 619.
Themiso, 901.
Theocracy, 129, 264, 935.
Theocritus, 591.
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 372, 596.
Theodoret, 172.
Theodotion, 41.
Theoi, the, 629.
Theology, 2, 11, 85, 89, 94, 341, 358, 634, 901f.
Theophany, 147, 161, 234, 243, 263, 303, 367, 376, 381, 386, 471, 541, 759, 784.
Theophilus (contemporary of Luke), 725; (High Priest), 653.
Theophrastus, 407.
Therapeutæ, 883.
Thermopylæ, 62, 565.
Thessalonians, 649, 876–880.
—— First Epistle to the, 605, 771, 876–879; authenticity of, 815, 876; contents of, 876; date, 657, 876; occasion of, 876; relation to II. Thess., 876f.
—— Second Epistle to the, 605, 771, 876f, 879f; apocalyptic section in, 815, 876f, 879f; authenticity of, 815, 877; date, 657, 876; later than the first, 876f; object of, 876; relation to I. Thess., 815, 876f; theory that it was specially addressed to the Jewish Christians, 877.
Thessalonica, 771, 795–798, 874, 876–878; situation of, 876.
Theudas, 610, 657, 777, 783.
Thief, theft, 85, 110, 159, 164, 184, 186f, 200, 208, 269, 400, 438, 493, 539, 577, 699, 720, 837, 866, 871, 878.
Thigh, 156, 200–202, 217, 222, 422, 940.
Things strangled, 770, 793.
Third day, the, 845f; heaven, 741, 834, 856, 892.
Thirst, 23, 153, 456, 545, 550, 750, 753, 763.
Thirsty, 350, 468, 488.
Thirty pieces of silver, 581, 721.
Thistle, 70, 309, 383, 458.
Thomas (apostle), 685, 759, 764.
Thomas Becket, 306.
Thongs, 800.
Thorn bush, 442, 468.
Thorn in the flesh, 769, 851, 856, 860.
Thorns, 140, 259, 264f, 383, 408, 415, 420, 439, 442, 454, 458, 504, 563f, 698.
Thoth, 170.
Thothmes I., 54; III., 30, 54f, 248f.
Thought, 93, 395, 421, 482.
Thousand (*i.e.* clan division), 214, 284, 582.
Thousand years, *see* Millennium.
Thrace, 61f, 415, 613, 872.
Three and a half days, 935.
Three and a half years, 433, 528–531, 533, 935f.
Three hundred pence, 721.
Three shepherds, 581.
Three Taverns, 804.
Threefold baptismal name, 642; order of ministry, 646.
Threshing, 111, 188, 241, 272, 406, 449, 456, 495, 541; floor, 102, 128, 187, 293, 317, 419, 462, 483, 495, 526, 561, 840; instruments, 548; sledge, 111, 365, 462.
Threshold, 178, 186, 270, 440f, 507, 519f; leaping over, 178, 569f; deities, 238, 570; sacrifice, 178.
Thrift, 400.
Throne, 189f, 278, 307, 394, 419, 440, 446, 452, 467, 477, 491, 497, 504, 529, 557, 720, 894, 931, 941; of God, *see* God, throne of; of Satan, 930.
Thrum, 459.
Thucydides, 592.
Thumb, 258.
Thunder, thunderstorm, 64, 66, 176, 183, 262, 277f, 362–364, 377, 429, 457, 545f, 548, 570, 939.
Thunder cloud, 441, 449, 457.
Thunderbolts, 629.
Thyatira, 795, 930f.
Thyine wood, 940.
Tiamat, 135, 137, 353, 359, 364, 401; brood of, 359.
Tiber, the, 608, 785.
Tiberias, 29, 32, 42, 609, 751; School of, 42.
Tiberius, 609, 612, 615, 652–654, 656f, 661, 802, 939.
Tiberius Alexander, 656.
Tibni, 68, 246, 302.
Tidal, 148.
Tiglath-Pileser I., 57, 60.
Tiglath-Pileser (contemporary of Ahaz), 29, 58–60, 70f, 74, 309f, 410, 436, 444, 447, 512, 524, 548.
Tigris, the, 52f, 58–60, 63, 122, 139, 143, 155, 260, 394, 494, 529, 531, 554.
Tiller of the soil, 544, *see* Agriculture.
Timber, 27, 29, 77, 111, 297, 573.
Timbrel, 181, 266, 488, 514.
Time, 915, 917; (*i.e.* a year), 527–529, 533, 936; divisions of, 117.
Times of the Gentiles, 739.
Timnath, 31, 268.
Timnath-serah, Timnath-heres, 245, 251, 259.
Timothy, 475, 643, 646, 770, 794, 796–798, 815, 830, 836, 848–850, 857–859; 861, 868, 871–873, 876–878, 881–887, 889, 900, 912.
Timothy I. and II., *see* Pastoral Epistles.
Timsah, Lake, 179f.
Tin, 189; mines, 297.
Tiqqune-Sopherim, 42f.
Tirhakah, 59, 72, 311.
Tiridates, 701.
Tirshatha, 326, 333.
Tirzah, 30, 68, 227, 302, 422.
Tischendorf, 597.
Tishbe (in Galilee), 302.
Tishbe (in Gilead), 302.
Tishri, 99, 102–105, 117f, 323, 326, 387, 652.
Tithe system, Roman, 615.
Tithes, 12, 76, 79, 96, 99, 113, 147–149, 157, 196, 212, 222, 229, 237, 241, 281, 334f, 372, 470, 550f, 585, 587, 621, 737, 893.
Title on the Cross, 763, 765.
Titles of Prophecies, 447f, 450f, 456, 459; of Psalms, *see* Psalms, titles of.
Tittle, 704.
Titus, companion of Paul, 646, 649, 724, 793f, 849f, 853f, 856, 858f, 881, 912; Epistle to, 793, *see* Pastoral Epistles.
—— Emperor of Rome, 100, 244, 610, 612, 656f, 802, 863, 936, 939.
Titus Justus, 797.
Tob, 266, 289.
Tobiah, 78f, 330–332, 335.
Tobias, sons of, 581f.
Tobijah, 578.
Tobit, 309; Book of, 20, 362.
Toe, 258.
Togarmah, 513.
Toil, 139f, 941.
Tola, 66, 265f.
Toledhoth, 125f.
Tolerance, 612, 627, 631, 692.
Toleration, 616, 775, 828.
Tolstoi, 22.
Tomb, 161, 358, 446, 472, 687, 699, 720, 722, 741, 785, 830, *see* Grave.
Tombs, whitewashing of, 720.
Tongs, 190.
Tongue, 375, 393, 395, 844, 904f.
Tongues, interpretation (interpreter) of, 645, 647f, 779, 835, 843–845; of angels, 648; of flame, 778; speaking with, 455, 638f, 645–648, 778f, 786, 789, 797, 809, 812, 832, 835, 843–845, 879.
Topaz, 360, 422, 531, 942.
Topheth, 309, 312, 457, 480, 484.
Torah, 121, 231f, 399–401, 409, 437, 497, 578, 587, 620f, 624, 636, 639–641, 713.
Torch, 150, 264, 421, 471, 565.
Torn of beasts, 159, 187, 550.
Torrential rain, 137, 142f, 363, 457.
Torture, 5, 131, 632, 716, 774, 898.
Total abstinence, 622.
Totem, totemism, 83, 158, 171, 208, 220, 222, 507, 628.
Tourists, 616.
Tow, 438.
Tower, 76, 86, 134, 139, 146, 161, 439, 458; of the furnaces, 331.

Town, 32, 65f, 69, 71, 75f, 98, 111, 229, 259, 334, 560, 567, 613f, *see* City.
Town clerk, 798.
Trachonitis, 33, 609.
Trade, 62, 67, 71, 110–112, 246, 297, 299, 307, 372, 453, 513, 548, 570, 607f, 768, 798, 939f; routes, 55f, 58, 63, 110f.
Trader, tradesman, 103, 108, 263, 446, 517, 872.
Trades, 82, 111.
Tradition, 29, 33f, 36f, 40–42, 45, 64, 66f, 69, 82, 85, 89, 94f, 109, 121, 126, 128, 169f, 173, 175, 179, 181–183, 196, 218, 248, 255, 266, 343, 352, 356, 397, 399, 426f, 524, 541, 595, 603f, 627, 649, 661, 663, 669f, 674f, 677f, 681f, 684–687, 701, 724f, 740f, 747f, 750, 753, 755–757, 764f, 772f, 776f, 792, 808, 810, 830, 845, 858, 869, 877, 885f, 895, 912, 914, 916, 922, 924, 927, 930–932, 935; of the elders, 689, 705, 714, 731, 887.
Traditions, 9, 65, 83f, 87, 95, 97f, 101, 109, 121, 127, 130, 135, 170, 178, 213, 233, 248, 250f, 253, 257, 259, 296, 301, 347, 488, 527, 594, 596, 606, 663, 672, 675, 689, 700, 702, 724, 729f, 742–744, 753, 778, 790, 809, 858, 880, 915.
Tragedian, 634.
Training, 406, *see* Education.
Trajan, 616, 656, 658, 744, 775, 936.
Trance, trance sleep, 140, 150, 226, 284, 307, 406, 430, 456, 503, 507, 518, 788, 834.
Transcription, errors of, 42, 598.
Transcriptional probability, 598f.
Transfiguration, *see* Jesus.
Transgression, 23, 142, 470, 805, 821f, 826, 870, *see* Sin, Trespass.
Translation, 593, *see* Versions.
Translator, 40f, 125, 130.
Transmuted eschatology, 760.
Trap, 385, 442, 550, 695.
Travel, 103, 414, 628f, 796f.
Travel document, 776f, 794, 798, 803.
Traveller, 358, 459, 482, 899.
Travelling in the Roman Empire, 615f.
Treachery, 382, 384, 395f, 403, 407f, 458, 501, 510, 512f, 539, 567, 608, 610, 669, 697f, 721, 739, 758f, 761f, 826.
Treason, 295, 304, 484, 487.
Treasure, 73, 76, 78, 105, 140, 311, 456, 464, 713; in heaven, 733.
Treasurer, 327, 786.
Treasury, 317, 581, 696, 722, 753.
Treaty, 55f, 64, 67, 296, 304, 396, 608.
Tree, 31f, 65, 67, 82, 137, 139–141, 144, 181f, 208, 222, 226, 291, 343, 356, 369, 373, 380, 417, 441, 444, 446, 461–463, 467f, 470, 479f, 484, 515, 520, 526f, 538, 577, 631, 633, 664, 691, 718, 730, 739, 924, 942; *i.e.* the Cross, 910; of death, 139; of knowledge, 138–140, 146; of life, 138–140, 146, 403, 929, 942f; sacred, *see* Sacred tree; worship, 438, 538.
Tregelles, 597.
Trenches, 70, 303, *see* Pit.
Trespass, 99, 199, 405, 822, 869, *see* Sin, Transgression; offering, *see* Guilt offering.
Trial, 706, 903, 931.
Triangular number, 764.
Tribal marks, 83; organisation, 50.
Tribe, 50, 82f, 85, 87f, 92, 95, 110, 112, 165, 233, 239, 248, 257, 562, 629f, 631f, 894.
Tribes, the, 20, 84–86, 94, 124, 214.
—— of Israel, 30, 64–66, 103, 108–110, 114, 165f, 168f, 172, 185, 227f, 239, 249, 256, 258f, 262, 269, 458, 933; names of, 158; origin of, 63f, 158.
—— the ten, 89, 300, 372, 442, 903, *see* Israel (*i.e.* the Northern Kingdom).
—— the twelve, 101, 123, 191, 214, 221, 265, 427, 520f, 665, 685, 709, 837, 901, 903, 933, 936.
Tribulation, 696, 720, 761, 821, 824, 827, 927, 929f, 933.
Tribunal, 108, 113, 763.
Tribunals, heathen, 837.
Tribune, 800f.
Tribute, 54f, 57–60, 65, 69–72, 74, 103, 116f, 260, 296, 309–311, 368, 436, 448, 458, 512, 534, 538, 552, 580, 586, 608, 614; to Cæsar, 695, 719, 738, 741.
Trigon, 526.
Trikka, 627.
Trinity, 5, 414, 764, 929.
Triplets, 23.
Trito-Isaiah, 47, 468, *see* Isaiah LVI–LXVI.
Triumph, 850f.
Triumphal entry, 661, 668, 697, 717, 738, 757; procession, 808, 850, 869.
Triumvir, 612.
Troas, 614, 770–772, 794f, 798, 850, 887.
Troglodytes, 319.
Trogyllium, 798.
Troop, 451.
Trophimus, 798, 800.
Trophy, 100, 280, 421.
Troy, 302.
Trumpet (eschatological), 720, 847, 878.
Trumpeter, 331f.
Trumpets, 76, 101f, 183, 211, 251, 263f, 295, 307, 316, 327, 337, 364, 380, 389, 453f, 570, 706, 927, 929, 933–935.
Trust in God, 131, 370f, 374, 377f, 383f, 392, 395f, 399, 413, 436, 438, 445, 456, 461, 466, 483, 563f, 568, 571, 664, 703, 710, 733, 759, 779, 861, 863, 867, 905f.
Truth, 121, 370f, 388, 401, 464, 470, 634, 745, 749, 753f, 759f, 762, 855, 866f, 883, 888, 893, 905, 917, 921, 926; *i.e.* faithfulness, 377–379; the, 855, 868, 870, 886f, 907, 921.
Truthfulness, 285, 624, 720, 846, 853.
Tryphæna, 830.
Trypho (Syrian pretender), 608.
Tryphosa, 830.
Tubal, 513, 515.
Tubal-cain, 141, 145.
Tübingen School, 815.
Tudkhula, 148.
Tukulti-Ninib I., 57.
Tumours, 276.
Tune, 844.
Tunic, 289, 421, 565.
Tunnel, 31, 109.
Turban, 104, 191, 360, 557.
Turks, 27, 33, 393.
Turn the captivity, 242, 375, 393, 546, 554.
Turtle doves, 150, 197, 199, 217, 420, 480.
Tutor, 836.
Twelve, the, 2, 592, 643, 646, 655, 665, 685f, 688, 690–693, 697, 699f, 709f, 715, 720f, 729, 731, 733, 740, 752, 766, 768f, 778, 783, 785, 799, 809, 846; Apostles, 942; tribes, *see* Tribes, the twelve.
Twelve Gates, the, 942.
Twelve hundred and sixty days, 433, 935.
Twilight, 136, 286, 349, 451, 482.
Twins, 156, 585, 629, 685, 759, 804, 825.
Two-document hypothesis, 672–678.
Two great commandments, 661.
Two ways, the, 399, 640, 707.
Two witnesses, the, 927, 935.
Tyana, 216.
Tychicus, 798, 862, 868, 870, 887f.
Tyndale, 121.
Typology, 743.
Tyrannus, 797.
Tyrant, tyranny, 67, 86f, 178, 414f, 445–447, 450, 466, 468, 495, 533, 568, 608, 740.
Tyre, 27f, 53f, 59–61, 67, 69f, 72, 79, 87, 111, 116f, 218, 230, 287, 297, 299, 327, 335, 380, 387, 397, 452f, 492f, 501, 513f, 520, 548, 555, 579f, 688, 690, 711, 786, 790, 799, 940, 942.
Tyrian records, 246.
Tyropœan valley, 31, 297, 330, 570, 583, 754.

Ulai (Eulæus), 529, 715.
Umpire, 354, 438, 561.
Unbaptised, 707, 844.
Unbelief, 111, 223, 441f, 503, 505, 729, 736, 752, 755, 758, 825f, 839, 845, 882, 891, 897, 902f.
Unbeliever, 624, 838f, 844f, 884, 887f.
Uncanny creatures, 446, 458.
Uncanonical Gospels, 604.
Unchastity, 240, 549.
Uncial MSS., 601.
Uncircumcised, the, 467, 515, 519, 639.
Uncircumcision (figurative), 174, 481, 820, 864f, 869.
Uncircumcision (literal), 100, 161, 173, 820f, 839, 861, 864f.
Uncle, 109, 278, 280, 791.
Unclean, uncleanness, 82, 99, 103f, 122, 125, 131, 142, 159, 161, 184, 196f, 199–205, 208f, 212, 214, 216f, 222f, 237, 282, 332, 356, 436, 440, 471, 490, 505, 518–520, 582, 584, 621f, 689, 720, 727, 767, 838f; and holiness, 202f, 223, 574; and hygiene, 82, 202–205; and taboo, 99, 199, 202–205, 574; infectious character of, 82, 199, 202f, 241, 574, 689, 839; moral, 436, 440, 689, 866, 870, 924; of childbirth, 99, 202f, 727; of dead body, 82, 202f, 209, 222, 574; of foreign lands, 255, 505, 540; of issues, 204f, 216; of leprosy, 203f, 216; through contact with dead, 202f, 209, 216f, 222f, 382, 519, 720, 895; through contact with mourner, 241.
Unction, 191–193, *see* Anointing.
Underworld, *see* Sheol.
Unguent, 215, 470, 940.
Union with Christ, *see* Christ; with God, 384, 761, 863.

Unity, 413, 641, 761, 812, 864, 866, 870, 873f.
Universal restoration, 846.
Universalism, 89f, 95, 335, 371f, 378, 380, 384, 392, 438, 445, 453, 475, 544, 624f, 727f, 779.
Universe, 441, 847, 868; conception of, 2; dwelling-place of God, 472.
University, 617, 768f.
Unknown God, the, 796.
Unlearned, the, 844f.
Unleavened bread (cakes), 102f, 105, 177–179, 188, 191, 312, 739, 798, 837.
Unreality, 664.
Unrighteousness, 702, 819f, 920, 939.
Unseen, the, 852, 897.
Untruthfulness, 481, 705.
Upharsin, 527f.
Uphaz, 481, 531.
Upper room, 109, 647, 668, 697, 758–761, 778.
Ur of the Chaldees, 63, 125, 146.
Urartu, 58f.
Uriah, Urijah (prophet), 72, 313, 486.
Uriah the Hittite, 67, 289, 292f, 368, 382, 701.
Urijah (priest), 309.
Urim and Thummim, 106f, 106, 191, 201, 228, 233, 243, 279f, 283, 326, 429, 930.
Ur-Marcus, 672, 674f.
Uru, 63, 146.
Uru-salim, 149, 270.
User, Mount of, 248f.
Ushpia, 53.
Usurpers, 58, 68–70, 74f, 301f, 307–310, 540, 542, 548.
Usury, *see* Interest.
Utnapistim, 142.
Utopia, 435.
Uz, 347, 361.
Uzal, 513.
Uzzah, 184, 217, 245, 276, 288.
Uzziah, 21, 58, 71, 74, 76, 309, 315, 321, 436, 448, 536, 538, 547, 583, 701, 703.

Vaheb in Suphah, 224.
Valentinians, 789.
Valerius Gratus, 656.
Valley, 27–30, 210, 224, 226, 259, 267, 279, 303, 455, 493, 506, 517, 613, 615, 629; gate, 330f; of Aven, 548; of Baca, 388; of balsam shrubs, 388; of craftsmen, 111; of decision, 546; of dry bones, 501f, 516f; of humiliation, 357; of Jehoshaphat, 546; of Kidron, 583; of salt, 71, 288, 309, 321; of the mountains, 583; of vision, 451.
Vampire, 687.
Vanity, 362, 378, 412–414, 416, 477, 866.
Vapour, 390, 906.
Variants in text, 125.
Vashti, 336f.
Vat, 111, 439, 546.
Vault of heaven, 401, 554.
Ve-adar, 105, 652.
Vedas, the, 3.
Vegetable offering, 98, 198, 450.
Vegetarian, vegetarianism, 138, 144, 525, 635, 650, 828.
Vegetation, 135, 139, 439, 545, 581, 628, 904; creation of, 137; death of, 448, 450, 628, 631; deity (spirit), 207, 507, 631.
Veil, 155, 158, 401, 421, 453, 509, 650, 842, 845, 851, 896; as talisman, 842; of the Tabernacle, 190–192, 201, 205, 215, 893, 895f; of the Temple, 319, 699, 741; the, between the two worlds, 893.
Veiling of women, 832, 841f, 845.
Vellum, 601, 887.
Vengeance, 23, 141, 157, 161, 217, 219, 263, 268–270, 283, 349, 383, 385, 394, 396, 459, 470, 481, 484, 495, 497, 513, 532, 536, 546, 558, 562–564, 567, 570, 578, 580, 737, 800, 932, 934, 937.
Venison, 156f.
Ventriloquism, 285, 795.
Venture of faith, 357.
Venus, 337; (planet), 225, 480, 701.
Verbal inspiration, 3f.
Veronica, 709.
Versions, 40–43, 125, 572, 598f.
Vespasian, 610, 612, 656, 690, 720, 774, 863, 928, 936, 939.
Vessel, *i.e.* wife, 878.
Vessels, 111, 113, 131, 200, 205, 467, 539, 570; golden, 104; of dishonour, 825, 886; of election, 787; of honour, 825, 886; of wrath, 787, 825.
Vesta-fire, 200.
Vested interests, 769, 771.
Vestments, 101, 191f, 194, 206, 308, 326, 372, 391, 394.
Vesuvius, 180.
Via Egnatia, 795, 876.
Vicarious punishment, 47; reward, 47; sacrifice, 92, 694, 863; suffering, 406, 460, 467f, 810.
Vice, 796, 819, 915, 939.
Victory, 186, 212, 256, 260–264, 266f, 277–280, 282, 286f, 375, 392, 395f, 436, 462 464, 466, 470f, 494, 549, 710, 872, 904.
Village, 29, 32, 65f, 72, 258, 334, 560, 646, 872; community, 188, 494, 576.
Vine, 29, 111, 145, 166, 216f, 265, 387, 420, 439, 442, 448, 454, 458, 479, 493, 509–511, 537, 544, 564, 641, 758f; culture of, 85, 111, 134, 145, 489, 560; discovery of, 141, 145; products of, 216, 509; taboo on, 85, 216, 477; *i.e.* Israel, 243, 387, 454, 477, 509–511; *i.e.* the Church, 641.
Vine-dresser, 324, 759.
Vinegar, 23, 272, 372, 408, 699.
Vine-rows, 479.
Vineyard, 27, 30, 102, 202, 219, 270, 329, 348, 359, 419, 423, 439f, 442, 448, 454, 471f, 479, 544–546, 550f, 555, 562, 717f.
Vintage, 102, 157, 210, 264f, 274, 300, 326, 439f, 448, 457, 471f, 937f; festival, 457, 537; shout, 448, 486, 493; songs, 18, 373, 472.
Viol, 446.
Violence, 165, 395, 507, 541.
Violet, 189, 191.
Viper, 469, 702, 804.
Virgil, 431, 936.
Virgin, 234, 267, 419, 422, 442, 465, 496–498, 632, 855, 937f; birth, 433, 670, 701, 747, 860.
Virgin Mary, 418, 480, 936, *see* Mary, mother of Jesus.
Virgin's fountain, 109, 442, 754.
Virginity, 240, 419, 632.
Virgins, 650, 839f, 937, *see* Celibacy.
Virtue, 633f; self-regarding, 665.
Virtuous woman, the, 397, 403, 409f.
Visible, the, 868.
Vision, 7, 47, 77, 82, 133, 150, 156, 164, 171, 186, 219, 246f, 263, 337, 349f, 361, 363, 409, 429f, 436, 440, 451, 456, 476–478, 485, 490, 501, 503–506, 508f, 525, 527, 529–531, 533, 546f, 551–553, 561, 567, 606, 660, 662, 670, 682, 690f, 701f, 728, 768, 770f, 785, 787–790, 844, 872, 929, 931, 933, 938–942.
Vision hypothesis, 670.
Vision of Isaiah the Prophet, 315.
Vitellius (Emperor), 609, 612, 653f, 656, 936.
Vocabulary, 592f.
Voice from heaven, 914.
Volcanic country, 458.
Volcano, volcanic phenomena, 13, 27, 32f, 64, 84, 152, 180, 389, 560, 929, 934.
Volksbuch, 346, 349, 365.
Vow of continence, 839f.
Vowel points, 35, 40, 42, 196.
Vows, 98, 105, 200, 207, 209, 212, 217, 228, 233, 237, 266, 274, 401, 406, 414, 416, 450, 482, 492, 542, 557, 564, 586, 689, 705, 714, 771, 797.
Voyages, 615f, 803f, 829.
Vulgate, 39, 41, 355, 591, 601, 902.
Vulture, 203, 390, 478, 493f, 528, 560, 737.

Wady, 236, 406, 506; el-Arish, 150, 454; es-Suwenit, 444; Kerak, 493; of acacias, 546; of the Arabah, 552; Tumilat, 169.
Wages, 158f, 352, 402, 689, 728, 823.
Wagons, 111, 164, 217, 380.
Wailing, 551, 553, 632, *see* Lamentation.
Waist-cloth, 101, 482.
Wall, 70, 73, 174, 204, 250f, 329, 377, 384, 416, 439, 456, 469, 477, 495, 508f, 517–519, 524, 545, 550, 553, 565, 576, 942; of Manasseh, 570.
Wall-painting, 100.
Wallet, 688.
Walls of Jerusalem, 31, 73, 78f, 92, 323f, 327–332, 334f, 382, 437, 451, 460, 470, 544, 563, 584, 608, 610.
Walton, 597.
Wanderer, 391.
Wandering stars, 924.
War, 10, 18, 20, 44, 50, 53f, 66, 69, 84–86, 95, 99, 103, 111, 114, 166, 169, 218, 228, 238–240, 250, 256, 260, 266, 288, 293, 346, 380, 413, 415, 438f, 443, 445, 451, 479, 484, 489, 495, 502, 506, 512, 516, 524, 538, 541, 546, 548–551, 562, 580, 607–610, 629f, 660, 696, 739, 906, 932; in heaven, the, 384, 936; of the members, 369; songs, 18.
Ward, 839.
Warp, 268.
Warrior, 99, 127, 228, 271, 281, 391, 393, 409, 445f, 455, 458, 479, 494, 515, 545f, 549, 568, 570, 828.
Wars of the Lord, Book of the, 18, 213, 224.
Wasf, 419, 421f.
Washing, washings, 82, 200f, 204–206, 228, 277, 281, 298, 347, 624, 689, 706, 732, 867, 888, 895, 915, 929; of feet, 383, 758; of garments, 161,

166, 183, 203–205, 316, 940, 942; of hands, 689f, 714, 722, 731.
Watch-dogs, 468.
Watcher, 467, 527; of men, 352, 354.
Watches of the night, 117.
Watchfulness, 696, 733, 739, 807, 848, 867, 911.
Watchman, 23, 137, 289, 421, 437, 451, 479, 487, 505, 515, 570, 586; (*i.e.* prophet), 451, 479, 505, 563, 567.
Watch-tower, 437, 439, 451, 561, 567.
Water, 6, 23, 29, 31, 50, 53, 70, 104, 135, 137, 143f, 147, 154–156, 170, 203–205, 216, 222–224, 235, 258, 277, 284, 289, 305, 351, 356, 360, 368, 408f, 417, 441, 445, 457f, 462f, 466, 468, 471, 477, 479, 482f, 491, 505, 516, 520, 536, 540, 550, 552–554, 565, 584, 587, 631, 749, 753, 812, 864, 867, 869, 914f, 920, 929, 934, 936; and blood, 763, 920; from the rock, 182, 223, 753, 841; holy, 216; of bitterness, 216; of jealousy, 216, 400; of separation, 223, 228; turned to blood, 174f; turned to wine, 748.
Water-course, 406, 506, 546.
Water-flood, 363.
Water-gate, 104, 129, 329.
Water-offerings, 99.
Water-snakes, 707.
Water-wheel, 236, 417.
Watering, 155, 158.
Waters, 135, 166, 175, 929, 935; above the firmament, *see* Heavenly ocean; of Merom, 32, 65, 249, 253; of Shiloah, 754; under the earth, 137, 185, 234, 353, 377, 380, 394, 401.
Waterskins, 154, 364.
Wave breast, 192, 201; offering, 103, 222; sheaf, 210.
Waving, 103, 192, 201f, 204.
Waw consecutive, 35.
Wax, 361, 513.
Way, the, 786, 798, 800f.
—— of the sea, 29, 443.
Weak, the, 650, 828f, 840f, 855.
Weaker brethren, 717.
Weakness, 834.
Wealth, 50, 54–56, 61, 67, 72f, 77, 88, 299, 318, 361, 393, 402f, 412–414, 438, 562, 725, 832, 885, 897, 931, 938, 940, *see* Money, Rich.
Weaning, 154, 170, 275, 394.
Weapons, 57, 65, 76, 78, 141, 230, 264, 282, 364, 421, 438, 442, 468, 507, 517, 546, 549, 567.
Weary and heavy laden, the, 711.
Weather, 27–31, 714, 733, 804.
Weaver, weaving, 98, 352, 450, 459.
Web, 268, 353, 456, 459, 469.
Wedding, 82, 108, 158, 268, 342, 418–421, 659, 711, 721, 748, *see* Marriage; dance, 422; garment, 718f; guest, 419, 709, 718, 735; procession, 108, 421, 721.
Weeds, 27, 893, 899.
Week, 117, 158, 420, 699, 798, 848.
Weeks of years, 530f.
Weeping, 151, 158, 164, 170, 333, 356, 458, 491, 496, 708, 741, 786, *see* Tears.
Weights, 36, 115f, 405, 527; and measures, 115f, 208, 241, 520.
Wells, 21, 32, 100, 125, 127, 130, 151, 154–156, 158, 222, 224, 256, 258, 290, 294, 330, 350, 400, 417, 428, 445, 748, 750.
We-passages, 605, 724, 776f, 794, 798, 803.
Wergild, 186.
Wesley, Charles, 160, 414; John, 592.
West winds, 616.
Westcott, 597.
Western Church, 901.
Western text, 599.
Whale, 390.
Wheat, 28, 33, 50, 111, 176, 287, 297, 302, 317, 423, 520, 553, 662, 713, 804, 847, 932; harvest, 102, 105, 158, 188, 278, 293.
Wheel of life, 413, 905.
Wheels, 111, 180, 236, 262, 298, 417, 456, 484, 513, 529, 545, 565, 905; (in the chariot vision), 432, 504f, 864, *see* Ophanim.
Whelp, 166, 243, 511, 542, 565.
Whip, 67, 565, *see* Scourge, scourging.
Whirlwind, 348, 440, 450, 539, 549, 564, 580.
Whistling (hiss), 440, 442, 580.
White garments, 930–933; Nile, 449; stone, 930.
Whitewash, 509.
Whitewashed tombs, 720.
Wick, 462, 712.
Wicked, the, 23, 45, 47, 93, 152, 275, 346, 350, 352–359, 362f, 373–375, 378, 381–383, 397f, 402–404, 406, 408, 411, 415, 428, 432–434, 438, 445, 454, 467, 469, 479, 487, 511f, 566f, 583, 587, 629, 729, 737, 835, 864, 899, 914, 930, 938, 941f.
Wickedness, 24, 142f, 356, 413, 415, 444, 541, 564, 577, 837.
Widow, 102, 105, 109, 128, 187, 207, 209, 236, 238, 241, 271f, 284, 296f, 305, 387, 407, 428, 438, 494, 560, 621, 650, 696, 727f, 737, 783, 788, 839f, 884; of Nain, 730; of Nain's son, 710; of Zarephath, 302, 728; son of, 302; the poor, 117, 696, 738, 854.
Widower, 839.
Widowhood, 468.
Widows' houses, 696.
Widows, Order of, 884.
Wife, 82, 108f, 128, 150, 235f, 240, 417, 468, 519, 586f, 716, 733, 836, 838, 840, 867, 878, 910; the first, 239, 468.
Wild ass, 151, 354, 364, 369, 483, 493, 539; beasts, 32, 111, 159, 162, 187, 212, 310, 327, 351, 355f, 363, 384, 439, 442, 445f, 449, 458f, 461, 472, 482, 509, 516, 527, 581, 629, 682, 699, 847; cats, 459; creatures, 463; endive, 103; goat, 364, 369; grapes, 439; ox, 226, 243, 364.
Wilderness, 87, 124, 127, 171, 176, 180, 183, 206, 210, 214, 233, 236, 250f, 276, 283f, 290, 320, 331, 382, 386f, 439, 451, 458f, 461, 463, 478, 481, 487, 506, 511, 514, 536f, 540–542, 545, 549, 662, 682, 703, 735, 753, 784f, 841, 939, *see* Desert; of Judæa, 31, 702f; of the sea, 450; wandering, 6, 64, 105, 112, 165, 213, 218, 220, 229, 231, 247, 259, 326, 382, 384, 386, 390, 426, 477, 480, 542, 551, 750, 791, 824, 891f.
Will (*i.e.* testament), 707, 859, 895, 931.
Will, the, 369, 399, 416, 639f, 689, 810, 904, 910.
Willow, 103, 448, 463.
Wind, 27, 29, 64, 140, 144, 219, 272, 303, 360, 363f, 390, 412, 415, 449, 456, 462, 466, 469, 471, 517, 539, 541, 545, 566, 615f, 687, 689, 708, 749, 778, 803f, 866, 890, 933; instrument, 373, 526.
Window, 109, 250, 262, 282, 417, 420, 470, 542, 545, 570, 659.
Windows of heaven, 137, 142–144, 363, 453.
Wine, 105, 111, 134, 141, 145, 149, 166, 190, 210, 216, 220, 222, 235, 256, 265, 267, 307, 335, 337, 359, 369f, 383, 386f, 407, 418–420, 438, 440, 453, 455, 489, 519, 524, 537, 543–545, 549, 551f, 554, 562, 580, 638, 650, 684, 697, 729, 739, 748, 799, 812, 828, 843, 866, 883f; jar, 482; on the lees, 111, 453, 493.
Wine-bibbers, 544.
Winepress, 102, 111, 128, 187, 335, 373, 439, 486, 584, 938, 940.
Wine-seller, 420.
Wine-skin, 393, 638, 684, *see* Bottles.
Wine-trough, 111, 471.
Wing, 136, 364, 440, 442, 462, 493, 504f, 507, 528f, 540, 545, 587, 931, 936; of abominations, 531.
Winged bulls, 376; creatures, 137, 144.
Wings of the morning, 395.
Winnowing, 398, 406, 478, 483, 495, 638.
Winter, 27, 29, 69, 117, 135, 210, 262, 417, 420, 453, 480, 490, 543, 797, 817, 887; house, 490.
Wisdom, 93, 133, 140, 296, 343, 350, 359–361, 397–402, 404, 406–408, 412f, 415, 417, 456, 514, 631, 644, 833–835, 843, 863, 869f, 904.
—— Book of, 343–345, 411, 595, 901.
—— Hebrew, 93, 343–345, 397; and Nature, 343; attitude to traditional beliefs, 344; characteristics of, 343–345; cosmopolitan character of, 344, 397; ethical spirit of, 93, 344; leading ideas of, 343–345, 397; meaning of, 343; speculative, 397; subjects handled by, 93, 343–345, 397; synonyms for, 344; types of, 297.
—— literature, 20, 24f, 48, 341–345, 397, 404, 411, 522, 746, 808, 812, 903, 934.
—— of God, the (Lk. xi. 49), 733, *see* God; of Jesus, son of Sirach, *see* Ecclesiasticus; of Solomon, *see* Wisdom, Book of; of the Ancients, 352–354; poem on, in Job, 342, 347, 359f.
—— the Divine, 341, 343, 356, 711, 746, 808, 812; agent in creation, 401,812; personification of, 344f, 812.
Wise, the, 19f, 121, 343f, 356, 362, 397, 399, 405–407, 412, 415f; the Humanists of Israel, 19f.
—— man, 93, 409, 411, 413; men, 85, 110, 524–526, 733; woman, 86, 291, 416.
Witch, 5, 85, 187, 285, 291; of Endor, 66, 106, 285.
Witchcraft, 5, 85, 187, 209, 280.
Withered hand, 247, 663, 685, 734.
Witness, *i.e.* testimony, 722, 745–747,

749–751, 753, 780, 906, 919, 932; of the Spirit, 703, 824, 920.
Witnesses, 112f, 117, 159, 187, 230, 237, 272, 357, 442, 445, 463f, 716, 760, 893, 897f, 906, 911, 917, 920, 929, 931; the two, 935.
Wizard, 5, 208, 886, *see* Magician, Sorcerer.
Woes, 713f, 729, 932–935; of the Messiah, 650, 696, 840.
Wolf, 158, 479, 566, 570.
Woman, creation of, 133, 138, 140, 693, 883; child and dragon, 935f; clothed with the sun, 936; of Samaria, the, 30, 749f; taken in adultery, 666, 765; that was a sinner, 699, 730; with the issue of blood, 687, 689, 709, 731.
Womanhood, 910.
Women, 105, 151, 262, 265, 271, 275, 287, 344, 403, 408–410, 415, 419–423, 439, 457, 492f, 500, 532, 550, 565, 617, 621, 643, 650, 699, 701, 714, 722, 730, 734, 741, 750, 778, 792, 795f, 830, 838–842, 845, 867, 876, 883, 886, 888; and Mithraism, 633; and the angels, 142, 650, 842; behaviour of, 439, 550, 617, 883, 888, 910; emancipation of, 650; inferior position of, 650, 845, 867, 883, 910; of priestly families, 200; seclusion of, 275, 393; veiling of, 650, 832, 841f; vows made by, 105, of Jerusalem, the, 741; the, 763, 778.
Wonders, 246, 443, *see* Miracles, Signs.
Wood, 72, 185, 190f, 317, 375, 409, 457, 461, 463, 470, 487, 517, 567, 707, 905; for burning sacrifice, 104, 154, 334.
Woodcutter, 416.
Woodland, 458.
Wool, 101, 112, 204, 208, 437, 529, 536, 547, 931; and cotton, 208.
Word, 395; power of the spoken, 225, 242, 479; the, *see* Logos; of God, 91, 136, 138, 344f, 392, 414, 443, 461, 464, 476, 516f, 553, 570, 583, 703, 706, 752, 867–869, 880, 887, 892, 897f, 909, 915, 926f, 932, 940; of Life, 917; of Yahweh, the, 401.
Words of the Lord (*i.e.* of Jesus), 594; of Yahweh, the (title of code), 184, 187.
Wordsworth, 24, 369.
Work, 136, 138, 880.
Works, 640, 821, 826, 859, 888, 929f; of the flesh, 861.
World, the, 413, 461, 649, 746, 759–761, 835–837, 840, 843, 865, 867f, 890, 898–900, 914f, 918–920; to come, the, 375, 624, 844, *see* Age to come; rulers, *see* Rulers of the world.
World-egg, 135f.
Worms, 352, 446, 462, 473, 558.
Wormwood, 242, 399, 481, 499, 552, 934.
Worship, 63, 66f, 70, 73–76, 82, 84f, 87, 89, 93, 98, 100, 106, 108, 122, 126, 128f, 131, 141, 185–187, 189, 197, 231f, 237, 275, 280, 312, 314, 316, 319, 327, 329, 414, 477, 480, 502f, 511, 518–520, 526, 550, 580, 584, 594f, 630, 639, 642f, 664f, 750, 764, 827, 868, 882, 893, 895, 904, 931, 933, 938.
Worshippers, 83, 105, 896.
Wounds, 163, 437, 443, 469, 480f, 484, 492, 498, 583.
Wrath, 458, 661, *see* Anger; to come, 877f.
Wreaths, 792, 904, *see* Garland.
Wrestle, wrestling, 158, 160, 867, 897.
Wrist, 689.
Writing, 14, 44f, 170, 264, 484, 489f, 505, 547, 593; antiquity of, 44; materials, 490.
Writings, the, *see* Hagiographa.
"Written in heaven," 732.
Written tradition, 579.

Xenophon, 527, 529, 592.
Xerxes I. (Ahasuerus), 22, 39, 61, 323, 327, 336–339, 449, 523, 529, 531.
Xestes, 115.
Ximenes, 597.

Yachin and Boaz, *see* Jachin and Boaz.
Yadaim, 38.
Yah, 181.
Yahu, 79.
Yahweh, 63, 66, 83f, 87f, 92f, 95f, 122, 124–126, 138, 140, 217, 266, 351, 355, 366f, 397, 535, etc., *see* God; a God of grace, 11, *see* God, grace of; a jealous God, 87f, 139, 145, 185, 187, 227, 564, 570, 619, 627, 841; Adonai, substituted for, 172, 217, 497f; and elemental phenomena, 13, 84, 87, 145, 171, 176, 180, 183, 190, 221, 262f, 277, 302f, 305, 352f, 359f, 362–364, 370, 375, 380, 384, 389f, 411, 445f, 449, 453f, 457f, 466, 474, 478, 481, 545f, 548, 553f, 564, 567f, 570; and Israel, 2, 9, 11, 19, 38, 44, 93, 108, 126, 224f, 256, 418, 483, 535, 544, 585, 619–621, 819, etc, *see* Israel; and other gods, 11, 21, 74, 87f, 95, 128, 130, 184f, 234, 310f, 376, 391, 394, 449, 462–465, 469, 481, 502, 506f, 510f, 563, 565, 583, 617; and the Baal of Tyre, *see* Baal of Tyre; and the Baalim, *see* Baal; and the heathen, *see* God and the Gentiles; and the Kenites, 11, 64, 489; as shepherd, 377, 460f, 488, 516; bride (wife) of, 91, 108, 468, 471, 477, 535–537; bridegroom (husband) of Israel, (Zion), 108, 178, 468, 471, 477f, 488, 536f; chariot of, 176, 219, 305f, 473, 504f, 507f, 529, 568; fear of, *see* Fear of God; fount of holiness, 196, 202, 574; glory of, *see* God, glory of; holiness of, *see* God, holiness of; in Elohistic Psalms, 379; limitation of His knowledge, 130, 152; meaning of the name, 84, 172, 314f; name of, 125, 128f, 184, 186, 210, 454, 457, 502, 509f; name used as criterion of Pentateuchal analysis, 122, 124–126; physician, 181, 541; reason for use of this name, 95; revelation of name, 124f, 172, 174, 219; Rock (stone) of Israel, 166, 275, 442, 454, 463; secret of, 377; sole worship of, 64, 67, 85, 87f, 128–130, 183–185, 231; spirit of, *see* Spirit of Yahweh; spoken of as Baal, *see* Baal; the only God, 67, 128, 130, 231f, 235, 250, 464, 619; vocalisation of name, 122, 172; wilderness deity, 85f, 96, 256, 262, 303, 477, 489.
Yahweh Elohim, 95, 125, 138.
Yahweh of Hosts, Yahweh Sebaoth, 274, 463, 567.
Yahweh-Shalom, 263.
Yarmuk, 32f.
Ya-u, 172.
Year, 102, 117f, 137, 141f, 177, 188, 205, 210, 456, 529, 572, 629, 652; civil, 104, 652; ecclesiastical, 104f; luni-solar, 117, 652; of Jubile, *see* Jubile; of Release, 101f, 112, 211, 237f, 242, 334, 520.
Yeb, 79.
Yehavmilk, 392.
Yellow, 934; jasper, 191.
Yeruel, 154, *see* Jeruel.
Yetzer-ha-Ra, 623, *see* Evil inclination.
Yoke, 72, 223, 235, 263, 347, 444, 486f, 497, 514, 541, 560, 564, 571, 660, 711f; of the commandments, 712; of the kingdom, 712; of the Law, 712, 773; (land measure), 440.
Yoke-fellow, 874.
Yom Teru'ah, 326.
Young man with the linen cloth, 698, 740.
Young men, 188, 272, 782, 888.
Younger sons, 109.
Youthfulness, 884.
Youths, 100, 417.
Ysiraal, 56.

Zacchæus, 615, 669, 725, 736, 738.
Zachariah, son of Barachiah, 720; son of Baruch, 720; son of Jehoiada, 720, *see* Zechariah.
Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, 652, 725f.
Zadok (priest), 67, 209, 275, 289–291, 294–296, 519; sons of, 129, 202, 209, 215, 227, 482, 518f, 572, 575.
Zadokite priests, *see* Zadok, sons of.
Zagros, 58f.
Zair, 307.
Zakkur, 35.
Zalmon, 265.
Zamzummim, 149, 233.
Zaphenath-paneah, 163.
Zarephath, 28, 302, 305, 555.
Zarethan, 297.
Zeal, 19, 443, 506, 800, 825, 844, 931.
Zealots, 609f, 620, 657, 660, 662, 667, 685, 695, 711, 783.
Zebadiah, 76.
Zebedee, 704, 763–765; sons of, 685, 691, 694, 699, 704, 717, 763–765, 790.
Zeboim, 279, 541.
Zebul, 265.
Zebulun, son of Jacob, 158, 166; tribe of, 65, 112, 214, 218, 249, 257, 259, 261f, 521.
Zechariah, king of Israel, 68, 70, 309, 536, 539; seer, 76; son of Jehoiada, 76, 308, 720.
—— the prophet, 47, 77f, 96, 112, 327f, 367, 572, 574–579, 581, 720, 757; allegories of, 47, 575–578; and his countrymen, 575f; and Joshua, 575–578; and the rebuilding of the Temple, 575–577; and Zerubbabel, 575–578; political policy of, 575f; teaching of, 47, 575f.
—— Book of, 323f, 575–584, 661; apocalyptic features in, 47; composite character of, 47, 424, 575, 579–583.

Zechariah, I–VIII, 77, 575–579; date of, 575; text of, 576–578.
Zechariah, IX–XIV, 48, 579–584; apocalyptic features in, 48; composite character of, 579, 582; date of, 425, 579; historical background of, 579.
Zedekiah, king of Judah, 68, 72f, 211, 297, 313, 322, 474–476, 485–490, 495–497, 501, 506, 508, 510–512; opponent of Micaiah, 576.
Zeeb, 171.
Zelophehad, 228, 254.
Zelzah, 278.
Zenas, 888.
Zenith, 459.
Zenjirli, 35.
Zeno, 411, 633f, 835.
Zephaniah, father of Josiah, 578; (priest), 73, 487.
—— (prophet), 19, 46, 72, 569; debt to Amos and Isaiah, 569; genealogy of, 569; prophet of doom, 569f.
—— Book of, 88, 569–571; apocalyptic elements in, 46, 432; composite character of, 569f; date of, 569; occasion, 569.
Zepheth, 258.
Zerah, son of Judah, 162; the Cushite, 319; the Ethiopian, 76, 301.
Zered, 224, 233.
Zerka, the, 32f, 160.
Zerubbabel, 77f, 191, 315, 317, 323–325, 327, 329, 333f, 572–579, 701, 748, 935.
Zeruiah, 284f, 294.
Zeus, 131, 337f, 415, 607, 627–630, 768, 792, 796; and Yahweh, 607, 627.
Ziba, 290f.
Zibeon, 34.
Zidon, 28, 53, 59, 61, 69f, 73, 145, 253, 259, 297, 299, 302, 311, 327, 452, 492f, 513–515, 532, 555, 579, 688, 690, 711, 790.
Zidonians, 260, 269, 297, 299.
Zikkurat, 146.
Ziklag, 66, 273, 285, 315.
Zikron Teru'ah, 326.
Zilpah, 63, 158, 214, 241, 249; tribe, 249.
Zimri, contemporary of Moses, 227.
—— king of Israel, 68, 302, 307.
Zin, 223; wilderness of, 219.
Zinc, 189.
Zion, 30, 67, 73, 77, 91, 130, 181, 287, 297f, 317, 367, 371, 374, 380f, 384, 386, 388, 390, 392, 394, 396, 437–439, 447, 453, 455f, 458f, 461f, 466–468, 470–473, 480, 487f, 496–499, 506, 511, 516, 533, 545f, 548, 552, 555, 560–562, 575f, 580, 583, 899, 937; gates of, 375.
Ziph, wilderness of, 283f.
Ziphites, 284.
Zippor, 171.
Zipporah, 64, 171, 219, 251.
Ziv, 105, 117.
Ziz, the ascent of, 320.
Zoan, 57, 147, 219, 386, 450, 456, 514.
Zoar, 134, 147, 152f, 448, 493.
Zobah, 280, 288, 299.
Zodiac, signs of, 133, 685.
Zoheleth, 294.
Zophar, 354f, 357–360.
Zophim, 226.
Zorah, 31, 267–269.
Zoriyah, 702.
Zoroaster, 3, 702.
Zoroastrianism, 11, 435, 507, 867.
Zuph, 277.
Zuzim, 149, 233.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THOMAS NELSON AND SONS, LTD.

THE ANCIENT WORLD
Roman Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PERSIAN GULF
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
Colchis
Iberia
Meshech
Tubal
ARMENIA
Gomer
Ashkenaz
Isles of Elisha
GREECIA
Javan
Tarshish
Mt. Taurus
Cyprus
Chittim
Crete
Aram
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Bozrah
Jerusalem
Moab
Lud
Kedar
Uz
Rehoboth
Rameses
Goshen
Memphis or Noph
Arabia Petræa
Midian
Dedan
Tema
Nebaioth
LIBYA
EGYPT
Pathros
Thebes
Syene
Berenice
R. Sihor (Nile)
Napata
Meroe
ETHIOPIA
CUSH
Seba?
Sabæans
Adulis
Sheba?
Havilah?
ASSYRIA
Nineveh
MESOPOTAMIA
PADAN-ARAM
Haran
Carchemish
Hamath
Riphath
Arvad
Gebal
Ashur
Babylon (Babel)
BABYLONIA
Ur of the Chaldees
CHALDÆA
ELAM
SUSIANA
Ecbatana
MEDIA
PARTHIA
ARIANA
CARMANIA
GEDROSIA
Rhagæ
Caspian Gates
Caucasus Mts.
Araxes
Cyrus
Tigris
Euphrates
Sapphir
Nisibis
Shinar
Calneh
Erech
Accad
Asshur
Elymais
Persis
Rahmah
Dedan

Black Sea
GOMER
Mount Caucasus
Caspian Sea
R. Cyrus
Troy
BITHYNIA
Hattu (Boğaz Keui)
PONTUS
Pergamos
GALATIA
ASIA MINOR
ARMENIA
M. Ararat
R. Aras (Araxes)
Smyrna
Sardis
Ephesus
Laodicea
Antioch
TUBAL
ASHKENAZ
MINNI
CAPPADOCIA
M. Niphates
L. Van
Colossæ
Mt. Taurus
Cilicia
Tarsus
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
Mt. Masios
L. Urumiyah
Rhodes
Carchemish
Urfa
Arpad
Haran
Nineveh
N. Ecbatana
Antioch
Tadmor
Hala
Resen (Selamyah)
Calah (Nimrod)
Mt. Zagros
MEDIA (MADAI)
Rhages
Cyprus
Hamath
Rehoboth
Asshur
Arvad
Tripolis
Kadesh
Halak
Ecbatana
THE GREAT SEA (MEDITERRANEAN)
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Mt. Hermon
Syrian Desert
Sippar (Abu Habbah)
Behistun
Baghdad
Acco
Dan
BASHAN
R. Ahava
Kutha
Tel Ibrahim
Tigris
Shushan (Susa)
PERSIA
Samaria
Babylon
Jerusalem
Gaza
Dead Sea
MOAB
Colneh (Niffer)
Larsa
Pekod
ARABIA
Erech (Warka)
CHALDÆA
Goshen
Mt. Hor
Ur of the Chaldees (Mugheir)
Desert of Paran
Ezion-geber
MIZRAIM (EGYPT)
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
ASIA MINOR, ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA &c.
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Probable route from Babylon to Jerusalem

SYRIA, ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA.
English Miles
0 50 100 150
GREAT SEA
SYRIAN DESERT
ARABIA
MESOPOTAMIA
PADAN ARAM, ARAM NAHARAIM
ASSYRIA
BABYLONIA
CHALDEA
SHINAR
CANAAN
ISRAEL
AMMON
MOAB
EDOM
PHILISTIA
CYPRUS
ARMENIA
NINEVEH
BABYLON
Armida (Diarbekr)
Edessa (Urfa)
Nisibis
Tarsus
Seleucia
Antioch (Antakia)
Carchemish (Jerabis)
Pethor (Pitru)
Thapsacus (Tiphsah)
Nicephorium (Rakka)
Resefa Rezeph
Orcesium (Turkisyeh)
Rehoboth (Riahabe)
Tadmor (Palmyra)
Hamath (Hamah)
Karkar? Apamea)
Arpad
Aleppo
Bit Adini
Damascus
Tripolis
Arvad (Ruad)
Sidon (Saida)
Beirut
Tyre (Sur)
Accho Ptolemais
Caesarea
Joppa (Yafa)
Ekron
Ashdod
Ashkelon (Askalan)
Gaza (Ghuzzeh)
Beersheba
Rehoboth (Ruhaibeh)
Kadesh Barnea
Mt Hor
Ezion Geber
Elath (Akabah)
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethel
Shechem
Samaria
Megiddo
Jezreel
Nazareth
Tiberias
Sea of Tiberias
Jordan R.
Nahr el Kasimiyeh
Mt Hermon
Ras en Nakurah
Abel beth maachah
Jebel Rauras
Taanach
Dothan
Gath Rehoboth
Lachish
Libnah
Hebron
Zoar
Sea of Salt
Wilderness of Zin
Wilderness of Judah
Mt Seir
Nahr Belik
Harran
Carrhae
Nahr Malka
Sippara
Sepharvaim
Seleucia
Ctesiphon
Opis
Akkad
Hillah
Borsippa
Tell Dafa
Nippur
Erech
Larsa
Lagas
Bit Jakin
Ur of the Chaldees (el Mugheir)
Eridhu
Median Wall
Hit
Baghdad
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
Arrapachitis
Lesser Zab
Upper Zab
Nineveh
Khorsabad
Mosul
Calah Nimrud
Arbela
Assur
Shamarah
Hulwan
Drumyah
Lake Urumiah
Kurdistan
Cyprus
Kition (Larnaka)
Salamis
Paphos
Cos
Rhodes
Perga (Amberrarasi)
Issus
Seleucia (es Suweidyeh)
Laodicea
Gebal (Jebel)
Ramleh
Lydda
Ashdod
Gath
Libnah
Lachish
Eglon
Hebron
Zoar
Mt Seir
Wilderness of Judah
Wilderness of Zin
Kadesh Barnea
Mt Hor
Ezion Geber
Elath (Akabah)
Jericho
Jordan R.
Sea of Salt
Nahr el Kasimiyeh
Mt Hermon
Ras en Nakurah
Abel beth maachah
Jebel Rauras
Taanach
Dothan
Megiddo
Jezreel
Nazareth
Tiberias
Sea of Tiberias
Jordan R.
Joppa (Yafa)
Ekron
Ashdod
Ashkelon (Askalan)
Gaza (Ghuzzeh)
Beersheba
Rehoboth (Ruhaibeh)
Kadesh Barnea
Mt Hor
Ezion Geber
Elath (Akabah)
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethel
Shechem
Samaria
Megiddo
Jezreel
Nazareth
Tiberias
Sea of Tiberias
Jordan R.
Nahr el Kasimiyeh
Mt Hermon
Ras en Nakurah
Abel beth maachah
Jebel Rauras
Taanach
Dothan
Gath Rehoboth
Lachish
Libnah
Hebron
Zoar
Sea of Salt
Wilderness of Zin
Wilderness of Judah
Mt Seir
Nahr Belik
Harran
Carrhae
Nahr Malka
Sippara
Sepharvaim
Seleucia
Ctesiphon
Opis
Akkad
Hillah
Borsippa
Tell Dafa
Nippur
Erech
Larsa
Lagas
Bit Jakin
Ur of the Chaldees (el Mugheir)
Eridhu
Median Wall
Hit
Baghdad
R. Euphrates
R. Tigris
Arrapachitis
Lesser Zab
Upper Zab
Nineveh
Khorsabad
Mosul
Calah Nimrud
Arbela
Assur
Shamarah
Hulwan
Drumyah
Lake Urumiah
Kurdistan
Cyprus
Kition (Larnaka)
Salamis
Paphos
Cos
Rhodes
Perga (Amberrarasi)
Issus
Seleucia (es Suweidyeh)
Laodicea
Gebal (Jebel)
Ramleh
Lydda
Ashdod
Gath
Libnah
Lachish
Eglon
Hebron
Zoar
Mt Seir
Wilderness of Zin
Wilderness of Judah
34
36
38
40
42
44
46
30
32
34

SINAI PENINSULA & CANAAN
ILLUSTRATING THE EXODUS
English Miles
0 5 10 20 40 60
Probable(?) Route of Children of Israel
GREAT SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
Mendesian Mouth
Tanitic Mouth
Bay of Tineh or Pelusium
L. Sirbonis
Pel. Pelusium
Tahpanhes Daphne
LAND OF GOSHEN
L. Timsah
Baal Zephon
Pithom Patumos
Migdol
Succoth
Bitter Lakes
EGYPT
Wilderness of Ethan
Wells of Moses
GULF OF SUEZ
Marah
Elim
Encampment by the Red Sea
Dophkah
Alush
Rephidim
J. Serbal
HOREB
Mt Sinai
J. Musa
Wilderness of Sinai
J. Um Shomer
Wilderness of Sin
WILDERNESS OF SHUR
WILDERNESS OF PARAN
Beer lahai roi
Kadesh Barnea?
Hormah
Arad
Bozrah
Mt Hor
Wilderness of Zin
MOUNTAINS OF EDOM
Ezion Geber
Etath
GULF OF AKABAH
MIDIAN
AMALEKITES
Hazeroth?
Gaza
Gerar
Beersheba
PHILISTINES
Kirjath Arba (Hebron)
AMORITES
Bethel
JEBUSITES
Jericho
Gilgal
Heshbon
Mt Nebo
JERUSALEM
Bethlehem
SALT SEA
Dibon
Aroer
R. Arnon
CANAAN
MOAB
Kir Moab
Brook Zered
Tophel
Sihon of Egypt
31
30
29
28
33
34
35

PALESTINE
showing
SEATS OF THE TWELVE TRIBES
IN THE XIth CENTURY B C
English Miles
0 5 10 20
GREAT SEA (MEDITERRANEAN)
SEA OF THE PLAIN
R. Leontes
Tyre
Tannah
Thel-hei-marchah?
DAN
Dan
Kedesh
Hazor
Aloth
NAPHTALI
BASHAN
ARAM ?
Accho
Rimmon
Cabul
ASHER
Sea of Chinnereth
Aphiek
Golan
Ashtaroth Karnaim
R. Kishon
Mt. Carmel
R. Jordan
ZEBULON
ISSACHAR
Mt. Tabor
Endor
Dor
Megiddo
Shunem
Ibleam
Jezreel
Taanach
Jabbok
Tobi
Beth-shean
Mt. Gilboa
Gilead ?
Mahanaim ?
Plain of Sharon
MANASSEH
Dothan
Jarzo
Geba
Abel Meholah
Samaria
Shechem
Succoth
R. Jabbok
Baal Shalisha
Tipsah
Gilgal
Mount Ephraim
EPHRAIM
Joppa
Bene Berak
Ono
Lebanah
Shiloh
Gilgal
Zarthan?
Pennel
Ramah Gilead
REUBEN
AMMON
Rabbath Ammon
Lod
Gibbethon
Shazor
Jeshanah
Ophrah
Gimzo
Beeroth
Bethel
Ai
Michmash
Jalmeh
Ekron
Shaalabbin
Beth-horon
Ramah
Geba
Jericho
Gilgal
Elon-beth-hanan
Oreb
BENJAMIN
Jokthee
Ajalon
Mizpeh
Anathoth
Beth-haran
Jazer
Heshbon
Zorah
Nob
Ashdod
Kirjath Jearim
JERUSALEM
Timnath
Beth Shemesh
Baal
Aaron
Mt. Nebo
Medeba
Ashkelon
Gath Libnah?
Jarmuth
Socoh
JUDAH
Bethlehem
Adullam?
Wilderness of Tekoa
Berachah Valley
Tekoah
Kirjathiam
Mareshah
Beth-zur
Wilderness of Level
Gaza
Lachish
Hebron
En Gedi
Dibon
Aroer
Ziklag?
Gerar?
Ziph
Carmel
Maon
Socah
Tirlan
CALEBITES
En Rimmon?
Arad
Ar Moab?
Beersheba
Moladah
Kir Moab
AMALEKITES
Beth Marcaboth
Rehoboth
EDOMITES

THE KINGDOMS OF
JUDAH & ISRAEL
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40
35
36
33
32
31
Berytus
SYRIA
OR ARAM
Sidon
Zarephath
Mt Lebanon
Lentes
Mt Libanon
Abana
DAMASCUS
Pharpar
Mt Hermon
Ijon
Tyre
Abel-beth-maachah
Janoah
Dan or Laish
Baal Gad
PHOENICIANS
Kedesh
Hazor
GESHURITES
Achzib
AR/GOB
GREAT SEA
Desert
Syrian
Acho
GALILEE
Ramah
BASHAN
Cabul
Ashtaroth Karnaim
Golan??
Havoth Jair
Kenath
Sea of Chinnereth
Gath Hepher
Mt Tabor
Mt Carmel
Ashdon
Jokneam
Jarmuk
Dor
Megiddo
Jezreel
S. Shunem
Or Jezreel
ISRAEL
Taanach
Beth shan
Mt Gilboa
Iblean?
Aphek
Dothan
Tirzah?
Jabesh Gilead?
Mahanaim?
GILEADITES
SAMARIA
Abel Meholah
Mt Ebal
Shechem
Mt Gerizim
Pennel
Jabbok
Succoth
Baal Shalisha
Zarthan or Zaretan
Mt Ephraim
Joppa
Aphek
Baalath
Shiloh
Cherith
Ramoth Gilead?
Rabbah (Rabbath Ammon)
AMMON
Gibbethon?
Bethel
Shaalbim
Beth Horon
Ekron
Ramah
Geba
Gilgal
Gibeah
Jericho
Anathoth
Gezer
Mizpeh?
Heshbon
Ashdod
Gath?
JERUSALEM
Beth Shemesh
Bethlehem
Kidron
Askelon
Libnah
Shochoh
Tekoa
PHILISTINES
Eglon
Lachish
Hebron
Bezer
Aroer
Gaza or Azzah
Doscath
JUDAH
ARABIA
Gerar
Hazar Susim
Beth Marcaboth
Besor
Arnon
Sea of the Plain or Salt Sea
Ar of Moab (Rabbath Moab)
Beersheba
MOAB
Kir Haraseth (Kir Moab)
Vbi Salt
Jereel
Gebal
Desert of Shur
Desert of Paran
Zephath or Hormah
Mt Seir
EDOM
Arabian Desert

PALESTINE
IN THE TIME OF CHRIST
English Miles
0 5 10 20
GREAT SEA (MEDITERRANEAN)
PHENICIA
GALILEE
SAMARIA
JUDEA
IDUMEA
PERAEA
ITUREA
TRACHONITIS
BATANÆA
HAURAN
DECAPOLIS
TETRARCHIES &c.
Tyre
Ptolemais
Acco
Achzib
Kanah
Kedesh
R. Leontes
Mount Hermon
R. Pharpar
Cæsarea Philippi
Selucia
Chorazin
Bethsaida Julias
Capernaum
Bethsaida
Magdala
Sea of Galilee
Tiberias
Gamala
Hippos
Gadara
Abila
Capitolias
Beth-shean
Scythopolis
Pella
Dion
Gerasa
Sepphoris
Cana
Nazareth
Mt. Tabor
Nain
Dor
Mt. Carmel
Plain of Esdraelon
Cæsarea
Mt. Gilboa
Dothan
Plain of Sharon
Samaria
Mt. Ebal
Shechem
Mt. Gerizim
Sychar
Salim
Ænon
Jacob's Well
Bagaba
Amathus
R. Jabbok
R. Jordan
Dead Sea
Apollonia
Antipatris
Joppa
Arimathea
Phasaelis
Ephraim
Bethel
Lydda
Beth-horon
Ramah
Jericho
Philadelphia
Jamnia
Emmaus
Jerusalem
Bethany
Livias
Heshbon
Mt. Nebo
Azotus
Askelon
Bethlehem
Arcce
Kidron
Tekoa
Herodium
Mareshah
Cilliroe
Machaerus
Gaza
Anthedon (Agrippias)
Hebron
Engedi
Salt Sea
Arnon
Juttah
Masada
Beer-sheba
Tetrarchy of Abila & Damascus
Lysanias
Sidon
Tyre
Caesarea Philippi
Tetrarchy of Philip
Ptolemais
Tetrarchy of Herod Antipas
Nazareth
Caesarea
Roman Province of Judaea
Joppa
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Gaza
Dead Sea
Arabia
30'
35
36
33
32

PART OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE
SHOWING THE JOURNEYS OF PAUL
AND THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA
PONTUS EUXINUS
(BLACK SEA)
THE GREAT SEA
(MEDITERRANEAN SEA)
ILLYRICUM
ITALY
ROME
Three Taverns
Appii Forum
Puteoli
Brundusium
Dyrrachium
MACEDONIA
Amphipolis
Philippi
Neapolis
THRACIA
Byzantium
Propontis
Sea of Marmora
Sangarius R.
Amastris
PAPHLAGONIA
BITHYNIA
Amasia
PONTUS
Thessalonica
Berea
Apollonia
Thasos
Samothrace
Nicæa
Anevra
Tavium
Corcyra
EPIRUS
Lemnos
Troas
Assos
MYSIA
Adramyttium
Pergamos
Thyatira
Mitylene
Lesbos
Scyros
Nicopolis
Æolian Is.
Rhegium
Sicily
Syracuse
Cephallenia
Zacynthus
Elis
Corinth
Cenchreæ
Athens
ACHAIA
Chios
Smyrna
Sardis
ASIA
PHRYGIA
Philadelphia
Antioch
Ephesus
Hierapolis
Iconium
LYCAONIA
Somos
Laodicea
Colossæ
PISIDIA
Lystra
Derbe
Miletus
CARIA
Trogyllium
Patmos
PAMPHYLIA
Perga
Cos
Cnidus
Attalia
LYCIA
Rhodes
Patara
Tyre
Tarsus
Lucia
Antioch
Gaulus
Melita
(Malta)
ADRIA
Crete
Phœnix
Lasea
Fair Havens
Salmone
Carpathos
Cyprus
Paphos
Salamis
Citium
Claudia
Damascus
Sidon
Mt Hermon
Tyre
Ptolemais
JUDEA
Cæsarea
Antipatris
Joppa
JERUSALEM
Lydda
Dead Sea
ARABIA
SYRIA
Cyrene
CYRENE
Alexandria
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300
Route shown thus
15
20
25
30
35
40

220.7 P357
Peake, Arthur S.
A Commentary on the Bibl

HECKMAN
BINDERY INC.
JAN 90
N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962